

## 'Gang warily': Thomas Carlyle and Henry Drummond

By Maurice Milne

From:  
THE CARLYLE SOCIETY  
Session 2010-2011  
Occasional Papers 23  
Edinburgh 2010

Talk to Albury History Society, 24th April 2012:

Dr Maurice Milne on "The Drummond Family"  
Little known facts and anecdotes about Henry Drummond  
and Albury Park Mansion.

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Maurice Milne

In June 1829, Carlyle was visited, at Craigenputtock, by Edward Irving, the dearest friend of his youth. He recalled the visit in his *Reminiscences*:

He was again on some kind of Church business, but it seemed to be of cheerfuller and wider scope than that of Scriptural Prophecy...It was beautiful summer weather; pleasant to saunter in, with old friends, in the safe green solitudes, no sound audible but that of our own voices and of the birds and woods. He talked to me of Henry Drummond, as of a fine, a great, evangelical, yet courtly and indeed universal gentleman, whom Prophetic Studies had brought to him; - whom I was to *know* on my next coming to London, more joy to me! We had been discoursing of Religion, with mildly-worded but entire frankness on my part as usual; and something I said had struck Irving as unexpectedly orthodox; who thereupon ejaculated, 'Well, I am right glad to hear that; - and will not forget it, where it may do you good with one whom I know of,' - with Henry Drummond - which had led him into that topic, perhaps not quite for the first time. (*Rems*, 290)

We cannot know whether Carlyle's lapse into orthodoxy led him to quote from Matthew 16, verse 3, but it would have been appropriate: 'Can ye not *discern* the signs of the times?' Carlyle's great essay on that theme had been accepted for the *Edinburgh Review* for June, although the number was not actually printed until August (*CL*:5, TC to John A. C., 11 Aug. 1829). What is less well-known is that both Irving and Drummond also published discourses entitled 'Signs of the Times' before the end of that same year. The first part of Irving's article appeared in the *Morning Watch* for December 1829, concluding in the next number, March 1830. Henry Drummond used the same title for the final dialogue in his three-volume *Dialogues on Prophecy*, published at the end of 1829.

Carlyle and Irving need no introduction here, but a brief outline of Drummond's background might be helpful, before returning to the themes of the three essays. The story can then be developed of how Irving brought Carlyle and Drummond together, and what became of their acquaintanceship during the years after Irving's sad and premature demise.

Henry Drummond belonged to a wealthy banking and landed family. Drummond's Bank, in Charing Cross, had been founded by his grandfather's uncle, Andrew Drummond, in 1717. Andrew was rumoured to be banker to the Jacobites, but was careful to avoid any treasonable associations, attracting clients from the great and the good of Hanoverian England. Andrew's brother, however, Henry Drummond's great-grandfather, Viscount Strathallan, was an active Jacobite, who perished at Culloden.

The Drummonds were of ancient lineage, with roots in Stirlingshire and Perthshire. At the battle of Bannockburn, Malcolm Drummond is reputed to have scattered caltraps on the battlefield in front of the English heavy cavalry. These then became heraldic devices, along with the family motto: GANG WARILY. Another Drummond emblem was the golden eagle, used by Andrew Drummond as his sign at the bank. Shortly after his death, a 'Constitution' was drawn up, amplified by a Deed of Partnership in 1780. This established that one-third of the profits of the bank should go to each of Andrew's son John, and his nephews, Robert and Henry, and thereafter to their eldest sons. (Bolitho and Peel, 54). The first Henry Drummond's son, also Henry, married Anne, daughter of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, the most powerful figure in Scotland at the time of the Younger Pitt. Their eldest son, Henry, was born on 5 December 1786 at his father's country seat, The Grange, near Alresford in Hampshire. (Those with an eye for coincidences might note that Thomas Carlyle's birthday fell on the day before Henry Drummond's, and that Carlyle visited The Grange when it became the property of the Ashburtons.)

Henry Drummond was thus born to wealth, privilege and high connexion. Even the premature death of his father, before Henry's eighth birthday, brought a kind of compensation. His mother, after remarrying, and about to depart for India with her new husband in 1802, left Henry's upbringing to be completed by her father, Viscount Melville. Henry was thus present at conversations between his grandfather and the Younger Pitt, respectively the most powerful politicians in Scotland and England, and with Pitt reportedly taking a liking to the young man. If there was a suggestion of high demeanour about Henry Drummond in later years, one need not look far to find an explanation.

After Harrow and Oxford, which he left without taking a degree, Drummond entered parliament in 1810, aged only 23, as member for Plympton Erle. One good thing came of this first brief spell in the House of Commons. In 1813 he carried an Act designed to prevent greedy and irresponsible bankers from embezzling securities deposited with them. Then he resigned his seat on grounds of ill-health; and, in 1817, sold The Grange, declaring himself 'satiated with the frivolities of the fashionable world.' An intended pilgrimage to the Holy Land, with his wife, was diverted instead to Geneva, where he took up Robert Haldane's struggle against the Socinian tendencies of the Council of State. Here we have a foretaste of the theological engagement that was increasingly to dominate Drummond's life. Returning to England, he bought the estate of Albury Park in Surrey, soon gaining the reputation of being an authoritarian but benevolent landlord. A favourable account of his stewardship at this time came from an unlikely source, the radical campaigner, William Cobbett, who passed through Albury on one of his 'Rural Rides,' on 30 November 1822. Curious to see the park and its celebrated gardens, Cobbett tried the ruse of going in from one direction, and then asking Drummond's permission to leave by the other side. Drummond good-naturedly agreed, prompting Cobbett to reflect:

I know there are some ill-natured persons who will say that I want a revolution that would turn Mr Drummond out of this place and put me into it. Such persons will hardly believe me, but upon my word I do not. From everything that I hear, Mr Drummond is very worthy of possessing it himself, seeing that he is famed for his justice and his kindness *towards the labouring classes*, who, God knows, have very few friends amongst the rich...If this be true, and I am credibly informed that it is, I know of no man in England so worthy of his estate...I had indeed heard of this at Alresford in Hampshire; and, to say the truth, it was this circumstance...which induced me to ask the favour of Mr Drummond to go through his park. But, besides that Mr Drummond is very worthy of his estate, what chance should I have of getting it if it came to a *scramble*? There are others who like pretty gardens, as well as I; and if the question were to be decided according to the law of the strongest...my chance would be but a very poor one.

Cobbett and Drummond shared a healthy disrespect for political economists. Yet, and it is one of the many paradoxes associated with Drummond, he founded a Chair of Political Economy at the University of Oxford, in 1825, which continues to this day. The first incumbent, Nassau W. Senior, espoused a brand of mechanistic, market-driven economics that cannot have appealed to Drummond



personally. (Hilton, 45). Even so, a friendly note from Senior survives in the Drummond archive, inviting his patron along to a dinner of the Political Economy Club at the Freemasons' Tavern. Numerous acquaintances of Drummond over the years bear testimony to his capacity for not letting differences of opinion obstruct personal sociability.

Boyd Hilton dates the decision to endow the Chair to 'before February 1825 at the latest,' (Hilton, 42), after which Drummond became shocked by an outbreak of frenzied speculation in Latin American mining shares. This caused him, in his own words, 'to direct attention to the events connected with the close of the Christian dispensation.' It was at precisely the same time that Drummond became acquainted with Edward Irving. Drummond was a patron of the Continental Society, dedicated to the work of Protestant evangelising in Catholic Europe. Irving was invited to preach in 1825, when at the height of his fame in his London ministry. Both men were increasingly drawn to interpret troubling tendencies of their own day, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, through prophetic books of the Bible. Initially, Irving was not entirely convinced of Drummond's seriousness. On 21 November 1825, he wrote to his wife:

Henry Drummond was in the chair; he is in all chairs – I fear for him. His words are more witty than spiritual; his manner is *spirituel*, not grave... (Oliphant, *Irving*, 176)

By the following summer, however, Irving was sufficiently reassured to join with Drummond in planning the first of a series of annual conferences, to be held in Albury Park, involving clergy (Anglican and Presbyterian) and sympathetic laymen like Drummond himself. Indeed, Mrs Oliphant claims in her biography of Irving that from this time Drummond's influence over her hero's career tended to increase. They were also brought together through a quarterly journal, the *Morning Watch*, founded in 1829 with Drummond's financial backing. Their articles, along with Irving's sermons, published and unpublished, and Drummond's pamphlets, were all part of a premillennial propaganda campaign, culminating in Drummond's three-volume *Dialogues on Prophecy*, recording the first four Albury Conferences. These were not mere reportage. Drummond, assisted by Irving, re-worked the discussions into the classical dialogue format, conflating various points made and giving the speakers names such as 'Theophilus', 'Crito', and 'Philaethes', who served as the 'everyman'

questioner. Some keys to the names have survived, filed with the volumes of the *Dialogues* held in the rare books department of the British Library (BL 764.h.24). Unsurprisingly, the two most voluble conferees, 'Anastasius' and 'Aristo', turn out to be Drummond and Irving, respectively.

We have now returned to the point at which this paper began – the threefold publication of 'Signs of the Times' – and can now move forward, beginning with a discussion of what 'signs' Carlyle, Irving and Drummond discerned. To cite only the similarities would distort the essential difference between Carlyle and the other two. They were displaying the working-out of biblical prophecy in the 'latter days,' whereas Carlyle began by distancing himself from the current propensity for prophesying.

It is no very good symptom either of nations or individuals, that they deal much in vaticination. Happy men are full of the present, for its bounty suffices them; and wise men also, for its duties engage them. Our grand business undoubtedly is, not to *see* what lies dimly at a distance, but to *do* what lies clearly at hand.

Carlyle noted that the recent enactment of Roman Catholic Emancipation, the most divisive political question of the decade, had animated the prophets of doom:

Accordingly the Millenarians have come forth on the right hand, and the Millites on the left. The Fifth-monarchy men prophesy from the Bible, and the Utilitarians from Bentham. The one announces that the last of the seals is to be opened, positively, in the year 1860; and the other assures us that 'the greatest happiness principle' is to make a heaven of earth, in a still shorter time.

Even so, Carlyle was ready to offer his own thoughtful assessment of the 'distinctive characters and deeper tendencies' of his own time. Two oft-quoted passages must suffice to encompass his general theme:

Were we required to characterise this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age.

Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart, as well as in hand. They have lost faith in individual endeavour, and in natural force of any kind. Not for internal perfection, but for external combinations and arrangements, for institutions, constitutions, -- for Mechanism of one sort or other, do they hope and struggle.

Carlyle gave examples of mechanism in education, with the Lancastrian system, and in religious conversion, with the Bible Society, preoccupied as it was with fund-raising and tract-distribution: 'a machine for converting the Heathen.' This brought him onto common ground with Irving, who branded this wing of the

Evangelicals 'Pharisees,' reliant upon 'inventions...such as the multiplication of tracts.' (*M. Watch*, 650). Irving lamented how the office-bearers of charitable and religious societies now took salaries for their trouble, and how they manipulated the times of their services to suit attendance by the better-off. (*M. Watch*, 648,656). Similar points are made in the *Dialogues* by 'Anastasius,' who is usually identified with Drummond himself, but sounds here more like Irving.

Drummond's voice comes over more identifiably in a survey, by 'Anastasius,' of the discussions in the leading reviews, the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Westminster*, all preoccupied with the ominous state of the times. He quotes, approvingly, an observation in the *Westminster Review* that, 'It is not the poor but the rich that have a propensity to take the property of other people.' Compare this with Carlyle's perception of 'how wealth has more and more increased, and at the same time gathered itself more and more into masses...increasing the distance between the rich and the poor.' Again, here is Irving, lamenting how the manufacturing population is 'every now and then brought into actual starvation: while the wealth of the superior order hath increased and is increasing...' (665)

As to where all this was tending, Irving looked for guidance in Ezekiel, Isaiah, Joel, and Revelations. Drummond recommended prayer, seven times a day. Carlyle, altogether more pragmatic, urged self-reformation; but his final paragraph, which gives this advice, contains words to which both Irving and Drummond would have said a loud 'Amen!'

On the whole, as this wondrous planet, Earth, is journeying with its fellows through infinite Space, so are the wondrous destinies embarked on it journeying through infinite Time, under a higher guidance than ours.

Carlyle first met Drummond on 18 August 1831. Having finished *Sartor Resartus*, he had gone down to London to seek a publisher. Edward Irving was there to welcome him, but in the interval since their summer's day walk at Craigenputtock in 1829, ominous changes had occurred in Irving's conduct of his ministry. The same changes had come upon several of the other attenders at Albury, including Drummond himself. We are about to enter the world of 'speaking with Tongues.'

The fifth and final Albury Conference (held after the publication of the *Dialogues*) was convened in July 1830, ahead of the customary scheduling for late November.

News had come of remarkable spiritual manifestations on the banks of the Clyde: miraculous healings and ecstatic utterances. Did these 'gifts of the spirit' presage the Second Coming of Christ? News of another French revolution in that same month heightened expectations that the 'last days' were coming. It was resolved that the reports from the west of Scotland should be investigated. An Anglican delegation travelled up from London, including a lawyer, John Bate Cardale, who was later to play a seminal part in the formation of the Catholic Apostolic Church. A parallel Presbyterian reconnaissance was undertaken by an associate of Edward Irving: the Rev. Alexander Scott, minister of the Scots church in Woolwich. Both groups of enquirers were profoundly moved by what they saw. Mary Campbell, the centre of much of the attention, had been miraculously cured when at death's door, and had been moved to testify in tongues and to pour forth automatic writing. She married William R. Caird and moved to England, eventually settling in Albury, where Caird became tutor to Drummond's children.

At prayer meetings in Albury, and in London, speaking in tongues broke out in 1831. Irving did not personally indulge, and did his best to keep these manifestations out of his regular church services, but he did see them as gifts of the Holy Spirit, and allowed them in house meetings or in the vestry of his church. In time, however, his reservations were overcome, and his services became notorious for the ecstatic utterances of the congregation. It was while things were mainly at the prayer meeting stage that Carlyle met up with Irving on 18 August, before accompanying him in the evening as fellow dinner guests at Henry Drummond's town house in Belgrave Square. The wonderful account that Carlyle wrote for Jane on 22 August can only make us rejoice that she had not yet travelled south to join him, and so had to be told in a letter.

Friday I spent with Irving in the *animali-parlanti* region of the Supernatural. Understand, ladykin, that the "gift of tongues" is here also (chiefly among the women), and a positive belief that God is still working miracles in the Church – by hysterics...Irving hauled me off to Lincoln's Inn Fields to hear my Double (Mr Scott); where I sat directly behind a Speaker with Tongues, who unhappily however did not perform till after I was gone. My Double is more like "Maitland" the Cotton-eared, I hope, than me; a thin black-complexioned, vehement man: earnest, clear, and narrow as a tailor's listing. For a stricken hour did he sit expounding in the most superannuated dialect (of *Chroist* and so forth) yet with great heartiness the meaning of that one word *Entsagen*. The good Irving looked at me wistfully, for he knows I cannot take miracles in; yet he looks so piteously as if he implored me to believe. O dear O dear! was the Devil ever busier than now; when the Supernatural must either depart from the world, or



reappear there like a chapter of Hamilton's "diseases of Females"...

At night I fondly trusted we had done with the Miraculous: but no, Henry Drummond too is a believer in it. Taller and leaner than I, but erect as a plummet, with a high-carried quick penetrating head; some five-and-forty years of age: a singular mixture of all things; of the Saint, the Wit, the Philosopher, swimming if I mistake not in an element of Dandyism. His dinner was Dandiacal in the extreme; a meagre series of pretentious kickshaws, on which no hungry jaw could satisfactorily bite, flunkies on all hands, yet I had to ask four times before I could get a morsel of bread to my cheese. His Wife has had "twenty miscarriages" and looks pitiful enough. Besides her we were five: Spencer Perceval Member of the House (of Stupids, called of Commons); Tudor a Welshman Editor of the Morning Watch; our Host, Irving and I. They were all prophetic, Toryish, ultra-religious. I emitted, notwithstanding, floods of Teufelsdröckish Radicalism, which seemed to fill them with *wonder* and amazement, but were not ill received, and indeed refused to be gainsayed. We parted with friendliest indifference, and shall all be happy to meet again, and to part again. The Drummond who is a great Pamphleteer has "quoted" me often, it seems &c &c. He is also a most munificent and beneficent man – as his friends say, Peace and Happiness be with him! (CLO, 22 Aug. 1831)

After Jane came south, she and Thomas heard the 'Tongues' on a visit to Irving's house, as recalled by Carlyle in the *Reminiscences*. Irving's wife had withdrawn to an adjacent room with some of the devotees, while he stayed to talk with the Carlyles. Then,

there burst forth a shriek hysterical 'Lall-lall-lall' (little or nothing else but *l's* and *a's* continued for several minutes); to which Irving, with singular calmness, said only, 'There, hear you; there are the Tongues!' and we two, except by our looks which probably were eloquent, answered him nothing; but soon came away full of distress, provocation and a kind of shame. (*Rems*, 301) Jane was later to observe: 'There would have been no tongues had Irving married me.' (Hanson, 165)

To tell the story of Irving's tragic decline and premature death would take us too far from the present theme, which must now be confined to Carlyle and Drummond. The salient events have been covered to this point because one of the keys, perhaps *the* key, to explaining why Carlyle generally kept a cautious, but respectful, distance from Drummond was that he put some of the blame on Drummond himself. Yet it should be reasonably clear from the foregoing that neither Drummond nor Irving led the other into the spiritual realms they now entered. It was a mutual process, brought on by a shared enthusiasm, whether that word be construed in a psychological or a spiritual sense. The difference

was that the harder-headed Drummond could somehow combine this with the secular concerns that brought him onto common ground with Carlyle. As for Irving's expulsion from the Presbyterian ministry, in March 1833, at the Annan kirk where he had once been ordained, the charge was technically heresy, namely Irving's 'unsound' views on the humanity of Christ's body, which he had long held. In reality, of course, he might have been left to hold these views, had he not embarrassed the Church of Scotland by the extravagant scenes in the main London church, from which he had to be locked out.

Carlyle gives a touching account in the *Reminiscences* of Irving's last visit to him and Jane, in Chelsea, in October 1834, before he set out on his final journey to Glasgow. They could see the sad decline in their old friend, but what to do?

Much consulting about him we had already had: a *Letter* to Henry Drummond (about *delivering* him from the fools and fanatics that were agitating him to *death*, as I clearly saw) lay on the mantelpiece here for some days, in *doubt*, and was then burnt. Brother, Father, rational Friend, I could not think of, except Henry; and him I had seen only once, not without a clear view of his un-soundness too. (*Rems*, 79)

During the remainder of the decade, Carlyle and Drummond went their separate ways. Carlyle devoted himself to writing *The French Revolution*, which was at last to bring him real fame. Drummond was instrumental in founding what became known as the Catholic Apostolic Church. Such was Irving's charisma, that the church was commonly called 'Irvingite.' A careful attention to chronology should suffice to produce a more accurate picture. On 7 November 1832, at a prayer meeting in Irving's house, Drummond asked J.B. Cardale to be an 'Apostle.' The scene then shifts to Albury, at Christmas, when Cardale, by virtue of being an apostle, ordained W.R. Caird, the husband of Mary Campbell, as an 'evangelist,' and Henry Drummond as an 'angel' of the Albury congregation. Significantly, Drummond had previously declined ordination by Irving because of doubts about the validity of the Presbyterian dispensation. (Flegg, 59 and 63). When Irving returned from Annan, Cardale ordained him as an 'angel,' in April 1833, but Irving never attained the rank of apostle. In the following September, Drummond was promoted to that rank, as the second apostle. Between 1833 and 1835 a further ten apostles were called, to produce a 'college' of twelve. Seven churches were established in London, and in July 1835 their leaders were

combined in the Council of the Seven Churches (c.f. *Revelation*, I, 4). Also in July, on the fourteenth, there occurred the key event of the 'separation of the apostles' (c.f. *Acts*, XIII, 2). That is, the twelve apostles separated themselves from the day-to-day running of particular churches to concentrate on general purposes. These events, which occurred seven months *after* Irving's death, marked the real beginning of the 'Catholic Apostolic Church.' Even this label is not strictly correct. Adherents did not see themselves as a separate church, still less a sect, but as a community of believers within the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, 'gathered under apostles.' (Flegg, 196)

The movement spread rapidly. By the end of 1836, some thirty-six affiliated churches had been established throughout the British Isles. (Brown, 263). Generous financial support from Henry Drummond was vital at first, although the introduction of tithing brought a wider financial base. The twelve apostles, operating from their headquarters in Albury, were each assigned separate branches of Christendom, analogous to the twelve spiritual tribes of Israel. Thus Drummond, the spiritual 'Benjamin,' took responsibility for Scotland and Protestant Switzerland. Another apostle, Thomas Carlyle (a potentially confusing namesake) was allocated Prussia and north Germany, where he achieved a significant impact, even reaching King Frederick William IV. The spiritual journeys in the late 1830s were not so much to evangelise, as to study and report back to Albury. In 1840, at his own expense, Drummond opened a handsome new church, with adjacent chapter house, across the stream from Albury Park.

During all of this time, Henry Drummond was supposed to be the principal proprietor of Drummond's bank, drawing a substantial annual income. His co-proprietors became somewhat restive about this, and eventually, following the death of his third and last son, and potential heir, Drummond agreed, in April 1844, to have his name withdrawn from the bank's letterhead. In return, he was to receive an income of £10,000 per year for the rest of his life, and, at his death, the other two branches of the family were to pay £50,000 into his estate, in return for the cessation of the Albury interest. (Bolitho and Peel, 140)

Given Drummond's spiritual preoccupations, what caused him to resume contact with Carlyle, and why, up to a point, was Carlyle ready to entertain his overtures?

The key is perhaps to be found in what W.H. Oliver has called Drummond's conception of the 'apostate nation.' (Oliver, 108). This had its roots in theology, with Drummond believing that the British nation, chosen by God to be a witness against Popish apostasy, had itself turned apostate, notably by enacting Catholic Emancipation. For Drummond, however, this apostasy had also extended into the secular sphere. The political and social order had been disrupted. Where a reasonable measure of parliamentary reform might have been transacted from within, a misconceived version had been forced through under the threat of pressure from without. The newly-enfranchised ten-pound householders had then used their favoured position to bring forward measures such as the new Poor Law of 1834. This, as Drummond saw it, replaced the traditional, more personal dimensions of necessity and relief with a more impersonal, bureaucratic and unfeeling system. Add to this the wider social gulf between masters and men in the new industrial system, and you had a recipe for social breakdown.

As a premillennialist, Drummond could see this as evidence that the time of tribulation was indeed at hand. Even so, he sought to inquire more deeply into the causes, and to urge what he saw as the biblically-grounded prescription of hierarchy and authority. In his eyes, democracy, liberalism, and *laissez-faire* were not the solution: they were part of the problem. This brought him onto some common ground with Carlyle – the Carlyle, that is, who wrote of the 'condition of England' and the 'cash nexus', the author of *Chartism* and *Past and Present*. A prolific pamphleteer himself, Drummond both read Carlyle and sent him copies of some of his own writings. Between Carlyle's authoritarian, administrative brand of radicalism (Milne, 30), and Drummond's Tory paternalism, a bridge could be built. It rested on the firm conviction that those who enjoyed property, power and privilege must use them to the greater good.

Active contact resumed in the early 1840s. A copy of Drummond's pamphlet on *The Rights of Laymen* (1841) reached the Carlyle residence via Fraser (the publisher of *Fraser's Magazine*). Thomas was away in Annandale, so Jane received it. She was unimpressed, finding it, 'five pence three farthing too dear, I am afraid, at the sixpence I had to pay for it!' (CLO: 24 April 1841). Two, more substantial publications from the indefatigable Drummond in 1842 found more favour with Thomas himself. The first edition of his magnificent *Histories of*



*Noble British Families* (reprinted, with additional parts, in 1846) aroused Carlyle's interest, but there was weightier matter to be found in another work. Drummond edited a two-volume reprinting of a continental compilation *On the Condition of the Agricultural Classes of Great Britain and Ireland*, adding his own preface. This prompted Carlyle, then busy with writing *Past and Present*, to observe to Drummond in January 1843:

I find, what interests me not a little, that you and I, tho' starting as it were precisely from opposite poles arrive at pretty much the same centre; at this namely, That there must be an Aristocracy to govern, and even a *Land* Aristocracy, - tho' whether our present Land Aristocracy are adequate to do that, or only adequate to fail miserably of doing it, and have themselves and much else thrown into the ditch, we should probably dispute. (CLO: 20 January 1843)

Carlyle was responding, in this letter, to an invitation to visit Albury Park. He politely declined, being busy with his book, but assured Drummond that he would be pleased to see him at his own 'garret citadel', any day from 2PM. Carlyle then passed on Drummond's invitation to his mother, with a somewhat acerbic characterisation of the sender:

This Note which I enclose is from an old friend of Edward Irving's, whom I have not heard of for long before: he is very rich and vain, a good devout-hearted man, but full of continual half-mad sallies of one sort or another: he did Irving a great deal of harm; but shall not me, - I am too old now for that kind of thing. (CLO: 20 January 1843)

Carlyle's tone swiftly softened when, within a few days, he was caught up in two Drummond family tragedies. Henry Drummond's cousin was assassinated, in mistake for Sir Robert Peel. Carlyle happened to go to Drummond's Bank, at Charing Cross, to catch an omnibus, just after the fatal bullet had been fired. Then Drummond wrote to tell him that his only surviving son was dying, and wished to see Carlyle. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the heartfelt reply. Another invitation to visit Albury came in June, and another polite excuse. This time Carlyle was unwell, and about to recuperate on the coast of Glamorganshire. More trying to his patience was to be confused with Thomas Carlyle the apostle. A letter from a German correspondent, C.K.J. Bunsen, reached him while convalescing in South Wales. Bunsen had become aware of Carlyle's 'double', who had been memorialising the King of Prussia, and wanted to know more about him. Carlyle obliged, in delightfully caustic terms.

There is or lately was a Thomas Carlyle, once an Advocate in Edinburgh, but who quitted that profession for some form of religious Fanaticism ( "Irvingism" is the name of it); who preaches accordingly, as an "Angel" so-called, at Albury in Surrey, under the wing of Henry Drummond the rich Banker, a Patron of that sect, and perhaps an "Archangel" in it. This Thomas Carlyle, besides his Angel-work at Albury, goes now and then to Germany...for the purpose of converting your benighted people to his Doctrine; with what success I cannot conjecture...T. Carlyle the Angel has more than once got me into scrapes of a similar kind. He is, I believe, a zealous, very well-intentioned man: but narrow, headlong, dim...he is an "Angel" at Albury, in short; and I am no Angel anywhere! There is in fact nothing common to us but the Name, and general descent from Adam. Me, I have heard, he considers to be a man of some ability, but "possessed with a Devil": I shall very specially request of you to assure all persons high and low who may inquire of you, that we have "no concern with the other house." (CLO: 7 July 1843)

In 1847 Henry Drummond returned to the House of Commons, after a gap of over thirty years. He became member for West Surrey, holding the seat until his death. He no longer had even a nominal responsibility at the family bank. As for the church, he remained active, but the evolution of a distinctive liturgy and ecclesiology was primarily the work of J.B. Cardale. (Flegg, *passim*). Bereft of a son and heir, Drummond had at least the consolation that his elder daughter, Louisa, had made a brilliant marriage. In 1845 she married Lord Lovaine, of the great ducal house of Percy. In due course they were to become Duke and Duchess of Northumberland. After his father-in-law's death, Lovaine brought out two handsome volumes with selections from Drummond's pamphlets and parliamentary speeches: the most accessible resource for his thinking on political, economic, and religious questions.

Drummond persisted with his efforts to lure Carlyle to Albury. Another invitation produced another lamentation, in June 1848.

Certainly I should like well to see Albury, which must be a doubly pleasant place in this bright leafy season: but, alas, there is no such thinskinmed miserable traveller as I am; shattered to pieces by any tumult, or length of locomotion; unable to sleep in foreign beds &c &c; and the thought strikes me that it is chiefly, after all, the living Master of Albury that it *wd* do me good to see, and to exchange thoughts with, in these sad bodeful times! Which latter benefit, I always think, (even tho' I can eat no dinners) might be attainable some time in London itself. (CLO: 9 June 1848)

Two additional exercises in the fine art of making excuses have now come to light in the Drummond Papers in Alnwick Castle. Both pleaded pressure of work. In the first, responding to an invitation in 1850, Carlyle pictured himself as being 'whirled about here like a squirrel in his cage, or a thief on his treadwheel.' (DFP: C/1/84. TC to HD, 2 April 1850). In the second, in 1857, when the invitation was extended to Jane as well, the pressures of meeting copy-deadlines for an early volume of *Frederick the Great* produced another simile from the natural world:

For above 12 months I have been flying for life before a pack of Printers, - like any deer of the forest before hounds; - engaged, night and day, literally not an hour on my own, in such a coil of tragic despicabilities as I never was in before... (DFP: C/1/85. 2 November 1857)

In between these dates Thomas did meet Drummond at dinner with the Ashburtons, in 1851, and Jane enjoyed a conversation with him in 1856, again with the Ashburtons, but this time at The Grange (where Drummond had been born): 'Henry Drummond I was also glad to meet because I could talk with him about Edward Irving.' (CLO: JWC to Margaret Welsh, 10 January 1856). Intellectual contact also continued, notably regarding Drummond's pamphlet, *The Fate of Christendom* (1854). Carlyle wrote to Lady Ashburton with his impressions.

I read Drummond since you went: really a most notable piece; very *serious* withal, much more than the *talk* of Henry almost ever is, and abounding in utterances and calculations that are enough to make the ears tingle, - if anybody *heard*, or listened, which the Bookseller tells me nobody does... For the rest, I in *substance* greatly agree with Henry in this Pamphlet; deducting "Christ" &c, I find he has seen into many things in a really true and remarkable way. (CLO: 4 March 1854)

Carlyle's anti-democratic tendencies were now more marked, in the period after the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. So a passage in Drummond's pamphlet that might have won his approval was where the shift from hierarchical government to mob rule was deplored. Drummond blamed both the Whigs and the Tories for caving in to external agitation. His way of putting it, however, was quintessentially his own, and not Carlyle's.

The lawless mass is that beast from the bottomless pit, whom everyone in Church and State equally worships, save those who are registered in the registry of the kingdom of the Lamb. (Drummond, *Fate*, 60)

Carlyle did conclude his November 1857 letter to Drummond with a promise to visit Albury in the following summer, and he was true to his word. He wrote to John Forster with news of his intentions:

We are (on old promise, and after about 20 refusals) bound for the country from Saturday till Monday: country air is good; but the truth is, I am perfectly ruined by the heat and *etceteras* now summing themselves up;... (CLO: 17 June 1858)

Ironically, as Carlyle recalled in the *Reminiscences*, Drummond had mistaken the day, and was not there when he arrived. Mercifully Jane had decided not to accompany him, 'so that the ugly confusion fell all on me: - and in a few months more, Henry was himself dead; and no Mistake possible again.' (*Rems*, 298). Drummond died on 20 February 1860 and was buried in the mortuary chapel specially designed for him by Pugin, in the old parish church. The *Collected Letters* do not record any reflections from Carlyle at the time, but a passage in the *Reminiscences*, written at the end of 1866, might serve as an obituary, recalling as it does some phrases in the letter he wrote to his mother in 1843:

Poor Henry, he shot fiery arrows about, too; but they told nowhere. I was never tempted to become more intimate with him; though he now and then seemed willing enough. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. He, without unkindness of intention, did my poor Irving a great deal of ill; me never any, such my better luck. (*Rems*, 298)

On the richly ornate walls of the mortuary chapel, and on the oak screen enclosing it, there appears the Drummond family motto: GANG WARILY. It could stand as an epitaph to Carlyle's relations with Drummond across the thirty years since Edward Irving first brought them together.

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