CARLYLE, JUNG, AND MODERN MAN

JUNGIAN CONCEPTS AS KEY TO CARLYLE’S MIND

by DR. J. P. VIJN
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This study is complementary to an earlier publication, *Carlyle and Jean Paul*. The aim of this study is to solve the enigma of Carlyle’s philosophy by means of an analogy with analytical psychology. This analogy is a real discovery resulting in a compelling, new interpretation of Carlyle’s life and work, which will appeal not only to those interested in Carlyle, but also to the student of psychology, religion and the history of ideas. From this study, Carlyle emerges as an exceptionally creative figure in the modern crisis of meaning, offering man a new spiritual world, as Jung did in his psychology. This work is thus a real breakthrough in Carlyle research and will serve as a corrective of practically any previous, interpretative study of and as basis for any future work on Carlyle.

**About the author**
Born in Bergen, The Netherlands, J.P. Vijn studied philosophy, theology and literature in England and The Netherlands. From the University of Amsterdam, he holds a B.A. in French, an M.A. in English and an M.A. in General and Comparative Literature. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Utrecht and is the author of *Carlyle and Jean Paul*, Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, (Benjamins: Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1982.) Married Hendrika Brinkman.
Dr. J.P. Vijn had a special interest in studying the works of Thomas Carlyle. His latest publication was *Carlyle, Jung, and Modern Man*. 

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Having noted, in the Preface to *Carlyle Past and Present: A Collection of New Essays* (1976), that “Carlyle remains one of the most enigmatic Victorians”, and that “modern students of Carlyle still have to come at the essence of the man”, Fielding and Tarr go on to say that Carlyle “was caught then, as now, between past and present”. Carlyle has certainly remained “one of the most enigmatic Victorians”, but can he be said to be caught “between past and present”? Speaking of the spiritual condition of modern man, Carlyle writes in “Signs of the Times” (1829): “This, we take it, is the grand characteristic of our age. By our skill in Mechanism, it has come to pass, that in the management of external things we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilised ages.” Carlyle, therefore, is especially concerned with restoring the balance between the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”, and with the attainment of spiritual wholeness through union with the Divine Idea of the World.

Of Fichte’s use of the phrase, “the Divine Idea of the World”—which Carlyle himself borrows from Fichte—Carlyle says in *Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1841): “Such is Fichte’s phraseology; with which we need not quarrel. It is his way of naming . . . what there is at present no name for . . .” What, then, does the phrase as used by Carlyle, signify? And how has Carlyle’s idea of the divine pervading the universe, been understood?

In a letter to Carlyle of 29 May 1835, containing some of “the earliest and most substantive criticisms of *Sartus Resartus*”, Sterling writes that Teufelsdröckh “does not believe in a
God”,9 and that he lacks “the clear, deep, habitual recognition of a one Living Personal God, essentially good, wise, true and holy, the Author of all that exists”.10 Having noted that “a reunion” with God “is the only end of all rational beings”,11 Sterling goes on to say:

Now see the difference of Teufelsdröckh’s feelings. At the end of book iii. chap. 8, I find these words: “But whence? O Heaven, whither? Sense knows not; Faith knows not; only that it is through mystery to mystery, from God to God.

‘We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.’ ”

And this tallies with the whole strain of his character. What we find everywhere, with an abundant use of the name of God, is the conception of a formless Infinite whether in time or space; of a high inscrutable Necessity, which it is the chief wisdom and virtue to submit to, which is the mysterious impersonal base of all Existence,—shows itself in the laws of every separate being’s nature; and for man in the shape of duty.12

Carlyle replied on 4 June 1835. Of man’s ignorance about the nature of God, he says in his letter:

You say . . . that Teufelsdrockh does not believe in a “personal God.” It is frankly said, with a friendly honesty for which I love you. A grave charge nevertheless, an awful charge: to which, if I mistake not, the Professor laying his hand on his heart will reply with some gesture expressing the solemnest denial. In gesture, rather than in speech; for “the Highest cannot be spoken of in words.” “Personal,” “[i]mpersonal.” One, Three, what meaning can any mortal (after all) attach to them in reference to such an object? Wer darf ihn nennen [Who dares name him]? I dare not, and do not.13

And of his rejection of all isms, including theism, and the empirical nature of his belief:

Finally assure yourself I am neither Pagan nor Turk, nor circumcised Jew, but an unfortunate Christian individual resident at Chelsea in this year of Grace; neither Pantheist nor Pottheist, nor any Theist or ist whatsoever; having

11. J. Sterling to TC, 29 May 1835, in JS, “Not Curate”: 116, par. 14. Of Sterling’s religious sentiments, Carlyle says: “... it became clear to me more and more that here was nobleness of heart striving towards all nobleness; here was ardent recognition of the worth of Christianity, for one thing; but no belief in it at all, in my sense of the word belief,—no belief but one definable as mere theoretic moonshine, which would never stand the wind and weather of fact. Nay, it struck me farther that Sterling’s was not intrinsically, nor had ever been in the highest or chief degree, a devotional mind” (JS, “Bayswater”: 124, par. 13).
the most decided contem[pt] for all manner of Systembuilders and Sectfounders—as far as contempt may be com[patible] with so mild a nature; feeling well beforehand (taught by long experience) that all such are and even must be wrong. By God’s blessing, one has got two eyes to look with; also a mind capable of knowing, of believing: that is all the creed I will at this time insist on. 14

What, then, does the religious press of the time say about Carlyle’s idea of the divine pervading the universe?

In “Carlyle’s Works” (1840), Sewell feels “compelled to describe” Carlyle’s writings as “a new profession of Pantheism”.15 And in “Carlyle’s Heroes and Hero-Worship” (1843), Thomson accuses Carlyle of “infidelity that dares not speak out”.16 In “Life of John Sterling” (1852), Tulloch states: “Literature has again in him [Carlyle], through a curious process of religious baptism, culminated in a mere species of philosophic Paganism.”17 And in “Carlyle’s Frederick the Great” (1859), Gilfillan says: “His [Carlyle’s] god, if a god he has at all, is not the Father, is not Love; he is a grim, eyeless, inexorable Fate.”18

In Carlyle criticism, however, it is commonly said that Carlyle believed in “a single personal God, at once immanent (active) in the created world and transcendent (separate) from it”, 19 and that this theistic belief lies at the heart of Carlyle’s philosophy. 20 Thus, speaking of the

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14. TC to J. Sterling, 4 June 1835 (8: 137). Cf. F 3: 43–44. Cf. also TC to T. S. Spedding, “9 Nov. 1840”, 12: 317 ("That he the said Carlyle is not, and never was, in use to make much of Pantheism or indeed of any other theism or ism now or lately current in the world"). Recalling “a debate” that took place in his “hearing”, Carlyle writes in Sterling (1851): “. . . ‘It is mere Pantheism, that!’ [Sterling exclaimed].—‘And suppose it were Pot-theism?’ cried the other: ‘If the thing is true!’— Sterling did look hurt at such flippant heterodoxy, for a moment. The soul of his own creed, in those days, was far other than this indifference to Pot or Pan in such departments of inquiry” (JS, “Bayswater”: 124, par. 12).

15. William Sewell, “Carlyle’s Works”, Quarterly Review (London and New York), 66 (Sept. 1840), in Seigel: 141. For Sewell (1804–74), “divine, friend of John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward B. Pusey”, cf. ibid. Cf. TC to T. S. Spedding, “9 Nov. 1840”, 12: 317 (“Carlyle, by way of ‘brief portable commentary’ on Sewell and the Quarterly Review, deposes: [par.] 1. That he the said Carlyle is not, and never was, in use to make much of Pantheism or indeed of any other theism or ism now or lately current in the world”). Recalling “a debate” that took place in his “hearing”, Carlyle writes in Sterling (1851): “. . . ‘It is mere Pantheism, that!’ [Sterling exclaimed].—‘And suppose it were Pot-theism?’ cried the other: ‘If the thing is true!’— Sterling did look hurt at such flippant heterodoxy, for a moment. The soul of his own creed, in those days, was far other than this indifference to Pot or Pan in such departments of inquiry” (JS, “Bayswater”: 124, par. 12).


“three schools of doctrine” “distinguished by the names of Newman, Coleridge, and Carlyle”, Martineau observes, in “Personal Influences on Our Present Theology” (1856), that “one thought will be found secreted at the heart of all [three schools]—the perennial Indwelling of God in Man and in the Universe”. Froude, on his part, writes in his biography of Carlyle: “. . . God to him [Carlyle] was the fact of facts. He looked on this whole system of visible or spiritual phenomena as a manifestation of the will of God in constant forces, forces not mechanical but dynamic, interpenetrating and controlling all existing things . . .” And Wellek, in Immanuel Kant in England (1931): “Carlyle is simply in the very depth of his being a Christian, and not only a Christian, but also a Puritan, who seeks to reconcile his faith by new formulas to a new time. . . . For a short period he almost succumbed to the atmosphere of the ‘Enlightenment’. Then, he returned to the faith of his fathers . . . a striking illustration of the survival of older forms of thought, of deeper cultural strata in the lower classes of society and the outlying provinces.” In Sartor Called Resartus (1965), Tennyson states that, for Carlyle, “just as clothing covers the body, which in turn houses the soul, so the visible world covers an invisible one, which has as its animating spirit the mind of God”. And in the


Strouse Edition of *Sartor* (2000), Tarr observes: “...the role that Calvinism plays in *Sartor Resartus* is difficult to overstate. Carlyle’s Burgher upbringing and his attempts to reconcile himself to it comprise the foundations of his work. The daunting presence of God and Kirk was an everyday reality to Carlyle’s mother and father, sisters and brothers... Carlyle revered the belief while holding the institution suspect.”

Other critics, however, give a very different explanation of Carlyle’s idea of the divine. Thus, in *Beyond the Tragic Vision* (1962), Peckham writes of Carlyle’s “notion of the divine”:

> The only order we can know [according to Carlyle] is the order we create by work... Duty is infinite not because man has a conscience but because the mind must... engage with reality in order to survive. Nevertheless, from his own remote Presbyterian background... he keeps the notion of the divine... all men—and this is why he breaks with Christianity and cannot return to it—are sacred... All men, not just Christ, are incarnations of divinity... Order and meaning and value are solely in the power of the self... which unconsciously is God. The world is valueless chaos.

And in *Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern* (1968), LaValley, also, states that, according to Carlyle, labour is the only “meaningful process behind the universe” and “the religious basis behind all existence”. It is “man the labourer who becomes the new God” and, being “his own redeemer”, “replaces Christ as redeemer”. According to LaValley, Carlyle’s “new Heaven” is “completely of this world”, the order of this world being “the final religious order”. “Not the fullness of God”, therefore, “but the fullness of man is the goal of the new religious movement”.

How are we to know what Carlyle’s idea of the divine pervading the universe, really was?

In the concluding chapter of Book One of *Sartor*, it is made clear that “no Life-Philosophy (*Lebensphilosophie*), such as this of Clothes pretends to be... can attain its significance... ‘till the Author’s View of the World (*Weltansicht*), and how he actively and passively came by such a view, are clear: in short till a Biography of him has been philosophico-poetically written and philosophico-poetically read’.” For Teufelsdröckh’s ‘View of the World (*Weltansicht*)’, therefore, and for the way in which ‘he actively and passively came by such a view’, we have to turn our attention to the ‘Biography of him’ in Book Two of *Sartor*. From that ‘Biography’,

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28. Ibid.: 212, 216.

29. Ibid.: 211, 212.

30. Ibid.: 213.

31. *SR*, “Prospective”: 59, par. 13. Cf. also *SR*, “Editorial Difficulties”: 6–8, pars. 2–5, and “The World of Clothes”: 40–41, par. 2. See below, Ch. IX.
it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s ‘View of the World (Weltansicht)’ is the outcome of the process of conversion\textsuperscript{32} described in the final chapters of Book Two of \textit{Sartor}.\textsuperscript{33}

For Carlyle’s ‘View of the World’, or \textit{Weltanschauung}, too, and for the way in which he ‘actively and passively came by such a view’, we have to turn our attention to his biography. From that biography, too, it is clear that Carlyle’s ‘View of the World’, or \textit{Weltanschauung}, is the outcome of a process of conversion, lasting over four years, and occurring in 1821–1825.\textsuperscript{34}

It has never been clear, however, how the process of Carlyle’s/Teufelsdröckh’s conversion has to be understood. Thus, in “The Pattern of Conversion in \textit{Sartor Resartus}” (1971), Reed complains that “there seems to be no clear Christian pattern behind Teufelsdröckh’s conversion”, and that, if “Christian tradition and doctrine fail to provide a model for the spiritual dynamics of conversion in \textit{Sartor}, more psychological accounts of religious experience are not much more helpful”.\textsuperscript{35}

In Carlyle research, the need remains for a model that will help us to determine how the process of Carlyle’s/Teufelsdröckh’s conversion has to be understood. We shall here turn our attention, therefore, to the description of the process of individuation in Jungian psychology.

Speaking of the process of individuation as being “in itself a natural process”, distinct from “individuation worked on and brought to consciousness by way of analysis”,\textsuperscript{36} von Franz says in “Individuation and Social Relationship in Jungian Psychology” (1997):

\ldots the process of individuation is not only brought about by Jungian analysis, but is in itself a natural process, which can be carried to a fruitful conclusion by every individual who works on himself or herself with honesty and perseverance. Jung’s achievement consists primarily in having brought this process into consciousness and in having found out how it is possible to support it. Fundamentally, it matters little what this process is called as long as one experiences it consciously.\textsuperscript{37}

The description, in analytical psychology, of the natural process of individuation consciously realized, will here be used as the model, therefore, that will help us to determine how the process of Carlyle’s/Teufelsdröckh’s conversion has to be understood and how Carlyle’s/Teufelsdröckh’s \textit{Weltanschauung} has to be defined.

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. \textit{SR}, “Pause”: 157–58, par. 1 (“Thus have we . . . followed Teufelsdröckh through the various successive states and stages of Growth, Entanglement, Unbelief, and almost Reprobation, into a certain clearer state of what he himself seems to consider as Conversion”). See also below, Ch. IX.

\textsuperscript{33} See below, Ch. IX.

\textsuperscript{34} See below, Ch. IV. See also below, Ch. II.


\textsuperscript{36} Andrew Samuels, \textit{Jung and the Post-Jungians} (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984): 111. See also below, Ch. IV.

CHAPTER I
EARLY PART OF CARLYLE’S LIFE, 1795–1821

Preliminary
Having been asked by Johann H. Künzel, on 11 June 1838, to help him compose “a short but correct biographical sketch for a new German Cyclopaedia edited by F. A. Brockhaus Esq. at Leipzig as sequel to the renown[e]d ‘Conversations-Lexicon’ ”, which “sequel” would be called “Conversations Lexicon der Gegenwart [Encyclopedia of the Modern World]”, Carlyle sent him the following, short, “autobiographical note”:

Born 4th December 1795 in the village of Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland; of Peasant parents in tolerable circumstances, and distinguished, both of them, for faculty and worth. Educated at Edinburgh University, with a view first to the church, but quitted that; then to the Law, but quitted that also: quitted several things; came at last to Literature. Had learned German (a very rare language in England then) about 1820, from a comrade who had been to Göttingen. Published &c &c. Thanks Goethe and certain other Germans always for much. Has nearly quitted all study of German these seven years, and altogether quitted all Verbreitung [dissemination] of it, or speech about it,—seeing that go on fast enough without him. Has written two Books: Sartor Resartus; and The French Revolution;—which two let any one that wants to know him see.

In this survey of the earlier part of Carlyle’s life, special attention will be given to Carlyle’s friendship with Margaret Gordon in 1818–1820, and to his admiration for Goethe, whom he began to read in 1819.

Early Education, ca. 1801–1809
Carlyle received his early education at “Tom Donaldson’s School” in Ecclefechan, at Hoddam School (ca. 1802–1806), which stood “at the ‘Cross-roads’, about midway between Ecclefechan and Hoddam Castle”, and at Annan Academy (1806–1809).

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1. J. H. Künzel to TC, 11 June 1838 (10: 92, n.1).
2. Autobiographical Note (10: 93. D.E.’s brackets). Cf. TC to J. H. Künzel, “ca. 12 June 1838” (10: 92) and postscript of 13 June in TC to MAC, 12 June 1838 (10: 98). Dates supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks; dates within single quotation marks are mine and accounted for in Appendix I.
7. Cf. Reminiscences, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (1887; rpt., slightly rev. and enl., Everyman’s University Library, 2 vols. in 1, London: Dent, 1972): 29–30 and 179–80. Hereafter referred to as R. Cf. also TR: 30, 31–32 ("I did get to read Latin & French with fluency . . . some geometry, algebra (arithmetic) thoroughly well), vague outlines of geography &c I did learn;—all the Books I could get were also devoured").
**Edinburgh University, 1809–1814**

In November 1809, at the age of thirteen, Carlyle entered Edinburgh University, where, as Neff puts it, he received “a superior form of secondary education”, supplemented by his borrowing from the University library “many important works in eighteenth-century and contemporary philosophy, history, and belles-lettres”.

In *A Diary*, Allingham reports Carlyle as saying, in 1877, of his early doubts about Christianity and of what Goethe had meant to him:

> With Carlyle—Christianity—age fifteen, spoke to his mother—her horror. ‘Did God Almighty come down and make wheelbarrows in a shop?’ She lay awake at night for hours praying and weeping bitterly.
> ‘This went on about ten years. Goethe drove me out of it, taught me that the true things in Christianity survived and were eternally true; pointed out to me the real nature of life and things—not that he did this directly; but incidentally, and let me see it rather than told me. This gave me peace and great satisfaction.’

In 1813, Carlyle had completed his arts curriculum. In the next academic year, he followed a theological course in Divinity Hall.

**Annan, 1814–1816**

In his Notes to Althaus, Carlyle writes that the theological course “could be prosecuted, or kept open, by appearing annually, putting down your name, with some trifling fee, in the Register, and then going your ways”. This was done by Carlyle, who in June 1814 leaves Edinburgh University to begin teaching at Annan Academy.

1. **Trial Sermons**

In December 1814 and 1815, he preaches his first trial sermons, which, in *Reminiscences*, he recalls as follows:

> About Christmas time, 1815, I had gone with great pleasure to see Edinburgh again, and read in Divinity Hall a Latin Discourse ("Exegesis[" they call it there) on the question, “Nam detur Religio naturalis?” It was the second, and proved to be the last, of my performances on that theatre; my first, an English Sermon on the words, “Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now,” etc., a very weak and flowery sentimental Piece, had been achieved in 1814, prior to or few months after my leaving for Annan. Piece second too, I suppose, was weak enough; but I still remember the kind of innocent satisfaction I had in turning it into Latin in my solitude;

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10. Ibid.: 28.
11. In *A Diary*, Allingham is quoted as writing in 1870: “Mary [Carlyle’s niece] tells me she said to her Uncle—‘People say Mr. Allingham is to be your Boswell,’ and he replied, ‘Well, let him try it. He’s very accurate’” (Allingham: 202).
12. Entry for 12 Jan. 1877 in Allingham: 253. In 1875, Allingham records Carlyle as commenting on “Newman’s ‘Primitive Christianity’ (article in *Fraser*): ‘I could not read it. I know Primitive Christianity was some sort of high and holy enthusiasm. I do not in the least believe that God came down upon earth and was a joiner and made chairs and hog-troughs ...’ (Entry for 4 Aug. 1875 in Allingham: 238). In run-on quotations of passages which, in Allingham’s *A Diary*, are placed between single quotation marks, no other quotation marks have been added.
15. Cf. TC to T. Murray, 18 “June” 1814 (1: 14) and “1 July” 1814 (1: 16).
and my slight and momentary (by no means deep or sincere) sense of pleasure in the bits of “compliments” and flimsy “approbations,” from comrades and Professors on both these occasions. 16

2. ‘reflections upon death’
In 1878, Carlyle told Allingham that on the occasion of his uncle Tom’s death at Main hill17 in June 1816,18 he ‘first began to make reflections upon death’. To Allingham’s question: ‘Had you any kind of orthodox belief in your mind at that time?’, he replied: ‘No, I had given all that up some time before, but I said nothing about it one way or another. I had asked my mother one day how it was known that Solomon’s Song was symbolical, representing Christ and the Church, and she showed such boundless horror at my question that I resolved on silence thenceforth.’19

Kirkcaldy, 1816–1818
1. Quitting Theology
On 25 November 1816,20 Carlyle, having left Annan Academy, begins teaching in Kirkcaldy. In March 1817,21 he breaks off his connection with Divinity Hall, which in his Notes to Althaus he describes as follows:

In me it [i.e., a theological career] never was in any favour; tho’ my Parents silently much wished it, as I knew well. . . . I remember yet being on the street in Argyll Square, Edinburgh (probably in 1817, & come over from Kirkcaldy), with some intent, the languidest possible, still to put down my name & fee: the Official person, when I rang, was not at home;—and my instant feeling was, “Very good, then, very good; let this be finis in the matter,”—and it neatly was.22

Further down in the same Notes, he makes clear that he was “never once!”23 tempted again to enter the ministry. On Althaus’s remark that the formulas (“Formelwesen”) of the Church were incompatible with “a freedom-loving mind like Carlyle’s”,24 the latter comments: “write some other word;—’formelwesen’ was not the pinching point, had there but been the preliminary of belief forthcoming. No Church, or speaking Entity whatever, can do without ‘formulas’; but it must believe them first, if it would be honest!”25

2. Reading “Madm de Staël’s Germany”
By 25 September 1817, Carlyle is reading “Madm de Staël’s Germany”. Of this book making him “desire to know German”, and of the difficulty “to get any means of learning it”, Carlyle is reported as saying to A. P. Stanley “probably after November 1876”:

‘The first book that made me desire to know German was Madame de Stael’s “Allemagne”. She did not make it clear what it was that she thought so important in Germany, but she made me feel that there had been something which would solve all the questions with which I was tormented. It was very difficult to get any means of learning it. There was a Polish Jew who had taught that very distinguished man Edward Irving, but I could not get it from him. At last there was an old fellow-student of mine who agreed that we should make an exchange. He would teach me German and I would teach him French; and in that way I learned the pronunciation.’

3. Gibbon
In Irving’s library at Kirkcaldy, Carlyle had at his disposal Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. By 19 November 1817, he had “read but a volume of Gibbon”, but by 16 February 1818 he had toiled through the “massy tomes with exemplary patience”. Of his appreciation of Gibbon, Carlyle writes in *Reminiscences*:

Irving’s Library was of great use to me: Gibbon, Hume, etc. etc. etc. Gibbon, in particular, I recollect to have read at the rate of a volume a day (twelve volumes in all) . . . It was of all the books perhaps the most impressive on me in my then stage of investigation and state of mind. I by no means completely admired Gibbon, perhaps not more than I now do; but his winged sarcasms, so quiet, and yet so conclusively transpiercing, and killing dead, were often admirable potent and illuminative to me . . .

And in *A Diary*, Allingham reports Carlyle as saying in 1874: ‘I studied the *Evidences of Christianity* for several years, with the greatest desire to be convinced, but in vain. I read Gibbon, and then first clearly saw that Christianity was not true. Then came the most trying time of my life. I should either have gone mad or made an end of myself had I not fallen in with some very superior minds.’

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27. TR: 13.
28. Ibid. Cf. ibid.: 42–44, and see below.
32. Entry for 24 May 1874 in Allingham: 232.
4. Margaret Gordon

Some time before his vacation from 29 July to circa 1 September 1818, Carlyle made acquaintance with Margaret Gordon, of which he says in Reminiscences: “. . . some acquaintance;—and it might easily have been more, had she, and her Aunt [Mrs. Usher], and our economic and other circumstances liked! She was of the fair-complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave, witty and comely type, and had a good deal of gracefulness, intelligence and other talent.”

Of the overwhelming impression Margaret Gordon had made on him, Carlyle—who had last heard of her circa 1 July 1820—writes to William Graham on 15 September 1820: “I hear not of Margaret, and know not if I ever shall. Such beings are shadows, radiant shadows, that cross our path in this dark voyage; we gaze on them with rapture for a moment; and pass away—borne onward by the tide of Fate, never to behold them, never more.”

Carlyle’s encounter with Margaret Gordon—whose letters to him of 4 and 28 June 1820 will be looked at below—may be compared to what, in Jungian psychology, is called the encounter with the outward form of the anima, in which a real woman becomes the carrier of the projection of the anima.

Explaining the term “projection”, Hannah writes in Jung (1976):

Projection is a term that . . . is commonly misunderstood. People are always inclined to think that we project actively, even consciously. Nothing could be farther from the truth, as the term is used in Jungian psychology. Things we do not see in ourselves project themselves wherever they can find a suitable hook, i.e., a certain resemblance between the person or thing into which they project themselves and the inner content that has not yet been seen.

In this connection, Hannah notes that the “numinous and fascinating figure of the inner anima” “frequently projects herself into a real woman and . . . this projection endows that

33. Carlyle left Kirkcaldy circa 22 November 1818 (see below) and “had only known her [Margaret Gordon] for a few months” (R: 205). In “Edward Irving”, Carlyle writes: “By far the cleverest and brightest [of the ‘young ladies’ in Kirkcaldy], . . . and Ex-pupil of Irving’s, and genealogically and otherwise (being poorish, proud, and well-bred) rather a kind of alien in the place, I did at last make acquaintance with [at Irving’s first, I think, though she rarely came thither]; . . . Irving too, it was sometimes thought, found her very interesting, could the Miss-Martin bonds have allowed, which they never would” (ibid.). At the time, Irving was engaged to Isabella Martin, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. John Martin, minister of Kirkcaldy. Cf. Marrs: 15 and CL 2: 8, n. 2.
35. See below.
36. TC to W. Graham, 15 Sept. 1820 (I: 276). Cf. ibid.: 274, n. and 276, n. 3.
39. Ibid.: 61. For Jung’s discovery of “the figure of the anima in men”, cf. ibid.: 122–25.
woman with the whole numinous quality of the unconscious—yes, she even has the fascination of a goddess.”

5. First Attempt at Publishing

Of Irving’s intention not to “renew his engagements”, Carlyle writes to Johnston on 30 April 1818: “T’s [i.e., Irving’s] time here will expire in five months, and it does not seem probable that he will renew his engagements. At present he is very fond of preaching and the bible-society. He sometimes speaks of going to Edinr to live by private teaching—and devote his time to pulpit-eloquence . . .” On 29 July 1818, Carlyle went on vacation and made his “second Tour with Irving . . . a mere walk homeward through the Peebles-Moffat moor country”. Circa 1 September 1818, he was back in Kirkcaldy. Of his own “prospects” there, he writes to his father on 2 September 1818:

My prospects in this place are far from brilliant at present. About a month before I went away, a body had established himself in my neighbourhood & taken up a school, but could make next to nothing of it. During the vacation however he seems to have succeeded in getting most of my scholars—and today I mustered only 12. This will never do. The people’s rage for novelty is the cause of it, I suppose, for the poor creature is very ignorant, & very much given to drink. I make no doubt I could reestablish the school, but the fact is I am very much tired of the trade, and very anxious to find some other way of making my bread, and this is as good a time for trying it as another. Irving is going away too, and I shall have no associate in the place at all.

The “second Tour with Irving” resulted in Carlyle’s “first attempt” at publishing, consisting in his forwarding “from Kirkcaldy . . . to some Magazine Editor in Edinburgh” an article “of descriptive Tourist kind, after a real Tour by Yarrow Country into Annandale”, i.e., after the “walk homeward through the Peebles-Moffat moor country”. The article, however, was not published and is now lost.

Of his journeys through “the Peebles-Moffat moor country” “in subsequent years”, Carlyle writes in Reminiscences: “I repeatedly walked through that country, up to Edinburgh and down, by myself, in subsequent years:—and nowhere remember such affectionately sad, and thoughtful, and in fact interesting and salutary journeys.”

In connection with the impact Nature could have on him, Sartor Resartus may here be quoted too. Speaking of Teufelsdröckh’s “demeanour” after the Blumine episode, the Editor wonders: “Does Teufelsdröckh . . . fly first, in this extremity, towards his native Entepfuhl; but reflecting that there no help awaits him, take only one wistful look from the distance, and

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41. TC to J. Johnston, 30 Apr. 1818 (1: 125).
42. Cf. TC to T. Murray, 28 July 1818 (1: 135).
43. R: 203.
45. Ibid.: 140–41.
46. R: 316.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.: 317.
49. Cf. ibid.
50. R: 203.
then wend elsewhither?” The Editor goes on to note: “Little happier seems to be his next flight: into the wilds of Nature; as if in her mother-bosom he would seek healing.” Arrived aloft on ‘a huge mountain mass’, during this flight “into the wilds of Nature”, Teufelsdröckh comes to experience Nature as ‘his Mother and divine’:

‘Arrived aloft, he [the Wanderer] finds himself again lifted into the evening sunset light; and cannot but pause, and gaze round him, some moments there. An upland irregular expanse of wold, where valleys in complex branchings are suddenly or slowly arranging their descent towards every quarter of the sky. The mountain-ranges are beneath your feet, and folded together: only the loftier summits look down here and there as on a second plain; lakes also lie clear and earnest in their solitude. No trace of man now visible; unless indeed it were he who fashioned that little visible link of Highway, here, as would seem, scaling the inaccessible, to unite Province with Province. But sun-wards, lo you! how it towers sheer up, a world of Mountains, the diadem and centre of the mountain region! A hundred and a hundred savage peaks, in the last light of Day; all glowing, of gold and amethyst, like giant spirits of the wilderness; there in their silence, in their solitude, even as on the night when Noah’s Deluge first dried! Beautiful, nay solemn, was the sudden aspect to our Wanderer. He gazed over those stupendous masses with wonder, almost with longing desire; never till this hour had he known Nature, that she was One, that she was his Mother and divine. And as the ruddy glow was fading into clearness in the sky, and the Sun had now departed, a murmur of Eternity and Immensity, of Death and of Life, stole through his soul; and he felt as if Death and Life were one, as if the Spirit of the Earth had its throne in that splendour, and his own spirit were therewith holding communion.’

Commenting on civilized man’s “warm love for Mother Nature”, Jung says in *Symbols of Transformation* (1911–12/1952):

The . . . blending . . . of the sensitive, civilized man with nature is, looked at retrospectively, a rebrending with the mother, who was our first object, with whom we were truly and wholly one. She was our first experience of an outside and at the same time of an inside: from that interior world there emerged an image, apparently a reflection of the external mother-image, yet older, more original and more imperishable than this—a mother who changed back into a Kore, into an eternally youthful figure. This is the anima, the personification of the collective unconscious.

6. Resignation

On 23 October 1818, Carlyle handed in his resignation, which was accepted by “the Magistrates” of the town round the time when Irving, on 31 October, left Kirkcaldy for Edinburgh, whither Carlyle would follow him circa 22 November.

51. SR, “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”: 121, par. 4.
52. Ibid., par. 5.
55. Cf. TC to R. Mitchell, 6 Nov. 1818 (1: 143).
56. Cf. ibid.: 141.
57. Cf. ibid.: 142.
58. Cf. TC to R. Mitchell, 27 Nov. 1818 (1: 149, 150) and TC to MAC, 17 Dec. 1818 (1: 152). For Irving, cf. also TC to J. Johnston, 8 Jan. 1819 (1: 159); TC to AC, 29 Mar. 1819 (1: 173) and TC to J. Fergusson, 25 Sept. 1819 (1: 197).
59. On 6 November 1818, Carlyle writes to Robert Mitchell: “About a week ago, I received a letter from the Magistrates of this burgh (which letter I even now use as a blot-sheet), accepting my ‘resignation of the Teacher of the Grammar school,’ as their phrase goes: and in a fortnight, I shall quit my present situation” (1: 141). And on 27 November 1818, in reply to Mitchell’s letter of 20 November: “It [‘your letter’] found me on the eve of my departure from Kirkcaldy” (1: 147). Cf. also ibid.: 148 and TR: 50.
Edinburgh, 1818–1819

1. Afflictions

Having left Kirkcaldy for Edinburgh circa 22 November 1818, Carlyle “was beginning now, in addition to the problem of living which he had to solve, to learn what affliction meant. He was attacked with dyspepsia, which never wholly left him, and in these early years soon assumed its most torturing form, like ‘a rat gnawing at the pit of his stomach’.” For another reason, too, he was extremely miserable:

. . . to poverty and dyspepsia there had been added the struggle which is always hardest in the noblest minds, which Job had known, and David, and Solomon, and Aeschylus, and Shakespeare, and Goethe. Where are the tokens of His [God’s] presence? . . . Is there, in this universe of things, any moral Providence at all? or is it the product of some force of the nature of which we can know nothing save only that ‘one event comes alike to all, to the good and to the evil, and that there is no difference’? . . . The importunacy of the overwhelming problem forbade him to settle himself either to law or any other business till he had wrestled down the misgivings which had grappled with him.

2. Mineralogy

On his return to Edinburgh, Carlyle enrolled in the class of mineralogy and by 27 November 1818 he has “heard Proffir Jameson deliver two lectures”.

3. With Irving in Fife

Of the way in which he had spent “the Christmas holidays”, Carlyle writes to Johnston on 8 January 1819: “I forgot to say . . . that I spent, along with Irving, the Christmas holidays in Fife. They were the happiest, for many reasons which I cannot at this time explain, that for a long space have marked the tenor of my life—.” From this statement, it may no doubt be inferred that, during these holidays, Carlyle had seen Margaret Gordon again.

4. Learning German

Circa 24 January 1819, Carlyle began to learn German with the help of Jardine. Recalling the immediate impulse to do so, he writes to Goethe on 3 November 1829: “I still remember that it was the desire to read Werner’s Mineralogical doctrines in the original, that first set me on studying German; where truly I found a mine, far different from any of the Freyberg ones!”

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60. Cf. above.
61. F 1: 59. On 27 Nov. 1818, Carlyle writes to Robert Mitchell: “. . . for some days I have enjoyed very poor health, which two ounces of sulphate of magnesia that I swallowed some hours ago, have not yet tended to diminish” (1: 148). D.E. comments on this sentence: “Possibly the beginning of Carlyle’s lifelong stomach ailment, which he afterward dated from 1818” (1: 148, n. 2). According to the Notes to Althaus, dyspepsia had already set in while he was living in Kirkcaldy. Speaking of the time of his departure from Kirkcaldy, Carlyle writes: “. . . dyspepsia already had me secretly by the throat . . .” (TR: 50).
63. TC to R. Mitchell, 27 Nov. 1818 (1: 149).
64. TC to J. Johnston, 8 Jan. 1819 (1: 159), postscript.
65. For Irving and Margaret Gordon, cf. R: 205–06. See also above.
5. In Kirkcaldy Again
In early February, a few weeks after the Christmas holidays spent with Irving in Fife, Carlyle appears to have called on Margaret Gordon again and to have left his umbrella behind, as is clear from the following. Referring to a letter, dated 16 February 1819,69 from Mr. William Swan of Kirkcaldy, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on Tuesday, 23 February 1819: “Last week I received an umbrella which I had left in Fife, and a kind letter from Mr Swan. If ever I come to any thing, that is one person, whom I shall remember.”70 In his biography of Carlyle, Wilson’s comment on this reads:

A few weeks later he seems to have been in Kirkcaldy again, and carrying an umbrella, which was then and there an approximation to dandyism. He had a curious prejudice all his life against umbrellas. Was Mrs. Usher partial to them? We are left guessing, but know that one of the least absent-minded young men left his umbrella behind him in Kirkcaldy. The Provost recognised it, retrieved it and sent it to its owner . . .71

It may well be, of course, that an unpleasantness,72 rather than absent-mindedness, made Carlyle forget his umbrella, and that Mrs. Usher, foreseeing that another visit on the part of Carlyle was not to be expected in the near future, entrusted the article to Mr. Swan, whom she knew to be on friendly terms with Carlyle.73

6. Translating Berzelius
Between circa 17 February and 29 March 1819, Carlyle translates from the French J. Berzelius’s “Examination of Some Compounds Which Depend upon Very Weak Affinities”,74 to which he adds explanatory footnotes of his own.75

Mainhill, 1819
After attending Professor Robert Jameson’s lectures on mineralogy, which terminated on 14 April 1819,76 Carlyle was absent from Edinburgh for about 6 months, from early May to 10 November 1819.77 Of this long vacation, spent with his family in Mainhill, Froude writes: “. . . Mainhill was never a less happy home to him than it proved this summer. He could not conceal, perhaps he did not try to conceal, the condition of his mind; and to his family, to whom the truth of their creed was no more a matter of doubt than the presence of the sun in the sky, he must have seemed as if ’possessed’.”78

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69. Cf. CL 1: 169, n. 9. For William Swan, who was “provost from 1814 to 1815, 1820 to 1821, 1830 to 1831” (Marrs: 15), cf. CL 1: 143, n. 5.
70. TC to AC, 23 Feb. 1819 (1: 169).
71. W 1: 161.
72. See below.
73. Cf. CL 1: 143, n. 5.
74. Cf. TC to AC, 23 Feb. 1819 (1: 168) and 29 Mar. 1819 (1: 172).
76. Cf. TC to T. Murray, 14 Apr. 1819 (1: 177).
77. Cf. TC to T. Murray, 7 June 1819 (1: 182); TC to JAC, 11 Nov. 1819 (1: 205) and TC to R. Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1819 (1: 207).
78. F 1: 68.
At Mainhill, he continued to study German with the help of Jardine, and by 25 September 1819, he is “reading Goethe”.

**Edinburgh, 1819–1820**

1. Travelling to Fife
On 10 November 1819, feeling “Pretty strong in body & capable . . . of vigorous effort”, Carlyle was back in Edinburgh. Circa 13 November 1819, he was “travelling to Fife”, where he must have seen Margaret Gordon again.

2. Law
On 17 November 1819, Carlyle, who by 6 November 1818 had been thinking “of attempting to become an advocate”, enrolled “in the class of Scots law”.

3. Second Attempt at Publishing
Between circa 22 December 1819 and 24 January 1820, Carlyle wrote a review-article in which he “was reviewing, not Gautier’s book, presumably, but Pictet’s review” of Alfred Gautier’s *Essai historique sur le problème des trois corps* (Paris, 1817). This was his second attempt at publishing. Carlyle’s review-article, however, was not published and is now lost.

4. Reading Goethe
On 25 January 1820 and during the months that followed, Carlyle borrows from the Edinburgh University Library “Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von). Werke. 20 Bde. 8° Stuttgart. 1815–19. Vols. 1, 2, 6, 3 (Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre), 5, 9 (Faust)”, i.e.:


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79. Cf. TC to R. Mitchell, 31 May 1819 (1: 178); TC to T. Murray, 7 June 1819 (1: 182); TC to R. Mitchell, 14 July 1819 (1: 190) and TC to J. Fergusson, 25 Aug. 1819 (1: 193).
80. TC to J. Fergusson, 25 Sept. 1819 (1: 196).
81. TC to JAC, 11 Nov. 1819 (1: 205).
82. TC to R. Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1819 (1: 208).
83. See below.
85. On 18 November 1819, Carlyle writes to Robert Mitchell: “Yesternight I enrolled in the class of Scots law. The Professor Dr Hume, a nephew of the philosopher . . . speaks in a voice scarce audible; and his thinking has yet to show all its points of similarity with the penetrating genius of his uncle” (1: 208).
86. Cf. TC to AC, 29 Dec. 1819 (1: 216) and 26 Jan. 1820 (1: 222–23).
In this connection, it may be noted that, during the session of 1819–1820, volume 4, i.e., “Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre. Fünftes–Achtes Buch. 1816. 534 S.,” is not said to have been borrowed and that Carlyle does not appear to have read Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship fully until after his return to Edinburgh on 21 November 1820.

5. Encyclopaedia Articles

After attending Hume’s “Lectures on Scots Law”, which terminated “a few days” after 29 March 1820, Carlyle gave up his law studies. By 30 March 1820, he has written the encyclopaedia articles “Montesquieu”, “Lady M. W. Montagu”, “Montaigne”, “Dr. John Moore” and “Sir John Moore”. Together with “Montfaucon” and “Montucla”, these articles were published in Brewster’s Edinburgh Encyclopaedia in October 1820.

Airdrie and Glasgow, 1820

1. Airdrie

In 1820, Carlyle was absent from Edinburgh for about 7 months, from 22 April to 21 November. On Wednesday, 19 April 1820, he writes to Alexander Carlyle concerning his travelling schedule: “. . . my project is this. I have promised to go & see Irving at Glasgow before my return [to Mainhill]; I design to leave this smoky & most dusty town upon Saturday first—the same night & next day I shall likely spend with Nicol at Airdrie, and on Monday I shall be

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91. Ibid.
93. See below. Cf. also TR: 45, n. 56, where Finlayson is not taken into account.
95. Cf. TC to AC, 1 Mar. 1820 (1: 229); TC to R. Mitchell, 18 Mar. 1820 (1: 232) and TC to AC, 29 Mar. 1820 (1: 235, 236).
98. Cf. MOS: 34–38 and 293–97 respectively.
100. Cf. TC to AC, 19 Apr. 1820 (1: 241); TC to M. Allen, 19 May 1820 (1: 250) and TC to AC, 23 Nov. 1820 (1: 287).
with Ned [i.e., Edward Irving in Glasgow].”  

Carlyle appears to have known Nicol of Airdrie “at Glen’s” in Annan, where Carlyle lodged during his “second year there” (1815–1816) “as Teacher of Mathematics”.

2. Glasgow

Carlyle’s Glasgow visit lasted “ten days”, i.e., probably, from Monday, 24 April, to Thursday, 4 May 1820. According to Froude, “the chief interest in the Glasgow visit lies less in itself than in what followed it—a conversation between two young, then unknown men, strolling alone together over a Scotch moor, seemingly the most trifling of incidents, a mere feather floating before the wind, yet, like the feather, marking the direction of the invisible tendency of human thought.” The conversation occurred when Carlyle and Irving were on the point of taking leave of each other, and is recorded thus in the reminiscence “Edward Irving”, written in September 1866–2 January 1867:

We sauntered slowly into the Glasgow-Muirkirk highway . . . we leant our backs to a dry stone fence . . . and looking into the western radiance, continued in talk yet a while, loth both of us to go. It was here, just as the sun was sinking, [Irving] actually drew from me by degrees, in the softest manner, the confession that I did not think as he of Christian Religion, and that it was vain for me to expect I ever could or should. This, if this were so, he had pre-engaged to take well of me,—like an elder brother, if I would be frank with him;—and right loyally he did so, and to the end of his life we needed no concealments on that head; which was really a step gained.  

Mainhill, 1820

1. Hansteen and Mohs

Between circa 7 and 18 May 1820, Carlyle writes the first half of his review-article “Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth”, and between 18 May and 3 June 1820, he works on the first half of his translation “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy”.

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101. TC to AC, 19 Apr. 1820 (1: 241). For a “short interview” between Carlyle and Margaret Gordon at Airdrie circa Sunday, 23 April 1820, see below.
102. Cf. JAC to TC, 20 June 1823: “You may have heard that Nicol of Airdrey died a few days ago of a consumption, I suppose you knew him at Glen’s . . .” (2: 386, n. 7).
104. TC to Matthew Allen, 19 May 1820 (1: 250).
105. See above.
107. TC to AC, 19 Apr. 1820 (1: 246) and TC to M. Allen, 19 May 1820 (1: 251).
110. Cf. TC to D. Brewster, 18 May 1820 (7: 368–69) and TC to E. Irving, 3 June 1820 (1: 253, 254).
111. With respect to Carlyle’s statement of 19 April 1820 to the effect that he has “two pretty long articles to translate” (TC to AC, 19 Apr. 1820, 1: 240), D.E., or rather Marrs (cf. App. I, 3), is careful to point out that the “Outlines” translation was “the only one he would be at work on until 1821–22” (ibid., n. 2). It should be noted, however, that the first half of this translation was published in two instalments of 22 and 25 pages respectively (cf. Dyer: 194). When he says that he has “two pretty long articles to translate”, Carlyle, therefore, appears to have these two instalments in mind. For “56–57” (CL 1: 240, n. 2), read “56–67” (cf. Dyer: 194). See below, App. VIII, 2.
2. Goethe’s Faust
By 19 May 1820, Carlyle is reading Faust I,\textsuperscript{113} which in a letter to Goethe dated ‘22’ June 1824, he recalls as follows: “Four years ago when I read your Faust among the mountains of my native Scotland, I could not but fancy I might one day see you, and pour out before you, as before a father, the woes and wanderings of a heart whose mysteries you seemed so thoroughly to comprehend and could so beautifully represent.”\textsuperscript{114} Of Goethe’s Faust, and of his admiration for Goethe, Carlyle writes to Irving on 3 June 1820:

With respect to Goethe’s Faust—if I were at your side you should hear of nothing else for many hours; and sorry am I that your brows will suddenly contract—if I give free scope to my notions even by this imperfect vehicle. I wish Goethe were my countryman, I wish— O, how I wish—he were my friend. It is not for his masterly conception of human nature—from the heroes of classical story down to the blackguards of a Leipsic alehouse—that I admire him above all others; his profound sentiment of beauty, his most brilliant delineations of all its varieties—his gayety of head and melancholy of heart, open all the floodgates of my sympathy. Faust is a wonderful tragedy. I doubt if even Shakespeare with all his powers had sadness enough in his nature to understand the arid and withered feelings of a passionate spirit, worn out by excessive studies and the want of all enjoyment; to delineate the chaos of his thoughts when the secrets of nature are bared before him; to depict his terrible volition and the bitter mockery of the demon gives scope to that volition. All this and much more is done by Goethe; and but for his speaking cats and a good deal besides of a like stamp, I should be an unexcepting admirer of the execution. Upon the whole, I advise you strongly to persist in German. These people have some muscle in their frames.\textsuperscript{115}

And to John Fergusson, on the same date: “I will not criticise Goëthe’s Faust—but I will tell you that I love and admire the Author. My other books have closed their weary lips—leave them to repose!”\textsuperscript{116}

In “Goethe’s Faust”, written in January 1822\textsuperscript{117} and published in the New Edinburgh Review for April 1822,\textsuperscript{118} Carlyle says of “the character of Faust . . . as displayed in the opening scenes of the play”:

It is to the character of Faust . . . as displayed in the opening scenes of the play, that we turn for the highest proof of Goethe’s genius. They give us the most vivid picture we have ever seen of a species of mental convulsion, at once in the extreme degree moving and difficult to paint. It is the destruction of a noble spirit by the force of its own thoughts; a suicide of the mind, far more tragical than that of the body. Faust interests us deeply at first; he is at the utmost pitch of misery, and has no feeling of self-accusation; he possesses all the grandest attributes of our nature, and has meant to use them well. His fault seems but the want of worldly wisdom, and the lofty, though unhappy constitution of his mind; he has been born with the head of a sceptic and the heart of a devotee; in grasping at the sublime, he has lost even the useful; when his earthly hopes are all blasted, no moral consolation is in store for him; ‘he has not an object, and yet he has not rest.’ The sleepless agitation, the arid tearless wretchedness, natural to a human being so situated, have been delineated by Goethe with a beauty and verisimilitude, to which there are few parallels, even in easier subjects. An unlimited supply of the finest

\textsuperscript{113.} Cf. TC to M. Allen, 19 May 1820 (1: 251).
\textsuperscript{116.} TC to J. Fergusson, 3 June 1820 (1: 258).
\textsuperscript{118.} For Carlyle having received, at the end of September 1821, “a copy of somebody’s translation of Faustus by Goethe—‘for criticism’ ”, i.e., a copy of Faustus, from the German of Goethe (1821), see below, Ch. II.
metaphors and most expressive language, combines with the melody of the verse to make the earlier part of Faust one of the richest spots in the whole circle of modern poetry.119

Recalling his own state of mind when reading Faust in 1820, Carlyle writes to Goethe on 20 August 1827: “... I was once an Unbeliever, not in Religion only, but in all the Mercy and Beauty of which it is the symbol; storm-tossed in my own imaginations; a man divided from men; exasperated, wretched, driven almost to despair; so that Faust’s wild curse seemed the only fit greeting for human life, and his passionate Fluch vor allen der Geduld! [‘Cursed be patience most of all!’] was spoken from my very inmost heart.”120 As translated by Carlyle in “Goethe’s Faust” (1822), the “wild curse”, in which Faust—whose “heart is cut by the remembrance of all that he has suffered, and the anticipation of all that he has yet to suffer”—“breaks forth into a bitter and indignant malediction upon life and every thing connected with it”,121 reads:

Tho’ from my heart’s wild tempest  
A sweet remember’d tone recovered me,  
And all my youth’s remaining hopes responded  
With the soft echo of joys long gone by,  
Yet do I curse them all—all—all that captivates  
The soul with juggling witchery, and with false  
And flattering spells into a (this) den of grief  
Lures it, and binds it there. Accursed be  
All the proud thoughts with which man learns to pamper  
His haughty spirit—cursed be those sweet  
Entrancing phantoms which delude our senses—  
Cursed the dreams which lure us to the search  
Of fame and reputation—cursed all  
Of which we glory in the vain possession,  
Children and wife, and slave and plough—accursed  
Be Mammon, when with rich and glittering heaps  
He tempts us to bold deeds, or when he smooths  
The pillow of inglorious dalliance—  
Accursed be the grape’s enticing juice—  
Cursed be love, and hope, and faith—and cursed,  
Above all cursed, be the tame dull spirit  
Which bears life’s evils patiently.122

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120. TC to Goethe, 20 Aug. 1827 (4: 248).  
121. “Goethe’s Faust” (1822): 19, par. 17. Having quoted Faust I, ll. 1583–1606 (ibid.: 19–20, par. 17), Carlyle introduces his translation, in blank verse, as follows: “We are sorry that to most of our readers, instead of those beautiful verses, we have nothing to shew but the following very dim and distorted image of them” (ibid.: 20, par. 17, n.).  
122. Ibid.
3. Letters from Margaret Gordon

Intending to move to London soon, Margaret Gordon, on 4 June 1820, writes to Carlyle from “Palace Craig”, Airdrie:

Having understood from our friend, Mr. Irving that you had returned to Dumfriesshire I take the opportunity this information affords me, of thanking you for the very friendly visit you paid us some time ago at Kirkaldy [sic]. Perhaps you may be inclined to think, when I had, last, the pleasure of seeing you, I might have expressed my sense of the favor, without now writing a formal epistle on the subject, this, had our short interview permitted, I would have gladly done. You know the cause that prevented me.

The meetings here referred to, evidently took place in different localities. We are probably correct in saying, therefore, that the “very friendly visit” paid by Carlyle “some time ago at Kirkaldy” refers to his visit circa 13 November 1819, when he felt “Pretty strong in body & capable . . . of vigorous effort”, and that Margaret Gordon “had, last, the pleasure of seeing” Carlyle during a “short interview” circa Sunday, 23 April 1820, Carlyle being at Airdrie from 22 to 24 April 1820.

Referring to “the very friendly visit” paid “some time ago at Kirkaldy”, Margaret Gordon goes on to say:

If your call [“some time ago at Kirkaldy”] had been merely one of ceremony such as I am accustomed to receive from the ordinary herd of men, I should neither have seen nor declared any obligation, originating, as it did, from a true greatness of soul, the result of feelings little akin to those that occupy common minds; I should be wanting in duty to myself as well as you, did I not shew, by my gratitude that the kindness was bestowed on one, who is, at least, sensible of its extent. To possess your friendship, I have often said, was a constant source of delight to me, to lose it, you may believe was proportionately painful. Your coming to see me in Fife, appeared not only a proof of the noble triumph you had obtained over your weakness, (forgive the expression) but seemed to be an intimation that I still was thought worthy of that esteem with which you formerly honoured me. If ever I may have an opportunity of hearing from yourself that in this my last conjecture I am not mistaken, time alone can determine.

From this passage, it may be inferred that a break had occurred between the visit of early February 1819, when he left his umbrella behind, and the meeting circa 13 November 1819, which is characterized by her as a “triumph” over his “weakness”, Carlyle’s “weakness” being
described by her, in her letter of 28 June 1820, as his indulging “those ‘vain imaginations’ which” had made them “both so unhappy” and which “still” required “steady restraint”.

In her letter to Carlyle of 4 June 1820, Margaret Gordon notes that she “is probably addressing” him “for the last time”. Entreat him “not to desert the path” he has been destined to “walk in”, she writes in this letter:

... permit me to entreat you not to desert the path Nature has so evidently marked you should walk in. It is true, it is full of rugged obstacles, interspersed with little to charm the sense, yet these present a struggle which is fitted only for minds such as yours to overcome. The difficulties of the ascent are great, but how glorious the summit! Keep your eyes fixed on the end of your journey, and you will begin to forget the weariness of the way. You see I have taken the liberty of a friend I had almost said of a Sister, who is probably addressing you for the last time, and who would regret to learn hereafter that Nature, in spite of her unusual bounty, had been cruelly opposed.

Margaret Gordon’s letter of 4 June 1820 was answered by a letter from Carlyle in which he asked her to write to him often. Referring again to his “weakness”, Margaret Gordon, who had been “from home when it [Carlyle’s letter] arrived”, replied on 28 June 1820:

You ask me to write you often, this, I must repeat would not be doing justice to you—think me not vain—I have adopted the title of Sister and, you must permit me to usurp the privileges of one. You promise never to indulge those ‘vain imaginations’ which have made us both so unhappy. Yet tell me, do they not still require steady restraint? And would not I by acceding to your request, encourage that ‘weakness’ it has been my object to remove? Oblige me not to refuse, by asking me to do what is not in my power. Willingly would I advance your happiness, anxious will I be to hear of that happiness, but (think me not severe) from another source my information must come.

On Tuesday, 4 July 1820, she left for London.

4. Literature

Of the attraction German literature had for him, Carlyle writes to Murray on 4 August 1820: “I could tell you much about the new Heaven and new Earth which a slight study of German literature has revealed to me—or promises to reveal: but room fails me and time...” And

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131. Ibid.: 392. See also below.
132. See below.
134. M. Gordon to TC, 28 June 1820 (LL 2: 391). This letter also is headed “Palace Craig”. For M. Gordon’s excursion “through the Highlands”, cf. E. Irving to TC, 10 July 1820 (ibid.: 393–94).
136. Cf. E. Irving to TC, 10 July 1820, LL 2: 394. Carlyle’s encounter with Margaret Gordon may be compared, as seen above, to what, in analytical psychology, is called the encounter with the outward form of the anima. In this connection, it may be noted that Wotton’s encounter with Jane Montagu in Wotton Reinfreid, and Teufelsdröckh’s encounter with Blumine in Sartor Resartus, may also be compared to the encounter with the outward form of the anima. Cf. WR, Ch. I: 5–7; II: 13; III: 44–48; IV: 58–59; V: 83–84; VI: 107–14, 116–19, 121–25; VII: 126–48, and SR, “Pedagogy”: 93–95, pars. 24–26; “Getting under Way”: 100–01, pars. 10–11; “Romance”: 107–18, pars. 2–24; “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”: 119–20, pars. 1–3; 123–25, pars. 9–12; “The Everlasting No”: 129, par. 2 and “Pause”: 162, par. 8.
137. TC to T. Murray, 4 Aug. 1820 (1: 268).
speaking of “those pursuits” which had “hitherto constituted” his “chief solace in the world”, and of “German or Italian literature”, he tells Matthew Allen on 15 September 1820:

I am nearly tired of what is called natural science, mathematics, and the ordinary systems of philosophy; yet this has not prevented me from coasting all summer on the borders of German or Italian literature: and in winter, it was my purpose to spread out ‘sail-broad vans’ and explore the secrets of those vast seas. Schiller and Alfieri are here, Goethe is but gone, the Dante is daily expected, I am but half thro’ Sismondi, and a host of others are not yet begun. The muse Calliope has used me sorrily, indeed; yet still the syren flits before one, beautiful as the morning’s eyes; and the light that irradiates her, shews like ‘light from Heaven.’"138

Of his interest in “Schiller, Goethe and the rest”, Carlyle writes to John Fergusson on 22 October 1820: “I have lived riotously with Schiller, Goethe, and the rest. They are the greatest men at present with me.”139

### Edinburgh, 1820–1821

1. Hansteen and Mohs Again

On 21 November 1820, Carlyle returned to Edinburgh.140 By 5 December 1820, “Brewster has printed”141 the second half of Carlyle’s review-article “Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth”,142 which—together with another part of Carlyle’s translation “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy”143—was published in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* in January 1821.144

2. Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*

After his return to Edinburgh on 21 November 1820, Carlyle appears to have read *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* fully. Referring no doubt to “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 1, which he finished on 24 April 1823,145 and to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, which he began to translate on 3 June 1823,146 he says in *Reminiscences*:

_Schiller_ done, I began _Wilhelm Meister_; a task I liked perhaps rather better, too scanty as my knowledge of the element, and even of the language still was. Two years before, I had at length, after some repulsions, got into the heart of _Wilhelm Meister_, and eagerly read it through;—my sally out, after finishing, along the vacant streets of Edinburgh (a windless, Scotch-misty Sunday night) is still vivid to me: “Grand, surely, harmoniously built together, far-seeing, wise and true: when, for many years, or almost in my life before, have I read such a Book?”147

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138. TC to M. Allen, 15 Sept. 1820 (1: 272–73). Cf. also TC to W. Graham, 15 Sept. 1820 (1: 275–76). On 15 September 1820, Carlyle also writes to M. Allen: “During the last four weeks, I have been occupied principally with winding up several small concerns, compilations, translations &c . . . ” (1: 271–72).

139. TC to J. Fergusson, 22 Oct. 1820 (1: 286).


142. See below, App. VIII, 2.


146. Cf. TC to J. Johnston, 3 June 1823 (2: 368).

According to Althaus, “when he [Carlyle] had finished [reading \textit{Wilhelm Meister}] he felt that now finally the long sought revelation would be his.”\footnote{TR: 45.} Carlyle, however, comments on this statement: “No, not yet;—felt only that, since the age of 15, he had read no such deep, clear, great, and widely illuminative Book;—that here, credibly and probably, \textit{was} a man who could ‘reveal’ to him many highest things.”\footnote{Ibid.}

3. \textit{Edinburgh Encyclopaedia} and Joanna Baillie
By the end of March 1821,\footnote{Cf. TC to AC, 6 Mar. 1821 (1: 337); TC to JAC, 9 Mar. 1821 (1: 338) and TC to AC, “24 Mar. 1821” (1: 347).} Carlyle has finished the encyclopaedia articles “Necker” and “Nelson”\footnote{Cf. \textit{E} 5: 87–99 and \textit{MOS}: 68–91 respectively.} and by 3 April 1821,\footnote{Cf. TC to AC, 11 Apr. 1821 (1: 352).} he has completed his review of Joanna Baillie’s \textit{Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters} (1821).\footnote{Cf. \textit{Collectanea Thomas Carlyle 1821–1855}, ed. S. A. Jones (Canton Pennsylvania: The Kirgate Press, 1903): 19–56.}
CHAPTER II
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN 1821

Introductory

Of the "incident in the Rue St Thomas de l'Enfer", in Sartor, having “occurred quite literally” to himself in Leith Walk, Carlyle says in his Notes to Althaus:

Nothing in “Sartor” thereabouts is fact (symbolical myth all) except that of the “incident in the Rue St Thomas de l'Enfer,”—which occurred quite literally to myself in Lieth [Leith] Walk, during those 3 weeks of total sleeplessness, in which almost my one solace was that of a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth and Portobello. Incident was as I went down (coming up I generally felt a little refreshed for the hour); I remember it well, & could go yet to about the place.¹

From Carlyle’s letters, it is clear, as will be seen below, that the Leith Walk incident occurred in 1821—which is the date given by Froude and confirmed by Carlyle's Notes to Althaus²—and not in 1822, which is the date erroneously accepted by most critics today.

We shall here deal with the chronology of events in April—December 1821 and, in the next chapter, with the events in 1822.

Special attention will here be given to Carlyle’s health and state of mind, and to the beginning of his “acquaintance and correspondence” with Jane Welsh, who would be of vital importance to him in his quest for wholeness.

Edinburgh, 24 April–13 August 1821

1. Health

Of his plans for the summer of 1821 and the state of his health, Carlyle writes to William Graham on 24 April 1821:

¹. TR: 49. Carlyle speaks of “Three weeks without any Sleep (from impossibility to be free of noise), &c &c” (ibid.: 48). For the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, cf. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 134–35, pars. 12–14. See below, Ch. IX. In his biography of Carlyle, Froude quotes Carlyle as writing: “‘Sartor’ is not to be trusted in details” (F 1, 1882: 17), and: “Nothing in ‘Sartor Resartus’ is fact; symbolical myth all, except that of the incident in the Rue St. Thomas de l’Enfer” (ibid.: 101). Referring to “Carlyle’s notes and corrections of an Article entitled ‘Thomas Carlyle,’ by Dr. Friedrich Althaus, which appeared in the ‘Unsere Zeit’ (Leipzig), July, 1866” (LL, 1909, 2: 365, n. 2), A. Carlyle made clear that “these are misquotations” and that “Carlyle wrote” in his Notes to Althaus: “Sartor here, in good part; not to be trusted in details!”, and: “Nothing in Sartor thereabouts is fact (symbolical myth all) except that of the ‘incident in the Rue St. Thomas de l’Enfer’ ” (ibid.: 365. Cf. TR: 31, 49). Tarr, therefore, appears to be incorrect in saying that Froude’s misquotation, “Nothing in ‘Sartor Resartus’ is fact; symbolical myth all”, “was discovered and corrected by John Clubbe, ed., Two Reminiscences [1974], 49” (Tarr in SR, S.E.: xxv, n. 9). For A. Carlyle “Citing again from his [Carlyle’s] notes on Dr. Althaus’s ‘German Biography’” (LL 2: 369), cf. ibid.: 369–70 and 380–81. — Having quoted Carlyle as saying: “‘Sartor’ is not to be trusted in details [later corrected by A. Carlyle from Carlyle’s “notes on Dr. Althaus’s ‘German Biography’”]. Greek consisted of the Alphabet mainly. Hebrew is a German entity” (F 1: 17), Froude says, in a footnote, that Carlyle is “Alluding to a German biography in which he was said to have learnt Hebrew” (ibid., n. 1). For Clubbe, Froude’s “tantalizing footnote” was the “only clue” to the “source” of some of Froude’s quotations (cf. TR: ix).
I intend to pass the summer here—in the old way. My health is the most precarious capricious thing imaginable: I have not been well for one day since last Autumn—sometimes very sick. Nevertheless, I trust the ‘Animal Economy’ (of which I know exceedingly little) will have the goodness, some time soon, to bring matters to a crisis—either to free itself from this drawling languor and go on honestly, or else to give up the cause for good and all. A free course or a quietus—if it so please Providence.

And of the state of his affairs, and the way in which he deals with his “disorders”, he tells his mother on ‘27 April 1821’: “I have no time or space to enter upon the state of my affairs at present. They are in a fair kind of way; much as usual. My health is not to complain of (how is yours?): I swallow pills and salts and stuff; and hope great things from the sea bathin[g] which I design to practice soon.” On 9 May 1821, Carlyle’s mother sends him “bundles of camomile” with a covering letter reading: “I have sent you a few cammille fl[o]wers[,] I understand they are a good thing for the Stomack[,] draw them like tea and take a draught every marning . . . and I wish a blissing along with it.” In his letter of ‘12 May 1821’, Carlyle thanks her for the herbs and expresses again his trust in sea-bathing:

Many thanks also, my good Mother, for your bundles of camomile. I have laid it by in my trunk, and whether it help the stomach or not, it cannot fail to help the heart every time I look at it. My disorders are not, however, in general severe: and when they do appear (it is only from carelessness), they arise from bile and trash—over which herbs have no power. In fact tho’ I work on with Doctors’ stuff yet occasionally, I cannot complain; I am what you would call ‘no that ill ava’ [not so ill at all]. I tried the bathing three times with good effect; but the stormy weather has intervened for a week. The sea will cure me doubtless.

2. First Meeting with Jane Welsh
On 26 May 1821, Irving took Carlyle out to Haddington for a few days and introduced him to Jane Welsh, who, as will be seen below, would be of vital importance to him in his quest for wholeness, and whom he was to marry on 17 October 1826. At the time of this excursion, Irving, who had been Jane Welsh’s tutor, was twenty-eight, Carlyle twenty-five and Jane Welsh nineteen years of age.

5. MAC to TC, 9 May 1821 (1: 358, n. 3. D.E.’s brackets and periods).
7. For the excursion to Haddington, cf. R: 98–99, 223–24; TR: 38–39, and Notes to JWC’s letters (3: 376–77). For the dates, Saturday, May 26, and Thursday, 31 May 1821, cf. R: 223 (“the Minister’s house (whom Irving was to preach for)”; cf. CL 2: 130, n. 7, and TC to AC, 6 June 1821, 1: 363 (“We returned last Thursday”). For Irving (b. 4 Aug. 1792), cf. F 1: 120–21 and Marrs: 12–15, 83–85. For Jane Welsh (b. 14 July 1801), cf. Marrs: 82–85. Jane Welsh’s maternal grandmother was a Baillie. Hence the name Jane Baillie Welsh (JWB). It may here be noted that a chapter heading like “A.D. 1821. ÆT. 26” (F 1: 108) or an entry like “1821 [age] 26 First meets Jane Welsh at Haddington. (End of May)” (Dyer: 4) is confusing in as much as Carlyle did not reach the age of 26 until 4 Dec. 1821. For “sixty-three” (F 4: 200), read “sixty-two”; for “thirty-six” (Dyer: 234; cf. ibid.: 6), read “thirty-five”, and for “1881 [age] 86 . . . Carlyle died, Feb. 5” (ibid.: 15), read “1881 [age] 85”.
Of the difficulties encountered by her in her intellectual pursuits, the help he was to give her, and the nature of their acquaintanceship, Carlyle would later write:

The beautiful, bright and earnest young Lady was intent on Literature, as the highest aim in life; and felt imprisoned in the dull element wh which yielded her no commerce in that kind, and wd not even yield her Books to read. I obtained permission to send at least Books from Edinr; Book-parcels natty included bits of writing to and from;—and thus an acquaintance and correspondence was begun, wh had hardly ever interruption, and no break at all while life lasted. She was often in Edinr on visit with her Mother, to ‘Uncle Robert in Northumb Street,’ to ‘Old Mr Bradfute in George’s Square’; and I had leave to call on these occasions,—whl zealously enough, if not too zealously sometimes, in my awkward way, took advantage of. I was not her declared lover; nor cd she admit me as such, in my waste & uncertain posture of affairs & prospects: but we were becoming thoroughly acquainted with each other; and her tacit, hidden, but to me visible friendship for me was the happy island in my otherwise altog dreary, vacant and forlorn existence in those years. 8

On 31 May 1821, Carlyle and Irving returned to Edinburgh. 9

3. First Book Parcel for Jane Welsh

On 4 June 1821, Carlyle sent the first books to Jane Welsh, one of these being the first volume of “The Germany” by Mme de Staël. 10 “The Milton . . . from Irving” was also included in the parcel. 11 As to “Noehden’s German Grammar”, which was needed to let them “begin Lessing and Schiller and the rest, against October, without impediment”, 12 he writes: “Noehden’s Grammar is not to be found in the whole city: so they have sent to London for it; and I fear you cannot have it in less than three weeks.” 13

‘Circa 11 June 1821’, Jane Welsh returned the books as well as “The Milton” from Irving with the note: “To Mr Carslile, with Miss Welsh’s compliments and very best thanks.” 14 On 12 June 1821, “Irving’s packet was duly forwarded” 15 to Glasgow, together with a letter for William Graham. 16

4. State of Mind

Of his state of mind during the excursion to Haddington, Carlyle writes in his letter to Graham, twelve days after his return to Edinburgh: “The Palinurus himself [i.e., Irving] will have told you how sick I was, what work he had to overcome my taciturnity, and then how captious and sophistical I grew, and withal how happy. This world, I am told, is all a scene of illusions: pity that it is all so!” 17 This happier state of mind should not hide the fact that, by the end of May 1821, Carlyle had come to a dead end, as is clear from his letter to Jane Welsh of 18 November 1822, in which he recalls “the day” when he first saw her:

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9. Cf. TC to AC, 6 June 1821 (1: 363).
10. Cf. TC to JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 360). Cf. also TC to JBW, 28 June 1821 (1: 367).
11. Cf. TC to JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 361).
13. Cf. TC to JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 360). Cf. ibid., n. 4.
14. TC to JBW, ‘ca. 11 June 1821’ (1: 366).
You speak of advantages and obligations: if I might tell you all, you would see a very different state of matters.

If I might paint to you how wasted and woe-begone I was—a prey to black inquietudes which had me sick of existence itself and reckless of aught good or evil that it had to offer me,—when I saw you, like an inhabitant of some more blessed sphere as I almost believed you, descend upon my desolate and dreary path which was fast going down, to the gates of Death,—and call me back to light, and life, and hopes more glorious than I had ever dared to form; if—But I must not go on with this . . .18

5. Living “idly”

During his stay in Haddington, Carlyle had evidently told Jane Welsh that he would send a list of German books.19 Of the reasons for not doing so yet, he tells her on 4 June 1821:

If, on opening this paper, you expect to find any traces of that much vaunted list, you are about to be somewhat disappointed. Since quitting East Lothian, I have been so little in a condition to collect my ideas, or think seriously about any thing; and it seems withal so presumptuous an attempt in me to act as your tutor at present,—that really you must excuse me for a while. Besides—unless Fortune treat me even worse than usual—I am destined in process of time to know you far more intimately, and so to become far better qualified for contributing advantageously what little is mine to your improvement. Any way, you cannot be at a loss for employment till winter. Robertson and Hume (to be studied with the aid of maps and chronologies and so forth); Watson’s Philip II & Philip III; Russel’s Modern Europe; Voltaire’s pretty little histories; with occasional excursions in the company of Tasso and De Staël—will amply fill up the summer, and very profitably also.20

Looking back on his excursion to Haddington, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on 6 June 1821: “I came back so full of joy, that I have done nothing since but dream of it—Tomorrow I must up and study—for man lives not by dreaming alone.”21 And to William Graham on 12 June 1821:

Since my return, I have been busily engaged in that important thing, Doing nothing. It is so fine to wrap yourself up in the bright bespangled webs of the Imagination, to let the good creature have care of you herself, and rock you and lull you as she lists! Prudence “her choppy finger laying on her skinny lips” looks wonderfully grave at this. She need not: all is over soon; a few short hours, and the dull, grating din of this low world awakes you from your trance, and changes all the purple of fiction into the grey plaiden of reality. Prudence may save herself the pains.22

Of his expectation “to get better”, and of his living “idly” “in the meantime”, he writes to Graham, also on 12 June 1821:

I believe I am destined to get better . . . or surely it were uphill work with me at present. I am far happier for the last three months; so I abide in hope, and in the meantime I live idly and “trifle with life’s falling leaf”—as best I can. There are books to read; and things to write (such things!) but I mind not that. Life is but a kind of tragicomedy at best: If I play a mute’s part in it, what matter. The Great Scene-shifter will hush up all, in a little while. Then “hoity-toity!” where is the Emperor? Where is the shoeblack? Both quiet.23

18. TC to JBW, 18 Nov. 1822 (2: 205).
20. TC to JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 359).
21. TC to AC, 6 June 1821 (1: 363).
22. TC to W. Graham, 12 June 1821 (1: 365).
6. Decline of Health
In *Sartor*, the deterioration of Teufelsdröckh’s health shortly before the incident in ‘the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, is described as follows:

A prey incessantly to such corrosions, might not, moreover, as the worst aggravation to them, the iron constitution even of a Teufelsdröckh threaten to fail? We conjecture that he has known sickness; and, in spite of his locomotive habits, perhaps sickness of the chronic sort. Hear this, for example: ‘How beautiful to die of broken-heart, on Paper! Quite another thing in practice; every window of your Feeling, even of your Intellect, as it were, begrimed and mud-bespattered, so that no pure ray can enter; a whole Drugshop in your inwards; the fordone soul drowning slowly in quagmires of Disgust!’

In Carlyle’s letters, the description of the decline of his health in 1821 amounts to much the same thing. Thus, on 6 June 1821—the day after swallowing “a huge dose of Epsom salt (horrible drug!)”, of which he says that it had freed him “from some qualms, indeed; but rendered” him “as weak for the time . . . as any man need well be”—he writes to Alexander Carlyle:

No wish has arisen within me more constantly and fervently for the last half-year, than the wish for a return of sound, vigorous health. I tell you, my boy, all the evils of life are as the small dust of the balance to a diseased stomach. Rejoice that your chosen occupation, with all its many toils and difficulties, will ever preserve you free from such miserable experience. It is not the *pain* of those capricious organs; that were little: but the irresistible depression, the gloomy overclouding of the soul, which they inevitably engender, is truly frightful—at least to a Solitary it is frightful.

And on 12 June 1821, which, as Carlyle puts it, “above all other days”, has been chosen by destiny to extend his “nightmare influence even to the city of Glasgow”, he writes to William Graham: “But for some such opportunity as Irving’s parcel affords, I should never have thought of disturbing your repose today; when biliousness and nervousness and sadness and dullness have brought me within a few degrees of absolute zero, in the scale of men. I am about as fit to write as ‘dog distract or monkey sick’ would be.” Of the debilitating effect of dyspepsia, he says in this letter:

It is very friendly in you to keep so sharp an eye upon the book. But alas! my dear Sir, do but consider. How am I, poor grasshopper as I am, to make my small chick be heard, among the many Bulls of Bashan that on every side fill the vallies with their lowing? The thing is barely possible, if I had health and friends and capital—all of which I want. At the present my ideas are like a flock of geese, which a man was driving orderly, with a long pole and bladder half-full of peas at the end of it, across some common, to the Market;—when lo! Dyspepsia, the ugly ragged trull, comes hallooing into the midst of them, and scatters the poor geese to the four winds—gather them again who will! It is a hard case, in fact, this same distemper. A malady of the soul one can embellish and dignify a little by enduring: but *this* carries with it the indelible stamp of nastiness and lowness; do what we may, it seems to pollute the very sanctuary of our being; it renders our suffering at once complete and contemptible.

25. TC to AC, 6 June 1821 (1: 361).
27. TC to W. Graham, 12 June 1821 (1: 364).
28. Ibid.: 363
The invisible mind, you say, can dignify anything. Condemn Cato to keep the college Infernals clean—and look for his dignity then!  

7. Nervousness
In his letter of 6 June, Carlyle speaks of being “indigestive and nervous”, and in that of 12 June 1821, of “biliousness and nervousness”. In later letters, he would often refer to this state of nervousness in 1821. Thus, on 12 January 1822, he writes to his mother about the “unutterable nervousness” he had “laboured under”: “. . . that unutterable nervousness which I laboured under while at home and far worse before, is now in great measure gone. I can think and feel like other people; my heart is again become a heart of flesh; and the grime is gradually vanishing from the mirror of my mind.” And on 27 April 1822, to Alexander Carlyle: “. . . that unspeakable imprisonment of all my faculties, that darkness of the head & darkness of the heart, which nothing so completely as disordered nerves can give, is now almost quite gone.”

8. Spirits Improved
In his letters of 6 and 12 June 1821, Carlyle speaks, as seen above, of being “indigestive and nervous” and of suffering from “biliousness and nervousness”. In his letter to Alexander Carlyle of 6 June 1821, however, he also writes: “. . . my spirits have not been so good for many years, as during the last month or two. . . . I am stronger, too, in my general mood.”

9. “expectation of a final recovery”
Of his “expectation of a final recovery” and trust in “bathing, and walking”, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on 6 June 1821:

Upon this dreadful property of bowel disorders it is . . . that I mainly ground my expectation of a final recovery. The external pain has not abated very decidedly; but my spirits have not been so good for many years, as during the last month or two. Therefore I do trust by bathing, and walking, and every kind of attention—once more to taste the feelings of a whole man. If it were but so!I would not give a straw for all the earth—except those I liked.
In the same letter, he says of the weather:

We have had such weather! Ever since May began, a Whirlblast and a Drench, a Whirlblast and a Drench, have been our sad vicissitudes. Yesterday was a day of darkness; but it set the wind into the West—where I solemnly pray it may continue as long as—possible. Those easterly breezes, with their fine freights (of icy vapour, sand, straw, dung &c, here) are certainly the most entertaining weather one can well fall in with. If you be indigestive and nervous at the time,—it is quite surprising.40

The period of “stormy weather”, therefore, may well have come to an end on 5 June 1821. It should be noted, however, that, in his letters of 6 and 12 June 1821, no mention is made of actual sea-bathing, sleeplessness, or “impossibility to be free of noise”.41

10. Plans for August
In his letter to William Graham of 12 June 1821, Carlyle writes: “I am to see you about the first of August, and discuss all things with you, I hope.”42 From his letter to Jane Welsh of 28 June 1821, in which he says of his “holiday” plans: “Edward Irving and I go down to Annandale, about the first of August; he for two weeks, I for as many months”,43 it is clear that, at the time, Carlyle intended to be in Glasgow “about the first of August” in order to travel “southward”44 with Irving.

11. Second Book Parcel for Jane Welsh
On 28 June 1821, Carlyle sends the second and third volume “of the Allemagne” to Jane Welsh,45 and informs her that “Noehden is not come, the London Smacks being all becalmed.”46 On 6 July 1821, Jane Welsh returns the books, thanking him heartily “for the pleasure they have afforded” her.47 With regard to her “German Master”, she writes: “I have dismissed my German Master (for the enormous offence of asserting all words beginning with capitals to be the names of towns) and I think I get on faster without him—.”48

On 8 July 1821, Irving received a letter from Carlyle requesting him to send his “German Grammar & Dictionary” to Jane Welsh.49 Irving, however, did not do so, as is clear from his letter to Carlyle of 24 July 1821, in which he writes: “I did not follow your injunctions of transmitting to our fair acquaintance my German Grammar & Dictionary—her own being as much to her purpose.”50

40. Ibid. In this letter, Carlyle tells his brother that he would “have spent the afternoon [of 6 June] in vague dreaming,—stretched upon three chairs, and wrapped carefully up in Grahame’s impenetrable dreadnought cloak” (ibid.: 361), if he had not decided to write to him instead.
41. TR: 48. See also above.
42. TC to W. Graham, 12 June 1821 (1: 366).
43. TC to JBW, 28 June 1821 (1: 367).
44. Cf. CL 1: 378, n. 2.
45. Cf. TC to JBW, 28 June 1821 (1: 367).
46. Ibid.
47. JBW to TC, 6 July “1821” (1: 368).
48. Ibid.
49. Cf. CL 1: 370, n. 5.
12. Carlyle and Jane Welsh To Meet Again
Of his intention to visit her in Haddington “about the first of August”, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 16 July 1821:

My project is no less than to set out in person to inspect and accelerate your progress in the German tongue! Some sunny morning, about the first of August, you are to find me beside you, at breakfast, when you least expect it . . . With the prospect of green fields and fresh air for months before me, with all the sorrowful traffickings, and all the dreary drivelling sciolists of Edinburgh behind,—I shall see you for a few moments, and be happy in your company once again.51.

On Wednesday, 18 July “1821”, however, Jane Welsh asks him to call on her in Edinburgh:

My Mother bids me say; that she is, at present, quite uncertain if we shall be at Haddington at the time you talk of visiting us— I consider myself under great obligations to you for the interest you take in my progress in German; and will gladly avail myself of your advice respecting my studies, if you can make it convenient to call on me in Edinr, at 22 Georges Square, where I intend being from the evening of Saturday next until Monday forenoon—52

13. Third Book Parcel for Jane Welsh
‘Circa 18 July 1821’, “Noehden’s German Grammar”53 is sent to Jane Welsh with a covering letter containing “A List of German Books” with titles from the works of Lessing, Archenholz, Schiller, Gessner and Wieland.54 In this covering letter, which must have crossed Jane Welsh’s letter of 18 July, Carlyle writes about the way in which she should take up her studies: “Best to begin reading forthwith, after you have mastered the declensions, and verbs: mark down your remoras, and if you will send them hither, I shall have the greatest pleasure in setting my shoulder to the wheel. To do anything I possibly can in furtherance of this wise enterprise will be a real enjoyment to me.”55

14. Health “considerably improved”
On 19 July 1821, by which time he is teaching “again at a diffr place between 10 and 11 a.m.”,56 Carlyle writes to John Carlyle about the state of his health and the exercise he is taking in the form of sea-bathing and walking:

51. TC to JBW, 16 July 1821 (1: 368–69). Cf. also above.
52. JBW to TC, 18 July “1821” (1: 370).
53. For “Noehden’s Grammar”, see also above.
55. Ibid.: 371. Cf. ibid.: 370 (“Noehden’s German Grammar. The Exercises and Elements I have never used, or found the want of”).
56. TC to JAC, 19 July 1821 (1: 374). In this letter, Carlyle refers to “the poor King they were crowning yesterday” (ibid.: 372). D.E. here notes: “George IV was not crowned until [Wednesday] 25 July; but the Scotsman had mistakenly announced (in June) that it would be on [Thursday] 19 July” (ibid., n. 5). This is incorrect. The announcement in the Scotsman had been right, and the coronation of George IV, at which Walter Scott was present, took place at Westminster Abbey on Thursday, 19 July 1821. For this coronation, cf. Christopher Hibbert, George IV: Regent and King, 1811–1830 (London: Allen Lane, 1973): 189–95. This letter, therefore, should perhaps have been dated 20 July 1821.
As to my health, which you inquire so affectionately after, it cannot be said to be perfect yet; but it has considerably improved of late. Sea-bathing I follow pretty diligently, and would more diligently follow it, were not the frith at such a distance, the roads so dusty and the days so hot. Of walking I have enough: indeed I think I am apt to err in excess in that particular; the last three days I have walked very little, and yet have not felt so whole for some months.57

Though his health had improved to the degree that he has “not felt so whole for some months”, Carlyle does not hide the fact that he had become very feeble indeed:

I am going to ride continually when I get home; it is better than walking: and often as I have been baulked, I am not without hope of finding permanent benefit from the operation. At all events I must try: without some improvement in the constitution, I am as good as dead in the eye of law already; good for nothing but lolling about the room, reading poetry, imagining and fancying and fretting and fuming—all to no purpose earthly.58

15. Temper of Misery Changed
In his letter of 19 July 1821, Carlyle goes on to make clear that—to borrow a phrase from the account, in Sartor, of the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’—‘the temper of’ his ‘misery was changed’:59

I have studied none or written none for many days. Nevertheless I am moderately comfortable or even happy at present. My confidence in Fortune seems to increase as her offers to me diminish. I have very seldom been poorer than I am or more feeble or more solitary (if kindred minds form society); and yet I have at no time felt less disposition to knuckle to low persons, or to abate in any way of the stubborn purposes I have formed, or to swerve from the track—thorny and desolate as it is—which I have chosen for journeying thro’ this world. I foresee much trouble before me, but there are joys too: and, joy or not joy, I must [go] forward now. When you launch a boat upon the falls of Niagara, it must go down the roaring cataract, tho’ rocks and ruin lie within the profound abyss below: And just so if a man taste the magic cup of literature, he must drink of it forever, tho’ bitter ingredients enough be mixed with the liquor. A good firm heart—and—observe this—sound health, will keep one up under any thing: therefore, Jack, I am of good cheer myself, and I bid thee be of good cheer likewise. What is there to fear, indeed? With health and liberty and the love of truth, poverty, if it must accompany, may be endured: and when a man ‘goeth to his long home’—whither he will soon go, it is a proud thing to go with a free and generous spirit, with ‘thoughts that wander thro’ eternity’ and a heart that does not fear to follow them—or need not fear.60

Carlyle’s reference to his having “very seldom been poorer . . . or more feeble or more solitary”, and to “the love of truth” appears to correspond to the reference, in the “Everlasting No” chapter of Sartor, to “the crush of long-continued Destitution”,61 the weakening of Teufelsdröckh’s “iron

57. TC to JAC, 19 July 1821 (1: 371). Carlyle’s route from Carnegie Street (near Gilmour Street) to the beach between Leith and Portobello may have been as follows: Carnegie Street, Pleasance, St. Mary’s Street, Jeffrey Street, North Bridge, Leith Street, Picardy Place, Leith Walk, etc., the whole distance being three or four miles. Carlyle describes his lodgings in Carnegie Street, between Gilmour Street and Holyrood Park, as being “at the very out-skirts of the town” (TC to AC, 23 Nov. 1820, 1: 288). Cf. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 134, par. 12 (‘Full of such humour, and perhaps the miserablest man in the whole French Capital or Suburbs, was I, one sultry Dog-day, after much perambulation, toiling along the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer, among civic rubbish enough, in a close atmosphere, and over pavements hot as Nebuchadnezzar’s Furnace’).
58. TC to JAC, 19 July 1821 (1: 371).
59. Cf. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 135, par. 12 (‘Ever from that time, the temper of my misery was changed’).
constitution”,

whilst, in Carlyle’s letter, the mention of a change in the temper of his misery, the tone of defiance, the reference to firmness of heart, the question “What is there to fear, indeed?”, and the stress on liberty suggest that this letter was written shortly after the Leith Walk incident, these features also appearing in the description of the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’.

In his Notes to Althaus, Carlyle clearly states, as seen above, that the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’ (in Sartor) “occurred quite literally” to himself in Leith Walk on his way to the beach during “3 weeks of total sleeplessness, in which almost” his “one solace was that of a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth [Leith] and Portobello”. Froude places the incident in June 1821. Carlyle’s letters of 6 June, 12 June and 19 July 1821, however—discussed above—suggest that the Leith Walk incident occurred in the first half of July 1821.

16. “Pascal”

On 19 July 1821, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle: “Tell David Fergusson that I am charmed with his manuscript; it is the prettiest ever was written for the Encyclopedia, and perfectly correct. I shall give you enough to write in harvest—at present I have nothing.” D.E. here notes: “John because he was unwell had got David Fergusson to copy Carlyle’s life of Pascal. John asked for more copying to do as practice. A fragment of the ‘Pascal’ with a passage in French and Latin in John’s hand is preserved in the NLS [National Library of Scotland].”

By the time Fergusson’s copy of “Pascal” reached him, Carlyle had begun working on “The Netherlands”, another article for the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia.

17. “The Netherlands”

In his letter to John Carlyle of 19 July 1821, Carlyle writes, as seen above: “I have studied none or written none for many days.” This statement should not hide the fact that, “some days” before 19 July, Carlyle had begun working on “The Netherlands”. Thus, speaking of the time he will be in Mainhill again, Carlyle says in his letter of 19 July 1821:
And when will that be? So soon as I have got that beggarly article the Netherlands (for which I can find next to no materials) off my hands, and I began working at it some days since. Irving & I spoke of travelling by the west somewhere: we have not arranged it yet. But this Netherlands is the main bar; I have no pluck in me for such things at present—yet it must be clampered together in some shape, and shall if I keep wagging. 72

18. Second Meeting with Jane Welsh
Writing from “22 Georges Square”, Edinburgh, and evidently referring to the book parcel with “A List of German Books”, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle ‘circa 22 July 1821’: “I would be obliged to you to call here tomorrow immediately after breakfast— I wish to talk to you about those books— I arrived here this afternoon and intend leaving town early tomorrow.” 73 Circa 23 July 1821, therefore, another meeting must have taken place between Carlyle and Jane Welsh.

19. A Warning from Irving
Drawing a picture of Jane Welsh as he saw her, Irving, on 24 July 1821, warns Carlyle of the detrimental effect “the German poets” might have on her character:

I did not follow your injunctions in transmitting to our fair acquaintance my German grammar and dictionary, her own being as much to the purpose. But I did not fail to instruct her to make all progress through the preliminaries to an easy perusal of the German poets. I am not competent to judge of their value towards the development of thought and character. You are—and therefore I should be silent. But if they should tend to cut our young friend off from any of the wholesome intercourse of those amongst whom she is cast without being able to raise her to a better, I should be very sorry, as it seems to me she is already unhinged from many of the enjoyments her condition might afford her. She contemplates the inferiority of others rather from the point of ridicule and contempt than from that of commiseration and relief; and by so doing she not only leaves objects in distress and loses the luxury of doing good, but she contracts in her own mind a degree of coldness and bitterness which suits ill with my conception of female character and a female’s position in society. But I am speaking perhaps away from the truth. The books may not be what they are reported of.74

In the same letter, Irving tells him “that he could not have the pleasure of traveling southward with Carlyle in the autumn”, 75 i.e., in August 1821. 76

20. Noise
On ‘4 August 1821’, by which time he must have been working on “Newfoundland”, 77 an encyclopaedia article left unfinished by “one Erskine”, 78 Carlyle writes to his mother about the city “fast getting very unpleasant”:

I care not how soon I were down at Mainhill: for this city is fast getting very unpleasant. The smell of it, or rather the hundred thousand smells are altogether pestilential, at certain hours. And then the dust, and, more than all together, the noise—of many animals, and many carts, and fishwives innumerable; not to mention men selling water (of which there is a thirst & a scarcity here) armed with long battered tin-horns, that utter forth a

72. Ibid.: 373.
73. JBW to TC, ‘ca. 22 July 1821’ (1: 375).
74. F 1: 134–35. See also above.
75. CL 1: 378, n.2.
76. Cf. TC to JBW, 28 June 1821 (1: 367). See also above.
78. TC to AC, 9 Aug. 1821 (1: 377).
voice—to which the combined music of an ass a hog and fifty magpies all blended into one rich melody were but a fool. The man wakens me every morning about seven of the clock, with a full-flowing screech, that often makes me almost tremble.\footnote{79}

In this connection, it may be noted that, in 1821, even “little noises” could be “torture” for Carlyle, as is clear from his letter to his mother of “20 March 1822”, in which he compares the state of his health in 1822 to that in 1821:

To begin with the most important topic, that of health, I am happy to be able to quiet your cares on this head. My outward frame is very much improved in strength since I saw you; and tho’ still at a goodly distance from the point of perfection, yet as it is pretty constantly in the way of progress thither, I ought to be and am contented with it on the whole. The value of health is a thing often talked of, but without any definite meaning, except in the minds of such as know the want of it. I could not have believed till last year that it was in the power of mere physical pain to render a man so thoroughly miserable and weak-minded. Thank heaven! the case is mended now: I can look back on that sorrowful period with feelings of gratitude for the favourable change in my circumstances; and perhaps the occurrence of such a doleful scene in one’s history is not without important uses. It ought at least to make one satisfied with almost any lot, into which soundness of body and peace of conscience enter as ingredients.— This wicked stomach of mine is not yet reconciled to its destiny: it keeps up an almost constant supply of uneasiness less or more; and will not work at all without drugs: but that horrible nervousness is about entirely gone; I can listen to little noises, and even want a night’s sleep without much inconvenience. In process of time—for youth is still on my side—I expect to be altogether whole. I have already made no small progress: last year the scratching of a mouse in my chamber would in sober truth have given me more torture than smashing me with a cudgel would give me now.\footnote{80}

21. Sea-bathing
Of “sea-bathing” being “quite a specific” to him, Carlyle writes to his mother on ‘4 August 1821’: “I hope you are getting into better health now when the weather is bright and invigorating. Have you ever got down to sea-bathing, this summer? You should try it by all means. It is quite a specific to me; if I lived by the shore, I am almost certain I should recover completely.”\footnote{81}

22. Work Done
Looking back on the work done “Within the last three weeks”, i.e., from 19 July to 9 August 1821, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on 9 August 1821:

Within the last three weeks, I have written almost as much as I had ever written before in the whole course of my natural life. Not only my own two stipulated Articles, but another, which the very shifty Editor called upon me not to write only but to manufacture, the proper Author, one Erskine, a Laird, having fallen sick,—or gone stupid (I should say stupider), and not being able to finish what he had already begun and even got printed. It was such a job. But I have done it all now; and spite of that wretched bog, I am merry as a maltman. They are printing it even now; and if you but saw my table; how it is covered with manuscripts and first copies and proof-sheets and pens and snuffers and tumblers of water and pipes of tobacco! But no matter.\footnote{82}

\footnote{79. TC to MAC, ‘4 Aug. 1821’ (1: 374). Cf. also TC to J. Fergusson, 11 Feb. 1822 (2: 35).}
\footnote{81. TC to MAC, ‘4 Aug. 1821’ (1: 374–75).}
\footnote{82. TC to AC, 9 Aug. 1821 (1: 376–77).}
Between 19 July and 9 August 1821, Carlyle’s main work for the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* must have been on “The Netherlands” and “Newfoundland”. In this connection, it may be noted that “The Netherlands” is a lengthy article of thirty-eight pages with an extensive bibliography, whereas “Newfoundland”, one third of which is a continuous quotation from Anspach’s “History of Newfoundland”, is about half the size of “The Netherlands” and has no bibliography to speak of.

23. Third Meeting with Jane Welsh
On 7 August 1821, Jane Welsh sends part of a verse translation of Goethe’s “Der Fischer” together with the promise: “. . . I may . . . give you the rest when I see you.” This meeting must have occurred in Edinburgh circa 11 August, “Drey Wochen [Three weeks]” before Carlyle wrote to her again.

24. Leaving Edinburgh
With respect to the day of his coming home, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on 9 August 1821: “. . . I design to come home forthwith, that is to say, on Monday next, the 13th of August . . .” And on 14 August 1821, on “the morrow” of his “return home”, he writes to Irving:

Yesterday, from the period of my leaving Edinbh to that of my arrival here—from six o’clock in the morning to 11 at night—was a series of fatigues and disappointments and discomforts; but a warm welcome awaited me at the end; and today I have been out breathing the free breeze of my own hills, I have looked at the fields, green as a new-dug emerald; I have seen all things, living and lifeless, happy; and I feel happy myself to bear them company.

Mainhill, 13 August–7 November 1821
1. Recalling “a stern experience”
With regard to “the necessary failure” of their “travelling project”, Carlyle writes to Irving on 14 August 1821:

Perhaps for a moment I experienced some shade of regret when you told me of the necessary failure of our travelling project. The thousand pleasures I might have enjoyed rushed at once upon my mind, and the recollection that they were gone came along with the idea of them; but a very brief consideration showed me that my own fortune, not yours, was to be blamed in the affair. The truth is if you had not disappointed me, I must have disappointed you; the state of my health was such as to forbid the hope of enjoying anything or letting another enjoy anything in my company.
Foreseeing that Irving would think he was exaggerating, Carlyle goes on to describe what he had gone through in a remarkable passage, which reads:

You do not believe in any of these imaginations. My earnest prayer is that you may never believe in them. I was once as sceptical as yourself on that head; till a stern experience convinced me far too well. [1] Such disorders, I now, to my sorrow, feel convinced, are the heaviest calamity, the very heaviest, that the lot of life has in store for mortals. The bodily pain is nothing or next to nothing; but alas for the dignity of man! The evil does not stop here. [2] No strength of soul can avail you; this malady will turn that very strength against yourself; it banishes all thought from your head, all love from your heart—and [3] doubles your wretchedness by making you discern it. [4] O! the long, solitary, sleepless nights that I have passed—with no employment but to count the pulses of my own sick heart—till the gloom of external things seemed to extend itself to the very centre of the mind, till I could remember nothing, observe nothing! All this magnificent nature appeared as if blotted out, and a grey, dirty, dismal vapour filled the immensity of space; [5] I stood alone in the universe—one, and as it were a circle of burning iron enveloped the soul—excluding from it every feeling but a stony-hearted, dead obduracy, more befitting a demon in its place of woe than a man in the land of the living! I tell you, my friend, nothing makes me shudder to the inmost core—nothing but this. [6] One’s spirit may be bruised and broken by moral afflictions; but at least it will break like the spirit of a man; moral affections will irradiate its painful strugglings, and the last gleam of being will be pure if it is feeble. But here—I declare I will not speak another word on the subject.92

Carlyle is evidently speaking here of the state of his health prior to the Leith Walk incident, as the following, parallel passages show:

[1] TC to Alexander Carlyle, 6 June 1821: “...all the evils of life are as the small dust of the balance to a diseased stomach. . . . It is not the pain of those capricious organs; that were little: but the irresistible depression, the gloomy overclouding of the soul, which they inevitably engender, is truly frightful—at least to a Solitary it is frightful.”93
[2] SR, “The Everlasting No”: ‘How beautiful to die of broken-heart, on Paper! Quite another thing in practice; every window of your Feeling, even of your Intellect, as it were, begrimed and mud-bespattered, so that no pure ray can enter . . .’94
[3] SR, “The Everlasting No”: ‘A feeble unit in the middle of a threatening Infinitude, I seemed to have nothing given me but eyes, whereby to discern my own wretchedness.’95
[4] Notes to Althaus: “...3 weeks of total sleeplessness, in which almost my one solace was that of a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth and Portobello.”96
[5] SR, “The Everlasting No”: ‘The men and women around me, even speaking with me, were but Figures; I had, practically, forgotten that they were alive that they were not merely automatic. In the midst of their crowded streets and assemblages, I walked solitary; and (except

92. Ibid.: 378–79. Speaking of “the last five weeks” of his stay in Edinburgh, Carlyle says in this letter: “I was dreadfully busy for the last five weeks of my stay in Edinb writing day and night, when sleeplessness and so forth had rendered me a fitter inmate for a Bedlam than a study” (1: 379). Cf., however, TC to JAC, 19 July 1821, 1: 371 (“I have studied none or written none for many days”), and TC to AC, 9 Aug. 1821, 1: 376 (“Within the last three weeks, I have written almost as much as I had ever written before in the whole course of my natural life”).
93. TC to AC, 6 June 1821 (1: 362).
94. SR: 133, par. 9.
95. Ibid.: 132, par. 8.
96. TR: 49.
as it was my own heart, not another’s, that I kept devouring) savage also, as the tiger in his jungle. Some comfort it would have been, could I, like a Faust, have fancied myself tempted and tormented of the Devil; for a Hell, as I imagine, without Life, though only diabolic Life, were more frightful: but in our age of Down-pulling and Disbelief, the very Devil has been pulled down, you cannot so much as believe in a Devil.”

[6] TC to William Graham, 12 June 1821: “A malady of the soul one can embellish and dignify a little by enduring: but this carries with it the indelible stamp of nastiness and lowness; do what we may, it seems to pollute the very sanctuary of our being; it renders our sufferings at once complete and contemptible. The invisible mind, you say, can dignify anything. Condemn Cato to keep the college Infernals clean—and look for his dignity then!”

2. Encouraging Jane Welsh

Of Jane Welsh’s fitness “to read German”, and the quality of “the German poets”, Carlyle writes to Irving on 14 August 1821:

Noehden’s Grammar is gone to Haddington. I saw the fair pupil in Edinburgh. She is certainly the most—fit to read German of any creature I have met with. Take no fear of those people, I tell you. They are good men—some are even excellent. Schiller, for example, you most certainly would like. He has all the innocence and purity of a child, with the high talents and strong volitions of a man: a rare union, of which I never but in one instance saw anything like a living example. The trash of Germany, their Kotzebues and his spawn, I know little of, very little, and yet enough. We shall eschew them altogether.

This statement should be read in conjunction with Carlyle’s letter to Jane Welsh of 1 September 1821, part of which may be quoted here. Commenting on the disparaging remarks made by him during their last meeting circa 11 August 1821, and speaking of what “the path of Letters” has to offer, Carlyle writes:

I am not now going to depreciate your studies, or tease you with advices to abandon them. I said enough on that side of the question when we were together last; and stupidly—as native dullness, aggravated by a sleepless week, and the fat contented presence of Mr Baird, could make me say it: and after all I believe my habitual opinion is not of that sort. To me those pursuits have been the source of much disquiet; but also of some enviable enjoyment: if they have added a darker shade to the gloom of my obscure destiny, I ought not to forget that here and there they have chequered it with a ray of heavenly brightness, which seemed to make amends for all. The case is similar with every one that follows literature: it increases our sensibility to pleasure as well as pain; it enlarges the circle of objects capable of affecting us; and thus at once deepens and diversifies the happiness and the misery of our life. The latter in a higher ratio, I fear: yet here it is often blamed unjustly; there are perturbed souls to whose unrest it gives direction rather than existence: ...

And of his strong wish “to read Schiller and Goethe” with her, he says: “I still entertain a firm trust that you are to read Schiller and Goethe with me in October. I never yet met with any to relish their beauties; and sympathy is the very soul of life.”

97. SR: 132–33, par. 8.
98. TC to W. Graham, 12 June 1821 (1: 365).
100. TC to JBW, 1 Sept. 1821 (1: 381).
101. Ibid.: 381–82.
102. Ibid.: 383.
3. Unrest
Of his state of mind after what he had gone through in Edinburgh, Carlyle writes to Irving in his letter of 14 August 1821: “I have had no leisure for many days to think of anything, the pain has so distracted me; and my faculties have all taken into the wildest courses, the whole inward man has become extravagant, unearthly. I require imperiously to be overhauled and severely castigated every way. If I could so employ my rustication!”

In Sartor, the Editor observes that, after the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, Teufelsdröckh’s “Unrest was but increased; as, indeed, ‘Indignation and Defiance,’ especially against things in general, are not the most peaceable inmates”. In September 1821, Carlyle’s “disquietude” appears to have spoilt his excursion to Galloway in southwest Scotland in the company of Thomas Murray (1792–1872), who was “from the parish of Girthon, Kirkcudbrightshire”, and was preparing his book The Literary History of Galloway: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time (1822). Recalling his unrest during this excursion, which lasted “for a week or so”, Carlyle writes to Murray: “I came home from Galloway, with no fruit of my expedition, but mingled recollections of pleasures sullied and friends vexed by my disquietude . . .”

4. Goethe
At the end of September 1821, Carlyle received from Waugh, the bookseller, “a proof-sheet” of his review of Joanna Baillie’s Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters (1821), as well as “a copy of somebody’s translation of Faustus by Goethe—‘for criticism’”, i.e., a copy of Faustus, from the German of Goethe (1821), which could be purchased separately or bound up with a series of plates in Faustus, from the German of Goethe: The Greater Part of Part I. Translated in Verse and Connected by a Prose Narrative: With 27 Illustrations in Outline by Moritz Retzsch (London: Boosey and Sons, 1821). Properly speaking, Faustus, from the German of Goethe (1821), as Carlyle explains, “is no translation of Faust; but merely a pretty full description of its various scenes, interspersed at frequent intervals with extracts of considerable length, rendered into clear and very feeble blank verse,—generally without great violence to the meaning of the original, or any attempt to imitate the matchless beauties

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103. TC to E. Irving, 14 Aug. 1821 (1: 379).
104. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 135–36, par. 1
105. TC to T. Murray, 2 Oct. 1821 (1: 384).
108. TC to J. Fergusson, 4 Oct. 1821 (1: 389).
110. Cf. ibid.: 385.
111. Cf. TC to AC, 11 Apr. 1821 (1: 352); TC to T. Murray, 2 Oct. 1821 (1: 385–86) and TC to JC Sr, ‘16 Nov. 1821’ (1: 396).
112. TC to T. Murray, 2 Oct. 1821 (1: 385).
115. Cf. ibid.: 38, 136. A slighter and different version of the abstract, under the title “An analysis of Goethe’s Tragedy of Faust in illustration of Retzsch’s Series of Outlines”, had appeared the previous year in Retzsch’s Series of 26 Outlines, Illustrative of Goethe’s Tragedy of Faust, Engraved from the Originals by Henry Moses, and an Analysis of the Tragedy (London: Boosey and Sons, 1820). Cf. ibid.: 33, 136.
of its diction;—the whole intended mainly to accompany a series of plates illustrative of Faust, which have lately been engraved by Mr. Moses from the drawings of Retsch, a German artist”.

At the end of September 1821, Carlyle appears to have received Goethe’s portrait as well. Of the feelings aroused by this portrait, Carlyle, whose love and admiration for Goethe appear to date from the time he was reading Faust at Mainhill in 1820, writes to Fergusson on 4 October 1821:

I got Goethe’s head—I mean his portrait—the other night, and looked at it for many hours. I have an immense love for the man, you know: if skilled in metrical composition I would have indited some sonnet on the occasion—but having no turn that way the sonnet must lie drowned in the abysses of the brain—with many as worthless things. I would travel above fifty miles on foot to see Goethe. Ach! Sie finden sich nicht, die Seele[n] [Alas! kindred minds do not meet]—

5. Recovering

On 2 October 1821, Carlyle informs Murray that he was “recovering” at Mainhill and “in no hurry” to return to Edinburgh, the “reck & stench” of which, as he tells Mitchell on 3 October 1821, were “hurtful” to him. Of the way in which he had been recovering at Mainhill from 13 August to 4 October 1821, he writes to Fergusson on 4 October:

For myself, I have been breathing constantly since my return—as you may conjecture, but doing little else. Dyspepsia is certainly the queen of human ills—No more of her. I was in Galloway for a week or so seeking the picturesque. I found it sometimes; but what did it avail? Since my return, I have ridden and run, and slept and waked, and weltered along the stream of Time as best I might. There are two or three hundred things lying for me to write and manage: I had rather face the Enemy than touch one of them. So when I shall come to Edinr, or how, or what I shall do there or enjoy or suffer—is to be found only in the Sybilline Book or some such record—to me it is unknown and unimportant.

Edinburgh, 8 November–21 December 1821

1. Completing His Recovery

Carlyle left Mainhill on 7 November and was back in Edinburgh on 8 November 1821. Though his “long residence at Home”, from 13 August to 7 November 1821, “had with difficulty only in part delivered” him from “that state of horrible nervousness” which he “laboured under while at home and far worse before”, his health had finally improved at Mainhill. And in spite of the fact that, from 8 November to 21 December 1821, he had great difficulties
in finding proper lodgings,\textsuperscript{127} his health went on improving steadily in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{128} Thus, on 8 December 1821, he tells John Carlyle: “I have not been so well for a year.”\textsuperscript{129} And on ‘19 December 1821’, he writes to his mother: “The other day I saw one of my constant walks last Summer; and I could not help accusing myself of ingratitude to the Giver of all good, for the great recovery I have experienced, since then.”\textsuperscript{130}

2. Moray Street

His nerves being greatly affected by “innumerable disturbances overnight” from 19 to 21 December,\textsuperscript{131} Carlyle, on 21 December 1821, moved to Moray Street (now Spey Street), a much quieter place,\textsuperscript{132} from where, on 12 January 1822, shortly before taking up the Buller tutorship,\textsuperscript{133} he was able to report to his mother: “. . . that unutterable nervousness which I laboured under while at home and far worse before, is now in a great measure gone. I can think and feel like other people; my heart is again become a heart of flesh; and the grime is gradually vanishing from the mirror of the mind.”\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{127.} Cf. TC to AC, 9 Nov. 1821 (1: 391); TC to MAC, “16 Nov. 1821” (1: 393); TC to AC, 4 Dec. 1821 (1: 402–03); TC to JAC, 11 Dec. 1821 (1: 408–09) and TC to AC, 25 Dec. 1821 (1: 416–17).

\textsuperscript{128.} Cf. TC to MAC, “16 Nov. 1821” (1: 393); TC to AC, 21 Nov. 1821 (1: 399); TC to MAC, ‘4 Dec. 1821’ (1: 401); TC to JAC, 8 Dec. 1821 (1: 406) and 11 Dec. 1821 (1: 409); TC to J. Johnston, 15 Dec. 1821 (1: 411) and TC to MAC, ‘19 Dec. 1821’ (1: 401–02).

\textsuperscript{129.} TC to JAC, 8 Dec. 1821 (1: 406).

\textsuperscript{130.} TC to MAC, ‘19 Dec. 1821’ (1: 402).

\textsuperscript{131.} Cf. TC to AC, 25 Dec. 1821 (1: 416).

\textsuperscript{132.} Cf. ibid.: 416–17. See also below.

\textsuperscript{133.} See below, Ch. III.

\textsuperscript{134.} TC to MAC, 12 Jan. 1822 (2: 6).
CHAPTER III
CARLYLE IN 1822

Preliminary

From Carlyle's letters, it is clear, as seen above, that the Leith Walk incident occurred in 1821, which is the date given by Froude and confirmed by Carlyle's Notes to Althaus.

In Carlyle criticism, however, the Leith Walk incident is now commonly placed in 1822. For that reason, an examination of Carlyle's letters written between 19 May 1822 (when he had begun sea-bathing) and 7 August 1822 (when he left Edinburgh) appears to be in place.

For a better understanding of these letters, something should first be said, however, of the developments from November 1821 to May 1822, especially with respect to the translation of Legendre, the Buller tutorship and Carlyle's studies for a book “on the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth of England.”

Developments from November 1821 to May 1822

1. Legendre

Shortly after his return from Mainhill on 8 November 1821, Brewster had told Carlyle that “a translation was for certain to be set about” of Adrien Legendre’s *Eléments de géométrie*, the first edition of which had appeared in 1794. By 21 November 1821, Carlyle had engaged to do

1. Cf. F 1: 101 (“In June of this year 1821 ... he 'authentically took the Devil by the nose' ”). Cf. TR: 51 (“authentically take the Devil by the nose withal (see ‘incident in Rue St Thomas’), and fling him behind me”).
2. In the Notes to Althaus, the Leith Walk incident is placed in the “Ante-Buller period”. Cf. TR: 41 (“this of Buller wasn’t till 1822 or ‘23; and I had in the interim [i.e., in the period between his departure from Kirkcaldy in 1818 and the beginning of the Buller tutorship in 1822] 4 such years of solitary darkness and eating of my own heart, as centuries would not make me forget”), 48 (“Three weeks without any Sleep (from impossibility to be free of noise), & c. & c. ... during this Ante-Buller period”) and 51 (“authentically take the Devil by the nose withal (see ‘incident in Rue St Thomas’) and fling him behind me ... till Legendre & c with rather improving prospect of wages; and finally on Irving’s call to London, Charles Buller arrives ... and pressure of finance as good as disappears for the time”). Carlyle left Kirkcaldy in November 1818 (see above, Ch. I), and began the Buller tutorship in January 1822 (see below). Cf. also CJP: 156, 166–67.
6. TC to AC, 27 Apr. 1822 (2: 94).
7. Cf. TC to AC, 9 Nov. 1821 (1: 391).
8. TC to JC Sr, 17 Nov. 1821 (1: 396).
this translation—which, through the great many texts based on it, was completely to supplant “Euclid as a textbook in America”—and in December 1821, “about four or five sheets” had been translated.

2. Moray Street
On 21 December 1821, Carlyle moved from College Street to Moray Street (now Spey Street). Of the “place” he had found, being “in many respects exactly suited” to his taste, he writes to Alexander Carlyle on 25 December 1821:

After great perambulations, I found a place between Edinburgh and Leith, in many respects exactly suited to my taste. The street lies behind Leith-Walk, and parallel to it; and as I occupy the back part of the house, I hear less noise than I could do in almost any part of the city. And then for air—Mainhill itself is but a shade better: I have green fields beneath my very window; and nothing else between me and the Forth. The landlady too is a very cleanly, heartsome little body, who keeps a quiet well-ordered house, having no family, but a boy about five, who does not annoy me much, and a brother, whom I scarcely ever hear. The rent is 8/ per week; and I have two very elegant rooms for the money.

Carlyle here describes his lodgings in Moray Street as lying “between Edinburgh and Leith”. Moray Street was “a new street half way down Leith Walk”, “behind Leith-Walk, and parallel to it”; it lay “within a cat-spring” from Leith Walk, “immediately” on the “left hand (going down)” after coming “thro’ Leith-Walk Toll-bar.”

3. “Goethe’s Faust”
Circa 5 January 1822, Carlyle began to write “Goethe’s Faust”, which he finished on 19 January 1822. After this, as he tells Jane Welsh on 21 January 1822, “some miserable compilations” for the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia remained to be done.

4. The Buller Tutorship
Shortly after finishing “Goethe’s Faust” for The New Edinburgh Review, Carlyle began the Buller tutorship, which lasted from circa 23 January 1822 to circa 1 July 1824 and which,
as he would later say, “in all essentials, was altogether profitable & pleasant” to him. This tutorship, as Marrs explains, had come about as follows:

On December 24 Irving had accepted an invitation to preach on trial before the directors of the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden [, London]. Present among the many distinguished persons who had come to hear him had been the wives of two retired Anglo-Indian judges, Edward Strachey (1774–1832) and Charles Buller (1774–1848). Mrs. Buller (d. 1849), who had indifferently accompanied her sister to the affair, had found herself greatly impressed with Irving. Concerned about the education of her two older sons—Charles (1806–1848), who would distinguish himself in Parliament, and Arthur William (1808–1869), to become Sir Arthur and like his father a judge in India—she sought his advice the next day. Irving recommended Carlyle as tutor . . .

Thus, on 3 January 1822, Irving let him know: “After a long conversation, and many plans talked of—this was finally agreed on, that to you of whom I spoke to her, this offer [of the tutorship] should be made . . .” And on 12 January “1822”, Carlyle writes to his father: “. . . I have engaged to attend the youths (about fifteen & 13 years of age) when they arrive, which they are to do shortly . . .”

On 1 January 1822, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle about the beginning of the tutorship:

The boys arrived about a week ago, and are to continue some six months at board in the house of one Dr Fleming, a clergyman, till their parents arrive. I have entered upon duty, but in a desultory way, and expecting farther advice from London. I have offered to take the matter upon trial for a month or two at any rate; and then, if it answer, to commence business regularly, and with the regular salary—£200, and an allowance in the interim instead of board. Mr Buller, the father, wished some abatement in this period of uncertainty. I proffered leaving the payment at his own discretion, for the two months; and having no farther uncertainty at all . . . . They [the boys] take up all my day—at least the better part of it—at present; from ten o’clock till about one, and from six to nearly eight.

And about his health, his happy state of mind, and further arrangement with regard to the tutorship, he writes to the same on “20 February 1822”:

The fine air, the quiet, which I enjoy here, and the exercise (I have about 8 miles to walk daily) which my duties require, keep me in a state infinitely better than I was last year. I am as happy as I can expect ever to be—which is happy enough. There is abundance of business for me, at all events; and that is the main ingredient of what we call happiness. Those boys and I have about as good as engaged, for six months, at any rate: I am to get £100 for attending them 4 or 5 hours daily during that period; and in all probability, I think, we shall engage finally, if the parents were come. I am going to have a tough bout at Greek: but this I reckon an advantage. The Encyclopedia articles are all finished, and I do not intend taking any more at present; so also is Faust: and I shall find means for going on with Legendre (which I received notice this day that they are wanting to begin with): so I shall grow rich before all is done. We shall bid defiance to the foul fiend Pauperies, thou and I, for a long time at all hazards.
5. Studies for “the Book”
Of his having “well nigh fixed upon a topic” for a book of his own, and of his intention to make John Carlyle “help” him “a little” with Legendre, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on 27 April 1822:

Within the last month . . . I have well nigh fixed upon a topic, and I feel considerable alacrity, and much more contentment than formerly, in laying in materials for setting it forth. My purpose (but this only among yourselves!) is to come out with a kind of Essay on the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth of England—not to write a history of them—but to exhibit if I can some features of the national character as it was then displayed, supporting my remarks by mental portraits, drawn with my best ability, of Cromwell, Laud, Geo: Fox, Milton, Hyde &c the most distinguished of the actors in this great scene. . . .

These are the fairy regions of Hope, from which I am incessantly recalled by multitudes of less glorious but more urgent actual duties. The printing of LeGendre is fairly begun—and intended to proceed at the rate of two sheets per week. . . . I purpose making Jack help me a little: I have indeed need of help; and my studies even with it, in so far as the Book is concerned, must in the mean time go on rather leisurely.

Carlyle’s Letters from 19 May to 7 August 1822
Being acquainted with Carlyle’s various activities, we shall now examine the letters written between 19 May 1822 (when he had begun sea-bathing) and 7 August 1822 (when he left Edinburgh).

1. Sea-bathing (May–June 1822)
On 19 May 1822, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle about his move to Moray Street having been “the very making or rather saving” of him, and about his “sea-bathing”:

My own condition is mending very greatly, on the whole: I have not had such a measure of health & spirits for three years as I enjoy at present. It was the very making or rather saving of me that I came down here to live; no mortal but a nervous dyspeptic wretch can tell what heaven it is to escape from the tumult & stench & smoke & squalor of a City out into the pure ether and the blue sky, with green fields under your very window & bushy trees in the distance, and little noise but the gambols of happy children, the peaceful labours of spadesmen & the voice of singing birds. I sit down to my desk or my book, with the windows pulled down & up—the fresh young air of May around, all Nature seeming to awake like Beauty from her couch; and my very heart is glad sometimes that I am delivered so as even partially to enjoy this pure & simple pleasure. I go down & bathe every morning before breakfast, when I can effect it; which has been once daily for the last three days, the distance not being above a mile, and the water clear as glass. This I find to be a most excellent practice. Yesterday I fell in with Waugh on the beach, his broad fat face appearing among the Newhaven fishing-craft, just as I emerged. (I should have said I did not get down yesterday till noon).

In 1821, during “3 weeks of total sleeplessness”, Carlyle, as seen above, took “a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth [Leith] and Portobello”, southeast of Leith, whilst in 1822, according to this letter, he appears to have been bathing at Newhaven, west of Leith, “the distance not being above a mile”.

35. See below.
36. TC to JAC, 19 May 1822 (2: 111). Carlyle here goes on to describe Waugh “gutting” “a monstrous Meerswine” “amid a crowd of brown fishermen, idle serving maids & scrubby boys”.
It may here be noted that, in 1822, Carlyle had to “jog up to Dr Fleming’s in George-Square twice every day (Saturdays, generally, . . . excepted) to superintend the studies of the Bullers”, walking “eight miles . . . daily”, George-Square being “two miles off”. The distance to Newhaven, however, was not “above a mile”. This explains why, in 1822, in spite of the fact that, for his work with the Bullers, he had to walk “eight miles . . . daily”, Carlyle was able to bathe “often” “before breakfast” and “almost always . . . some time in the day”, though, after 29 June 1822, no mention is made of sea-bathing in 1822.

2. “continuing to improve in health & spirits” (June 1822)
Of his health, his getting “a view nightly of the Sunset”, his work, and occasional visitors, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle on ‘3’ June 1822:

I have gone on enjoying very considerable improvement of health, since I wrote last. The weather may be called delightful at present; Sun shining, small breeze blowing, ground green as leeks. My windows “look to the Forth”—which I do not see however, tho’ I used to hear its hoarse and everlasting voice in winter winds—and I get a view nightly of the Sunset. It is very grand to witness the great red fiery disk, sinking like a giant to sleep, among his crimson curtains of cloud—with the Fife & Ochil hills for his bedstead! I often look at him till I could almost break forth into tears, if it would serve—or into some kind of poetical singing, if I could [sin]g any. To return to prose, the good weather [and the] sea-bathing, and the eight miles I have to walk daily are doing my poor shattered carcase no small service: in a year at this rate, I might be as well as you.

I am also very busy, which is another great thing. That lubber Translation is proceeding at an easy tho’ irregular rate; then I read some for the “Civil Wars”—which alas! are still like birds in the shell—and may be I dread for many months. The Bullers consume a good portion of every day not by any means unpleasantly. They are very clever good-hearted Callants [youngsters]; and like me very well. I never count firmly on engaging with the family, and—which is the fine way—I can go on whether or not. I have few or no companions that I value much here; one or two decent fellows Murray, Galloway the Philomath (who has now become indeed long been exceedingly civil), and one or two of the like sort, beat up my quarters on a Saturday perhaps. They are inoffensive characters, & I feel their goodwill; but have no time to bestow on them.

On the same date, he tells his mother about his health, “bathing” and “mode of sleeping”:

It will give you pleasure to know that I continue progressively improving in that most important of qualities, good health. The bathing does me great good; and you need be under no apprehensions of my drowning; for the bottom is smooth shelving sand or pebbles, I stay but a moment in the water, and never go near the end of my depth: besides I swim if need were, which is not. Unfortunately my mode of sleeping is too irregular to admit of my bathing constantly before breakfast; tho’ I manage this often, and almost always go some time in the day.

37. TC to AC, 29 June 1822 (2: 138). George Square dates “from about 1770 when the gentry began to move out of the Old Town” (‘Blue Guide Scotland’).
39. TC to MAC, “10 Apr. 1822” (2: 87). Carlyle’s route from Moray Street to George Square may have been as follows: Moray Street, Leith Walk, Picardy Place, Leith Street, North Bridge, South Bridge, Nicolson Street, West Nicolson Street—which lay about 800 feet from Carnegie Street (near Gilmour Street)—Crichton Street, George Square.
40. TC to MAC, ‘3’ June 1822 (2: 125). See also below. It may here be noted that, in 1822, Carlyle does not complain of distance, dirt and heat on his way to the beach, as he does in 1821. Cf. TC to JAC, 19 July 1821 (1: 371). Cf. also SR, “The Everlasting No”: 134, par. 12.
Small noises disturb me, and keep me awake tho’ I always get to sleep at last; and happily such disturbances occur but rarely.\textsuperscript{43}

And of his “continuing to improve in health & spirits”, his work, and “cheerful” state of mind, he writes to Alexander Carlyle on “5 June 1822”:

\ldots I am still continuing to improve in health & spirits, going my stated rounds of duty, reading a very little, writing still less, and cherishing long projects which fill the future for me as completely as the present is filled. I do not recollect of ever being a very light-hearted character; but I reckon myself about as cheerful at present as I have been for many years. I laugh no great deal, could not sing or dance, but I feel a constant movement in my mind, a sleepless activity half-pleasant half-painful, which I reckon to be the right state for a young man,—at least it is generally my state when I enjoy any thing like health.\textsuperscript{44}

On ‘17 June 1822’, Carlyle informs Jane Welsh that David Hope, of Glasgow,\textsuperscript{45} has been staying with him “for a whole week”.\textsuperscript{46}

Of his efforts to speed up the printing of Legendre, he writes to John Carlyle on 23 June 1822: “The people are beginning the Notes at this very period; and the first part of the Trigonometry will be wanted in two weeks at farthest—particularly as I was stirring them up a few days ago, and forcing them to change their trot into a kind of canter. I believe they have now six men working close at it.”\textsuperscript{47} And of his expecting to “engage finally” with the Bullers, his health, bathing, and happy state of mind, he says in this letter:

The Bullers are not arrived yet, tho soon expected; and if we engage with each other, I fear I shall hardly get down. \ldots I think we shall make a bargain; the boys like me very well, and seem to be indeed very pleasant creatures—the eldest very clever. I have no doubt I shall be very contented (if I go there) in their house: my present duties are a pleasure rather than any thing else. As to health—I am getting better steadily; the bathing does me good; I am busied over the head; and I have not been happier for many a year.\textsuperscript{48}

On 29 June 1822, Carlyle writes to Alexander Carlyle about his work, bathing, health, and quiet way of life:

For myself, I am going on exactly in the old style. The Translation of Legendre I am endeavouring to get brought to a close with all convenient speed; and I hope to be done with it in a few weeks at farthest. I jog up to Dr Fleming’s in George-Square twice every day (Saturdays, generally, and this among them excepted) to superintend the studies of the Bullers: I go down to bathe pretty regularly: I read & write, in short, and teach and sleep & eat as quietely as I can. My stomach is still troublesome a little—generally very enervating for several hours every day; but there are times when I altogether lose feeling of it, and busy myself with quite another class of objects; and I entertain the rational expectation of once more enjoying in some moderate degree that first & greatest of earthly blessings, which I have so long & so much whined about the want of.

There are few people or things in my neighbourhood, about which I take any deep interest; and the commodity of news is one which I get little of & care still less for. \ldots I visit no one, and besides some few idlers attracted

\textsuperscript{43} TC to MAC, ‘3’ June 1822 (2: 125). For the letters of ‘3’ June 1822 having been sent to Mainhill at the end of that month, cf. TC to AC, “5 June 1822” (2: 127) and TC to MAC, 29 June 1822 (2: 140–41).
\textsuperscript{44} TC to AC, “5 June 1822” (2: 127–28).
\textsuperscript{45} Cf. R: 175, 213, 218.
\textsuperscript{46} TC to JBW, ‘17 June 1822’ (2: 132). Cf. also TC to MAC, 29 June 1822 (2: 142) and see R: 222.
\textsuperscript{47} TC to JAC, 23 June 1822 (2: 135).
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.: 137.
by the pleasure of conversation, and whose visits I do not at all encourage, I see no body except the people in George-square whom duties call me to see.49

And of the state of his health, and of the way in which he wants to distinguish himself in the world, he writes to his mother on 29 June 1822:

I am in very fair health considering every thing; about a hundred times as well as I was last year this time, and as happy as you ever saw me. In fact I want nothing but steady health of body (which I shall get in time) to be one of the comfortabest persons of my acquaintance. I have also books to write, and things to say & do in this world, which few wot of. This has the air of vanity, but it is not altogether so: I consider that my Almighty Author has given me some glimmerings of superior understanding & mental gifts; and I should reckon it the worst treason against him to neglect improving & using to the very utmost of my power these his bountiful mercies. At some future day, it shall go hard but I will stand above these mean men, whom I have never yet stood with. But we need [no]t prate of this.50

3. Finishing Legendre (July 1822)
Of his progress with Legendre, of friends coming to see him and of his happy state of mind, he says to John Carlyle on 5 July 1822:

I am now within 40 pages of the end [of Legendre], and expect soon to relinquish and have concluded the long labour, which has occupied me much, tho not unprofitably or disagreeably.

Edward Irving & W. Graham came in upon me last night, while sipping my tea with Dr Fleming & the rest. Edward is gone out to Haddington to-day, and proposes setting off towards London on Wednesday next. . . . I am going along in the old style, my life marked by no incident worth remembering, but happy on the whole, and peaceful & diligent in one way or another.51

Having been asked by Jane Welsh on “1 July 1822” to write “an address to Lord Byron from his daughter”,52 Carlyle tells her on 13 July 1822 about his having been on the point of doing so, and about the interruptions that had stood in the way:

In obedience to your injunctions, I did my best endeavour to conceive the feelings of poor little Ada, and throw some ornament over them; I had even proceeded so far as to intend saying something of the Stork with her bosom torn up to feed her young, of the Greenland bear whose cubs the English sailors interfered with—greatly to their cost; and I intended to draw a very notable moral from the whole: but alas!—just as I was beginning, the “Devil” came for copy, the Bullers came and wanted some arrangement (which is not made yet) about their boys, and lastly Irving came, and leaving his worthy tho’ at times somewhat tiresome companion to my charge—went eastwards as you know for better entertainment.53

With respect to the “arrangement” with the Bullers, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 25 July 1822: “I am now engaged with the Bullers, whom I conversed with for a long time yesternight;

49. TC to AC, 29 June 1822 (2: 138–39).
50. TC to MAC, 29 June 1822 (2: 141–42). For Carlyle regretting not to have been able yet to realize his ambition, cf. TC to JBW, ‘25 July 1822’: 155.
51. TC to JAC, 5 July 1822 (2: 145–46).
52. JBW to TC, “1 July 1822” (2: 144). Cf. also JBW to TC, ‘ca. 5 July 1822’, 2: 147 (“Send me all your verses forthwith . . . I hope you have made something of Ada—I have made a precious nursery song of it”). For Jane Welsh’s poem, “Lines to Lord Byron: From His Daughter, Ada”, cf. LL 2: 348–49.
53. TC to JBW, 13 July 1822 (2: 147–48). See also above.
and I expect, in two weeks at farthest, to have commenced my regular line of proceeding in their family, and so to continue it for one twelvemonth at least.”

In the same letter, Carlyle says that he is “just in the act of getting done with that thrice wearisome Legendre”, to which he has added an Introduction, “On Proportion”, later referred to by him as “the Essay on Proportion” or as “a Fifth Book (or complete ‘Doctrine of Proportion’)”, the Essay being, as De Morgan puts it, “a substitute for the fifth book of Euclid”.59

As to the time of his coming home, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 25 July 1822: “I hoped to get home almost directly, yesterday: but I find it cannot be for several weeks at any rate, and then only during a short space.”

4. Leaving Edinburgh (7 August 1822)

Throughout this period, up to 2 August 1822, Carlyle has been furnishing Jane Welsh with books.61 Having last seen her in November 1821,62 he writes to her on ‘2 August 1822’: “I purpose afflicting you with a long series of enormous letters, if you will not let me see your face very soon.”63

In order “to escape the ‘efflorescence of [the] flunkeyisms’ attendant upon the impending visit of George IV to Edinburgh”,64 Carlyle then “resolved rather to quit the City altogether”.65 On ‘5 August 1822’, therefore, he writes again to Jane Welsh:

I grieve to trouble you again so soon, and about so very unimportant a matter as the present; but there is no alternative. I am going down to Annandale this week; and I find I cannot go quietly without at least attempting to see you (particularly as I have little chance of such another opportunity for a considerable time); or attempt to see you without permission. Tell me, therefore, whether I may come out some morning by the nine o’clock Coach . . . To-morrow I shall get your letter—at least if you write by the Coach: next day I shall either come, or know that I am not to come.66

Having received a “sharp note” from her to the effect that he was not to come, Carlyle left Edinburgh for Annandale on 7 August 182268 and returned on 7 September 182269 in order to take his “appointed place in the family of the Bullers”.70

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54. TC to JAC, 25 July 1822 (2: 151).
55. Ibid.: 153.
57. TR: 49.
59. De Morgan quoted by Dyer: 75.
60. TC to JAC, 25 July 1822 (2: 153).
61. Cf. TC to JBW, 27 May 1822 (2: 115); ‘17 June 1822’ (2: 134); 13 July 1822 (2: 148); ‘25 July 1822’ (2: 154) and ‘2 Aug. 1822’ (2: 155).
62. Cf. JBW to TC, ‘210 Nov. 1821’ (1: 400).
63. TC to JBW, ‘2 Aug. 1822’ (2: 156).
65. Ibid.: 222.
67. TC to JBW, 11 Sept. 1822 (2: 160).
68. Cf. App. I, 1, no. 43.
70. Ibid.
5. Conclusion
It has been seen above that, in 1822, Carlyle bathed at Newhaven, west of Leith, “the distance not being above a mile”.71 This explains why, in spite of the fact that, for his work with the Bullers, he had to walk “eight miles . . . daily”,72 he was able to bathe “often” “before breakfast” and “almost always . . . some time in the day”,73 though, after 29 June 1822, no mention is made of sea-bathing in 1822.74
It has also been seen that, for Carlyle, the period from 19 May to 25 July 1822 was an agreeable one, marked by “very fair health”, sufficient sleep, a happy state of mind, contentment with the Buller tutorship, work on Legendre’s Geometry, and the writing of “a Fifth Book (or complete ‘Doctrine of Proportion’)” for it.
The period from 19 May 1822 (when he had begun sea-bathing) to 7 August 1822 (when he left Edinburgh) is very different, therefore, from that of 1821, when Carlyle, who then lived in Carnegie Street, far from the beach,75 suffered “3 weeks of total sleeplessness, in which almost” his “one solace was that of a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth [Leith] and Portobello”,76 southeast of Leith.

71. Cf. TC to JAC, 19 May 1822 (2: 111).
73. Cf. TC to MAC, ‘3’ June 1822 (2: 125)
75. See above, Ch. II.
76. TR: 49. In his Notes to Althaus, Carlyle speaks of “Three weeks without any Sleep (from impossibility to be free of noise), &c &c” (ibid.: 48).
CHAPTER IV
CARLYLE’S QUEST FOR WHOLENESS, 1821–1825

Introductory
Carlyle’s Weltanschauung is the outcome of a process of conversion starting with the Leith Walk incident in 1821 and ending with what he calls the “grand and ever-joyful victory” at Hoddam Hill, near Ecclefechan, in 1825. We are clearly in need of a model, however, that will help us to determine how the process of Carlyle’s conversion—referred to by me as Carlyle’s quest for wholeness—has to be understood.

The description, in analytical psychology, of the natural process of individuation—as distinct from “individuation worked on and brought to consciousness by way of analysis”—will here be used as the model, therefore, that will help us to determine how the process of Carlyle’s conversion has to be understood and how Carlyle’s Weltanschauung has to be defined.

Getting Stuck
Of those cases in which “the resources of the conscious mind are exhausted”, Jung writes in “The Aims of Psychotherapy” (1931):

In the majority of my cases the resources of the conscious mind are exhausted (or, in ordinary English, they are “stuck”). It is chiefly this fact that forces me to look for hidden possibilities. For I do not know what to say to the patient when he asks me, “What do you advise? What shall I do?” I don’t know either. I only know one thing: when my conscious mind no longer sees any possible road ahead and consequently gets stuck, my unconscious psyche will react to the unbearable standstill.

1. See above, Introduction.
2. For this date, see above, Ch. II.
4. For this date, see below.
5. Of the process of individuation, Jung says in “The Structure of the Psyche” (1927/1931): “Psychology . . . culminates of necessity in a developmental process which is peculiar to the psyche and consists in integrating the unconscious contents into consciousness. This means that the psychic human being becomes a whole . . .” (CW 8, par. 430), and in “A Study in the Process of Individuation” (1934/1950): “. . . individuation, that is, . . . becoming whole, . . . is the answer to the great question of our day: How can consciousness, our most recent acquisition, which has bounded ahead, be linked up again with the oldest, the unconscious, which has lagged behind?” (CW 9i, par. 620). Cf. also Jacobi: 80–81, 132–33.
6. Of the importance of consciousness in individuation, Samuels writes in Jung and the Post-Jungians (1985): “When discussing individuation, it is important to remember that Jung was careful to distinguish this from an ‘unconscious wholeness’, a false individuation. ‘Conscious wholeness’, in contrast, is a ‘successful union of ego and self so that both preserve their intrinsic qualities’” (Samuels: 113, quoting CW 8, par. 430, n.). For “the ‘natural’ individuation process, which runs its course unconsciously”, cf. Answer to Job (1952), CW 11, par. 756.

The actual process of individuation—the conscious coming-to-terms with one’s own inner center (psychic nucleus) or Self—generally begins with a wounding of the personality and the suffering that accompanies it. This initial shock amounts to a sort of “call,” although it is not often recognized as such. . . . perhaps everything seems outwardly all right, but beneath the surface a person is suffering from a deadly boredom that makes everything seem meaningless and empty. Many myths and fairy tales symbolically describe this initial stage in the process of individuation by telling of a king who has fallen ill or grown old.9

By 26 May 1821, when Irving took Carlyle out to Haddington for a few days and introduced him to Jane Welsh,10 Carlyle too has got stuck and come to a dead end. Thus, recalling “the day when” they “first saw each other,” Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 18 November 1822:

. . . with me far more than you the day when we first saw each other must be forever memorable. . . . You speak of advantages and obligations: if I might tell you all, you would see a very different state of matters. If I might paint to you how wasted and woe-begone I was—a prey to black inquietudes which had me sick of existence itself and reckless of aught good or evil that it had to offer me,—when I saw you, like an inhabitant of some more blessed sphere as I almost believed you, descend upon my desolate and dreary path which was fast going down, to the gates of Death,—and call me back to light, and life . . . .11

A Strong Ego

Discussing, in Jungian Psychology in Perspective (1981), the ego and individuation, Mattoon says:

A strong ego is necessary for individuation. In retracing the path to the Self and, thus, to the collective unconscious, a weak ego risks being deluged with archetypal contents, as happens in psychosis. When the ego is strong, however, unconscious contents are assimilated into it and it becomes stronger.12

By the end of May 1821, i.e., by the time of his excursion to Haddington, Carlyle’s ego appears to have been strong enough to integrate the experiences that lay ahead of him in his quest for wholeness. Thus, on 6 June 1821, he writes to Alexander Carlyle: “Upon this dreadful property of bowel disorders it is . . . that I mainly ground my expectation of a final recovery. The external pain has not abated very decidedly, but my spirits have not been so good for many years, as during the last month or two. Therefore I do trust by bathing, and walking, and every

10. See above, Ch. II. Cf. Notes to JWC’s Letters, 3: 376 (“June 1821 [actually 26 May] . . . Edwd Irving . . . took me out to Haddington: we walked cheerily together . . . and abt sunset of that same evg, I first saw Her who was to be so importt to me thenceforth”).
11. TC to JBW, 18 Nov. 1822 (2: 204–05). See also below.
12. Mattoon: 182. “The ego is by no means the entire personality. It is the center of consciousness, that is, the point of reference for one’s conscious experiences. The center of the whole personality, which includes both consciousness and the unconscious, is the Self” (ibid.: 24). For the Self, cf. also MDR: 398 and “Psychology and Religion” (1938/1940), CW 11, par. 140.
kind of attention—once more to taste the feelings of a whole man. . . . I am stronger, too, in my general mood.”13 And in spite of the fact that “biliousness and nervousness and sadness and dullness”14 have brought him “within a few degrees of absolute zero, in the scale of men”,15 Carlyle tells Graham on 12 June 1821:

I believe I am destined to get better . . . or surely it were uphill work with me at present. I am far happier for the last three months; so I abide in hope, and in the meantime I live idly and “trifle with life’s falling leaf”—as best I can. There are books to read; and things to write (such things!) but I mind not that. Life is but a kind of tragicomedy at best: If I play a mute’s part in it, what matter. The Great Scene-shifter will hush up all, in a little while. Then “hoity-toity!” where is the Emperor? Where is the shoeblack? Both quiet.16

Darkness
Speaking of the “one thing that seems to work” when “the resources of the conscious mind are exhausted”, von Franz says in “The Process of Individuation” (1964):

In myths one finds that the magic or talisman that can cure the misfortune of the king or his country always proves to be something very special. . . . Whatever it is, the thing that can drive away the evil is always unique and hard to find.

It is exactly the same in the initial crisis in the life of an individual. One is seeking something that is impossible to find or about which nothing is known. In such moments all well-meant, sensible advice is completely useless—advice that urges one to try to be responsible, to take a holiday, not to work so hard (or to work harder), to have more (or less) human contact, or to take up a hobby. None of that helps, or at best only rarely. There is only one thing that seems to work; and that is to turn directly toward the approaching darkness without prejudice and totally naively, and to try to find out what its secret aim is and what it wants from you.17

When, in 1821, Carlyle had come to a dead end, darkness fell on him during “3 weeks of total sleeplessness”.18 Of the “long, solitary, sleepless nights” of the weeks in which, as seen above, the Leith Walk incident occurred, Carlyle writes to Irving on 14 August 1821:

O! the long, solitary, sleepless nights that I have passed—with no employment but to count the pulses of my own sick heart—till the gloom of external things seemed to extend itself to the very centre of the mind, till I could remember nothing, observe nothing! All this magnificent nature appeared as if blotted out, and a grey, dirty, dismal vapour filled the immensity of space . . .19

Of the “ ‘incident in the Rue St Thomas de l’Enfer’ ”, in Sartor, having “occurred quite literally” to himself in Leith Walk, Carlyle says in his Notes to Althaus, as seen above:

Nothing in “Sartor” thereabouts is fact (symbolical myth all) except that of the “incident in the Rue St Thomas de l’Enfer,”—which occurred quite literally to myself in Lieth [Leith] Walk, during those 3 weeks of total sleeplessness, in which almost my one solace was that of a daily bathe on the sands between Lieth and Portobello.

13. TC to AC, 6 June 1821 (1: 362).
14. For a similar description in the letter of 6 June 1821, cf. ibid. See above, Ch. II.
15. TC to W. Graham, 12 June 1821 (1: 363).
18. TR: 49. Carlyle speaks of “Three weeks without any Sleep (from impossibility to be free of noise)” (ibid.: 48).
I. THE LEITH WALK INCIDENT

Incident was as I went down (coming up I generally felt a little refreshed for the hour); I remember it well, & could go yet to about the place.

To this incident in Leith Walk, which, as indicated below, marks the first stage of Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, we shall now turn our attention.

I. The Leith Walk Incident

1. Critics
   a. The Coming of the Ego into Consciousness

Speaking of the analogies between Carlyle and Jean Paul, Wellek notes: “... by far the most conspicuous analogy between any passage in Jean Paul and Carlyle is the close parallel between Jean Paul’s account of his sudden illumination, which takes the form of an inner vision, ‘Ich bin ein Ich’, with the most powerful scene of Sartor Resartus at the end of the ‘Everlasting No’ in the Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer.” Wellek is referring here to an experience which occurred to Jean Paul as “a very young child” in the village of Joditz and which he recorded in the unfinished Selberlebensbeschreibung. As translated by Carlyle from Wahrheit aus Jean Paul’s Leben, Jean Paul’s description of his Joditz experience reads:

Never shall I forget that inward occurrence, till now narrated to no mortal, wherein I witnessed the birth of my Self-consciousness, of which I can still give the place and time. One forenoon, I was standing, a very young child, in the outer door, and looking leftward at the stack of the fuel-wood,—when all at once the internal vision, “I am a Me (ich bin ein Ich),” came like a flash from heaven before me, and in gleaming light ever afterwards continued: then had my Me, for the first time, seen itself, and forever.

Of Jean Paul’s experience being that of Carlyle also, Wellek says: “No doubt it would be foolish to deny the fact of this inner illumination and the intimate reality of this very same experience for Carlyle. But as there are no contemporary references to a scene corresponding to the end

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20. TR: 49. For “the Rue St Thomas de l’Enfer”, i.e., the rue Saint-Thomas near the rue d’Enfer, see below, Ch. IX. When Carlyle, in Sartor, speaks of ‘the Rue de l’Enfer’ (“The Everlasting Yea”: 148, par. 4), ‘Saint-Thomas’ is silently understood. Cf. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 134, par. 12 (“the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer”) and “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1 (“the Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer”). Cf. also TR: 51 (“see ‘incident in Rue St Thomas’”).

21. The principal stages of Carlyle’s (Teufelsdröckh’s) quest for wholeness are indicated by roman numerals. For a “brief sketch” of “those symbolic figures and forms which are characteristic for the principal stages” of the individuation process “as elaborated by Jung”, cf. Jacobi: 109–32.

22. R. Wellek, “Carlyle and German Romanticism” (1929; rpt. 1965): 75. For this statement, cf. also Werner Leopold, Die religiöse Wurzel von Carlyles literarischer Wirksamkeit—dargestellt an seinem Aufsatz “State of German Literature” (1827), Studien zur Englischen Philologie, 62 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1922): 55, to which Wellek does not refer.


24. “J. P. F. Richter Again” (1830), E 2: 111, par. 116. Cf. SW, 4b: 92.8–15. SW is the abbreviation referring to Jean Pauls sämtliche Werke, historisch-kritische Ausgabe; erste Abteilung, Zu Lebzeiten des Dichters erschienene Werke, ed. Eduard Berend et al. (Weimar: Böhlaú, 1927–...; zweite Abteilung, Nachlass, ed. E. Berend (Weimar: Böhlaú, 1928–...); dritte Abteilung, Briefe, ed. E. Berend, 9 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952–1964). In the references to SW, the letters a, b and c, following the volume numbers in Arabic numerals, refer respectively to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Part (“Abteilung”) of SW. The line numbers are given without space after the page numbers, as in SW, 6a: 215,20.
of the ‘Everlasting No’, we may be allowed at least to conjecture that Carlyle condensed a slow
development into the dramatic form which was foreshadowed in Jean Paul’s quieter account.”

By way of comparison to Jean Paul’s account of his Joditz experience, Jung’s description,
in Memories, Dreams, Reflections, of the moment when, as a child of about twelve,26 he ‘came
upon’ himself, may here be given too:

I was taking the long road to school from Klein-Hüningen, where we lived, to Basel, when suddenly for a single
moment I had the overwhelming impression of having just emerged from a dense cloud. I knew all at once: now
I am myself! It was as if a wall of mist were at my back, and behind that wall there was not yet an “I.” But at this
moment I came upon myself. Previously I had existed, too, but everything had merely happened to me. Now I
happened to myself. Now I knew: I am myself now, now I exist. Previously I had been willed to do this and that;
now I willed. This experience seemed to me tremendously important and new: there was “authority” in me.27

Of “the coming-to-be of the self (individuation)”28 being often “confused with the coming
of the ego into consciousness”, Jung writes:

. . . again and again I note that the individuation process is confused with the coming of the ego into consciousness
and that the ego is in consequence identified with the self, which naturally produces a hopeless conceptual
muddle. Individuation is then nothing but ego-centredness and autoeroticism. But the self comprises infinitely
more than a mere ego, as the symbolism has shown from of old. It is as much one’s self, and all other selves, as
the ego. Individuation does not shut one out from the world, but gathers the world to oneself.29

b. A Victory over Himself

In his Life of Thomas Carlyle (1887), Garnett’s analysis of the Leith Walk incident reads:

It [the Leith Walk incident] may be paralleled from the experiences of St. Paul, Mahomet, Luther, and other
members of the spiritual family to which he belonged. Were it possible to analyze a mental process thus seemingly
condensed into an instant, it might perhaps in Carlyle’s case appear to be, that whereas the Everlasting No had
harassed him into deeming that his narrow circumstances and physical suffering were as substantial a reality
as the intellectual world in which he truly existed, he was surprised by the sudden perception that the latter was
the reality and the former the delusion. Such a leap from the reverse conviction was fit to make a man “strong,
of unknown strength, a spirit, almost a god.”30

Nichol, in Thomas Carlyle (1892), describes the Leith Walk incident as “a sort of revelation
that came upon him [Carlyle] as he was in Leith Walk . . . it resembled the ‘illuminations’ of
St. Paul and of Constantine merely by its being a sudden spiritual impulse. It was in no sense
a conversion to any belief in person or creed, it was but the assertion of a strong manhood
against an almost suicidal mood of despair”31 And Roe characterizes the incident as “a
struggle of will, not of belief—a moral wrestle with himself as to whether he would continue
the fight to make a living by literature in spite of the nearly overwhelming defeats of the past

27. MDR: 32–33.
29. Ibid.
months.” Wilson, in his biography of Carlyle, says of the incident: “As he faced the horror of reality worse than any Devil, feeling himself as if paralysed and pushed down, the instinct of self-preservation suddenly asserted itself like a spiritual earthquake.” And of its effect: “He returned from the sea refreshed as usual, and able to look around him with a strange composure and new interest. He was feeling his freedom, as if moving aloft in the air and looking down upon the world—he had found his spiritual wings.” Speaking, in *The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy* (1931), of Carlyle’s “deliverance” in Leith Walk, Muirhead notes that “when the crisis, described in the well-known chapter in the ‘Everlasting No’ in *Sartor Resartus*, actually came and his belief in the world as a moral order was for the time shaken, it was to nothing that he read in the philosophers that he owed his deliverance, but first to his own stalwart Puritan heart reasserting its manhood.” In *Carlyle and German Thought* (1934), Harrold describes the nature of the incident as follows:

. . . Carlyle’s experience was neither a “conversion” nor a moment of important practical decision, but an *awakening*. It was profoundly moral and psychological. It was evidently an awakening of his whole manhood against despair, a sudden realization of great inner resources with which to front a mechanical and hostile world. While no new concepts or clearly-defined convictions emerged from the experience, he nevertheless discovered in the depths of his will a force which shook “base fear” from him, and which revealed him as free and distinct from the mechanical forces of nature . . .

Referring, for the Leith Walk incident, to the description of the incident in the ‘*Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer*’ in *Sartor Resartus*, Grierson writes in “Thomas Carlyle” (1940):

. . . of the three chapters in which he outlines the religious reactions of Teufelsdroeckh in his years of despondency, the crucial one is the *Everlasting No*. He [Carlyle] never really got beyond that (nor, I think, receded from it) . . . It is in the *Everlasting No* that he rises above nature, above the world to which as an animal he belongs. Nature knows nothing of Justice or Injustice. “The everlasting No had said: Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine, the Devil’s. . . . My whole Me now made answer: “I am not thine, but Free and forever hate thee.”’ That he felt and knew from within his whole Me.

In *The Cult of the Superman* (1947), Bentley’s comment on the incident reads: “One day, as Carlyle was strolling down Leith Walk, Edinburgh, he was ‘born again’ with the suddenness in conversion of John Wesley or St. Paul. Conversion to what? The articles of Carlyle’s faith were long in evolving. What came to Carlyle on Leith Walk was not a creed, but an Everlasting Yea. Carlyle said Yea to life because he had found the virtue which hero-worshippers exalt above all others: courage. From that day scepticism was consistently depreciated by Carlyle.” And in

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the Strouse Edition of Sartor (2000), Carlyle is said to have “a conversion experience in Leith Walk, near Edinburgh, in which he commits himself to the primacy and importance of work, rather than belief or theology, as the essence of personal self-definition.”

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C. A Mystical Experience

In his edition of Sartor (1913; rpt. 1931), Parr writes of the Leith Walk incident: “This was a purely personal inspiration, a mystical communion with God, and felt to be so by Carlyle as surely as by any Hebrew Prophet of old.” Ralli, in Guide to Carlyle (1920; rpt. 1969), interprets the Leith Walk incident as Carlyle’s “Leith Walk ‘Conversion,’ where to his soul had been vouchsafed a sight of the immortal sea. So far as the human mind can admit certainty, he became certain that the ultimate cause of the universe is spiritual. Like Moses, his face shone from communion with the Highest . . .”

Basil Willey, on his part, writes in Nineteenth Century Studies (1949):

Carlyle’s ‘conversion’ or spiritual rebirth has become familiar from the account given in Sartor Resartus of Teufelsdröckh’s victory over the ‘Everlasting No’—an account which, he has told us, is true to his own experience. As in the story of many mystics, his illumination was preceded by a dark night of the soul—the ‘fixed starless Tartarean black’, in which doubt has darkened into unbelief. . . . The Christian reader will notice, in all this [i.e., in the account of the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’], a lack of conformity with the established pattern of conversion: there is no contrition, no reliance upon grace or redeeming love, but on the contrary, much proud and passionate self-assertion. The emotion that follows release is hatred and defiance of the Devil, rather than love and gratitude towards God. Nevertheless, he had found a faith, and never afterwards lost it.

And in Thomas Carlyle (1952), Symons says that Carlyle’s Leith Walk experience was “a curious experience of a kind that can only be called mystical. . . . In mystical terms, of course, such revelations have an absolute value which admits of no argument or explanation; and the Spiritual New-birth, however we may interpret it, was valuable to Carlyle because it gave him some basis of belief which was essential to him before he could be committed to any kind of action”.

In Sartor Called Resartus (1965), Tennyson maintains that “it is the validity of Carlyle’s mysticism that determines whether or not his Everlasting No is merely a glorification of his own ego.” With regard to the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, in Sartor, Tennyson states that Teufelsdröckh, gaining “strength from outside”, experienced a “mystic illumination” and a “mystic rebirth on the Rue de l’Enfer”. According to Tennyson, Teufelsdröckh’s experience in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’ is “characteristic of mystics at the

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38. SR, S.E.: xv.
40. Ralli, Guide to Carlyle (1920; rpt. 1969), I: 110. Ralli describes the Leith Walk incident as Carlyle’s “unique experience, the ascent of his soul”, when the “spiritual world” proved to be “the only Reality” (ibid.: 111). Cf. also ibid.: 26.
43. Tennyson: 314.
44. Ibid.: 293. Cf. also ibid.: 315, 318.
45. Ibid.: 313, 318.
I. THE LEITH WALK INCIDENT

moment of conversion”. Tennyson, therefore, calls the Leith Walk incident a “conversion experience” or “conversion”, and speaks of Carlyle’s biography of Schiller, published in London Magazine in 1823 and 1824, as “the first substantial post-conversion work”.

And in A Carlyle Reader (1969), Tennyson describes the Leith Walk incident as “an experience of mystic communion with a transcendent reality. . . . it gave him [Carlyle] the positive belief in God and the transcendent world that colors everything he wrote. . . . Mystic experiences are by their nature incommunicable and unverifiable. Carlyle’s is no less so than that of other mystics”. Tennyson also writes:

His [Carlyle’s] awareness of God’s existence and power came from the transfiguring experience in Leith Walk. As religious mystics rest their case in an ineffable communion with the divine, so Carlyle’s understanding of the world came to rest on his personal experience of the Open Secret, the Divine Idea of the World—that there is an animating spiritual life in the universe. . . . For Carlyle the awareness of a transcendent reality . . . meant . . . the affirmation that a whole and organic life was sustained by God’s will and subject to his judgment.

Tennyson maintains that the “mystical experience Carlyle translated into Sartor”, spans “the three chapters”, “The Everlasting No”, “Centre of Indifference” and “The Everlasting Yea”, and says of Teufelsdröckh’s experience ‘on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains’, which corresponds to Carlyle’s experience at Hoddam Hill, a “neat compact little Farm” with “a prettyish-looking Cottage for dwelling-house” upon the summit of Repentance height, near Ecclefechan:

. . . Teufelsdröckh experiences something like a second trance-like state, less intense than that moment on the Rue de l’Enfer, but nevertheless of considerable consequence in ascertaining the extent of the mysticism involved. It follows immediately upon Teufelsdröckh’s exclamation: “ ‘Or what is Nature? Ha! why do I not name thee God [God]? Art not thou the “Living Garment of God”? O Heavens, is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?’ ” Immediately that Teufelsdröckh brings himself to name God as the real meaning of nature, he experiences his second moment of mystic oneness with the divine, and at last Teufelsdröckh recognizes that he has a Father: [quotes ‘Fore-shadows’ to ‘and my Father’s’].

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46. Ibid.: 294.
47. Ibid.: 15, 60, 83.
48. Ibid.: 41. According to Tennyson, Carlyle experienced in Leith Walk “what he later called a ‘Conversion’ ” (ibid.: 14), what “he referred to later as his ‘conversion’ ” (A Carlyle Reader: xviii). Carlyle, however, nowhere refers to the Leith Walk incident as his conversion.
49. Tennyson: 41.
50. A Carlyle Reader: xviii. In Sartor Called Resartus, Tennyson calls the Leith Walk incident a “mystic illumination” (Tennyson: 40), and “surely the most powerful [sensation] Carlyle experienced in his entire life” (ibid.: 14). Cf. also ibid.: 314 and n. 27. According to Tennyson, the Leith Walk incident “has since become one of the best known personal experiences in all English literary history” (ibid.: 40).
51. A Carlyle Reader: xxv.
52. Tennyson: 314 and n. 27.
54. R: 280. See below.
55. TC to AC, 4 March 1825 (3: 291). See below.
d. An “awakening” of which the “effect was evanescent”

In “Sartor Resartus and the Problem of Carlyle’s ‘Conversion’” (1955), Moore is of the opinion that the effect of the Leith Walk incident was “evanescent”, and that “whatever good came of it was soon buried again under the same old weight of his spiritual doubts, his thwarted ambitions, and his recurrent dyspepsia”. According to Moore, “the Everlasting No was conquered” not at Leith Walk, but at Hoddam Hill, and the process of Carlyle’s ‘conversion’ came to an end not at Hoddam Hill, but with the writing of Sartor.58

2. My Interpretation: Revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’

From my analysis of the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’—which, Carlyle says, “occurred quite literally” to himself in Leith Walk—it is clear that the Leith Walk incident may be defined as Carlyle’s revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’,59 which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”, whereby “Whatever is noble, divine, inspired, drops . . . out of life” and “There remains everywhere in life a despicable caput-mortuum; the mechanical hull, all soul fled out of it”.60

Carlyle’s revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’ liberates him from the “deep, paralysed subjection”61 to ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, and makes him “feel” his “own Freedom, which feeling is” his “Baphometic Baptism”.62

The Next Two Stages

Describing figures in his fantasies during his confrontation with the unconscious and recording one of “his first attempts to talk to such figures”,63 Jung writes:

Near the steep slope of a rock I caught sight of two figures, an old man with a white beard and a beautiful young girl. I summoned up my courage and approached them as though they were real people, and listened attentively to what they told me. The old man explained that he was Elijah, and that gave me a shock. But the girl staggered me even more, for she called herself Salome! She was blind. What a strange couple: Salome and Elijah. But Elijah assured me that he and Salome had belonged together from all eternity, which completely astounded me. . . . They had a black serpent living with them which displayed an unmistakable fondness for me. I stuck close to Elijah because he seemed to be the most reasonable of the three, and to have a clear intelligence. I stuck close to Elijah because he seemed to be the most reasonable of the three, and to have a clear intelligence. Of Salome I was distinctly suspicious. Elijah and I had a long conversation which, however, I did not understand.64

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57. Moore: 668.
58. Cf. ibid.: 671, 681. Cf. also Tennyson: 40, n. 27; CL 3: 255, n. 2; 4: 142, n. 9, and Tarr in SR, S.E. (2000): 354–55. Speaking of Moore’s assertion that the process of Carlyle’s conversion only came to an end with the writing of Sartor, Walter L. Reed states in “The Pattern of Conversion in Sartor Resartus” (1971): “I would take this assertion one step further and say that in Sartor Resartus Carlyle simultaneously realizes and dramatizes a process of conversion. The conversion is not so much a private religious experience, happening prior to the recording of it, as an imaginative creation, a symbolic action worked out in literary form” (Reed: 415–16). Cf. also ibid.: 423.
59. SR, “Genesis”: 69, par. 8. See below, Ch. IX. Cf. also TR: 49.
60. HH, “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 173, par. 31. See below, Ch. IX.
61. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 80–81, par. 42.
62. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1. See below, Ch. IX.
64. MDR: 181 (Jung’s periods).
Having observed that “This trio was with him [Jung] for some time” and that “gradually the figure of Philemon”, “the most important figure in all Jung’s exploration”, “developed from Elijah”, Hannah comments:

This pair—the young girl with the old man—was destined to have a far-reaching effect on Jung’s fate, for—at much the same time as the fantasy—he made the extraordinary discovery that of all his friends and acquaintances only one young girl [Toni Wolff] was able to follow his extraordinary experiences and to accompany him intrepidly on his Nekyia to the underworld.

With regard to the figure of the snake, Wehr notes: “... the presence of a snake points to a hero myth, not because it has to do with a battle with the snake or dragon, but because the snake, which sheds its skin, embodies a being that transforms itself, expressing the transformation of the hero.”

Of the figures of Salome and Elijah, Jung writes:

Salome is an anima figure. She is blind because she does not see the meaning of things. Elijah is the figure of the wise old prophet and represents the factor of intelligence and knowledge; Salome, the erotic element. One might say that the two figures are personifications of Logos and Eros.

In Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, as will be seen below, the encounter with Goethe and Jane Welsh may be compared to what, in analytical psychology, is called the encounter with the outward form of the wise old man and the anima, in which a real man and woman become the carriers of the projection of the wise old man and the anima respectively.

II. Called “back to light, and life”

Carlyle, as seen above, first met Jane Welsh in Haddington at the end of May 1821. Looking back on the first 17 months of their acquaintanceship and on their first meeting in 1821, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle on 11 November “1822”:

Our meeting forms a memorable epoch in my history; for my acquaintance with you has from its very commencement powerfully influenced my character & life. When you saw me for the first time, I was wretched beyond description—grief at the loss of the only being I ever loved with my whole soul had weakened my body and mind—distraction of various kinds had relaxed my habits of industry—I had no counsellor that could direct

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69. MDR: 182.
70. In May 1821, Goethe (b. 28 Aug. 1749) was seventy-one and Jane Welsh (b. 14 July 1801) nineteen years of age.
71. For the inner and outward manifestation of unconscious contents, cf. Jacobi: 115.
72. For the anima and the wise old man, cf. ibid.: 114–26.
73. For the excursion to Haddington from 26 to 31 May 1821, see above.
me—no friend that understood me—the pole-star of my life was lost, and the world looked a dreary blank—
Without plan, hope, or aim I had lived two years when my good angel sent you hither—I had never heard
the language of talent and genius but from my Father’s lips—I had thought that I should never hear it more—you
spoke like him—your eloquence awoke in my soul the slumbering admirations and ambitions that His first
kindled there—I wept to think, the mind he had cultivated with such anxious, unremitting pains was running
to desolation; and I returned with renewed strength and ardour to the life that he had destined me to lead—But
in my studies I have neither the same pleasures, or the same motives as formerly—I am alone, and no one loves
me better for my industry—this solitude together with distrust of my own talents, despair of ennobling my
character, and the discouragement I meet with in devoting myself to a literary life would, I believe, have, oftener
than once, thrown me into a state of helpless despondency; had not your friendship restored me to myself, by
supplying (in as much as they can ever be supplied) the counsels and incit[ements] I have lost—74

To this, Carlyle replies on 18 November 1822:

I am more than flattered by what you say to me: if I could fairly merit the continuance of such feelings, there are
few men I should have cause to envy. The irreparable loss you have sustained is but too well known to me; I had
heard of the virtues and talents of your Father long before I dreamed that you and I should ever be acquainted;
the sad and speechless affection with which you cherished his memory was the first feature of your character
that struck me; no lovelier one shall I ever discover there. If it were possible that any exertions of mine could
never so remotely contribute to perfect what he had so nobly commenced, I should regard our meeting as a
blessed incident whatever might betide; I should feel as if this restless, fluctuating, and at times too painful life
had not been given me all in vain.75

Recalling their first meeting, Carlyle then goes on to say:

As it is,—with me far more than you the day when we first saw each other must be forever memorable. I as
little think of classing it among the ordinary dates of my history, as I do of classing you among the ordinary
mortals who have happened to become known to me. Such beings I had thought of, perhaps hoped to find; but it
was long—very long ago. You speak of advantages and obligations: if I might tell you all, you would see a very
different state of matters. If I might paint to you how wasted and woe-begone I was—a prey to black inquietudes
which had me sick of existence itself and reckless of aught good or evil that it had to offer me,—when I saw you,
like an inhabitant of some more blessed sphere as I almost believed you, descend upon my desolate and dreary
path which was fast going down, to the gates of Death,—and call me back to light, and life, and hopes more
glorious than I had ever dared to form; if— But I must not go on with this: you would laugh at me as a crack-
brained enthusiast, or we should have some furious quarrel on the subject which might last for three months to
come. It is enough that I am very happy with you: God grant it may always be so!76

Jane Welsh, when he first met her, had for Carlyle the fascination of a being “of some more
blessed sphere”77 From the sentence, “Such beings I had thought of, perhaps hoped to find; but
it was long—very long ago”, it may no doubt be inferred, therefore, that, at their first meeting,
Carlyle had placed Jane Welsh in the same category of beings as Margaret Gordon, of whom he
wrote to Graham on 15 September 1820: “I hear not of Margaret, and know not if I ever shall.

74. JBW to TC, 11 Nov. “1822” (2: 196–97). Jane Welsh’s father had died on 19 September 1819. Cf. Carlyle’s
Notes to JWC’s letters, 1: 202, and R: 50–51 (“he [her Father] caught from some poor old woman patient (who,
I think, recovered of it) a typhus fever; which, under injudicious treatment, killed him in three or four days . . .
and drowned the world for her in the very blackness of darkness”).
75. TC to JBW, 18 Nov. 1822 (2: 204).
76. Ibid.: 204–05. Cf. Reminiscences: “I was supremely dyspeptic and out of health, during those three or four
days; but they were the beginning of a new life to me” (R: 224).
Such beings are shadows, radiant shadows, that cross our path in this dark voyage; we gaze on them with rapture for a moment; and pass away—borne onward by the tide of Fate, never to behold them, never more.”

Commenting on Jung’s first experience of the projection of the anima, when he “met a pretty girl in the local Tracht (costume) . . . and found himself walking to Sachseln with her as if they ‘belonged together’ ”, Hannah writes: “Goethe was describing this experience when he said: ‘Were you not in a previous existence my sister or my bride’.” Of this feeling of having known a woman “intimately for all time”, von Franz says: “It is the presence of the anima that causes a man to fall suddenly in love when he sees a woman for the first time and knows at once that this is ‘she’. In this situation, the man feels as if he has known this woman intimately for all time . . .” Similarly, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 4 June 1821, shortly after his return from Haddington:

But alas! three o’clock is at hand; and this wonderful compound of pedagogy and sentimentality and absurdity must conclude. Excuse my impertinences. You see I never dream of remembering, that, we have not yet been quite twenty years acquainted. It seems as if we had known each other from infancy upwards, and I were simply your elder Brother. You would cut me to the quick of the heart, if you took offence at this. But you will not, I know. Addio, Donna mia cara!

Looking back, in 1822, to “the day” when they “first saw each other”, Carlyle, as seen above, speaks of Jane Welsh as calling him “back to light, and life”. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in his letter of 4 June 1821, he states: “Positively, I must see you soon—or I shall get into a very absurd state.” And of his desire to hear from her and the sentiments he had conceived towards her, he says in the same letter:

Now when you have read these volumes, I pray you to consider if it would be quite contrary to Law—‘clean again rules’ (as the creature Dougal phrased it)—to tell me in three words what you think of the Lady de Staël; to say whether, her cousin, the Lady Jane is well and happy; and whether the latter has ever deigned to cast one glance of recollection on those few Elysian hours we spent together lately? Certainly this seems a very simple matter in itself; and taking into view the satisfaction it will confer on a fellow-creature I do not see how you can spend a half-hour better than in performing it. No doubt you may refuse me; you may even forbid me to repeat such questions, however nearly the answer concern me. But it will be very cruel if you do: and even then there will be one unalienable comfort left me—the comfort, that, no man, woman or child can hinder me to cherish ‘within the secret cell of the heart,’ as long and as tenderly as I please, those sentiments of deep and affectionate interest, which I have thought meet to conceive towards you. Here I am a perfect Sultan, absolute as the Great Solyman himself.

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78. TC to W. Graham, 15 Sept. 1820 (1: 276). See also above. Jane Welsh (b. 14 July 1801) was almost three years younger than Margaret Gordon (b. 24 August 1798).
82. TC to JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 361). Jane Welsh would be twenty on 14 July 1821.
83. Ibid.: 360. For the meetings between Carlyle and Jane Welsh in 1821–1826, see Appendix IV.
84. Ibid.: 360–61. On 4 June 1821, Carlyle sent the first books to Jane Welsh, one of these being the first volume of “The Germany” by Mme de Staël.
As it turned out, Jane Welsh was to accompany Carlyle in his arduous quest for wholeness and to marry him on 17 October 1826.

Comparing “the encounter with the shadow” to “that with the anima”, Jung writes:

If the encounter with the shadow is the “apprentice-piece” in the individual’s development, then that with the anima is the “master-piece.” The relation with the anima is again a test of courage, an ordeal by fire for the spiritual and moral forces of man.

As personified component of the psyche, the anima, which Jung defines as “the archetype of life itself”, connects and involves man with life. Similarly, looking back, in 1822, on his encounter with Jane Welsh in 1821—which may be compared to the encounter with the outward form of the anima—Carlyle speaks of Jane Welsh as calling him “back to light, and life”, repeating the image twice when speaking of this period. This image is also used in Wotton Reinfred and Sartor Resartus. Wotton Reinfred reads: “He [Wotton] abandoned law and hurried into the country, not to possess his soul in peace as he hoped, but in truth, like Homer’s Bellerophon, to eat his own heart.” And in the “Everlasting No” chapter of Sartor, Teufelsdröckh observes: ‘In the midst of their crowded streets and assemblages, I walked solitary; and (except as it was my own heart, not another’s, that I kept devouring) savage also, as the tiger in his jungle.’

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85. For the Carlyle/Jane Welsh letters, 1821–1826, see Appendix IV.
86. Cf. TC to MAC, 19 Oct. 1826 (4: 152) and Notes to JWC’s letters (4: 145).
88. Ibid., par. 66. Cf. Symbols of Transformation (1911–12/1952), CW 5, par. 678 and Mysterium Coniunctionis (1955–56), CW 14, par. 313, 646. Cf. also CD, s.v. anima and animus.
89. See above.
90. TC to JBW, 18 Nov. 1822 (2: 205). See also above.
94. WR: 31. The name “Wotton” (“wotn, ‘wutn) can be linked to Old English “wuta” (acc. sing. “wutan”), meaning “scholar” (cf. also Scottish “wott, wut”), and “Reinfred” to German “rein” (“clear, pure”) and Middle English “frede” (to “feel, perceive”). Cf. Wotton asking his cousin: ‘Does Mosely keep a private bedlam for afflicted scholars [like me]?’ (WR: 9–10). Cf. also OED, s.v. frede. The name “Wotton Reinfred”, therefore, can no doubt be taken to mean: The Scholar with the Clear Perception.
95. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 133, par. 8.
II. CALLED “BACK TO LIGHT, AND LIFE”

Of the anima and the emergence of the figure of the wise old man, Jung says:

. . . the anima personifies the total unconscious so long as she is not differentiated as a figure from the other archetypes. With further differentiations the figure of the (wise) old man becomes detached from the anima and appears as an archetype of the “spirit.” He stands to her in the relationship of a “spiritual” father . . .

This brings us to the next stage of Carlyle’s quest for wholeness.

III. Perceiving the Reality of ‘the great mystic Deep’

Jung calls the wise old man “the archetype of meaning, or of the spirit”. Speaking of “a certain quality of masculine spirit” possessed by the wise old man, Hopcke notes:

Though fatherly and heroic in certain ways, the Wise Old Man is also symbolic of a certain quality of masculine spirit unrelated to Father or Hero—a quietness, a hermitlike secretiveness, a force expressed not in the phallic thrustings of the Hero or in the procreativity of the Father but a force that comes from within, a magical strength that guides and fortifies one in one’s inner struggles.

For Jung, “Philemon represented superior insight”, as Goethe did for Carlyle. Thus, in A Diary, Allingham reports Carlyle as saying, in 1877, of his early doubts about Christianity and of what Goethe had meant to him:

With Carlyle—Christianity—age fifteen, spoke to his mother—her horror. ‘Did God Almighty come down and make wheelbarrows in a shop?’ She lay awake at night for hours praying and weeping bitterly.

‘This went on about ten years. Goethe drove me out of it, taught me that the true things in Christianity survived and were eternally true; pointed out to me the real nature of life and things—not that he did this directly; but incidentally, and let me see it rather than told me. This gave me peace and great satisfaction.’

In a letter to Goethe of 20 August 1827, some 15 months after the Hoddam Hill period, Carlyle acknowledges his debt to the former as follows:

You are kind enough to inquire about my bygone life. With what readiness could I speak to you of it, how often have I longed to pour out the whole history before you! As it is, your works have been a mirror to me; unasked and unhoped for, your wisdom has counselled me; and so peace and health of soul have visited me from afar. For I was once an Unbeliever, not in Religion only, but in all the Mercy and Beauty of which it is the symbol; storm-tossed in my own imaginings; a man divided from men; exasperated, wretched, driven almost to despair; so that Faust’s wild curse seemed the only fit greeting for human life, and his passionate Fluch vor allen der Geduld! was spoken from my very inmost heart. But now, thank Heaven, all this is altered: without change of external circumstances, solely by the new light which rose upon me, I attained to new thoughts, and a composure which I should once have considered as impossible.

97. Symbols of Transformation (1911–12/1952), CW 5, par. 678.
100. MDR: 183.
And in reply to a letter in which Sterling had stated: “... I have a deeply rooted & old persuasion that he [Goethe] was the most splendid of anachronisms—a thoroughly nay intensely Pagan Life in an age when it is men’s duty to be Christian”, Carlyle says on 25 December 1837:

Study the man [Goethe], my friend; get acquainted with him; you will most probably be obliged to get acquainted with him yet. Then; I think, you will find him not an Anachronism in any wise, but a Chronism, nay the only one hitherto discovered on this Planet of ours in these distracted days of ours. No other man whatever, as I say always, has yet ascertained what Christianity is to us, and what Paganity is, and all manner of other anities whatsoever; and been alive at all points in his own year of grace with the life appropriate to that. This in brief is the definition I have always given of the man since I first knew him: the sight of such a man was to me a Gospel of Gospels, and did literally I believe save me from destruction outward and inward. We are far parted now; but the memory of him shall ever be blessed to me as that of a Deliverer from death.103

“The main thing Philemon taught” Jung, has been described as follows:

The main thing Philemon taught him [Jung], which really gave him the key to his whole psychology, was the reality of the psyche. He did this in a very plastic way. He told him that he (Jung) regarded his own thoughts as if he had made them himself (which is indeed the usual Western prejudice). But Philemon said that to him thoughts were much more like animals in the forest or people in a room and added: “If you should see people in a room, you would not think that you had made those people, or that you were responsible for them.” It was through Philemon that Jung learned the objectivity and reality of the psyche, its absolutely independent existence. We can explore it, but we can influence it only in an exceedingly limited degree, in fact often not at all. I think this is a crucial point, for it is just here that most of the misunderstandings regarding Jungian psychology arise. Investigations of the unconscious are exactly like any other science; you can investigate only what is there, the particular animals that appear in your forest, to borrow Philemon’s illustration. But just as many people walk through forests unaware of the animals that are there (often watching them intently), so many people—even, alas, the great majority—never see or hear anything from the unconscious. It is a general human characteristic for people to assert that what they cannot sense does not exist, so they deny the objective existence of the unconscious. Then they think themselves justified in calling statements of these facts, which they do not see, “mystical,” “esoteric,” anything but the scientific statements they really are.104

Similarly, in Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, Goethe let him see ‘the real nature of life and things’105 by making him see the reality of ‘the great mystic Deep’ and that ‘all that we do springs out of Mystery, Spirit, Invisible Force’.106

The Drawing Back of the Ego

Of the apparent victory of the ego over the anima, and of the ego having to “draw back” to stop “possession by the magician”, Jung writes:

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104. Hannah: 122, quoting MDR: 183. Cf. also Hannah: 68. “To distinguish it from ego consciousness, which is subjective, Jung characterized the collective unconscious as the ‘objective psyche’ because it is nonpersonal and, in its power to generate images and concepts, independent of consciousness. The personal unconscious also functions autonomously, that is, independently of the ego, but it is dependent on consciousness for its contents, which have been repressed” (Mattoon: 38). For “the discovery of the autonomy of psychic factors”, cf. also Aniela Jaffé, ed., C. G. Jung: Word and Image, trans. Krishna Winston, Bollingen Series 97, Pt 2 (Princeton N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979): 66–68, 188.
106. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 137, par. 4. See below, Ch. IX.
... how has it [the ego] appropriated the [anima’s] mana? If it was really the ego that conquered the anima, then the mana does indeed belong to it, and it would be correct to conclude that one has become important. But why does not this importance, the mana, work upon others? That would surely be an essential criterion! It does not work because one has not in fact become important, but has merely become adulterated with an archetype, another unconscious figure. Hence we must conclude that the ego never conquered the anima at all and therefore has not acquired the mana. All that has happened is a new adulteration, this time with a figure of the same sex corresponding to the father-imago, and possessed of even greater power. ... Thus he becomes a superior, to all powers, a demigod at the very least. “I and the Father are one”—this mighty avowal in all its awful ambiguity is born of just such a psychological moment.

In the face of this, our pitifully limited ego, if it has but a spark of self-knowledge, can only draw back and rapidly drop all pretense of power and importance. It was a delusion: the conscious mind has not become master of the unconscious, and the anima has forfeited her tyrannical power only to the extent that the ego was able to come to terms with the unconscious. This accommodation, however, was not a victory of the conscious over the unconscious, but the establishment of a balance of power between the two worlds.

Hence the “magician” could only take possession of the ego because the ego dreamed of victory over the anima. That dream was an encroachment, and every encroachment of the ego is followed by an encroachment from the unconscious ... Consequently, if the ego drops its claim to victory, possession by the magician ceases automatically.

For a similar drawing back of the ego in Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, his Journal entry of 21 September 1825 may here be examined in conjunction with related passages in Sartor Resartus, which may here be looked at first.

Having ‘reached’ ‘the Centre of Indifference’, ‘through which whoso travels from the Negative Pole to the Positive must necessarily pass’, Teufelsdröckh says:

1. that he ‘paused’ in his ‘wild wanderings’;
2. that ‘it was as if the hour of change drew nigh’;
3. that he ‘seemed to surrender, to renounce utterly’;
4. that, for him, ‘the Family of Man has no use’, rejecting him, so that he is ‘wholly as a dissevered limb’;
5. that he ‘will chase ... no more’, ‘believe ... ‘no more’, the ‘false shadows of Hope’;
6. though, as the Editor points out, “surely his [Teufelsdröckh’s] bands are loosening”, and “one day he will hurl the burden far from him, and bound forth free and with a second youth”.
7. Teufelsdröckh concludes his remarks by saying: ‘Let me rest here: for I am way-weary and life-weary; I will rest here, were it but to die: to die or to live is alike to me; alike insignificant.’

I have quoted these statements from Sartor in a sequence corresponding to the sequence of thought in the following Notebook entry of 21 September 1825, written at Hoddam Hill, where Carlyle lived from 26 May 1825 to 26 May 1826:

Hoddam Hill. A hiatus valde deflendus! [A very regrettable gap!] [1] Since the last line was written [in January 1824], what a wandering to and fro, how many sad vicissitudes of despicable suffering and inaction have I
undergone! This little book and the desk that carries it have passed a summer and winter in London, since I last opened it; and I their foolish owner have roamed about the brick-built Babylon, the sooty Brummagem, and Paris the Vanity-fair of our modern world! [2] My mood of mind is changed: is it improved? Weiss nicht [Don’t know]. This stagnation is not peace, or it is the peace of Galgacus’ Romans: *ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*

[3] How difficult it is to free one’s mind from *cant,* how very seldom are the principles we act on clear to our own reason! Of the great nostrums “forgetfulness of self” and “humbling of vanity,” it were better therefore to say nothing: in my speech concerning them I overcharge the impression they have made on me, for my Conscience like my sense of Pain or Pleasure has grown dull, and I secretly desire to compensate for laxity of *feeling* by intenseness of *describing.* How much of these great nostrums is the product of necessity? Am I like a sorry hack *content* to feed on heather while rich clover seems to lie around it at a little distance, because in struggling to break the tether it has almost hanged itself? O that I could “go out of the body to philosophize!” That I could even feel as old the glory and magnificence of things till my own little *mio (mein kleines Ich)* were swallowed up and lost in them! (partly *cant!* But I cannot, I cannot! Shall I ever more? *Gott weiss.* [4] At present I am but an *abgerissenes Glied,* a limb torn off from the family of Man, excluded from activity, with Pain for my companion, and [5] Hope that comes to all rarely visiting me, and what is stranger rarely desired with vehemence! Unhappy man in whom the body has gained mastery over the soul! Inverse Sensualist, not drawn into the rank of beasts by pleasure, but driven into it by pain! [6] Hush! Hush! Perhaps this is the Truce which weary Nature has conquered for herself to re-collect her scattered strength! Perhaps like an Eagle (or a Goose) she will “mew her mighty youth” and fly against the sun, or at least fish paddocks with equanimity, like other birds of a similar feather; and no more lie among the pots, winged, maimed and plucked, doing nothing but chirp like a chicken in the coop for the livelong day. “Jook and let the jaw gae by,”* my pretty Sir: when this solitude becomes intolerable to you, it will be time enough to quit it for the dreary blank which society and the bitterest activity have hitherto afforded you. You deserve considerable pity Mr. C.; and likewise considerable contempt. [7] Heaven be your comforter my worthy Sir, you are in a promising condition at this present; sinking to the bottom, yet laid down to sleep; Destruction brandishing his sword above you, and you quietly desiring him to take your life but spare your rest! *Gott hilf Ihnen!* [God help you!]

From the parallel reading of these statements in *Sartor* and the Notebook entry of 21 September 1825, it is clear that, circa 21 September 1825, Carlyle has reached what in *Sartor* is called the Centre of Indifference, which phrase may be explained as follows. When Teufelsdröckh says, as seen above: ‘This . . . was the Centre of Indifference I had now reached; through which whoso travels from the Negative Pole to the Positive must necessarily pass’, he is evidently speaking of the neutral state of mind reached by him after the ‘wanderings’ that followed the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, and before his experience of the Divine Idea of the World ‘on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains’. This neutral state of mind is described by him as the state of mind in which to have all his wishes ‘sniffed aside’—as, up to now, they ‘have all been’—or to have them ‘all granted’; to be ‘Nothing,
IV. EXPERIENCE OF THE DIVINE IDEA OF THE WORLD

Nobody’—as he ‘still’ is—or to be ‘Something, Somebody’; to die or to live—are ‘alike’ to him; ‘alike insignificant’.

In “The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1928), Jung makes clear that the ego has to “draw back” before “the self”, or “the God within us ”, can be experienced. Similarly, in terms of Sartor, the ego in Carlyle ‘needed to be annihilated’—as it evidently was circa 21 September 1825—before ‘the Godlike that is in Man’ could be recognized by him, i.e., before he could experience the Divine Idea of the World, referred to in Sartor as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”. To this experience, which marks the last stage in Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, we shall now turn our attention.

IV. Experience of the Divine Idea of the World

Of the question “what happens to the mana” when “the ego drops its claim to victory”, Jung says:

. . . if the ego drops its claim to victory, possession by the magician ceases automatically. But what happens to the mana? Who or what becomes mana when even the magician can no longer work magic? So far we only know that neither the conscious nor the unconscious has mana, for it is certain that when the ego makes no claim to power there is no possession, that is to say, the unconscious too loses its ascendancy. In this situation the mana must have fallen to something that is both conscious and unconscious, or else neither. This something is the desired “mid-point” of the personality, that ineffable something betwixt the opposites, or else that which unites them, or the result of conflict, or the product of energetic tension: the coming to birth of personality, a profoundly individual step forward, the next stage.

115. Cf. ibid.: 146, par. 20.
116. Cf. SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 149, par. 5. See also below, Ch. IX.
118. SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 153, par. 15. Cf. ibid.: 149, par. 5, where Teufelsdröckh speaks of the ‘first preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self (Selbst-tödtung)’ as having ‘been happily accomplished’.
120. It may here be noted that, at Hoddam Hill, Carlyle translated Goethe’s “Märchen” (1795) from ca. 29 Oct. ca. 8 Nov. 1825. Cf. CL 3: 407, 419. Annotated and slightly revised between 26 July and 12 Aug. 1832 (cf. CL 6: 194, 200), this translation was first published in Fraser’s Magazine in Oct. 1832 (cf. “The Tale”, E 2: 454–79). In his annotation of 1832, Carlyle makes clear that he looked upon “The Tale” as “the deepest Poem of its sort in existence, as the only true Prophecy emitted for who knows how many centuries” (ibid.: 479, n. 2), i.e., as the Prophecy that “the Natural and Supernatural shall henceforth . . . be one” (ibid.: 477, n. 1). Goethe’s “Märchen”, therefore, may well have played an important part in the final stage of Carlyle’s quest for wholeness (see below), when he came to see “the sacred mystery of the Universe; what Goethe calls ‘the open secret’ ” (HH, “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4), and “the Natural” as “being the Supernatural” (Journal entry for 31 March 1833, F 2: 345 and CL 6: 367, n. 28). Cf. “The Tale” (1832): “Which is the most important [secret]?” said the silver King.—‘The open one,’ replied the other [i.e., the old Man]” (E 2: 460), on which D. T. comments: “Reader, hast thou any glimpse of the ‘open secret’? I fear, not” (ibid., n. 1). For “Das Märchen” in Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten (1795), see App. I, 4. For Carlyle and “Das Märchen”, see App. V, 1.
121. For mana, see above.
122. “The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1928), CW 7, par. 382. In connection with the differentiation of “the ego from the archetype of the mana-personality”, Jung notes: “It is now [when ‘differentiating the ego from the archetype of the mana-personality’] quite possible that, instead of identifying with the mana-personality, one will concretize it as an extramundane ‘Father in Heaven,’ complete with the attribute of absoluteness—something that many people seem very prone to do. This would be tantamount to giving the unconscious a preponderance that was just as absolute (if one’s faith could be pushed that far!), so that all value would flow over to that side. The logical result is that the only thing left behind here is a miserable, inferior, worthless, and sinful little heap of humanity. This solution, as we know, has become an historical world view” (ibid., par. 394). For Jung on the shift of “the centre of gravity of the total personality” from the ego to the Self corresponding to “the aim” of “the Christian sacrament of baptism”, see below.
And of the “beginnings of our whole psychic life” being “rooted” in the Self or “the ‘God within us’”:

. . . the dissolution of the mana-personality through conscious assimilation of its contents leads us, by a natural route, back to ourselves as an actual, living something, poised between two world-pictures and their darkly discerned potencies. This “something” is strange to us and yet so near, wholly ourselves and yet unknowable, a virtual centre of so mysterious a constitution that it can claim anything—kinship with beasts and gods, with crystals and with stars—without moving us to wonder, without even exciting our disapprobation. This “something” claims all that and more, and having nothing in our hands that could fairly be opposed to these claims, it is surely wiser to listen to this voice.

I have called this centre the self; Intellectually the self is no more than a psychological concept, a construct that serves to express an unknowable essence which we cannot grasp as such, since by definition it transcends our powers of comprehension. It might equally well be called the “God within us.” The beginnings of our whole psychic life seem to be inextricably rooted in this point, and all our highest and ultimate purposes seem to be striving towards it. This paradox is unavoidable, as always, when we try to define something that lies beyond the bourn of our understanding.

Similarly, after the drawing back of the ego circa 21 September 1825, Carlyle, as is clear from Sartor and the Hoddam Hill accounts of 1866 and 1869, comes to see “the sacred mystery of the Universe . . . That divine mystery, which lies everywhere in all Beings, ‘the Divine Idea of the World’”, which “to discern”, “to seize”, and “live wholly in”, “is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom”.

123. Quoting Jung as saying: “The ego is the only content of the self that we do know. The individuated ego senses itself as the object of an unknown and superordinate subject” (ibid., par. 405), Jacobi goes on to note: “Concerning its contents we cannot say more. In any such attempt we come up against the limits of our knowledge. For we can only experience the self” (Jacobi: 131). For the ego as centre of consciousness, see above.
124. In “Jung and Religious Belief”, CW 18, par. 1624, Jung is quoted as writing: “Individuation is the life in God, as mandala psychology clearly shows. . . . The symbols of the self coincide with those of the Deity. The self is not the ego, it symbolizes the totality of man and he is obviously not whole without God. That seems to be what is meant by incarnation and incidentally by individuation.” Extract “from H. L. Philp, Jung and the Problem of Evil (London, 1958)”. Cf. CW 18: 702, n. 1.
125. Comparing the Self or “the ‘God within us’” and the ego to the sun and the earth, Jung notes: “. . . the self has as much to do with the ego as the sun with the earth. They are not interchangeable. Nor does it [the self] imply a deification of man or a dethronement of God”, and he goes on to state: “Sensing the self as something irrational, as an indefinable existent, to which the ego is neither opposed nor subjected, but merely attached, and about which it revolves very much as the earth revolves round the sun—thus we come to the goal of individuation—The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1928), CW 7, pars. 400 and 405.
126. Ibid., pars. 398–99. Of the “urge to regard God as ‘absolute’”, Jung says: “Quite apart from the fact that a man can know even less about God than an ant can know of the contents of the British Museum, this urge to regard God as ‘absolute’ derives solely from the fear that God might become ‘psychological.’ This would naturally be dangerous. An absolute God, on the other hand, does not concern us in the least, whereas a ‘psychological’ God would be real. This kind of God could reach man. The Church seems to be a magical instrument for protecting man against this eventuality, since it is written: ‘It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God’ ” (ibid., par. 394, n.).
128. HH (1841), “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4.
129. “State of German Literature” (1827), E I: 58, par. 34. In analytical psychology, individuation refers to the process by which the conscious and unconscious parts of the psyche are integrated and wholeness is established through the “union of ego and self” (CW 8, par. 430, n. 128) or “the ‘God within us’”. Similarly, the process of Carlyle’s conversion may be defined as the process by which, in terms of “Signs of the Times” (1829), the balance is restored between the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”, and wholeness is established through union with the Divine Idea of the World, referred to by Carlyle as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind” (SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1). See below, Ch. IX.
Jung refers to the Self, or “the ‘God within us’ ”, as “the archetype of order par excellence”.

Similarly, the Divine Idea of the World Carlyle is speaking of, may be defined as an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power in the Unknown Deep of nature.


The unconscious is a hidden, transcendental realm of being, an unknowable reality. That is why we cannot apprehend its workings and its powers directly. As they are autonomous, man cannot control them, “nor can he free himself or escape from them, and therefore he feels them as overpowering”. It is their overpoweringness that lends them numinosity and that compels man to describe them as divine. “Recognising that they do not spring from his conscious personality, he calls these powers mana, daemon, or God. Science employs the term ‘the unconscious’, thus admitting that it knows nothing about it, for it can know nothing about the substance of the psyche when the sole means of knowing anything is the psyche. Therefore the validity of such terms as mana, daemon, or God can be neither disproved nor affirmed. We can, however, establish that the sense of strangeness connected with the experience of something apparently objective, outside the psyche, is authentic . . . Hence I prefer the term ‘the unconscious’, knowing that I might equally well speak of ‘God’ or ‘daemon’ if I wished to express myself in mythic language. When I do use such mythic language, I am aware that ‘mana’, ‘daemon’ and ‘God’ are synonyms for the unconscious—that is to say, we know just as much or as little about them as about the latter. People only believe they know much more about them, and for certain purposes that belief is far more useful and effective than a scientific concept.”

This passage comes from Jung’s memoirs. It recapitulates and sums up what he has said in numerous writings and verified from empirical material. In the retrospect of the memoirs, it distils the essence of his religious experience and of his investigation of religious phenomena.

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136. Cf. Jaffé: “. . . it [the unconscious] is a boundless realm that remains hidden . . . The marvellous thing about the unconscious is that it is really unconscious”, he [Jung] was fond of saying, and “the concept of the unconscious posits nothing, it only designates my unknowing” (Letter, February 1946) (Jaffé: 14).
137. Citing Memories, Dreams, Reflections: 336–37 (310). Cf. Jaffé: 161, n. 28. In this note, Jaffé quotes “Answer to Job”, par. 757: “It is only through the psyche that we can establish that God acts upon us, but we are unable to distinguish whether these actions emanate from God or from the unconscious. We cannot tell whether God and the unconscious are two different entities. Both are borderline concepts for transcendental contents.”
And speaking, in this connection, of “one of the commonest misunderstandings levelled against his [Jung’s] psychology of religion”, Jaffé goes on to say:

It would nevertheless be a mistake if the impossibility of distinguishing between “God” and “the unconscious” led one to infer from their synonymity that Jung predicated or assumed their identity. This is one of the commonest misunderstandings levelled against his psychology of religion. The indistinguishableness refers only to the experience, not to that which is experienced. In Jung’s careful formulation: “This is certainly not to say that what we call the unconscious is identical with God or is set up in his place. It is simply the medium from which religious experience seems to flow. As to what the further cause of such experience may be, the answer to this lies beyond the range of human knowledge. Knowledge of God is a transcendental problem.”

Although God and the unconscious cannot be distinguished in our subjective experience, as self-subsistent entities they cannot be assumed to be identical. What does emerge from the unfathomableness of both God and the unconscious is the synonymity of the two concepts.

Similarly, Carlyle, who no longer believed in a God “at once immanent (active) in the created world and transcendent (separate) from it”, expresses himself in mythic language when using the term “the Divine Idea of the World”, the experience of an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power in the Unknown Deep of nature being indistinguishable from the experience of God.

With regard to the existence of the collective unconscious, Jaffé notes: “For Jung . . . ‘the existence of an unconscious psyche is as likely, shall we say, as the existence of an as yet undiscovered planet, whose presence is inferred from the deviations of some known planetary orbit. Unfortunately we lack the aid of a telescope that would make certain its existence’. The unconscious is an hypothesis.”

For Carlyle, on the other hand, the existence of the ‘great
mystic’ Unknown Deep of nature and its hidden force, the Divine Idea of the World, is a matter of belief.143

The Hoddam Hill Accounts of 1866 and 1869

1. “a grand and ever-joyful victory”
Looking back, in 1866, on the year spent at Hoddam Hill144 from 26 May 1825 to 26 May 1826, which he calls “perhaps the most triumphantly important” year of his life, Carlyle writes in Reminiscences:

This year I found that I had conquered all my scepticisms, agonising doubtings, fearfull wrestlings with the foul and vile and soul-murdering Mud-gods of my Epoch; had escaped, as from a worse than Tartarus, with all its Phlegethons and Stygian quagmires; and was emerging, free in spirit, into the eternal blue of ether,—where, blessed be Heaven, I have, for the spiritual part, ever since lived; looking down upon the welterings of my poor fellow-creatures, in such multitudes and millions, still stuck in that fatal element; and have had no concern whatever in their Puseyisms, Ritualisms, Metaphysical controversies and cobwebberies; and no feeling of my own, except honest silent pity for the serious or religious part of them, and occasional indignation, for the poor world’s sake, at the frivolous, secular and impious part, with their Universal Suffrages, their Nigger Emancipations, Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Societies, and “Unexampled Prosperities,” for the time being!145

Of an “Exodus into wider horizons” for “all”, Carlyle says in “Jesuitism”, the final pamphlet of Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850):

If it please Heaven, we shall all yet make our Exodus from Houndsditch, and bid the sordid continents, of once rich apparel now grown poisonous Ou’-clo’, a mild farewell! Exodus into wider horizons, into God’s daylight


144. Of “Hoddam Hill (close by the ‘Tower of Repentance,’ as if symbolically!)”, Carlyle writes in Reminiscences: “A neat compact little Farm, rent £100, which my Father had leased for me; on which was a prettyish-looking Cottage for dwelling-house” (R: 280), which, Carlyle says in his Notes to JWC’s letters, “had the finest and vastest prospect all round it I ever saw from any house: from Tyndale Fell to St Bees Head, all Cumberland as in amphitheatre unmatchable; Galloway mountns, Moffat mountns, Selkirk do, Roxburgh do; nowise indiffert ever to me” (3: 378). Cf. also TR: 52, R: 281 and CL 3: 373, 377. For early references to Hoddam Hill, cf. TC to AC, 4 March 1825, 3: 291 (“a dwelling-place upon the summit of Repentance height”); TC to JAC, 7 March 1825, 1: 297 (“the farm of Repentance Hill”) and 21 March 1825, 3: 305 (“the colony of Repentance Hill”), and TC to JBW, 23 March 1825, 3: 307–08 (“Hoddam Hill, a farm of which I, or Brother Alick for me, am actually tenant! . . . The ancient Tower of Repentance stands on a corner of the farm; a fit memorial for reflecting sinners. . . . Here then will I establish my home, till I have conquered the fiend that harrasses me; and afterwards my place of retreat, till some more suitable one shall come within my reach”). By 1904, the farm had “become part of the larger farm of West Trailtrow” (cf. Marrs: 199 and CL 3: 291, n. 1).

145. R: 281–82. Carlyle here speaks of having “gained an immense victory” (ibid.: 282) and of “this grand spiritual battle now gained” (ibid.). This account of the Hoddam Hill period occurs in the reminiscence “Edward Irving”, written in September 1866–2 January 1867 (cf. ibid.: 292–93, 307). Of his “year at Hoddam Hill”, Carlyle writes in this reminiscence: “With all its manifold petty troubles, this year at Hoddam Hill has a rustic beauty and dignity to me; and lies now like a not ignoble russet-coated Idyll in my memory: one of the quietest on the whole, and perhaps the most triumphantly important of my life. I lived very silent, diligent, had long solitary rides (on my wild Irish horse ‘Larry,’ good for the dietetic part);—my meditatings, musings and reflections were continual; thoughts went wandering (or travelling) through Eternity, through Time, and through Space, so far as poor I had scanned or known;—and were now, to my endless solacement, coming back with tidings to me!” (ibid.: 281).
once more; where eternal skies, measuring more than three ells, shall again overarch us; and men, immeasurably richer for having dwelt among the Hebrews, shall pursue their human pilgrimage . . .

In “Jesuitism”, however, Carlyle also makes clear that the “Exodus from Houndsditch” cannot be made until, as he puts it, “we have got our own along with us”:

We cannot make our Exodus from Houndsditch till we have got our own along with us! The Jew old-clothes having now grown fairly pestilential, a poisonous incumbrance in the path of men, burn them up with revolutionary fire, as you like and can: even so,—but you shall not quit the place till you have gathered from their ashes what of gold or other enduring metal was sewed upon them, or woven in the tissue of them. That is the appointed course of human things.

What Carlyle got along with him as his own was the belief in an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power pervading the universe, though he no longer believed it to be the power of a God “at once immanent (active) in the created world and transcendent (separate) from it”. In Reminiscences, therefore, he writes: “The sound of the Kirk-bell, once or twice on Sunday mornings (from Hoddam Kirk, about a mile off on the plain below me), was strangely touching,—like the departing voice of eighteen hundred years.”

In the Hoddam Hill account of 1869, the victory at Hoddam Hill is described by Carlyle as “a grand and ever-joyful victory getting itself achieved at last! The final chaining down, and trampling home, ‘for good,’ home into their caves forever, of all my Spiritual Dragons, whh had wrought me such woe and, for a decade past, had made my life black and bitter”. In

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146. *LP*, “Jesuitism”: 329–30, par. 62. Cf. the section “Exodus from Houndsditch” in F 3: 423–27. “The Exodus . . . always lay before him [Carlyle] as a thing that would have to be, if men were ever to recover their spiritual stature” (ibid.: 425). Houndsditch, London EC3, near Liverpool Street Station, “is a street in the City long known as the seat of usurers and sellers of cast-off clothes” (A. M. D. Hughes, ed., *Past and Present*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1918: 281). The name, therefore, Hughes goes on to say, “passes for anything second-hand, antiquated, or shoddy. . . . Thus [for Carlyle] all antiquated or unvital beliefs and usages . . . were of Houndsditch”. The street was named after “a ditch outside the city walls into which dead dogs were thrown” (M. K. Goldberg and J. P. Seigel, eds., *Carlyle’s Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Canadian Federation for the Humanities, 1983: 544, n. 20).

147. *LP*, “Jesuitism”: 330, par. 63. On 9 Feb. 1848, Carlyle writes in his Journal: “‘Exodus from Houndsditch.’ That, alas! is impossible as yet, though it is the gist of all writings and wise books, I sometimes think—the goal to be wisely aimed at as the first of all for us. Out of Houndsditch, indeed! Ah, were we but out, and had our own along with us! But they that come out hitherto come in a state of brutal nakedness, scandalous mutilation; and impartial bystanders say sorrowfully, ‘Return rather, it is better even to return’ ” (F 3: 423).


149. Cf. Carlyle’s Notes to Jane Welsh’s letter of 1 October “1826” (4: 142). For date, 1869, cf. ibid.: 145.

150. Ibid.: 142. See also below. Of the Hoddam Hill period, Carlyle writes in these Notes: “My Translation work went steadily on;—the pleasantest kind of labour I ever had; cd be done by task, in whatt humour or conditions one was in: and was, day by day (ten pages a-day, I think) punctually and comfortably so performed. Internally, too, there were far higher things going on; a grand and ever-joyful victory getting itself achieved at last! . . . I rode abt, a great deal, in all kinds of weather, that winter & summer; generally quite alone; & did not want for meditations, no longer of defiantly hopeless, or quite unpious nature—” (ibid.). For Carlyle’s translation work at Hoddam Hill, cf. App. VIII, 2.
Froude’s biography of Carlyle, the footnote to this passage reads: “First battle won in the Rue de l’Enfer—Leith Walk—four years before. Campaign not ended till now.”

2. The “sacred mystery of the Universe”

Speaking, in the Hoddam Hill account of 1866, of his indebtedness to Goethe, who had been to him “a Gospel of Gospels” and “a Deliverer from death”, Carlyle says: “I then felt, and still feel, endlessly indebted to Goethe in the business; he, in his fashion, I perceived, had travelled the steep rocky road before me,—the first of the moderns.” It may here be noted that, shortly after finishing MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II, Carlyle wrote to Goethe “Endless gratitude I owe you; for it is by you that I have learned what worth there is in man for his brother man; and how the ‘open secret,’ tho’ the most are blind to it, is still open for whoso has an eye.” Through Goethe, therefore, Carlyle came to see “the sacred mystery of the Universe; what Goethe calls ‘the open secret’.”

Of the “Prophet and Poet, well understood”, penetrating “both of them into the sacred mystery of the Universe”, Carlyle says in “The Hero as Poet”:

Poet and Prophet differ greatly in our loose modern notions of them. In some old languages, again, the titles are synonymous; Vates means both Prophet and Poet: and indeed at all times, Prophet and Poet, well understood, have much kindred of meaning. Fundamentally indeed they are still the same; in this most important respect especially, That they have penetrated both of them into the sacred mystery of the Universe; what Goethe calls ‘the open secret.’ ‘Which is the great secret?’ asks one.—‘The open secret,’—open to all, seen by almost none! That divine mystery, which lies everywhere in all Beings, ‘the Divine Idea of the World,’ that which lies at ‘the bottom of Appearance,’ as Fichte styles it; of which all Appearance, from the starry sky to the grass of the field, but especially the Appearance of Man and his work, is but the vesture, the embodiment that renders it visible. This divine mystery is in all times and in all places; veritably is. In most times and places it is greatly overlooked; and the Universe, definable always in one or the other dialect, as the realised Thought of God, is considered a trivial, inert, commonplace matter,—as if, says the Satirist, it were a dead thing, which some upholsterer had put together! It could do no good, at present, to speak much about this; but it is a pity for every one of us if we do not know it, live ever in the knowledge of it. Really a most mournful pity;—a failure to live at all, if we live otherwise!

And in “The Hero as Man of Letters”, Carlyle writes that, to Goethe, “in a strange way, there was given what we may call a life in the Divine Idea of the World; vision of the inward divine mystery: and strangely, out of his Books, the world rises imaged once more as godlike, the workmanship and temple of a God. . . . really a Prophecy in these most unprophetic times; to my mind, by far the greatest, though one of the quietest, among all the great things that have

151. F 1: 330, n. 1. Of Jung’s “descent into the unconscious”, Jaffé writes: “His object was to explore its deeper layers . . . So Jung embarked on the psychic adventure of exposing himself to the ‘undefined and indefinable’. He was the first to do so and to go it alone with no inkling of where it would lead him. . . . The confrontation lasted over four years (1912–16)” (Jaffé: 57).
152. TC to J. Sterling, 25 Dec. 1837 (9: 381), quoted more fully above.
154. TC to Goethe, 13 Aug. 1831 (5: 325–26).
156. HH (1841), “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4. For the passage: “ ‘Which is the great secret?’ asks one.—‘The open secret,’—open to all, seen by almost none!”, cf. “The Tale” (1832), E 2: 460 and n. 1, quoted above.
come to pass in them. . . . We have had no such spectacle; no man capable of affording such, for the last hundred-and-fifty years."\textsuperscript{157} For Carlyle, therefore, Goethe was the Poet-Prophet by whom 'the Godlike', as he puts it in \textit{Sartor}, had 'been again prophetically revealed': 'And knowest thou no Prophet, even in the vesture, environment, and dialect of this age? None to whom the Godlike had revealed itself, through all meanest and highest forms of the Common; and by him been again prophetically revealed: in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days, Man's Life again begins, were it but afar off, to be divine? Knowest thou none such? I know him, and name him—Goethe.'\textsuperscript{158}

Of Goethe "embodying the nobleness of the past into a new whole", Carlyle says in “Goethe’s Works” (1832):

\dots with an eye that takes-in all provinces of human Thought, Feeling, and Activity, does the Poet [Goethe] stand forth as the true prophet of his time; victorious over its contradiction, possessor of its wealth; embodying the nobleness of the past into a new whole, into a new vital nobleness for the present and the future. Antique nobleness in all kinds, yet worn with new clearness; the spirit of it is preserved and again revealed in shape, when the former shape and vesture had become old (as vesture does), and was dead and cast forth; and we mourned as if the spirit too were gone. This, we are aware, is a high saying; applicable to no other man living, or that has lived for some two centuries; ranks Goethe, not only as the highest man of his time, but as a man of universal Time, important for all generations,—one of the landmarks in the History of Men.\textsuperscript{159}

Goethe was for Carlyle the exponent of what in \textit{Sartor} is called Natural Supernaturalism: “For Goethe . . . the world lies all translucent, all \textit{fusible} we might call it, encircled with Wonder; the Natural in reality the Supernatural, for to the seer’s eyes both become one.”\textsuperscript{160} Of Natural Supernaturalism, i.e., the belief in an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power, called the Divine Idea of the World, in the Unknown Deep of nature, and the value of ‘true belief’, Carlyle writes in his Journal on 13 February 1833:

[\textit{CL.}] That the Supernatural differs not from the Natural is a great truth, which the last century (especially in France) has been engaged in demonstrating. The Philosophes went far wrong, however, in this, that instead of raising the Natural to the Supernatural, they strove to sink the Supernatural to the Natural. The gist of my whole way of thought is to do not the latter but the \textit{former}. [\textit{F.}] I feel it to be the epitome of much good for this and

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  \item \textsuperscript{157} \textit{HH} (1841), “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 157–58, par. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{158} \textit{SR}, “Organic Filaments”: 202, par. 23.
  \item \textsuperscript{159} “Goethe's Works” (1832), \textit{E} 2: 433–34, par. 67. Characterizing Goethe as the great, modern opponent of the view that there is “nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”, Carlyle concludes this essay by saying: “So did he catch the Music of the Universe, and unfold it into clearness, and in authentic celestial tones bring it home to the hearts of men, from amid that soul-confusing Babylonish hubbub of this our new Tower-of-Babel era. For now too, as in that old time, had men said to themselves: Come, let us build a tower which shall reach to heaven; and by our steam-engines, and logic-engines, and skilful mechanism and manipulation, vanquish not only Physical Nature, but the divine Spirit of Nature, and scale the empyrean itself. Wherefore they must needs again by stricken with confusion of tongues (or of printing-presses); and \textit{dispersed},—to other work; wherein also, let us hope, their hammers and trowels shall better avail them” (ibid.: 443, par. 81).
  \item \textsuperscript{160} Ibid.: 437, par. 71. Cf. TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830, 5: 153 (“natural Supernaturalism”); \textit{SR}, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 202, par. 1 (“his [Teufelsdröckh’s] stupendous Section, headed Natural Supernaturalism”), and “Circumspective”: 216, par. 8 (“Natural Supernaturalism”); “The Tale” (1832), \textit{E} 2: 477, n. 1 (“the Natural and Supernatural shall henceforth . . . be one.—D. T.”); Journal, 13 Feb. 1833, \textit{CL} 6: 328, n. 11 (“The gist of my whole way of thought is” to raise “the Natural to the Supernatural”), and 31 March 1833, ibid.: 367, n. 28 (“Neither fear thou that this thy great Message (of the Natural \textit{being} the Supernatural) will wholly perish unuttered”).
\end{itemize}
following generations in my hands and in those of innumerable stronger ones. *Belief*, said one the other night, has done immense evil: witness Knipperdolling and the Anabaptists, etc. ‘True,’ rejoined I, with vehemence, almost with fury (Proh pudor!), ‘true belief has done some evil in the world; but it has done all the good that was ever done in it; from the time when Moses saw the Burning Bush and believed it to be God appointing him deliverer of His people, down to the last act of belief that you and I executed. Good never came from aught else.'

And of his anxiety to get his ‘great Message (of the Natural being the Supernatural)’ uttered, he says in the same Journal on 31 March 1833: “Neither fear thou that this thy great Message (of the Natural being the Supernatural) will wholly perish unuttered. One way or other it will and shall be uttered.] Write it down on Paper any way; speak it from thee; so shall thy painful, destitute Existence not have been in vain.”

Of the “promulgation of new belief” as exemplified in Goethe and *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle writes to Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury on 12 April 1840:

Does G. E. J. read German? I could almost advise her to learn it, if otherwise; indeed I will advise her. In no other Literature whatever is there any notable promulgation of new belief; nowhere else does one get at all into company of men who have belief. Goethe was the wretchedest of materialists once; it was to me like the risen sun to behold clearly that he nevertheless now did believe. Some of Goethe’s works are in English. In an English Book called *Sartor Resartus*, of my writing, G. E. J. will see shadowed forth under strange emblems a spiritual conflict not unlike her own, even in minute particulars; and discern what wild convulsions others before her have had, which nevertheless ended in victory. It is in this way that teaching of man by man becomes possible.

3. “independent of the world”

Of the effect of “the unconscious” being “recognized as a co-determining factor along with consciousness”, Jung writes in “Commentary on ‘The Secret of the Golden Flower’ ” (1929):

... if the unconscious can be recognized as a co-determining factor along with consciousness, and if we can live in such a way that conscious and unconscious demands are taken into account as far as possible, then the centre of gravity of the total personality shifts its position. It is then no longer in the ego, which is merely the centre of consciousness, but in the hypothetical point between conscious and unconscious. This new centre might be called the self. If the transposition is successful, it... results in a personality that suffers only in the lower storeys, as it were, but in its upper storeys is singularly detached from painful as well as from joyful happenings.

Thus, of “the birth of the self” in the final stage of individuation, Jacobi says: “For the conscious personality the birth of the self [or “the ‘God within us’ ”] means a shift of its psychic centre, and consequently an entirely different attitude toward, and view of, life—in other words a

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161. Journal entry for 13 Feb. 1833 (CL 6: 328, n. 11 and F 2: 330). Bernard Knipperdolling (ca. 1490–1536) was one of the leaders of the Münster theocracy (1534–1535). After the city had been recaptured, the Anabaptists were butchered wholesale.


163. TC to G. E. Jewsbury, 12 Apr. 1840 (12: 105–06). Asking for his guidance, Jewsbury had signed her letter to Carlyle “with only her initials” (ibid.: 104, n. 1).

164. “Commentary on ‘The Secret of the Golden Flower’ ” (1929), CW 13, par. 67. For Carlyle, on his part, speaking of “the right coordination” of “the inward or Dynamical province” and “the outward” or “Mechanical province” of “man’s activity”, and “the vigorous forwarding of both”, cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 73, par. 31. See below, Ch. IX.
'transformation' in the fullest sense of the word.”  

Similarly, Carlyle’s conversion at Hoddam Hill may be defined as the shift of “the centre of gravity” of his “total personality” from the ego to the Divine Idea of the World, referred to by him as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”.  

In “Commentary on ‘The Secret of the Golden Flower’” (1929), Jung writes that the “consequence of the detachment of consciousness” from the world, “thanks to which the subjective ‘I live’ becomes the objective ‘It lives me’”,  

is “a change of feeling . . . known to us from the testimony of St. Paul: ‘Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me’”.  

Of the nature of this feeling, Jung says:

It is always a difficult thing to express, in intellectual terms, subtle feelings that are nevertheless infinitely important for the individual’s life and well-being. It is, in a sense, the feeling that we have been “replaced,” but without the connotation of having been “deposed.” It is as if the guidance of life had passed over to an invisible centre. Nietzsche’s metaphor, “in most loving bondage, free,” would be appropriate here. Religious language is full of imagery depicting this feeling of free dependence, of calm acceptance.  

. . . This feeling of liberation fills Paul completely; the consciousness of being a child of God delivers one from the bondage of the blood. It is also a feeling of reconciliation with all that happens . . .

For Carlyle, similarly, the union with the Divine Idea of the World results in his having “become independent of the world”, in “a constant inward happiness” and in thoughts “full of pity and humanity”. Thus, in Reminiscences, he writes of his victory at Hoddam Hill:

What my pious joy and gratitude then was, let the pious soul figure. In a fine and veritable sense, I, poor, obscure, without outlook, almost without worldly hope, had become independent of the world;—what was death itself, from the world, to what I had come through? I understood well what the old Christian people meant by their “Conversion,” by God’s Infinite Mercy to them:—I had, in effect, gained an immense victory; and, for a number of years, had, in spite of nerves and chagrins, a constant inward happiness that was quite royal and supreme; in which all temporal evil was transient and insignificant; and which essentially remains with me still.


166. SR, “Circumspective”: 214, par. 1.

167. “Commentary on ‘The Secret of the Golden Flower’” (1929), CW 13, par. 78. Cf. ibid., par. 76 (“The illusion of the supremacy of consciousness makes us say, “I live.” Once this illusion is shattered by a recognition of the unconscious, the unconscious will appear as something objective in which the ego is included”).

168. Ibid., par. 77.

169. Ibid., pars. 77–78. For Jung, the shift of “the centre of gravity of the total personality” from the ego to the Self “corresponds exactly to the aim of the concretistic primitive initiations up to and including baptism, namely, severance from the ‘carnal’ (or animal) parents, and rebirth in novam infantiam, into a condition of immortality and spiritual childhood, as formulated by certain mystery religions of the ancient world, among them Christianity” (“The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious”, 1928, CW 7, par. 393). Explaining the significance of “the Christian sacrament of baptism” in “the psychic development of mankind”, Jung writes: “We must not forget that what the Christian sacrament of baptism purports to do is a landmark of the utmost significance in the psychic development of mankind. Baptism endows the individual with a living soul. I do not mean that the baptismal rite in itself does this, by a unique and magical act. I mean that the idea of baptism lifts man out of his archaic identification with the world and transforms him into a being who stands above it. The fact that mankind has risen to the level of this idea is baptism in the deepest sense, for it means the birth of the spiritual man who transcends nature” (“Archaic Man”, 1931, CW 10, par. 136).
though far oftener eclipsed, and lying deeper down, than then. Once more, thank Heaven for its highest gift. . . . Meanwhile my thoughts were very peaceable, full of pity and humanity as they had never been before.170

In the Hoddam Hill account of 1869, Carlyle characterizes the “grand and ever-joyfull victory” at Hoddam Hill as:

The final chaining down, and trampling home, “for good,” home into their caves forever, of all my Spiritual Dragons, whh had wrought me such woe and, for a decade past, has made my life black and bitter: this year 1826 saw the end of all that. With such a feeling on my part as may be fancied. I found it to be, essentially, what Methodist people call their “Conversion,” the deliverance of their soul from the Devil and the Pit; precisely enough that, in my new form;—and there burnt, accordingly, a sacred flame of joy in me, silent in my inmost being, as of one henceforth superior to Fate, able to look down on its stupid injuries with pardon and contempt, almost with a kind of thanks and pity. This “holy joy,” of whh I kept silence, lasted sensibly in me for several years, in blessed counterpoise to sufferings and discouragements enough; nor has it proved what I can call fallacious at any time since: my “spirit/ dragons” (thank Heaven) do still remain strictly in their caves, forgotten and dead;—whh is indeed a conquest, and the beginning of conquests.171

With regard to the fact that, according to Wesley, “sanctification is commonly, if not always, an instantaneous work”, William James writes in The Varieties of Religious Experience:

. . . the more usual sects of Protestantism have set no such store by instantaneous conversion. For them as for the Catholic Church, Christ’s blood, the sacraments, and the individual’s ordinary religious duties are practically supposed to suffice to his salvation, even though no acute crisis of self-despair and surrender followed by relief should be experienced. For Methodism, on the contrary, unless there have been a crisis of this sort, salvation is only offered, not effectively received, and Christ’s sacrifice in so far forth is incomplete. Methodism surely here follows, if not the healthier-minded, yet on the whole the profounder spiritual instinct. The individual models which it has set up as typical and worthy of imitation are not only the more interesting dramatically, but psychologically they have been the more complete.172

The reference in the Hoddam Hill account of 1869 to the conversion experience of the “Methodist people”,173 therefore, underlines the feeling of victory and relief experienced by Carlyle at Hoddam Hill. Whilst the Methodist’s conversion, however, can be defined as “a spiritual change from sinfulness, ungodliness, or worldliness to love of God and pursuit of

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170. R: 282. Of his “bodily health” at the time, Carlyle says in this reminiscence: “Bodily health itself seemed improving; bodily health was all I had really lost, in this grand spiritual battle now gained; and that too, I may have hoped, would gradually return altogether,—which it never did, and was far enough from doing!” (ibid.).

171. Notes to JWC’s letters (4: 142). When Althaus, in “Thomas Carlyle” (1866), observes that, at the time when Carlyle was about to move to London (which he actually did in May 1834), the “period of doubt sank behind him in the past”, Carlyle comments: “. . . had quite sunk, and got done with sinking, above 7 years before” (TR: 72). Cf. also ibid.: 53, 57, and TC to Sir James Stephen, 18 Oct. 1853: "My ‘religious creed’ is not stated there [in the Life of Sterling]; nor, as you say, would it be easy to state;—and you must farther do me the justice to believe that it is not skēpsis, or doubt, any more, for these last 30 years; but a certainty with me, for which I also am and ought to be forever thankful to the Maker of me” (28: 294).


173. For Carlyle referring to the conversion experience of the Methodists, cf. also SR, “Pause”: 158, par. 1. See below, Ch. IX. In this connection, it may be noted that, in PP (1843), “The Ancient Monk”, IV: 60, par. 8, the post-conversion religious practice of the Methodists is called “a diseased self-introspection, an agonising inquiry”. Cf. also ibid., VI: 66, par. 1, where it is called “a horrible restless Doubt”.

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holiness”, 174 Carlyle’s conversion at Hoddam Hill may be defined, as seen above, as a shift of “the centre of gravity” of his “total personality” 175 from the ego to the Divine Idea of the World—or “spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind” 176—which “to discern”, “to seize”, and “live wholly in”, “is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom”. 177

4. “the departing voice of eighteen hundred years”
In Reminiscences, Carlyle concludes his account of the “immense victory” at Hoddam Hill by saying:

Meanwhile my thoughts were very peaceable, full of pity and humanity as they had never been before. Nowhere can I recollect of myself such pious musings; communings, silent and spontaneous, with Fact and Nature, as in these poor Annandale localities. The sound of the Kirk-bell, once or twice on Sunday mornings (from Hoddam Kirk, about a mile off on the plain below me), was strangely touching,—like the departing voice of eighteen hundred years. 178

With regard to the fact that Carlyle here speaks of “the departing voice of eighteen hundred years”, the following remarks in “Characteristics” (1831) may here be looked at too.

Of the “wholly insane attempt”, “in former ages”, “to chain the Future under the Past”, and of one “Theory of the Universe” having to give place to another, Carlyle writes in “Characteristics”:

How often, in former ages, by eternal Creeds, eternal Forms of Government and the like, has it been attempted, fiercely enough, and with destructive violence, to chain the Future under the Past; and say to the Providence, whose ways with man are mysterious, and through the great deep: Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther! A wholly insane attempt; and for man himself, could it prosper, the frightfulest of all enchantments, a very Life-in-Death. . . . could you ever establish a Theory of the Universe that were entire, unimprovable, and which needed only to be got by heart; man then were spiritually defunct, the Species we now name Man had ceased to exist. But the gods, kinder to us than we are to ourselves, have forbidden such suicidal acts. As Phlogiston is displaced by Oxygen, and the Epicycles of Ptolemy by the Ellipses of Kepler; so does Paganism give place to Catholicism, Tyranny to Monarchy, and Feudalism to Representative Government,—where also the process does not stop. Perfection of Practice, like completeness of Opinion, is always approaching, never arrived; Truth, in the words of Schiller, immer wird, nie ist; never is, always is a-being. 179

What “our condition” would be like, however, “did we know but this, that Change is universal and inevitable”, is another matter: “Sad, truly, were our condition did we know but this, that Change is universal and inevitable. Launched into a dark shoreless sea of Pyrrhonism, what would remain for us but to sail aimless, hopeless; or make madly merry, while the devouring Death had not yet ingulfed us? As indeed, we have seen many, and still see many do.” 180 This is

174. OED, s.v. conversion 9 (“Theol”).
177. “State of German Literature” (1827), E 1: 58, par. 34.
179. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 37–38, par. 50. In 1877, Carlyle is reported as saying: ‘In a century or less all Europe will be republican—democratic; nothing can stop that. And they are finding out their old religions, too, to be mere putrid heaps of lies’ (Entry for 5 Dec. 1877 in Allingham: 261).
180. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 38, par. 51. Pyrrho (4th century B.C.) “maintained that nothing was capable of proof and admitted the reality of nothing but sensations” (Brewer).
followed by the statement: “Nevertheless so stands it not.” Of the enduring nature of the “true Past”, Carlyle then goes on to say:

The venerator of the Past (and to what pure heart is the Past, in that ‘moonlight of memory’, other than sad and holy?) sorrows not over its departure, as one utterly bereaved. The true Past departs not, nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die; but is all still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless changes. If all things, to speak in the German dialect, are discerned by us, and exist for us, in an element of Time, and therefore of Mortality and Mutability; yet Time itself reposes on Eternity: the truly Great and Transcendental has its basis and substance in Eternity; stands revealed to us as Eternity in a vesture of Time. Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost: it is but the superficial, as it were the body only, that grows obsolete and dies; under the mortal body lies a soul which is immortal; which anew incarnates itself in fairer revelation; and the Present is the living sum-total of the whole Past. 181

For Carlyle, therefore, “no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die”, but is preserved in the Unknown Deep of nature, the hidden force of which he calls the Divine Idea of the World, referred to by him as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”. 182

181. Ibid.: 38–39, par. 51. Cf. SR, “Organic Filaments”: 196–97, par. 6: ‘Beautiful it is to understand and know that a Thought did never yet die; that as thou, the originator thereof, hast gathered it and created it from the whole Past, so thou wilt transmit it to the whole Future. It is thus that the heroic heart, the seeing eye of the first times, still feels and sees in us of the latest; that the Wise Man stands ever encompassed, and spiritually embraced, by a cloud of witnesses and brothers; and there is a living, literal Communion of Saints, wide as the World itself, and as the History of the World.’

182. SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1. See also below, Ch. XIV.
CHAPTER V
THE OLDER WORLD OF JEAN PAUL

Carlyle on Jean Paul’s Religious Belief

On 26 May 1826, Carlyle moved to Scotsbrig, where, between circa 13 June and 31 July 1826, he worked on the translation of Jean Paul’s *Leben des Quintus Fixlein* (1796) and *Des Feldpredigers Schmelze Reise nach Flätz* (1809) for *German Romance* (1827). When Althaus states that, after the publication of *The Life of Friedrich Schiller* in book form in 1825, Carlyle became acquainted with the works of Jean Paul, Carlyle comments:

Yes; translating of his *Quintus Fixlein* first taught me to *read* him fairly; perhaps it was little De Quincey’s reported admiration (“Goethe a mere corrupted pigmy to him” &c) that first put me upon trying to be orthodox and admire. I dimly felt poor De Quincey (who then passed for a mighty seer in such things) to have exaggerated, and to know perhaps but little of either Jean Paul or Goethe (which was the fact); however, I held on, reading and considerably [*partly* crossed out] admiring Jean Paul, on my own score, tho’ always with something of (secret) disappointment. Should now *wish*, perhaps, that I hadn’t?

Comparing Jean Paul’s religious belief to that of “the great minds of his country”, Carlyle writes in *German Romance* (1827):

... he [Richter] worships, in this boundless Temple [of Nature], the great original of Peace, to whom the Earth and the fulness thereof belongs. For Richter does not hide from us that he looks to the Maker of the Universe as to his Father; that in his belief of man’s Immortality lies the sanctuary of his spirit, the solace of all suffering, the solution of all that is mysterious in human destiny. ... To many of my readers it may be surprising, that in this respect Richter is almost solitary among the great minds of his country. These men too, with few exceptions, seem to have arrived at spiritual peace, at full harmonious development of being; but their path to it has been different. In Richter alone, among the great (and even sometimes truly moral) writers of his day, do we find the Immortality of the Soul expressly insisted on, nay, so much as incidentally alluded to. This is a fact well meriting investigation and reflection ...  

Of Jean Paul’s attitude to “the dogmas of religion”, on the other hand, Carlyle says in “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter” (1827): “To a careless reader he [Richter] might seem the wildest of infidels; for nothing can exceed the freedom with which he bandies to and fro the dogmas of religion, nay, sometimes, the highest objects of Christian reverence. ... Yet, independently of all dogmas, nay, perhaps in spite of many, Richter is, in the highest sense of the word, religious. ... An intense and continual faith in man’s immortality and native grandeur accompanies him; from amid the vortices of life he looks up to a heavenly loadstar; the solution of what is visible and transient, he finds in what is invisible and eternal.”

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2. Cf. TC to JBW, 18 June 1826 (4: 104) and to W. Tait, 31 July 1826 (4: 119).
Carlyle/Jean Paul Criticism

1. Wellek

Speaking of Carlyle’s position “in the history of thought”, Wellek writes in “Carlyle and German Romanticism” (1929; rpt. 1965): “Carlyle stands at the same point in the history of thought [as Jean Paul], at the transition from the Christian philosophy of the eighteenth century to new idealistic theories. He could not avoid using some of the terminology of the new philosophy. But fundamentally, he never even penetrated into the precincts of their thought.” And in Immanuel Kant in England, 1793–1838 (1931):

Carlyle is simply in the very depth of his being a Christian, and not only a Christian, but also a Puritan . . . For a short period he almost succumbed to the atmosphere of the “Enlightenment”. Then, he returned to the faith of his fathers . . . He is a striking illustration of the survival of older forms of thought, of deeper cultural strata in the lower classes of society and the outlying provinces. He is like the head of Janus, one of whose faces looks far back into the past of our mental history, the other faces courageously the new problems of a rising industrial and commercial civilization.

According to Wellek, “Carlyle is . . . in his whole thought remarkably close to Jean Paul and not to Fichte, or Kant, or even Goethe as is usually maintained.” Carlyle, however, unlike Jean Paul, did not believe in a God “at once immanent (active) in the created world and transcendent (separate) from it”, and had ‘no kind of definite belief or expectation whatever as to the Future’. It is not surprising, therefore, that Althaus’s statement: “Jean Paul, transposed into nineteenth-century England and Scotland, would have perhaps been [become] a Carlyle; Carlyle, transposed into eighteenth-century Germany, perhaps a Jean Paul”, elicits from Carlyle the comment: “Never, I should think, in any conceivable case. Jean Paul and I are not made alike, but differently very.”

2. Wais and Tennyson

Referring to Wellek as saying, in “Carlyle and German Romanticism” (1929), that Sartor Resartus is “remarkably close to Jean Paul and not to Fichte or Kant, or even Goethe as is

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10. What Carlyle admired in “Richter’s belief”, was the fact that it was “not mechanical” or based on “self-interested fear”, but that it sprang “from the depths of the human spirit”. Cf. J. P. F. Richter (1827), E 1: 22–23, pars. 28–29.
11. See above, Ch. IV.
usually maintained”, Wais, in “Die Errettung aus dem Schiffbruch” (1959), states that the fear of being swallowed up by the enormous jaws of nothingness, without prospect of life after death, has been the common, deepest, basic experience” of Carlyle and Jean Paul, as can be seen, according to Wais, in Jean Paul’s “Rede des todtten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab, dass kein Gott sei” (“Speech of the Dead Christ from the Universe that There Is No God”), and in the “Everlasting No” chapter in Sartor Resartus, for which he refers to the passage about ‘the Universe’ as ‘one huge, dead, inmeasurablen Steam-engine’, and that about ‘the Heavens and the Earth’ as the ‘boundless jaws of a devouring monster’.

For Tennyson, too, the “Rede des todtten Christus” and the “Everlasting No” chapter in Sartor Resartus portray Carlyle’s and Jean Paul’s fear of being swallowed up by nothingness, without prospect of life after death. In the “Rede”, according to Tennyson, “Christ, who manifested eternity in the finite world, is the agent by which Jean Paul learns that there is no eternity at all”. 19

And of the Conclusion of the “Rede”, and of the incident in the ‘‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’ in the “Everlasting No” chapter of Sartor, Tennyson says:

Jean Paul wakes up and cries for joy that he cann still pray to God. Teufelsdröckh comes back from the Abyss to announce, “He lives!” From that the rest follows. But one can see how close Carlyle comes to the opposite point of view, namely, “He is dead,” how indeed he held such a view until force outside intervened.20

In the “Everlasting No” chapter of Sartor, Teufelsdröckh exclaims: ‘Is there no God, then; but at best an absentee God, sitting idle, ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of his Universe, and seeing it go?’ And having noted, in “Diderot” (1833), that, “in the French System of Thought (called also the Scotch, and still familiar enough everywhere, which for want of a better title we have named the Mechanical), there is no room for a Divinity”, Carlyle goes on to say that “the Mechanical System of Thought”, or the theory “of the Universe being ‘a Machine’, and then of an Architect, who constructed it, sitting as it were apart, and guiding

16. Cf. ibid.: 304. By 19 July 1826, the day of dispatch of his Notice on Jean Paul for German Romance (1827), Carlyle must have read the “Rede” as it occurs in Blumen- Frucht- und Dornensteinke, 1 (Berlin: Matzdorff, 1796): 1–11 (edition used by Carlyle). Cf. CJP: 56–60. For Carlyle’s translation of the “Rede”, see “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again” (1830), E 2: 155–58. For Carlyle’s translation of the title, “Rede des todtten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab”, as “Speech of the dead Christ from the Universe”, see “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter’s Review of Mme de Staël’s ‘Allemagne’ ” (1830), E 1: 484, par. 24.
20. Ibid.: 315. The exclamation, “He lives!”, is Tennyson’s, not Teufelsdröckh’s. For what Tennyson considers to be Teufelsdröckh’s “mystic rebirth on the Rue de l’Enfer”, cf. ibid.: 312–19. Tennyson also notes that “Carlyle’s mystic experience . . . made his message, however revolutionary its presentation, a conservative one” (ibid.: 315). For Tennyson on the Leith Walk incident as “a mystical experience”, see above, Ch. IV.
22. “Diderot” (1833), E 3: 231, par. 73.
23. Ibid.: 234, par. 76.
it, and seeing it go”, 24 “is, in its essence, Atheistic”. 25 It can’t be said, however, as will be seen below, that the “Rede” and the “Everlasting No” chapter in Sartor are about the same thing. The “Rede des todten Christus” may here be looked at first.

**The “Rede” (1796), or “Speech of the Dead Christ”**

1. Critics: A Dream of Annihilation (“Vernichtungsvision”) 

Jean Paul’s “Speech of the Dead Christ” has come to be seen as a dream of annihilation (“Vernichtungsvision”) in the sense that, in a universe without God, death is equivalent to the annihilation of the soul.

Most critics, moreover, are of the opinion that the “Rede” has been written out of a feeling of anguish and doubt, and look upon the Conclusion of the “Rede” as a volte-face in which doubt, overcome by terror, turns into belief in God and immortality. 26

2. My Interpretation: A Dream of Disjunction (“Zertrennungsvision”) 

The “Rede” should not be defined as a dream of annihilation (“Vernichtungsvision”), but as a dream of disjunction (“Zertrennungsvision”), i.e., as a dream about the disjunction or split between the sustaining power of God, who is found not to exist, and the universe, which has been reduced to a state of primeval chaos, in which the immortal souls of the dead are doomed to eternal loneliness without being destroyed. 27

The Conclusion of the “Rede”, moreover, does not portray a volte-face in which doubt, overcome by terror, turns into belief in God and immortality, but the very state of mind in which the dreamer has had his dream, viz. the firm belief in “a single personal God, at once immanent (active) in the creative world and transcendent (separate) from it”. 28

Wishing to demonstrate the importance of the idea of God, Jean Paul, in the “Rede”, omits this idea, and shows what the world looks like without it.

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24. Ibid.: 233, par. 75. 
25. Ibid.: 234, par. 76. 
3. Analysis of the “Rede”
   a. Jean Paul’s Note to the “Rede”
   The reader of the “Rede des todtten Christus” is first referred to a Note, in which Jean Paul writes:
   
   If ever my heart were to grow so wretched and so dead that all feelings in it which announce the being of a God were extinct there, I would terrify myself with this sketch of mine; it would heal me, and give me my feelings back.29
   
   b. Jean Paul’s Preface to the “Rede”
   Speaking of the fact that men “deny the Divine Existence with as little feeling as the most assert it”, Jean Paul opens the Preface (“Vorbericht”) to the “Rede” by stating:
   
   The purpose of this Fiction (“Dichtung”) is the excuse of its boldness. Men deny the Divine Existence with as little feeling as the most assert it. Even in our true systems we go on collecting mere words, play-marks and medals, as misers do coins; and not till late do we transform the words into feelings, the coins into enjoyments. A man may, for twenty years, believe the Immortality of the Soul;—in the one-and-twentieth, in some great moment, he for the first time discovers with amazement the rich meaning of this belief, the warmth of this Naphtha-well.
   
   Of such sort, too, was my terror, at the poisonous stifling vapour which floats out round the heart of him who for the first time enters the school of Atheism. I could with less pain deny Immortality than Deity: there I should lose but a world covered with mists, here I should lose the present world, namely the Sun thereof: the whole spiritual Universe is dashed asunder by the hand of Atheism into numberless quicksilver-points of Me’s, which glitter, run, wave, fly together or asunder, without unity or continuance. No one in Creation is so alone, as the denier of God; he mourns, with an orphaned heart that has lost its great Father, by the Corpse of Nature, which no World-spirit moves and holds together, and which grows in its grave; and he mourns by that Corpse till he himself crumble off from it. The whole world lies before him, like the Egyptian Sphinx of stone, half-buried in the sand; and the All is the cold iron mask of a formless Eternity.30
   
   And of the coldheartedness with which critical philosophy deals with the question of the existence of God, he then goes on to say:
   
   It is my further view, by this poem (“Dichtung”) to alarm certain reading or deep-read doctors; for, of a truth, these people now-a-days, since they have been taken, like captives condemned to hard labour, by our new philosophy (“kritischen Philosophie”) for the task-work of its drainage and mining, will canvass the existence of God as coldbloodedly, and as coldheartedly, as if the question were about the existence of the unicorn or the kraken.31
   
   Of the compatibility of “the belief of Atheism” and “the belief of Immortality”, Jean Paul writes in the closing paragraph of the Preface:
   
For the sake of others who have not advanced so far as these learned doctors, I merely remark farther, that with the belief of Atheism, the belief of Immortality is quite compatible; for the same Necessity, which in this Life threw my light dewdrop of a Me into a flower-bell and—under a Sun, can repeat that process in a second life; nay, more easily embody me the second time than the first.32

c. Jean Paul’s Introduction to the “Rede”
Of the child’s terror at hearing a legend about a church service of the dead, and of the value of dreams, Jean Paul says in the Introduction to the “Rede”:

If we hear, in childhood, that the Dead, about midnight, when our sleep reaches near the soul, and darkens even our dreams, awake out of theirs, and in the church mimic the worship of the living, we shudder at Death by reason of the dead, and in the night-solitude turn away our eyes from the long silent windows of the church, and fear to search in their gleaming, whether it proceed from the moon.

Childhood, and rather its terrors than its raptures, take wings and radiance again in dreams, and sport like fire-flies in the little night of the soul. Crush not these flickering sparks!—Leave us even our dark painful dreams as higher half-shadows of reality!—And wherewith will you replace to us those dreams, which bear us away from under the tumult of the waterfall into the still heights of childhood, where the stream of life yet ran silent in its little plain, and flowed towards its abysses, a mirror of the Heaven?—33

The legend here referred to, has been identified as the Legend of the Midnight Mass of the Dead recorded by Enoch Widmann (1551–1615) in his “Höfer Chronik” under the year 1516,34 and presupposes belief in the immortality of the soul.35

d. The “Rede”, or “Speech of the Dead Christ”
The dream opens with a description of the dreamer’s awakening in the churchyard:

I was lying once, on a summer evening, in the sunshine; and I fell asleep. Methought I awoke in the Churchyard. The down-rolling wheels of the steeple-clock, which was striking eleven, had awakened me. In the emptied night-heaven I looked for the Sun; for I thought an eclipse was veiling him with the Moon.36

The image of “the emptied night-heaven” suggests that the world of order and time, i.e., the world as the dreamer knows it, is left behind.

Next follows the description of the open graves and flitting shadows:

All the Graves were open, and the iron doors of the charnel-house were swinging to and fro by invisible hands. On the walls flitted shadows, which proceeded from no one, and other shadows stretched upwards in the pale air. In the open coffins none now lay sleeping but the children.37

35. Cf. ibid.: 32–34. For my translation of this legend, see below, Ch. VI.
The flitting shadows symbolize the immortal souls of the dead. The fact that all the graves are open, indicates that the pronouncement in Part One of the dream that there is no God, concerns all the dead. That the children don’t awake yet, signifies that they are incapable of understanding that pronouncement. They only present themselves, therefore, in Part Two of the dream, which describes the effects of the non-existence of God. These effects are foreboded thus:

Over the whole heaven hung, in large folds, a grey sultry mist; which a giant shadow, like vapour, was drawing down, nearer, closer and hotter. Above me I heard the distant fall of avalanches; under me the first step of a boundless earthquake. The Church wavered up and down with two interminable Dissonances, which struggled with each other in it; endeavouring in vain to mingle in unison. At times, a grey glimmer hovered along the windows, and under it the lead and iron fell down molten.38

The “distant fall of avalanches” and “the first step of a boundless earthquake” are indicative of an impending disaster befalling the universe. The dissonances and the melting and running down of “the lead and iron” of the church-windows forewarn of the loss of unity and cohesion.

The dreamer is then transplanted into the church:

The net of the mist, and the tottering Earth brought me into that hideous Temple; at the door of which, in two poison-bushes, two glittering Basilisks lay brooding. I passed through unknown Shadows, on whom ancient centuries were impressed.—All the Shadows were standing round the empty Altar; and in all, not the heart, but the breast quivered and pulsed.39

The basilisks at the door of the church point to the terrifying nature of the events about to take place. The quivering and throbbing breast of the shadows assembled “round the empty Altar”, portrays the anguish experienced after death. What happened to them, and why they are deprived of their heart, is clear from the passage that follows:

One dead man only, who had just been buried there, still lay on his coffin without quivering breast; and on his smiling countenance stood a happy dream. But at the entrance of one Living, he awoke, and smiled no longer; he lifted his heavy eyelids, but within was no eye; and in his beating breast there lay, instead of a heart, a wound. He held up his hands and folded them to pray; but the arms lengthened out and dissolved; and the hands, still folded together, fell away.40

The absence of eye and heart, and the dropping off of the folded hands signify that, on awakening in the hereafter, the dead are unable to find God.

The assembled dead now turn to “the dial-plate of Eternity”:

Above, on the Church-dome, stood the dial-plate of Eternity, whereon no number appeared, and which was its own index: but a black finger pointed thereon, and the Dead sought to see the time [Time] by it.41

41. “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 1 (E 2: 156). Cf. CJP: 42 and n. 94. In the editions of 1796 and 1818, the words “Ewigkeit” (“Eternity”) and “Zeit” (“Time”) are both spaced.
On awakening in the hereafter, the dead, as seen above, can’t find God. If, however, the world has order, symbolized by the regular succession of sun and moon marking time, then God must exist. The dead, therefore, want “to see the time”.42

Now Christ, who has gone through the universe to look for God, descends “down to the Altar” to announce that there is none:

> Now sank from aloft a noble, high Form, with a look of uneffaceable sorrow, down to the Altar, and all the Dead cried out, “Christ! is there no God?” He answered, “There is none!” The whole Shadow of each then shuddered, not the breast alone; and one after the other, all, in this shuddering, shook into pieces.

Christ continued: “I went through the Worlds, I mounted into the Suns, and flew with the Galaxies through the wastes of Heaven; but there is no God! I descended as far as Being casts its shadow, and looked down into the Abyss and cried, Father, where art thou? But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides, and the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss, and trickled down. And when I looked up to the immeasurable world for the Divine Eye, it glared on me with an empty, black, bottomless Eye-socket; and Eternity lay upon Chaos, eating it and ruminating it. Cry on, ye Dissonances; cry away the Shadows, for He is not!”43

The image of eternity chewing chaos signifies that, before and after death, there is nothing but eternity and chaos.44

Part Two of the “Rede” opens with an exchange between Christ and the children:

> The pale-grown Shadows flitted away, as white vapour which frost has formed with the warm breath disappears; and all was void. O, then came, fearful for the heart, the dead Children who had been awakened in the Churchyard into the Temple, and cast themselves before the high Form on the Altar, and said, “Jesus, have we no Father?” And he answered, with streaming tears, “We are all orphans, I and you: we are without Father!”45

It may be noted that the children do not raise the question of the non-existence of God, which is beyond their comprehension, but of life without a Father.

Then follows the collapse of the universe and Christ’s speech from “the summit of immeasurable Nature”:

> Then shrieked the Dissonances still louder,—the quivering walls of the Temple parted asunder; and the Temple and the Children sank down, and the whole Earth and the Sun sank after it, and the whole Universe sank with its immensity before us; and above, on the summit of immeasurable Nature, stood Christ, and gazed down into the Universe chequered with its thousand Suns, as into the Mine bored out of the Eternal Night, in which the Suns run like mine-lamps, and the Galaxies like silver veins.

And as he saw the grinding press of Worlds, the torch-dance of celestial wildfires, and the coral-banks of

44. Cf. the entry in “Todtenpredigt Shakespear” or “Shakespeare’s Sermon to the Dead”, reading: “o Beglückte Lebende, die ihr glaubt, es gebe eine Zeit und ihr seiet darin, nur eine Ewigkeit giebts die euch wiederkäuet [o blessed living ones, who believe that Time exists and that you live in it; nothing but Eternity exists, which ruminates you]” (ibid.: 212).
beating hearts; and as he saw how world after world shook off its glimmering souls upon the Sea of Death, as a water-bubble scatters swimming lights on the waves, then majestic as the Highest of the Finite, he raised his eyes towards the Nothingness, and towards the void Immensity, and said: "Dead, dumb Nothingness! Cold, everlasting Necessity! Frantic Chance! Know ye what this is that lies beneath you? When will ye crush the Universe in pieces, and me? Chance, knowest thou what thou doest, when with thy hurricanes thou walkest through that snow-powder of Stars, and extinguishest Sun after Sun, and that sparkling dew of heavenly lights goes out as thou passest over it? How is each so solitary in this wide grave of the All! I am alone with myself! O Father, O Father! where is thy infinite bosom, that I might rest on it? Ah, if each soul is its own father and creator, why cannot it be its own destroyer too?"

The image of the universe as the ‘wide grave of the All’ symbolizes the universe without order and cohesion, in which it is impossible to establish any kind of relationship. The statement on the loneliness of each ‘in this wide grave of the All’ is followed by the complaint that the soul can’t be ‘its own destroyer’. Annihilation, therefore, is thought to be preferable to existence without God, which does not really deserve the name of existence. The souls of the dead, however, are not annihilated, but doomed to eternal loneliness without being destroyed.

Addressing one of the living, Christ continues:

"Is this beside me yet a Man? Unhappy one! Your little life is the sigh of Nature, or only its echo; a convex-mirror throws its rays into that dust-cloud of dead men’s ashes down on the Earth; and thus you, cloud-formed wavering phantasms, arise.—Look down into the Abyss, over which clouds of ashes are moving; mists full of Worlds reek up from the Sea of Death; the Future is a mounting mist, and the Present is a falling one.—Knowest thou thy Earth again?"

What the inhabitants of the earth call the vault of the sky or vault of heaven, is here referred to by Christ as a ‘Hohlspiegel’ (‘concave-mirror’), translated by Carlyle as ‘convex-mirror’, in contrast to the “coelum convexum” of Latin Poetry and post-Augustan prose, and symbolizing the empty sky bereft of sun and moon and all its constellations.

Next, Christ recalls that his life and death were marked by his belief in God:

Here Christ looked down, and his eyes filled with tears, and he said: "Ah, I was once there; I was still happy then; I had still my Infinite Father, and looked up cheerfully from the mountains into the immeasurable Heaven, and pressed my mangled breast on his healing form, and said, even in the bitterness of death: Father, take thy son from this bleeding hull, and lift him to thy heart!"

And he goes on to describe how man’s life on earth is ruled by faith in God:

"—Ah, ye too happy inhabitants of Earth, ye still believe in Him. Perhaps even now your Sun is going down, and ye kneel amid blossoms, and brightness, and tears, and lift trustful hands, and cry with joy-streaming eyes

46. “Rede”, Pt. 2, pars. 2–3 (E 2: 157–58). Cf. CJP: 44–45 and nn. 108–14. In the edition of 1796, the question mark at the end of par. 3 is followed by four periods. In run-on quotations from the “Rede”, double quotation marks used in the “Rede”, have been replaced by single quotation marks; no other quotation marks have then been added.
48. See below, Ch. VI.
to the opened Heaven: ‘Me too thou knowest, Omnipotent, and all my wounds; and at death thou receivest me, and closest them all!’”

Christ concludes his speech by saying how cruelly, after death, man’s faith in God is belied:

“Unhappy creatures, at death they will not be closed! Ah, when the sorrow-laden lays himself, with galled back, into the Earth, to sleep till a fairer Morning full of Truth, full of Virtue and Joy,—he awakens in a stormy Chaos, in the everlasting Midnight,—and there comes no Morning, and no soft healing hand, and no Infinite Father!—Mortal, beside me! if thou still livest, pray to Him; else hast thou lost him forever!”

It may be objected that, in the final sentence of his speech, Christ appears to recommend belief in God even as an illusion. From the *dream*, however, it may be inferred that, placed before a choice between God and the immortality of the soul, Christ would choose God rather than immortality. To the *dreamer*, therefore, the message of the *dream* is not that one should believe in God in spite of God being an illusion, but that God is of direct importance to existence, also to existence here and now.

The *dreamer* then sees “the Rings” of “the Serpent of Eternity” encircling “the All doubly”:

And as I fell down, and looked into the sparkling Universe, I saw the upborne Rings of the Giant-Serpent, the Serpent of Eternity, which had coiled itself round the All of Worlds,—and the Rings sank down, and encircled the All doubly; and then it wound itself, innumerable ways, round Nature, and swept the Worlds from their places, and crashing, squeezed the Temple of Immensity together, into the Church of a Burying-ground,—and all grew strait, dark, fearful,—and an immeasurably-extended Hammer was to strike the last hour of Time, and shiver the Universe asunder, . . . when i awoke.

In the opening of the *dream*, the steeple-clock strikes eleven, after which the world as the *dreamer* knows it, is left behind. Now, “an immeasurably-extended Hammer” is about “to strike the last hour of Time, and shiver the Universe asunder”. The universe without God and without time, however, has already been dashed apart. What awakens the *dreamer*, therefore, is the fact that his own world of order and time is now threatened with the collapse described earlier in the *dream*.

The Conclusion of the “Rede” reads:

If God did not exist, the world would be bereft of order, symbolized by the regular succession of sun and moon marking time. On his awakening, however, the world of the *dreamer*, instead
of having collapsed, is preserved intact, held together by an “Infinite Father”. The dreamer, therefore, weeps “for joy” that he can “still pray to God”.

Wishing to demonstrate the importance of the idea of God, Jean Paul, in the “Rede”, omits this idea, and shows what the world looks like without it. In this connection, it may be noted that, whereas atheism’s assertion that there is no God, is a matter of opinion or belief, Christ’s declaration, in the “Rede”, that ‘There is none’, is not based on reflection or belief, but on the actual confrontation with ‘dumb Nothingness’. The “Rede”, therefore, should be called a dream of a universe without God rather than a dream of atheism.

The “Rede” and the “Everlasting No” Chapter in Sartor Resartus

1. The “Rede”

The “Rede”, as seen above, is a dream about the disjunction or split between the sustaining power of God, who is found not to exist, and the world of the immortal souls of the dead.

In the “Rede”, the effect of this disjunction is described as existence in a universe that has been reduced to a state of primeval chaos, in which the immortal souls of the dead are doomed to eternal loneliness without being destroyed.

Finding, on his awakening, the world preserved intact, held together by an “Infinite Father”, the dreamer, therefore, weeps “for joy” that he can “still pray to God”.

2. The “Everlasting No” Chapter in Sartor Resartus

In “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle speaks of the disjunction or split, found in modern life, between the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man”, to which belong “the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and infinite character”.

In Sartor, the effect of this disjunction is called by Carlyle the Everlasting No, which may be defined, as will be seen below, as a state of spiritual paralysis, i.e., as a state of existence in which there is “nothing left but a Mechanical life”, whereby “Whatsoever is noble, divine, inspired, drops . . . out of life” and “There remains everywhere in life a despicable caput-mortuum; the mechanical hull, all soul fled out of it”.

The incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, described at the end of the “Everlasting No” chapter in Sartor, may be defined, as will be seen below, as Teufelsdröckh’s revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”. ‘It is from this hour’, in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, therefore, that Teufelsdröckh inclines ‘to date’ his ‘Spiritual New-birth, or Baphometic Fire-baptism’. Teufelsdröckh’s revolt

55. For this method of demonstration, cf. CJP: 34, 37–38, 50.
57. “Rede”, Pt. 2, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
58. Cf. also CJP: 49–50, 242 and n. 4.
60. Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 68–80, pars. 23–39. See also below, Ch. IX.
62. HH (1841), “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 171, par. 28, and 173, par. 31. See below, Ch. IX.
64. SR, “Genesis”: 69, par. 8. See below, Ch. IX.
against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”, liberates him from the “deep, paralysed subjection”\(^\text{67}\) to ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, and makes him “feel” his “own Freedom, which feeling is” his “Baphometic Baptism”.\(^\text{68}\)

**Carlyle on the Question of Life after Death**

By way of supplement to the above, it may here be noted that Carlyle, unlike Jean Paul, had ‘no kind of definite belief’ as to man’s “future destiny”, as is clear from the following.

Of man’s ignorance about “what lies beyond the limits” of his life, Carlyle says in “Characteristics” (1831): “About the grand Course of Providence, and his final Purposes with us, we can know nothing, or almost nothing: man begins in darkness, ends in darkness; mystery is everywhere around us and in us, under our feet, among our hands.”\(^\text{69}\) And of “All prophecy”, and “hope” about man’s “future destiny”, he writes to Geraldine Jewsbury on 21 October 1840: “All prophecy about our future destiny seems to me, by the nature of it, futile, and at this epoch of the world, worthless: but an indestructible boundless hope about it seems permitted and sanctioned.”\(^\text{70}\)

Of his attitude towards the question of life after death, Carlyle says in his Journal on 28 February 1854: “God is great. I will not ask or guess (know no man ever could or can) what He has appointed for His poor creatures of the earth; a right and good and wise appointment, it full surely is. Let me look to it with pious manfulness, without either hope or fear that were excessive.”\(^\text{71}\) And of his hope about it, he writes in his Journal circa 1877: “What if Omnipotence that has developed in me these pieties, these reverences, and infinite affections, should actually have said, Yes, poor mortal, such as you who have gone so far shall be permitted to go farther? Hope, despair not!—God’s will. God’s will; not ours if it is unwise.”\(^\text{72}\)

Similar statements by Carlyle as recorded in Allingham’s *A Diary* may here be looked at too.

On 26 January 1871, Allingham reports Carlyle as saying of the problem of death and of life after death: “Speaking of some one lately dead, C. [i.e., Carlyle] said, ‘Ah yes, he’s out of this confused puddle that we must still go floundering in a while longer. [par.] Death and the Future. We know nothing—must leave all that alone.’ ”\(^\text{73}\) And on 17 November 1873:

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\(^{67}\) “Signs of the Times” (1829), *E* 2: 80–81, par. 42.

\(^{68}\) SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1. See below, Ch. IX.

\(^{69}\) “Characteristics” (1831), *E* 3: 37, par. 50. Cf. SR, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 212, par. 24 (‘But whence?—O Heaven, whither? Sense knows not; Faith knows not; only that it is through Mystery to Mystery’). For Jung, cf. Jung to Anonymous, 5 March 1959: “. . . darkness covers that which has been before the beginning [of our life] and that which is after its end” (*Letters* II: 491). See also below, Ch. XIV.

\(^{70}\) TC to G. E. Jewsbury, 21 Oct. 1840 (12: 296). See also below, Ch. VI.


\(^{73}\) Allingham: 203 (Entry for 26 Jan. 1871).
We talked of death—I recalled Goethe’s conversation with Falk on the day of Wieland’s funeral, and how he spoke of the continuance of existence after death as a thing of course, and said some very remarkable things.

C. said, ‘I have thought little of this, pro or con. I long ago despaired of any response to such an inquiry.’

Of his thoughts often turning “to another life”, Carlyle is reported to have said on 5 December 1878: “I asked him [Carlyle] a question to-day I had often wished to ask: ‘Do your thoughts ever turn to another life?’ He answered: ‘Oh! every day and every hour.’ Then he went on to say, in slow semi-soliloquy, ‘We know nothing. All is, and must be, utterly incomprehensible. Annihilation would be preferable to me to this state I am in.’” And early in 1879, Allingham records Carlyle as saying: ‘I have no kind of definite belief or expectation whatever as to the Future—only that all will be managed with wisdom, the very flower of wisdom.’

74. Ibid.: 228 (Entry for 17 Nov. 1873).
75. Ibid.: 269 (Entry for 5 Dec. 1878).
76. Ibid.: 273 (Entry for early 1879).
CHAPTER VI
ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON CARLYLE AND JEAN PAUL

Legend of the Midnight Mass of the Dead
Of the child’s terror at hearing a legend1 about a church service of the dead, Jean Paul says in the Introduction to the “Rede”:

If we hear, in childhood, that the Dead, about midnight, when our sleep reaches near the soul, and darkens even our dreams, awake out of theirs, and in the church mimic the worship of the living, we shudder at Death by reason of the dead, and in the night-solitude turn away our eyes from the long silent windows of the church, and fear to search in their gleaming, whether it proceed from the moon.2

The legend here referred to, has been identified, as seen above, as the Legend of the Midnight Mass of the Dead recorded by Enoch Widmann (1551–1615) in his “Höfer Chronik” under the year 1516.3 From the edition of Widmann’s “Höfer Chronik” in Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Hof (1894),4 this legend may be translated as follows:

[About 1516,] a strange, but real event also took place in the St. Laurence church and in its churchyard. When, one day, a pious, old, devout matron, as she was accustomed to do early in the morning, before daybreak, wants to go to the St. Laurence church to the Mass of the Angels, thinking it was the right time, and around midnight arrives at the upper town-gate, she finds it open and makes her way out to the church, where she sees an old, unknown priest celebrating Mass at the altar; many people, most of whom were unknown to her, sit in the seats up and down both sides, some of them headless, and there were several amongst these who had died recently and whom she had known well during their lifetime. Greatly frightened and afraid, the woman seats herself and, as she sees nothing but people, known or unknown to her, who have died, she thinks they were the souls of the departed, and, as she had come much too early and her hair stood on end, she does not know whether she should leave the church again or stay there. Now a woman from the crowd, who in life (she thinks) had been her neighbour and who had died three weeks ago, a good soul no doubt, comes up to her, pulls her by the cape, bids her good morning and says: ah, dear neighbour, may the almighty God protect us, how do you come to be here? I beg you, in the name of Our Lord and his Holy Mother, listen carefully to me; when the priest changes or consecrates, run as fast as you can and on no account look behind you, or it will cost you your life. Whereupon, when the priest wants to change, she ran out of church as fast as she could and she heard an enormous clatter behind her as if the whole church collapsed; and all the spectres ran after her out of church and got hold of her in the churchyard and tore the cape (such as women then used to wear) from her neck, which she then left behind and in this way she got away unhurt and escaped. And as soon as she had come out of the churchyard, everything was over. When she reaches the upper gate again and wants to enter town, she finds the gate locked, as it was about one o’clock after midnight; has to stay no less than 3 hours in a house, therefore, until the gate was opened and can see by this that it was not a good spirit who helped her before through the gate and that the pigs (which she had previously seen and heard at the gate, as if it was time to drive the cattle out) had been nothing else than nasty devils; but as, for the rest, she was a brave woman and had escaped misfortune, she didn’t let it worry her so much any more, but went home and was none the worse for it, although, because of the shock she had suffered, she had to keep to her bed for 2 days. The same morning, however, at somebody’s suggestion, as it was

1. “Legend” here refers to what in German is called “Sage”.
3. Cf. Schreinert in SW, 6a: LI. Widmann’s “Höfer Chronik”, of which a large number of manuscript copies exists (information courtesy Stadtarchiv Hof), has been written in Early New High German. For the Widmann legend being a migratory legend and the historical development of this type of legend, see CJP: 31–33.
day now, she sent someone to the churchyard to see if her cape was still there and to look for it: there it was found torn into small pieces, in such a way that a small piece lay on each grave, at which the people who had to cross the churchyard on their way home, were not a little surprised. The incident was very well known to our parents, as people not only here in town, but also in the country, in the neighbouring places and villages, could tell about it, just as people can still be found at present who formerly heard or learned about it from their parents.\(^5\)

**Jean Paul's Vision of His Own Death**

Dealing with the vision of his own death, Jean Paul's Journal entries of 15 and 16 November 1790\(^6\) and part of the Note of 31 December 1790\(^7\) recalling that experience, may here be looked at too.

In Jean Paul’s Journal for October–December 1790, the entries of 15 and 16 November, written at the age of twenty-seven, thirty-five years before his death on 14 November 1825, read:

15 Nov. Most important evening of my life: for I came to realize what death meant, that it makes no difference at all whether I die tomorrow or after 30 years, that all plans and everything else suddenly come to an end for me, and that I must love my poor fellow human beings, who so soon go down with their little bit of life—this realization made me feel indifferent towards everything I was occupied with.

16 Nov. I lifted up my heart again when I realized that death is the gift of a new world and the improbable annihilation a sleep.\(^8\)

Recalling his experience of 15 November 1790, Jean Paul writes in “Dichtungen” on 31 December 1790:

I’ll never forget the 15th of November. I wish everybody a 15th of November. I experienced that death exists. The child doesn’t understand any, every minute of its playful life is radiant and shining to it and blocks the view of its little grave. But on that evening, I pushed my way to my future deathbed through 30 years, saw myself with my lifeless hand hanging down, with my face sunken through disease, with my marble-like eye—I heard the battle of my fantasies in the last night—. . . .\(^9\)

As quoted in _Wahrheit aus Jean Paul’s Leben_, the Note in “Dichtungen” continues: “Yes, you come, you last night of our dream! And since that is so certain, and since one day gone and thirty years gone come to the same thing, I now take leave of this earth and its heavenly sky, my plans and wishes become wingless . . .”\(^10\)

**“the Dream in the New-year’s Eve”**

Of Jean Paul's poetic imagination, Carlyle says in “J. P. F. Richter” (1827):

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5. _Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Hof_: 113–14 (trans. mine).
7. For this Note, see _ibid_: 29–30.
. . . many times he exhibits an imagination of a singularity, nay, on the whole, of a truth and grandeur unexampled elsewhere. In his *Dreams* there is a mystic complexity, a gloom, and amid the dim gigantic half-ghastly shadows, gleamings of a wizard splendour, which almost recall to us the visions of Ezekiel. By readers who have studied the *Dream in the New-year’s Eve* we shall not be mistaken.11

Shine identifies “the *Dream in the New-year’s Eve*” as: “Possibly ‘Erstes Blumenstück’ [i.e., the “Rede”] in *Blumen-, Frucht- und Dornenstücker*. Also ‘Die wunderbare Gesellschaft in der Neujahrsnacht.’ Bremen, 1802 [1801].” Written in July 1800, “Die wunderbare Gesellschaft in der Neujahrsnacht” was first published together with “Das heimliche Klaglied der jetzigen Männer” in *Das heimliche Klaglied* (Bremen, 1801),13 and has been summarized as follows: “It [“Die wunderbare Gesellschaft”] takes the form of a waking dream in which, as the old century draws to its close, Jean Paul is visited by three ‘prophets of the age’. The first two bring messages of despair, stressing all that is senseless and futile in human life, but the third gives hope of fulfilment and perfection in die zweite Welt [the hereafter].”14 In “J. P. F. Richter” (1827), therefore, “the *Dream in the New-year’s Eve*”—which can hardly refer to the “Rede des todten Christus”—should no doubt be identified as “Die wunderbare Gesellschaft in der Neujahrsnacht” (1801).

### “the dead walk, the living dream”

On 9 August 1830, Carlyle writes to Gustave d’Eichthal: “’But as yet,’ says Jean Paul . . . ‘But as yet struggles the twelfth hour of the Night; spectres uproar; the dead walk; the living dream.—Thou, Eternal Providence wilt cause the day to dawn.’”15 Identifying Carlyle’s quotation, D.E. writes: “The scene of open graves at midnight is common in Richter’s dream-visions. Carlyle’s most likely source is a scene entitled ‘Rede des todten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab, dass kein Gott sei’ in his novel *Blumen-, Frucht- und Dornenstücker . . .”16 Far from echoing the “Rede”, however, Carlyle here quotes the concluding sentences of the Preface of 1794 to the first edition of *Hesperus* (1795), as he does in “J. P. F. Richter Again” (1830) with the indication on the part of Carlyle that he is quoting from “*Hesperus: Preface*”:

> ‘Infinite Providence, Thou wilt cause the day to dawn. ‘But as yet struggles the twelfth-hour of the Night: nocturnal birds of prey are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream.’”18

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15. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 9 Aug. 1830 (5: 138). See also below, Ch. XII.
16. Ibid., n. 6, where the German titles are gravely misspelled.
18. Ibid., par. 55. Translation of: “Unendliche Vorsicht, du wirst Tag werden lassen.—Aber noch streitet die zwölfte Stunde der Nacht: die Nachtraubvögel ziehen; die Gespenster poltern; die Todten gaukeln; die Lebendigen träumen” (*SW*, 3a: 18,21–24).
These sentences are quoted again by Carlyle in “Characteristics” (1831), when he comes to speak of the fact that “Divinity has withdrawn from the Earth; or veils himself in that wide-wasting Whirlwind of a departing Era”: 19

The doom of the Old has long been pronounced, and irrevocable; the Old has passed away: but, alas, the New appears not in its stead; the Time is still in pangs of travail with the New. Man has walked by the light of conflagrations, and amid the sound of falling cities; and now there is darkness, and long watching till it be morning. The voice even of the faithful can but exclaim: ‘As yet struggles the twelfth hour of the Night: birds of darkness are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream. —Thou, Eternal Providence, wilt cause the day to dawn!’ 20

And the same sentences are echoed, in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850), by “the Soldiers of Literature”, marching not as a “regiment in her Majesty’s service”, but “as a boundless canaille”:

Canaille of all the loud-sounding levities, and general winnowings of Chaos, marching through the world in a most ominous manner; proclaiming, audibly if you have ears: “Twelfth hour of the Night; ancient graves yawning; pale clammy Puseyisms screeching in their winding-sheets; owls busy in the City regions; many goblins abroad! Awake, ye living; dream no more; arise to judgment! Chaos and Gehenna are broken loose; the Devil with his Bedlams must be flung in chains again, and the Last of the Days is about to dawn!” 21

The phrase, ‘But as yet struggles the twelfth-hour of the Night’, appears to be echoed in the ‘Farewell’ chapter of Sartor 22 by the sentence: ‘It is the Night of the World, and still long till it be Day.’ 23 In Sartor, this sentence is followed by the image of ‘two immeasurable Phantoms, HYPOCRISY and ATHEISM’, stalking ‘abroad over the Earth’. 24 This image may have been suggested to Carlyle by the image of “two veiled Figures (Necessity and Vice)’ 25—”zwei

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20. Ibid.: 32, par. 42, with the indication on the part of Carlyle that he is quoting from “Jean Paul’s Hesperus (Vorrede)” (ibid., n.1). Cf. ibid.: 42, par. 56 (“Well might Jean Paul say, in this his twelfth hour of the Night, ‘the living dream’; well might he say, ‘the dead walk’ ”). Cf. also “The Tale” (1832): “In this our Revolutionary ‘twelfth hour of the night,’ all persons speak aloud (some of them by cannon and drums!), ‘declaring what they have to do’; and Faith, Hope and Charity (after a few passing compliments from the Belles-Lettres Department), thou seest, have fallen asleep!—D. T.” (E 2: 471, n. 3).
21. LP, “Stump-Orator”: 191, par. 31. Cf. also ibid., “The Present Time”: 41, par. 59 (“dim indolent adherence to extraneous hearsays and extinct traditions; traditions now really about extinct; not living now to almost any of us, and still haunting with their spectralities and gibbering ghosts (in a truly baleful manner) almost all of us! Making this our struggling ‘Twelfth Hour of the Night’ inexpressibly hideous!”)—Quotation marks are Carlyle’s, ostensibly quoting “the British Prime-Minister”.
23. SR, “Farewell”: 235, par. 5.
24. Cf. ibid.: “It is the Night of the World, and still long till it be Day: we wander amid the gimmer of smoking ruins, and the Sun and the Stars of Heaven are as if blotted out for a season; and two immeasurable Phantoms, HYPOCRISY and ATHEISM, with the Gowl, SENSUALITY, stalk abroad over the Earth, and call it theirs: well at ease are the Sleepers for whom Existence is a shallow Dream.”
25. Cf. Preface to Hesperus, trans. Carlyle, in “J. P. F. Richter Again” (1830): ’But there will come another era,’ says Paul, ’when it shall be light, and man will awaken from his lofty dreams, and find—his dreams still there, and that nothing is gone save his sleep. [par.] The stones and rocks, which two veiled Figures (Necessity and Vice), like Deucalion and Pyrrha, are casting behind them at Goodness, will themselves become men’ (E 2: 154, par. 55. Carlyle’s quotation marks). Deucalion was the “son of Prometheus, and king of Thessaly. He took refuge in an ark with his wife Pyrrha when Zeus flooded the earth. They landed on Mount Parnassus. In obedience to an oracle they threw stones behind them, and these became the new men and women of Greece” (Longman Modern English Dictionary).
eingehüllte Gestalten, Nothwendigkeit und Laster”—in the Preface to Hesperus. The image used by Carlyle, also occurs in “Boswell’s Life of Johnson” (1832), which reads: “...two ghastly Apparitions, unreal simulacra both, HYPOCRISY and ATHEISM are already, in silence, parting the world.”

**Carlyle’s Translation of “Hohlspiegel” as “convex-mirror”**

It is perhaps not immediately clear why Carlyle translated “Hohlspiegel” ("concave mirror")—which, in the “Rede”, symbolizes the empty sky bereft of sun and moon and all its constellations—by “convex-mirror”, especially as, in English, the noun “concave” is “often applied to the vault of the sky”, or, specifically, to “The vault of heaven”, as in: “Loud clamour rising rends the vast concave” (E. Nicklin). As OED points out, however, the noun “convex” also is “By the poets often applied to the vault of the sky or heavens, hell, etc. Cf. L convexum, -a”, as in: “This huge convex of Fire immures us round Ninefold” (Milton). In Latin, moreover, “poet., and in post-Aug. prose; not in Lucr., Quint., and Hor.”, the adjective “convexus” goes with “caelum”, as in Ovid: “ignea convexi vis et sine pondere caeli / emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce” (“The fiery weightless force of heaven’s vault / Flashed up and claimed the topmost citadel”). Carlyle’s translation of “Hohlspiegel” as “convex-mirror”, therefore, appears to enrich the German original in as much as “convex-mirror” carries the same meaning as “Hohlspiegel” ("concave mirror"), viz. that of the heavens being turned into “a dead crystalline vault”, whilst, through the term “convex”, it also calls to mind and is contrasted with the “coelum convexum” of Latin poetry and post-Augustan prose.

**Carlyle Echoing the “Rede”**

Having stated that no Poet known to him, “not Milton himself, shows such a vastness of Imagination; such a rapt, deep, Old-Hebrew spirit as Richter” in his dreams, Carlyle, in “Jean
Paul Friedrich Richter Again" (1830), translates from Blumen- Frucht- und Dornenstücke (1796–1797) the “Rede des toten Christus” (1796), which he calls “perhaps his [Jean Paul’s] grandest” dream, “as undoubtedly it is among his most celebrated”.³⁷ Carlyle, moreover, echoes the “Rede” throughout his writings. To these echoes, some of which have also been discussed in Carlyle and Jean Paul (1982),³⁸ we shall here turn our attention.

A. Wotton Reinfred

1. ‘only the echo of the dead rocks’

In the first chapter of Wotton Reinfred,³⁹ Wotton reflects: ‘. . . darkness and the shadow of doubt rest over the path of our pilgrimage, and at our journey’s end the wisest of us can but exclaim with the old sage: Foede mundum intravi, miser vixi, perturbatus morior!’⁴⁰ As may be seen from the following parallel, Carlyle then seems to echo the passage about calling on God but hearing only ‘the everlasting storm’:

The “Rede”

Christ continued: “I went through the Worlds, I mounted into the Suns, and flew with the Galaxies through the wastes of Heaven; but there is no God! I descended as far as Being casts its shadow, and looked down into the Abyss and cried, Father, where art thou? But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides . . .”⁴¹

Wotton Reinfred

‘Do not forget his prayer,’ said the other, meekly.

‘Yes! O causa causarum, miserere mei!’ cried Reinfred, looking upwards, with the tears almost starting to his eyes. ‘Miserere mei!’ repeated he, throwing himself down on the table, and hiding his face in his hands.

His cousin looked at him sympathisingly, but spoke not.

‘And yet,’ cried the other, starting up, and throwing back his head to conceal the wetness of his eyes, ‘if He do not hear me? If there is no ear to hear me; and the voice of my sorrow peals unreturned through the grim wilderness, and only the echo of the dead rocks replies to me in the gloom!’⁴²

2. ‘They are dead, all dead’

Wotton then goes on to describe his loneliness and isolation in terms that appear to echo the passage in the “Rede” about the ‘wide grave of the All’:

The “Rede”

“How is each so solitary in this wide grave of the All! I am alone with myself!”⁴³

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³⁸. Cf. CJP: 75–82 and 86–90.
³⁹. For Wotton Reinfred, see above, Ch. I. In WR, dialogue is placed between single quotation marks. In run-on quotations from WR, no other quotation marks have then been added.
⁴⁰. WR: 2. In Carlyle’s Early Reading: 146, no. 1423, Shine comments on this passage: “C[arlyle] lets Wotton use an unidentified Latin passage.” I think, however, that one can hardly err in saying that Wotton is made to “quote” Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774). The phrases, “Foede mundum intravi, miser vixi, perturbatus morior!”, are well accounted for by Goldsmith’s keen awareness of having been born ugly and of his many hardships. With regard to the phrase “perturbatus morior”, it may be noted that in Allingham’s A Diary: 276, Carlyle is reported to have said on 4 May 1879 about Oliver Goldsmith: ‘Poor Oliver!—he said on his deathbed, “I am not at ease in my mind.” ’ See also CJP: 75, n. 4.
⁴¹. “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
⁴². WR: 2.
Wotton Reinfred

‘O heaven and earth, what am I or where am I? Alone! Alone! The are dead, all dead, buried beneath the ground or faithless above it, and for me there is no soul that careth!’

3. “to awake as from a haggard dream”

The description of Wotton’s state of mind before his meetings with Jane Montagu and during the “One little month so fair and heavenly” when “Day after day he saw and heard his fair Jane” calls to mind the contrast, in the “Rede”, between the dreamer’s “dark painful” dream and his awakening in a world in which “the Sun was glowing deep behind the full purpled corn-ears”, whilst “from all Nature” around him “flowed peaceful tones as from distant evening-bells”. Wotton Reinfred reads:

[a] ‘The world was dead around me, the last heart that loved me in the cold grave; all efforts baffled, one by one the green places of my universe scathed and blackened into ashes . . . And she—oh, fair and golden as the dawn she rose upon my soul. Night with its ghastly fantasms fled away; and beautiful and solemn in earnest shade and gay sunshine lay our life before me.’

[b] To him her presence brought with it airs from heaven. A balmy rest encircled his spirit while near her; pale doubt fled away to the distance, and life bloomed up with happiness and hope. The young man seemed to awake as from a haggard dream; he had been in the garden of Eden, then, and his eyes could not discern it!

B. Sartor Resartus

4. ‘a glorious Rainbow’ (“The World out of Clothes”)

In “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again” (1830), Carlyle translates the sentence about the ‘Regenbogen aus Wesen’ (the ‘rainbow of beings’) as: ‘. . . the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss . . . ’ In Sartor, this sentence is echoed in the passage reading:

‘We sit as in a boundless Phantasmagoria and Dream-grotto; boundless, for the faintest star, the remotest century, lies not even nearer the verge thereof: sounds and many-coloured visions flit round our sense; but Him, the Unslumbering, whose work both Dream and Dreamer are, we see not; except in rare half-waking moments, suspect not. Creation, says one, lies before us, like a glorious Rainbow; but the Sun that made it lies behind us, hidden from us.’

5. ‘no fast-hurrying stream’ (“Idyllic”)

In “Idyllic”, Carlyle appears to echo the passage about “the still heights of childhood”:

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44. WR: 2. Cf. also the statements: ‘The world was dead around me, the last heart that loved me in the cold grave . . . ’ (ibid.: 6), and: ‘Is the world all dead because Edmund Walter is a scoundrel jackanapes, and——’ (ibid.: 5). For Wotton’s loss of his father and of “a little elder sister”, cf. ibid.: 14 and 18 respectively.

45. WR: 39.

46. Ibid.: 35.

47. “Rede”, Conclusion (E 2: 158).


49. Ibid.: 36.


51. “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).

Introduction to the “Rede”
And wherewith will you replace to us those dreams, which bear us away from under the tumult of the waterfall into the still heights of childhood, where the stream of life yet ran silent in its little plain, and flowed towards its abysses, a mirror of the Heaven?  

_Sartor_

“The young spirit has awakened out of Eternity, and knows not what we mean by Time; as yet Time is no fast-hurrying stream, but a sportful sunlit ocean; years to the child are as ages: ah! the secret of Vicissitude, of that slower or quicker decay and ceaseless down-rushing of the universal World-fabric, from the granite mountain to the man or day-moth, is yet unknown; and in a motionless Universe, we taste, what afterwards in this quick-whirling Universe, is forever denied us, the balm of Rest.”

6. ‘hag-ridden dream’ (“Pedagogy”)
The references, in the “Rede”, to “midnight, when our sleep reaches near the soul”, and to “dark painful dreams”, as well as the image of “the charnel-house”, may have given rise to the images, in “Pedagogy”, of ‘spell-bound sleep’, ‘hag-ridden dream’ and ‘charnel-house’:

“Not till after long years, and unspeakable agonies, did the believing heart surrender; sink into spell-bound sleep, under the nightmare, Unbelief; and, in this hag-ridden dream, mistake God’s fair living world for a pallid, vacant Hades and extinct Pandemonium. But through such Purgatory pain,” continues he, “it is appointed us to pass; first must the dead Letter of Religion own itself dead, and drop piecemeal into dust, if the living Spirit of Religion, freed from this its charnel-house, is to arise on us, newborn of Heaven, and with new healing under its wings.”

7. ‘falling, towards the Abyss’ (“Romance”)
The final sentence of the “Romance” chapter reads: “Why, then—‘thick curtains of Night rushed over his soul, as rose the immeasurable Crash of Doom; and through the ruins as of a shivered Universe was he falling, falling, towards the Abyss.’” Referring explicitly to the “Rede”, Harrold, with whom Tennyson concurs, comments on this sentence: “This last, rhetorical sentence follows the pattern of Jean Paul’s characteristic passages. Cf. the Vision of the Dead Christ, quoted in the second essay on Richter.”

Smeed says of this same sentence: “The ominous passage which immediately precedes the ‘Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh’ combines two motifs from the ‘Rede des toden Christus’ quite unmistakably . . .” Smeed goes on to illustrate his statement with the passages: ‘I descended . . . and looked down into the Abyss and cried, Father, where art thou?’, and: “. . . an immeasurably-extended Hammer was to strike the last hour of Time, and shiver the Universe asunder . . .” It seems more likely, however,
that the final sentence of “Romance” echoes the passage about the sinking down of “the whole Universe”: “. . . the Temple and the Children sank down, and the whole Earth and the Sun sank after it, and the whole Universe sank with its immensity before us . . .”

8. “Basilisk-glance” (“Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”)
The image, in the “Rede”, of the “glittering Basilisks”, may have evoked, in “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”, the image of the “Basilisk-glance”: “That Basilisk-glance of the Barouche-and-four seems to have withered-up what little remnant of a purpose may have still lurked in him . . .”

9. “no answer but an Echo” (“The Everlasting No”)
In “The Everlasting No”, Teufelsdröckh exclaims: ‘Is there no God, then; but at best an absentee God, sitting idle, ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of his Universe, and seeing it go?’ The Editor’s comment on questions like these appears to echo the passage about calling on God but hearing only the everlasting storm:

The “Rede”
“I . . . looked down into the Abyss and cried, Father, where art thou? But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides . . .”

Sartor
Thus has the bewildered Wanderer to stand, as so many have done, shouting question after question into the Sibyl-cave of Destiny, and receive no Answer but an Echo. It is all a grim Desert, this once-fair world of his . . .

10. ‘the Everlasting No (das ewige Nein)’ (“The Everlasting No”)
In the description of the incident in ‘the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, the phrase, ‘the Everlasting No (das ewige Nein),’ may have been suggested to Carlyle by such phrases in the “Rede” as: ‘the everlasting storm’ (‘den ewigen Sturm’), “the Eternal Night” (“die ewige Nacht”), ‘everlasting Necessity’ (‘ewige Nothwendigkeit’), and ‘the everlasting Midnight’ (‘der ewigen Mitternacht’).

65. Ibid., par. 2 (E 2: 157).
66. Ibid., Pt. 1, par. 1 (E 2: 156). Commenting on the translation of “basilics étincelants” (De l’Allemagne, III: 288, 1; cf. CJP: 240) as “splendid basilics” in F. Hodgson, trans., Germany, by Mme de Staël (London: Murray, 1813), Hare speaks of “the somewhat ludicrous substitution of splendid basilics for fiery basilisks, thus converting a serpent into a church”— J. C. Hare in The Athenaeum and London Literary Chronicle, 67 (4 Feb. 1829): 65. See also CJP: 64. In Germany, however, “basilics” (with stress on the first syllable) is no doubt a misprint of “basiliscs”, the 18th century variant form of “basilisks”. Cf. Latin “basiliscus”, which “was occas. used unchanged from 14th to 17th c.” (OED, s.v. basilisk). See also below.
67. SR, “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”: 124, par. 11.
69. “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
70. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 130, par. 5.
71. Ibid.: 135, par. 13.
72. “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
73. Ibid., Pt. 2, par. 2 (E 2: 157).
74. Ibid., par. 5 (E 2: 158). For the German phrases here quoted, cf. SW, 6a: 250,11 and 32; 251,5 and 252,2–3 (see CJP: 224–26).
11. ‘“thou art fatherless”’ (‘The Everlasting No’)
In “The Everlasting No”, the sentence, ‘“Behold, thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine (the Devil’s)”’,\textsuperscript{76} appears to echo the statement in the “Rede”: ‘We are all orphans, I and you: we are without Father!’,\textsuperscript{77} and the depiction of the Universe ruled by ‘Cold, everlasting Necessity’ and ‘Frantic Chance’.\textsuperscript{78}

12. ‘godlike, and my Father’s’ (‘The Everlasting Yea’)
In “The Everlasting Yea”, Teufelsdröckh exclaims: ‘The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but godlike, and my Father’s!’\textsuperscript{79} The first part of this sentence echoes the passage in the “Rede” about the “shadows” and the “charnel-house”, reading: “All the Graves were open, and the iron doors of the charnel-house were swinging to and fro by invisible hands. On the walls flitted shadows, which proceeded from no one, and other shadows stretched upwards in the pale air.”\textsuperscript{80} The second part of the sentence, on the other hand, ‘The Universe is . . . godlike, and my Father’s!’, calls to mind the Conclusion of the “Rede”, in which the transient world of the dreamer, instead of having collapsed, is preserved intact, held together by an “Infinite Father”.\textsuperscript{81}

13. ‘no longer a maddening discord’ (‘The Everlasting Yea’)
Having recognized ‘Nature’ as ‘the “Living Garment of God”’,\textsuperscript{82} Teufelsdröckh then appears to echo the image, in the “Rede”, of “two interminable Dissonances”:

\begin{quote}
The Church wavered up and down with two interminable Dissonances, which struggled with each other in it; endeavouring in vain to mingle in unison.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

\textit{Sartor}

‘Truly, the din of many-voiced Life, which, in this solitude, with the mind’s organ, I could hear, was no longer a maddening discord, but a melting one; like inarticulate cries, and sobbings of a dumb creature, which in the ear of Heaven are prayers.’\textsuperscript{84}

14. ‘The mad primeval Discord is hushed’ (‘The Everlasting Yea’)
The images, in the “Rede”, of “two interminable Dissonances”\textsuperscript{85} and ‘a stormy Chaos, in the everlasting Midnight’,\textsuperscript{86} as well as the description of the dreamer awakening in a divinely
supported universe,\(^87\) may have given rise to the images, in “The Everlasting Yea”, of the ‘mad primeval Discord’, ‘a dark wasteful Chaos’ and a ‘heaven-encompassed World’:

‘The mad primeval Discord is hushed; the rudely-jumbled conflicting elements bind themselves into separate Firmaments: deep silent rock-foundations are built beneath; and the skyey vault with its everlasting Luminaries above: instead of a dark wasteful Chaos, we have a blooming, fertile, heaven-encompassed World.’\(^88\)

C. Subsequent Writings of Carlyle

15. “Diderot” (1833)

Describing Diderot’s atheism, Carlyle, in “Diderot” (1833), adapts the passage about searching for the Creator of the universe but finding ‘no Maker thereof’:

The “Rede”

“I went through the Worlds, I mounted into the Suns, and flew with the Galaxies through the wastes of Heaven; but there is no God! I descended as far as Being casts its shadow, and looked down into the Abyss . . . and the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung . . . over the Abyss, and trickled down.”\(^89\)

“Diderot”
The unhappy man had ‘sailed through the Universe of Worlds and found no Maker thereof, had descended to the abysses where Being no longer casts its shadow, and felt only the rain-drops trickle down; . . .’\(^90\)

The parallel continues thus:

The “Rede”

“But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides, and the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it . . . And when I looked up to the immeasurable world for the Divine Eye, it glared on me with an empty, black, bottomless Eye-socket . . .”\(^91\)

“Diderot”
The unhappy man had ‘. . . seen only the gleaming rainbow of Creation, which originated from no Sun; and heard only the everlasting storm which no one governs; and looked upwards for the Divine Eye, and beheld only the black, bottomless, glaring Death’s Eye-socket’ . . .\(^92\)

16. Letter to J. S. Mill (17 Dec. 1833)

Speaking of Cavaignac’s atheism, Carlyle, in a letter to John Stuart Mill of 17 December 1833, echoes the passage about looking for ‘the Divine Eye’ but finding only ‘an empty, black, bottomless Eye-socket’: “Sad enough, to ‘look upwards for the divine Eye, and see nothing but the empty black glaring bottomless Death’s Eye-socket!’”\(^93\)

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\(^87\). Cf. ibid., Conclusion (E 2: 158).
\(^88\). SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 157, par. 25. Teufelsdröckh is speaking here of the ‘Divine moment, when over the tempest-tost Soul, as once over the wild-weltering Chaos, it is spoken: Let there be Light!’ (ibid.). Cf. Genesis I.
\(^89\). “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
\(^90\). “Diderot” (1833), E 3: 230, par. 72.
\(^91\). “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
\(^92\). “Diderot”, E 3: 230, par. 72.
In the following passage on the “inarticulate cry to Heaven” of the people of France in 1750, the image of the “dead crystalline vault” may have been suggested to Carlyle by the image, in the “Rede”, of the ‘concave mirror’ (‘convex-mirror’ in Carlyle’s translation) symbolizing the empty sky bereft of all its constellations. The passage reads:

Do these azure skies, like a dead crystalline vault, only reverberate the echo of it [“your inarticulate cry to Heaven”] on you? Respond to it only by ‘hanging on the following days’?—Not so: not for ever! Ye are heard in Heaven. And the answer too will come,—in a horror of great darkness, and shakings of the world, and a cup of trembling which all the nations shall drink.95

18. The Journal (26 May 1835)
The images, in the “Rede”, of “the charnel-house”, the “eclipse” and the “grey sultry mist”, may have given rise to the images, in the Journal entry of 26 May 1835—when the rewriting of the burnt Manuscript of The French Revolution could “make no progress at all”—of “a bonehouse”, “Disastrous twilight” and “dim eclipse”:

To-day I am full of dyspepsia, but also of hope. The world is not a bonehouse; it is a living home, better or worse. Disastrous twilight! dim eclipse! That is the state I sit in at present. Singular, too, how near my extreme misery is to peace, almost to some transient glimpses of happiness. It seems to me I shall either before long recover myself into life (alas! I have never yet lived) or end it, which alternative is not undesirable to me.98

On 23 September 1835, however, Carlyle was able to note in his Journal: “[CL:] On Monday last [21 September] about four o’clock, in a wet day, I finished that unutterable burnt Manuscript! . . . [F:] I am now for Scotland, to rest myself and see my mother. What a year this has been! I have suffered much, but also lived much.”99

19. Letter to John Carlyle (23 Aug. 1840)
On 23 August 1840, the day after finishing the writing out in full of “The Hero as Man of Letters: Johnson, Rousseau, Burns”,100 Carlyle, in a letter to John Carlyle, quotes the passage about ‘this wide grave of the All’101: “I do lead a most self-secluded, entirely lonesome existence. ‘How is each so lonely in the wide grave of the All!’ says Richter.”102

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98. Ibid., F 3: 46.
101. Cf. “Rede”, Pt. 2, par. 3, E 2: 157 (‘How is each so solitary in this wide grave of the All!’).
Of her feelings about the death of her father on 28 August 1840, Geraldine E. Jewsbury writes to Carlyle on 5 October 1840: “. . . with the process of dissolution beginning before our eyes & continuing, till that wh. was our friend, has become a handful of dust we tread upon—how can we do other than feel, that we shall see them again no more for ever?”

In his reply of 21 October 1840, Carlyle appears to echo the passage, in the Preface to the “Rede”, about “the belief of Immortality”:

**Preface to the “Rede”**
I merely remark farther, that with the belief of Atheism, the belief of Immortality is quite compatible; for the same Necessity, which in this Life threw my light dewdrop of a Me into a flower-bell and—under a Sun, can repeat that process in a second life; nay, more easily embody me the second time than the first. 104

Carlyle to G. E. Jewsbury
. . . let me say, among the few utterable thoughts one has about this great mystery of Death, and the many unutterable, That I do not now participate in your sad feeling of that total “impossibility.” No; it is most surely possible; it were not even more wonderful than that we now live. The miracle of miracles lies for us in that word. The UNNAMED who has cast the wondrous essence of us down into this imprisonment of a bodily shape, He, if it please Him, can sustain us under all imaginable forms and conditions. The Dead are with Him even as we the Living are. Their state is not more solemn, near to Him, than our own. 105

Having posited the possibility of a hereafter, Carlyle goes on to say of the “prophecy” and “hope about it”: “We have to say, as the poor Arabs do, ‘Islam, His Will be done!’ Or with Job of old, ‘Tho’ He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.’ All prophecy about our future destiny seems to me, by the nature of it, futile, and at this epoch of the world worthless: but an indestructible boundless hope about it seems permitted and sanctioned.” 106

21. Historical Sketches (‘completed’ ca. 13 Nov. 1842): Anti-Puritanism
Discussing “Puritanism and Anti-Puritanism”, 107 Carlyle, in Historical Sketches, states that there ‘are, and have been, in this world’, ‘whole generations’ 108 that have been persuaded, ‘by enchantment of whatever sort’, that they have ‘nothing to do with Heaven or the Infinitudes, except to cant about them on ceremonial occasions, and for making assurance doubly sure, pray by machinery to them,—alas!’ 109 Speaking of these generations, Carlyle appears to echo the image, in the “Rede”, of “two interminable Dissonances”: 110

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106. Ibid.
107. HS: 23. For the authorship of the headings, see HS: vii. The Manuscript of Historical Sketches was laid aside in 1842 and published in 1898. See App. III.
108. Carlyle, HS, “In the Reign of James I”, III: 41, par. 32. Single quotation marks are Carlyle’s, ostensibly quoting Smelfungus. In my quotations from HS, no other quotation marks have then been added.
‘Their doom is to be forgotten forever. How shall the soul of man take pains to remember what is intrinsically trivial, undelightful, dead and killing to all souls? This is unrelated to the Eternal Melodies; this is discordant, related to the Eternal Discords! No soul of man will remember it; will find any pleasure or possession in it.’

22. Historical Sketches: High Church Policies

Referring, in Historical Sketches, to the feeling that inspired the Scottish people to oppose the High Church policies of Dr. Laud, which “the spirit of Knox feels to be unveracities”, Carlyle seems to echo again the image of the “charnel-house” when he writes:

Doctor, there is not a holier feeling in the soul of man than this same, nor a more benign one for the world: properly it is the light of the world, found here and there in a human heart; it is the sacred element which keeps this world from becoming all one horrid charnel-house.

23. Historical Sketches: The Thurloe Papers

Speaking, in Historical Sketches, of his coming across the Thurloe Papers, i.e., A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, edited by Thomas Birch, and published “in seven folio volumes” in 1742, Carlyle echoes the images, in the “Rede”, of the dreamer’s awakening “in the Churchyard”, the weird aspect of the sky, the “pale”, “grey” light, the “Basilisks” and the “Shadows”:

Life being short and Art long, few or rather none, have ever read this Book, but all of us pry into it on occasion. Historic Art gratefully skims through it on a voyage of discovery, hangs with outspread pinions for moments in the strange twilight, in the strange silence, of that wide-spread City of the Dead, descrying what it can,—little of moment for most part. For in truth the region is most awful, of a leaden quality, a leaden colour, guarded by basilisks, inhabited by ghosts; and the living visitor is in haste to return.

24. Past and Present (1843)

In Past and Present (1843), in the “Captains of Industry” chapter, Carlyle adapts the passage about the ‘wide grave of the All’ to describe the terrible isolation of the Workers:

‘How is each of us’, exclaims Jean Paul, ‘so lonely in the wide bosom of the All!’ Encased each in his transparent ‘ice-palace’; our brother visible in his, making signals and gesticulations to us;—visible, but forever unattainable: on his bosom we shall never rest, nor he on ours. It was not a God that did this; no!”

111. Carlyle, op. cit.: 41, par. 32.
112. William Laud (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury since 1633, “was impeached (1640) by the Long Parliament, and executed (1645)” (LMED, s.v. Laud).
115. Carlyle, op. cit.: 300–01, par. 3.
118. Carlyle, op. cit.: 311–12, par. 2.
120. PP, “Horoscope”, IV: 275, par. 7.
25. *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850)

In *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850), Carlyle echoes the passage about the basilisks when he comes to speak of “preliminary impediments” guarding Law and Church:

The “Rede”

The net of the mist, and the tottering Earth brought me into that hideous Temple; at the door of which, in two poison-bushes, two glittering Basilisks lay brooding.121

*Latter-Day Pamphlets*

Angry basilisks watch at the gates of Law and Church just now; and strike a sad damp into the nobler of the young aspirants.122

This sentence in “Stump-Orator” is followed by the statement: “Hard bonds are offered you to sign; as it were, a solemn engagement to constitute yourself an impostor, before ever entering; to declare your belief in incredibilities,—your determination, in short, to take Chaos for Cosmos, and Satan for the Lord of things, if he come with money in his pockets, and horsehair and bombazeen decently wrapped about him. Fatal preliminaries, which deter many an ingenuous young soul, and send him back from the threshold, and I hope will deter ever more.”123

26. “The Opera” (1852)

Speaking, in “The Opera” (1852), of what music was felt to be “in Greek, in Roman, in Moslem, Christian, most of all in Old-Hebrew times”,124 Carlyle writes: “Serious nations, all nations that can still listen to the mandate of Nature, have prized song and music as the highest; as a vehicle for worship, for prophecy, and for whatsoever in them was divine. Their singer was a vates, admitted to the council of the universe, friend of the gods, and choicest benefactor to man.”125

Of the state of music “for a long time past”, however, he says:

Music has, for a long time past, been avowedly mad, divorced from sense and the reality of things; and runs about now as an open Bedlamite, for a good many generations back, bragging that she has nothing to do with sense and reality, but with fiction and delirium only; and stares with unaffected amazement, not able to suppress an elegant burst of witty laughter, at my suggesting the old fact to her.126

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122. *LP*, “Stump-Orator”: 189, par. 27. Cf. J. W. Smeed, “Thomas Carlyle and Jean Paul Richter”, *Comparative Literature*, 16 (1964): 249. Basilisk, “C14: from Latin basiliscus, from Greek basiliskos royal child, from basileus king” (*Collins English Dictionary*). *OED* describes the basilisk as: “A fabulous reptile, also called a cockatrice, alleged to be hatched by a serpent from a cock’s egg; ancient authors stated that its hissing drove away all other serpents, and that its breath, and even its look, was fatal. [So called, says Pliny, from a spot, resembling a crown, on its head; mediaeval authors furnished it with ‘a certain combe or coronet.’]” (*OED*’s brackets). Cf. also quot. 1657, reading: “Basilisk . . kills a man with its very sight (as some say) but by its breath infallibly: it’s about a foot long, with a black and yellow skin, and fiery red eyes” (*OED*’s periods).
123. *LP*, “Stump-Orator”: 189, par. 27.
125. Ibid., par. 1.
126. Ibid.: 398, par. 2.
In connection with the “unveracity”\textsuperscript{127} of a performance “at the London Opera in the Haymarket”,\textsuperscript{128} Carlyle then echoes the passage about looking for ‘the Divine Eye’, but finding only a ‘bottomless Eye-socket’:\textsuperscript{129}

O Heavens! when I think that Music too is condemned to be mad . . . your celestial Opera-house grows dark and infernal to me! Behind its glitter stalks the shadow of Eternal Death; through it too, I look not ‘up into the divine eye,’ as Richter has it, ‘but down into the bottomless eye-socket’—not up towards God, Heaven, and the Throne of Truth, but too truly down towards Falsity, Vacuity, and the dwelling-place of Everlasting Despair.\textsuperscript{130}

27. \textit{Reminiscences}: “Jane Welsh Carlyle” (comp. 1866)
A final example may be given from \textit{Reminiscences}. On 29 June 1866, in his reminiscence “Jane Welsh Carlyle”, Carlyle appears to echo the passage about the ‘Regenbogen aus Wesen’\textsuperscript{131} (the ‘rainbow of beings’), translated by him as: ‘. . . the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss, and trickled down.’\textsuperscript{132} Thus, speaking of the meetings with his wife “in the evening” when his “work was done”, Carlyle writes: “Never again shall I have such melodious, humanly beautiful Half-hours; they were the \textit{rainbow} of my poor dripping \textit{day},—and reminded me that there otherwise \textit{was} a Sun.”\textsuperscript{133}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid.: 403, par. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{128} Ibid.: 397, par. 2. Cf. ibid.: 399, par. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{129} “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
\item \textsuperscript{130} Carlyle, op. cit.: 402, par. 10. Cf. \textit{LP}, “Jesuitism”: 328, par. 60.
\item \textsuperscript{131} \textit{SW}, 6a: 250,12 (see \textit{CJP}: 224).
\item \textsuperscript{132} “Rede”, Pt. 1, par. 3 (E 2: 157).
\item \textsuperscript{133} \textit{R}: 126.
\end{itemize}
CHAPTER VII
THE GENESIS OF SARTOR RESARTUS

“The first genesis of Sartor”
From 13 to 17 September 1830, the Carlyles were visited at Craigenputtock by the Jeffreys.1 On 18 September 1830, the day after this visit, Carlyle tells John Carlyle: “I am going to write something of my own; I have sworn it.”2 After attending, on 21 September 1830, “the grand Cattle-show”3 in Dumfries, and “looking at all the huge Bullocks and strange human Creatures assembled”4 there, Carlyle and his wife, on the evening of that day, went to see the Welshes at Templand,3 where they stayed until the morning of 23 September.6 Circa 28 September 1830, shortly after the visit to Templand, Carlyle notes in his Journal: “I am going to write—Nonsense. It is on ‘Clothes’. Heaven be my comforter!”7

Of the “first genesis of Sartor”, Carlyle writes in “Jane Welsh Carlyle” (comp. 1866): “I well remember, where and how (at Templand one morning) the germ of it [Sartor] rose above ground.”8 And in “Edward Irving” (comp. 1866–67): “The first genesis of Sartor I remember well enough, and the very spot (at Templand) where the notion of astonishment at Clothes first struck me . . . ”9 The “notion of astonishment at Clothes”, therefore, must have “first struck” Carlyle at Templand on the morning of 22 or 23 September 1830.

Composition, 1830–1831
1. First Stage: MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I
Circa 28 September 1830,10 Carlyle notes in his Journal, as seen above: “I am going to write—Nonsense. It is on ‘Clothes’. Heaven be my comforter!”11 Describing what he is “writing at”, he tells John Carlyle on 19 October 1830: “What I am writing at is the strangest of all things: begun as an Article for Fraser; then found to be too long (except it were divided into two); now sometimes looking almost, as if it would swell into a Book. A very singular piece, I assure you! It glances from Heaven to Earth & back again in a strange satirical frenzy whether fine or not remains to be seen. . . . Teufelsdreck (that is the title of my present Schrift) will be done

1. The Jeffreys had come on Monday evening, 13 September, and left on Friday morning, 17 September 1830; cf. TC to JAC, 18 Sept. 1830 (5:163). For Carlyle’s account of this visit, cf. ibid.: 163–64; TC to MAC, “28 Sept. 1830” (5: 167–68); TN: 173–76 and R: 325–27. See also App. VI, 2.
2. TC to JAC, 18 Sept. 1830 (5: 164).
3. Ibid.: 166. In the postscript to this letter, Carlyle says: “We talk of all being at the grand Cattle-show on Tuesday, which is to be the most astonishing meeting ever held here abouts.”
4. TC to MAC, “28 Sept. 1830” (5: 166).
7. TN: 176. The entry follows on Carlyle’s estimate of Jeffrey, which is preceded by the entry dated “about the 28th” of September 1830 and reading: “Rain! Rain! Rain! The crops all lying tattered, scattered and unripe; the winter’s bread still under the soaking clouds! God pity the poor!” (ibid.: 173).
8. R: 63.
10. For this date, see above.
11. TN: 176. On “28 September 1830”, Carlyle writes to his mother: “I am continuing to scribble little things (at present, in Prose); perhaps for that Magazine [i.e., Fraser’s Magazine]; perhaps for a sore foot, and at any rate to clear my hand of them. Ere long I hope to betake myself to my Book, and do something worthier” (5: 168).
(so far—50 pages) tomorrow.”12 And on 28 October 1830, he says in his Journal: “Written a strange piece ‘On clothes’: know not what will come of it.”13

Of his having written to Fraser about “that Teufelsdreck paper”, Carlyle says in his letter to John Carlyle of 12 November 1830: “I wrote to William Fraser about . . . that Teufelsdreck paper of mine, which I have now resolved not to make a Book of; but, if I have opportunity, two Articles, and the germ of more. . . . Were his answer come, I send off this Paper . . .”14 In fact, circa 24 November 1830, he notes in his Journal: “Sent away the Clothes; of which I could make a kind of Book; but cannot afford it. Have still the Book in petto (?) but in the most chaotic shape.”15

2. Second Stage: MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II
Of his dissatisfaction with Fraser’s Magazine, and his wish to have the “long Paper entitled Thoughts on Clothes”—of which he would like “to make a Book”—returned to him, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 21 January 1831:

. . . that Fraser’s Magazine gives the most scurvy remuneration of any Periodical extant, and shall have no more stuff of mine at that rate, barring worse fortune than I have yet seen. . . . It is also a frothy, washy, punchy [flabby], dirty kind of Periodical, I fear . . .

But I have a serious commission for you (trouble, as usual) grounded on these facts. Will you go to Fraser and get from him by all means my long Paper entitled Thoughts on Clothes: I would not for above half a dozen reasons have it appear there so long as I have potatoes to eat. Get it from him, unless it is absolutely printed: the rest he can keep, they will surely pay him: but of this (in addition to the above reasons) I have taken a notion that I can make rather a good Book of it, and one above all likely to produce some desirable impression on the world even now. Do thou get it, my dear Jack, read it well over thyself, and then say what thou thinkest. I can devise some more Biography for Teufelsdreck; give a second deeper part, in the same vein, leading thro’ Religion and the nature of Society, and Lord knows what. Nay that very ‘Thoughts’, slightly altered, wd itself make a little volume first (which would encourage me immensely) could one find any Bookseller, which however I suppose one cannot. . . . I fear perfect anonymity is now out of the question; however swear every one secrecy, for I mean to speak fearlessly if at all.16

Of his determination “to make a Book” of the “Paper entitled Thoughts on Clothes”, which he had asked his brother to get back from Fraser, Carlyle writes in his Journal on 7 February 1831, or shortly after that date: “Sent to Jack to liberate my Teufelsdreck from Editorial durance in London, and am seriously thinking to make a Book of it. The thing is not right, not Art; yet

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12. TC to JAC, 19 Oct. 1830 (5: 175–76). This manuscript would later be entitled “Thoughts on Clothes” (see below) and is referred to by me as MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I. See also App. VIII, 2. On 10 October 1830, Carlyle wrote to his mother: “For the last three weeks I have been writing by taskwork again, and get along wonderfully well: what it is to be I cannot yet tell, whether a Book or a string of Magazine Articles; we hope, the former; but in either case, it may be worth something” (5: 171).
13. TN: 177. In a Journal entry of the end of October 1833, Carlyle writes: “If I consider it well, there is hardly any book in the world that has sunk so deep into me as ‘Reinecke Fuchs’. It cooperates with other tendencies. Perhaps my whole speculation about ‘clothes’ arose out of that. It now absolutely haunts me, often very painfully, and in shapes that I will not write even here. [par.] Yet, again, how beautiful, how true, is this other: ‘Man is an incarnate word’. Both these I habitually feel” (F 2: 372). For Carlyle on Reinecke Fuchs (Reynard the Fox), cf. “Early German Literature” (1831), E 2: 274-75, pars. 1-2, and 319–32, pars. 59–70. Cf. also CL 7: 428, s.v. Reinke de Vos.
14. TC to JAC, 12 Nov. 1830 (5: 190–91).
15. TN: 178. William Fraser had written to Carlyle on 15 Nov. 1830 (cf. 5: xii).
ALTERATIONS, 1833

perhaps a nearer approach to Art than I have yet made. We ought to try. I want to get it done . . . Thro’ Teufelsdreck I am yet far from seeing my way; nevertheless materials are partly forthcoming.”17 On 23 February 1831, Carlyle is in possession again of the “long Paper entitled Thoughts on Clothes”,18 and, at the end of July 1831, the manuscript “Thoughts on Clothes” II has been completed.19

Unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book, Carlyle, on 27 May 1833, offered it to Fraser for serial publication in Fraser’s Magazine.20

Alterations, 1833

1. Spelling of the Professor’s Name: Teufelsdreck/Teufelsdröckh

By 10 February 1833, Carlyle has decided to change the spelling of the Professor’s name from “Teufelsdreck” to “Teufelsdröckh”,21 which has the distinct spelling of a proper name.

2. The Title: “Thoughts on Clothes”/“Sartor Resartus”

Respecting the title of the book, Carlyle writes to Fraser on 27 May 1833: “The Book is at present named ‘Thoughts on Clothes; or Life and Opinions of Herr D. Teufelsdröckh D. U. J.;’ but perhaps we might see right to alter the title a little . . .”22 Shortly after 27 May 1833, the title “Sartor Resartus” must have been decided on. It first occurs in a letter to John Stuart Mill of 18 July 1833, in which Carlyle writes: “Teufelsdröckh under the as whimsical title of Sartor Resartus, is to come out piecemeal in Fraser’s Magazine . . .”23

3. Subtitle—“or Life and Opinions of Herr D. Teufelsdröckh D. U. J.”—Omitted

In the Fraser Magazine publication of Sartor Resartus, the above subtitle, “or Life and Opinions of Herr D. Teufelsdröckh D. U. J.”, has been omitted.

17. TN: 183. Cf. TC to JAC, 10 Feb. 1831: “. . . I believe . . . that possibly I may make something of the work [Teufelsdreck], and therefore shall try. It is full of dross, but there is also metal in it, and the thing still lives and produces with me” (5: 231–32). Cf. also TC to JAC, 12 July 1831, 5: 303 (“I am struggling forward with Dreck”) and 17 July 1831, 5: 305 (“I am labouring at Teufel”). See below, Ch. VIII.
19. Cf. TC to MAC, 19 July 1831 (5: 308). On 31 May 1866, Carlyle writes in his reminiscence “Jane Welsh Carlyle”: “‘Nine months’, I used to say, it [Sartor] had cost me in writing” (R: 63). In “Edward Irving”, he notes: “. . . the Book [i.e., Sartor] had taken me, in all, some nine months, which are not present now, except confusedly and in mass . . .” (ibid.: 289).
20. Cf. TC to J. Fraser, 27 May 1833 (6: 395–97). See also below. For Carlyle’s efforts to get the manuscript published as a book, cf. Tennyson: 146–49.
22. Cf. TC to J. Fraser, 27 May 1833 (6: 395).
23. Cf. TC to J. S. Mill, 18 July 1833 (6: 414–15). For the new title, “Sartor Resartus”, being incorporated in the text of Sartor, cf. the Editor saying: “. . . in the sure expectation of these [“the requisite Documents” for “a Biography of Teufelsdröckh”], we already see our task begun; and this our Sartor Resartus, which is properly a ‘Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh,’ hourly advancing” (SR, “Editorial Difficulties”: 8, par. 5). For the meaning of the title “Sartor Resartus”, see below, Ch. X.
Speaking of this subtitle in Carlyle’s letter to Fraser, D.E. comments: “‘D.U.J.’ probably means ‘Doctor of Universal Jurisprudence’.”24 This is evidently incorrect, Teufelsdröckh being called, in “The Phoenix”, “Doctor utriusque Juris”,25 i.e., “Doctor of both laws”. It may here be noted that the standard abbreviation for “Doctor of both laws” is “D.U.J.”, as in Carlyle’s letter to Fraser, or “J.U.D.”,26 as in “Preliminary”, where the author of ‘Die Kleider’ is said to be ‘Diog. Teufelsdröckh, J.U.D.’.27

In the commentaries on Sartor, ‘J.U.D.’, or “Doctor of both laws”, is defined as “Doctor of Canon and Civil Law”.28 And in the Dictionaries of Abbreviations here referred to, the only definition for “J.U.D.”, or “Doctor of both laws”, is “Doctor of Canon and Civil Law”, as if “both laws” would not allow of any other meaning. In OED, however, the definition paragraph for “Both laws” and the quotation paragraph read:

Both laws [after med. L. (doctor, etc.) utriusque juris]: in mediaeval use referring to the Civil and the Canon Law; in modern Scotland, the Roman Civil Law and the municipal law of the country.

1577–87 Holinshed Hist. Scot. 284/1 Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes. 1808 Scott Mem. in Lockhart i, We attended the regular classes of both laws in the University of Edinburgh.29

The first chapter of Lockhart’s Scott, from which quotation 1808 is taken, “consists of the Ashestiel fragment”, “an autobiographical fragment, composed by him [Scott] in 1808”, “which gives a clear outline of his early life down to the period of his call to the Bar—July 1792”.30 In this autobiographical fragment, Scott describes his attendance of “the regular classes” and study of “both laws” as follows:

... to that object [of being admitted to the Bar] my studies were directed with great ardour and perseverance during the years 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792.

In the usual course of study, the Roman or Civil Law was the first object of my attention—the second, the Municipal Law of Scotland. In the course of reading on both subjects, I had the advantage of studying in conjunction with my friend William Clerk ... We attended the regular classes of both laws in the University of Edinburgh. The Civil Law chair, now worthily filled by Mr Alexander Irving, might at that time be considered as in abeyance, since the person by whom it was occupied had never been fit for the situation, and was then almost in a state of dotage. But the Scotch Law lectures were those of Mr David Hume, who still continues to occupy that situation with as much honour to himself as advantage to his country ... The rule of my friend Clerk and myself was, that we should mutually qualify ourselves for undergoing an examination upon certain points of law every morning in the week, Sundays excepted ... and in the course of two summers, we went, by way of question and answer, through the whole of Heineccius’s Analysis of the Institutes and Pandects, as well

27. SR, “Preliminary”; 5, par. 6.
29. OED, s.v. law 4 b (OED’s brackets).
as through the smaller copy of Erskine’s Institutes of the Law of Scotland. This course of study enabled us to pass with credit the usual trials, which, by the regulations of the Faculty of Advocates, must be undergone by every candidate for admission into their body. My friend William Clerk and I passed these ordeals on the same days—namely, the Civil Law trial on the [30th June 1791], and the Scots Law trial on the [6th July 1792]. On the [11th July 1792], we both assumed the gown with all its duties and honours. 31

In this connection, it may be noted that, in 1819–1820, Carlyle, too, attended Hume’s “Lectures on Scots Law”32 and that, by 15 December 1819, he is reading Erskine’s Institutes of the Laws of Scotland (1773).33 Scott’s description of the study of “both laws” may be complemented by the following account, in Modern Scotland (1980), of the “Origins of Scots Law”, i.e., of “that part of the law which pertains exclusively to Scotland”:

Before the thirteenth century both England and Scotland had similar legal systems, which were predominantly Norman and within the Roman school of thought. But the great fifteenth-century separations of Scotland from England (Wars of Independence) and of England from France (Hundred Years’ War) destroyed the unity of north-west Europe. From 1500 England developed in isolation from Europe, and Scotland in isolation from England. While England threw off the continental influence, Scotland maintained political, religious and legal links with France, Italy and Holland, and so continued to have a more ‘continental’ system of law. The English universities were closed to the Scots, and they became accustomed to attend those on the Continent, where they learned more of the Roman law tradition and returned to Scotland to teach it in the law schools of the Scottish universities. This amalgam of continental and native influences is found in the institutional writings on Scots law which have given it the strength to survive since the Union: the Institutions of Viscount Stair (1681); the Institutes of John Erskine (1773); and the Commentaries and Principles of George Joseph Bell (1829). The authority of these writers is as great even today as the decisions of the highest courts themselves, and they are still referred to constantly by Scottish judges (Smith, [Scotland,] 1962, p. 32). In the words of Lord Cooper, Scots Law consists of ‘Roman Law, Feudal Law and native customary law, systematised by resort to the law of nature and the Bible, and illuminated by many flashes of ideal metaphysic’ (Cooper, [The Scottish Legal Tradition,] 1949, p. 9).34

From the above, it is clear that, in Sartor, ‘J.U.D.’ and “Doctor utriusque Juris” (“Doctor of both laws”) should not be taken to mean “Doctor of Canon and Civil Law”, as in mediaeval use, but “Doctor of Roman or Civil Law and of the Municipal Law” of Germany, just as, in modern Scotland, “Doctor of both laws” means “Doctor of Roman or Civil Law and of the Municipal Law” of Scotland.

4. Alterations in the Text

Speaking of the alterations made in the text of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II before its publication in Fraser’s Magazine in November 1833–August 1834, Carlyle says in his Notes to Althaus: “Not a letter of it altered; except in the last and the first page, a word or two!”35 In this connection, the following cases may here be noted:

32. Cf. TC to R. Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1819 (I: 208); TC to JAC, 2 Dec. 1819 (1: 210–11); TC to AC, 15 Dec. 1819 (1: 212) and 29 Dec. 1819 (1: 215–16); TC to R. Mitchell, 30 Dec. 1819 (1: 217) and 18 Mar. 1820 (1: 231–32), and TC to AC, 29 Mar. 1820 (1: 236). For Hume, cf. also TC to J. Johnston, 6 May 1820 (1: 246) and TR: 50.
33. Cf. TC to AC, 15 Dec. 1819 (1: 212). For Erskine, cf. also TC to R. Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1819 (1: 208) and TC to J. Johnston, 6 May 1820 (1: 246).
35. TR: 74. Cf. also the statement that MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II was published “slit in Pieces (but rigorously unaltered otherwise) in Fraser’s Magazine” (ibid.: 69).
a. The reference, in “Preliminary”, to Die Kleider as having been published in “1833”.
b. The Editor’s mention, in “Editorial Difficulties”, of his “application to the famed redoubtable Oliver Yorke” and of “an interview, interviews with that singular man”.
c. The Editor’s reference, in “Editorial Difficulties”, to “this our Sartor Resartus”.
d. The footnote signed “O.Y.”, in “Editorial Difficulties”.
e. The Editor’s reference, in “Farewell”, to “these current months”.
f. The Editor’s farewell address to Oliver Yorke.

The English Edition of 1838

1. Subtitle—“The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh”—Added


2. ‘Die Kleider’ Dated ‘1831’


36. Cf. SR (Sabor), “Preliminary”: 6, par. 6, and see below; SR, “Editorial Difficulties”: 8, par. 5; ibid.: 9, par. 6, n. 1, and SR, “Farewell”: 238, final par. For Oliver Yorke, pseudonym of William Maginn (1794–1842), who “in 1830 helped in the establishing of Fraser’s Magazine”, of which he became the editor, cf. OCEL, s.v. Maginn. It may here be noted that “J. A. Froude was editor from 1860 to 1874, but the journal had by then declined in influence and repute” (ibid., s.v. Fraser’s Magazine).


38. “Goethe’s Works” (1832), E 2: 391, par. 12, n. For “Weiss nichtwo”, I have read: “Weissnichtwo” (the word “Weiss” here comes at the end of a line, whilst the next line starts with “nichtwo”).


40. For the authorized lifetime editions of Sartor, cf. SR (S.E.): 541.

In this connection, it may be noted that, in the “Farewell” chapter of *Sartor*, the Editor refers to a letter from Heuschrecke received “Some time ago”, and reading: ‘Shortly after [‘those Parisian Three Days’, i.e., the “Revolts of Paris” of 27–29 July 1830] . . . was the public tranquillity here [at Weissnichtwo], as in Berlin, threatened by a Sedition of the Tailors. Nor did there want Evil-wishers, or perhaps mere desperate Alarmists, who asserted that the closing Chapter of the Clothes-Volume [i.e., the “Tailors” chapter, or “the concluding page” of *Die Kleider*] was to blame.’ This explains why, in “Goethe’s Works” (1832), Carlyle ‘quotes’ from “*Die Kleider . . . 1830*”. In the English edition of 1838, therefore, “*Die Kleider . . . 1833*” (Fraser’s Magazine) should no doubt have been changed to ‘*Die Kleider . . . 1830*’ instead of to ‘*Die Kleider . . . 1831*’.

Speaking of the Swing riots then going on, with “Hay-stacks and corn-stacks burning over all the South and Middle of England”, and referring to the “Revolts of Paris” of 27–29 July 1830, Carlyle notes in his Journal near the end of November 1830: “Revolution on the back of Revolution for a century yet? Religion, the cement of Society, is not here: We can have no permanent beneficent arrangement of affairs.” In Heuschrecke’s letter to the Editor, too, the ‘Sedition of the Tailors’, as seen above, is described as “Revolution on the back of Revolution”. The passage reads in full:

“It had been remarked that while the agitating news of those Parisian Three Days flew from mouth to mouth, and dinned every ear in Weissnichtwo, Herr Teufelsdröckh was not known, at the Gans or elsewhere, to have spoken, for a whole week, any syllable except once these three: *Es geht an* (It is beginning). Shortly after, as Ew. Wohlgeboren knows, was the public tranquillity here, as in Berlin, threatened by a Sedition of the Tailors. Nor did there want Evil-wishers, or perhaps mere desperate Alarmists, who asserted that the closing Chapter of the Clothes-Volume was to blame. In this appalling crisis, the serenity of our Philosopher was indescribable: nay, perhaps through one humble individual, something thereof might pass into the Rath (Council) itself, and so contribute to the country’s deliverance. The Tailors are now entirely pacificated.—”

When Carlyle, in *Sartor*, therefore, speaks of the ‘Sedition of the Tailors’, he had no doubt the Swing Rebellion “from August to December 1830” in mind. This Rebellion reached as far as Carlisle, near the Scottish border, as the following account of events “on the outskirts” of Carlisle on 30 November 1830 shows:

The most northerly point reached was Carlisle, in Cumberland. On 30 November, two ricks were fired at separate farms on the outskirts of the city. It appears to have been an act of political reprisal; and three weavers—

42. *SR*, “Farewell”: 236, par. 7.
43. Ibid., par. 9.
44. *SR*, “Preliminary”: 3, par. 4.
47. *TN*: 178.
described as Radicals—were arrested and lodged in Caldewgate. Shortly after, handbill was posted near by, offering “£1,000 reward, in the apprehension of Borough-mongers, Stock-jobbers, Tax-eaters, Monopolizers, Special Constables, and the Extinguishers of freedom—by order of the swing union”. Couched in a less formal literary style was a letter addressed by “Sargin Swen” to his “dear friends” of “the compony”, urging attendance at a meeting “persisly at 6 a clock on monday evining”, for “we are determined to release these three men that is in the gate”.51

3. From Double to Single Quotation Marks

In the Fraser Magazine publication of Sartor Resartus, double quotation marks are used for a first quotations and single quotation marks for quotations within quotations, as in:

“The beginning of all Wisdom is to look fixedly on Clothes, or even with armed eyesight, till they become transparent. ‘The Philosopher,’ says the wisest of this age, ‘must station himself in the middle:’ how true! The Philosopher is he to whom the Highest has descended, and the Lowest has mounted up; who is the equal and kindly brother of all.

“Shall we tremble before clothwebs and cobwebs, whether woven in Arkwright looms, or by the silent Arachnes that weave unrestingly in our Imagination? Or, on the other hand, what is there that we cannot love; since all was created by God?

“Happy he who can look through the Clothes of a Man (the woollen, and fleshly, and official Bank-paper and State-paper Clothes), into the Man himself; and discern, it may be, in this or the other Dread Potentate, a more or less incompetent Digestive-apparatus; yet also an inscrutable venerable Mystery, in the meanest Tinker that sees with eyes!”52

In the English edition of 1838, however, and all subsequent, authorized lifetime editions of Sartor, single quotation marks go with first quotations and double quotation marks with quotations within quotations.53

4. Lines Marked with Inverted Commas

In the English edition of 1838 and all subsequent lifetime editions of Sartor, new lines in quotations54 from Teufelsdröckh’s Die Kleider and “Paper-bag Documents”,55 as well as from related, German documents,56 are separately marked with single inverted commas,57 as in:

52. SR (Sabor), “Pure Reason”: 52, pars. 7–9. It should here be noted that, in Fraser’s Magazine, Sartor Resartus was published in double-column format. Cf. SR (S.E.): ci.
53. Cf. ibid.: xcix. For first quotations of speech, see below.
54. For first quotations of speech, see below.
57. For S.E. on the use of inverted commas in the English edition of 1838 and subsequent lifetime editions of Sartor, see below.
The beginning of all Wisdom is to look fixedly on Clothes, or even with armed eyesight, till they become transparent. "The Philosopher," says the wisest of this age, "must station himself in the middle:" how true! The Philosopher is he to whom the Highest has descended, and the Lowest has mounted up; who is the equal and kindly brother of all.

Shall we tremble before clothwebs and cobwebs, whether woven in Arkwright looms, or by the silent Arachnes that weave unrestingly in our imagination? Or, on the other hand, what is there that we cannot love; since all was created by God?

Happy he who can look through the Clothes of a Man (the woollen, and fleshly, and official Bank-paper and State-paper Clothes) into the Man himself; and discern, it may be, in this or the other Dread Potentate, a more or less incompetent Digestive-apparatus; yet also an inscrutable venerable Mystery, in the meanest Tinker 'that sees with eyes!' 58

Apart from the inverted comma at the beginning of each paragraph within quotations, inverted commas have been omitted in the Centenary as well as in the Strouse Edition of Sartor, but should, in my opinion, have been retained, as they are in Sartor, The World’s Classics, No. 19,59 and as will be argued below.

Regarding the use of inverted commas in Sartor, S.E. notes that, in “1838 and all subsequent lifetime editions, for all quotations that extend over more than one line of text, a left quotation mark . . . is inserted at the beginning of each line of the continuing quote”.60 This is saying too much, as the following passages, quoted line-atim from the People’s Edition of 1871, show. In these passages, new lines in quotations from other sources than those mentioned above, as, for instance, from the Bible, Goethe, or Shakespeare, are not marked with inverted commas at the left margin. Thus, Sartor reads:

It is written, 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.' Surely the plain rule is, Let each considerate person have his way . . .61

It was a strange apart-
ment; full of books and tattered papers, and miscellaneous shreds of all conceivable substances, 'united in a common element of dust.' Books lay on tables, and below tables . . .62

Was not every soul, or rather every body, of these Guardians of our Liberties, naked, or nearly so, last night; 'a forked Radish with a head fantastically carved'? And why might he not . . .63

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59. Hereafter referred to as SR (WC 19). In the World’s Classics, Sartor was first published in 1902 by Grant Richards (London) and by Oxford University Press (cf. Dyer: 230).
60. SR (S.E.): cvii.
New lines in equally short quotations from *Die Kleider*, the “Paper-bag Documents” and related, German documents, on the other hand, are separately marked with inverted commas at the left margin, as in:

... Man’s earthly interests ‘are all hooked and buttoned together, and held up, ’by Clothes.’ He says in so many words, ‘Society is founded ‘upon Cloth,’ and again . . .64

He admits, that though ‘per-
‘haps in an unusual degree morally courageous,’ he succeeded ill in battle . . .65

... and then, at
length, with great circumlocution, hinted at the practicability of conveying ‘some knowledge of it, and of him, to England, and ‘through England to the distant West:’ a work on Professor Teufelsdröckh . . .66

From the above, it is clear that, in *Sartor*, inverted commas at the left margin are used to set the quotations from *Die Kleider*, the “Paper-bag Documents” and related, German documents apart from the rest of the text. Thus, the inverted commas at the left margin immediately show the structure of each chapter as a whole and greatly facilitate the reading of the book. Instead of being omitted, therefore, as in the Centenary as well as in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor*, these inverted commas—adhered to by Carlyle in all the lifetime editions of *Sartor*—should evidently be retained, as they are in *Sartor*, The World’s Classics, No. 19.

In this connection, Carlyle’s use of inverted commas at the left margin in *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches* may here be looked at too.

In *Cromwell*, Cromwell’s Letters are set in italic,67 whilst his Speeches and written communications, printed in roman, are placed between quotation marks and furnished with inverted commas at the left margin,68 which are not used for other quotations.69 In this way, Cromwell’s Speeches and written communications stand out from the rest of the text. In the Centenary Edition of *Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches*, therefore, the inverted commas at the left margin have been carefully retained.

67. Cf. *OC* 1: 89–90 (Letter 1, 11 Jan. 1635). In his Introduction to *Cromwell*, Carlyle notes: “... what words in the Text of the Letters are mine, the reader will find marked off by double commas . . .” (ibid., Introduction, V: 79, par. 6).
68. Cf. *OC* 3: 43–70 (Speech 1, 4 July 1653); *OC* 1: 363–64 (Declaration, 8 Sept. 1648); 375 (Proclamation, 20 Sept. 1648); *OC* 2: 4–5 (Pass, 2 Feb. 1648) and *OC* 3: 39 (Summons, 6 June 1653).
5. Quotations of Speech Singled Out

With regard to first quotations, it may be noted that, in the English edition of 1838 and all subsequent lifetime editions of *Sartor*, quotations of speech uttered by Teufelsdröck— which, as first quotations, occur in the “Reminiscences” chapter only—are specially marked with double quotation marks and double inverted commas at the left margin, as in:

“I look down into all that wasp-nest or bee-hive,” have we heard him say, “and witness their wax-laying and honey-making, and poison-brewing, and choking by sulphur. . . . That living flood, pouring through these streets, of all qualities and ages, knowest thou whence it is coming, whither it is going? *Aus der Ewigkeit, zu der Ewigkeit hin: From Eternity, onwards to Eternity!* These are Apparitions: what else? Are they not Souls rendered visible: in Bodies, that took shape and will lose it, melting into air? Their solid Pavement is a Picture of the Sense; they walk on the bosom of Nothing, blank Time is behind them and before them. Or fanciest thou, “the red and yellow Clothes-screen yonder, with spurs on its heels and feather in its crown, is but of Today, “without a Yesterday or a Tomorrow; and had not rather its Ancestor alive when Hengst and Horsa overran thy Island? Friend, thou seest here a living link in that Tissue of History, which inweaves all Being: watch well, or “it will be past thee, and seen no more.”

These double quotation marks have been replaced by single quotation marks in the Centenary as well as in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor*, but should evidently have been retained, as they are—together with the double inverted commas at the left margin—in *Sartor*, The World’s Classics, No. 19.

The Relative Placing of Quotation Marks and Punctuation

Of the relative placing of quotation marks and punctuation, *Hart* says: “All signs of punctuation used with words in quotation marks must be placed according to the sense”, i.e., “notes of exclamation and interrogation are sometimes included in and sometimes follow quotation marks . . . according to whether their application is merely to the words quoted or to the whole sentence of which they form a part”, and “when a comma, full point, colon, or semicolon is required at the end of a quotation, there is no reason for perpetuating the bad practice of their undiscriminating inclusion within the quotation marks at the end of an extract.”

With regard to the relative placing of quotation marks and punctuation in *Sartor Resartus*, the following cases may here be noted.

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71. For Teufelsdröckh’s utterance in “Reminiscences”, par. 14 (with German in italic without quotation marks, and translation within double quotation marks), no inverted commas at the left margin have been used.
73. Cf. *SR*, “Reminiscences”: 15–16, par. 10 (where C.E. erroneously omits the closing quotation mark); 16–17, par. 11, and 19, par. 14.
1. Colons and Semicolons
Instead of being put inside the closing quotation marks, as in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor*,
colons and semicolons are placed outside these in the Centenary Edition and, frequently, in
*Sartor Resartus*, The World’s Classics, No. 19, as in:

“The Everlasting Yea”, par. 4. revolution:’ (S.E.)
“The Everlasting Yea”, par. 6 sleep:’ (S.E.)
“The Everlasting Yea”, par. 6. table-land:’ (S.E.)
“The Everlasting Yea”, par. 17. Inspiration:’ (S.E.)

Thus, the Centenary Edition reads:

So that, for Teufelsdröckh also, there has been a ‘glorious revolution’: these mad shadow-hunting and shadow-hunted Pilgrimings of his were but . . .

Might we not also conjecture that the following passage refers to his Locality, during this same ‘healing sleep’; that his Pilgrim-staff lies cast aside here, on ‘the high table-land’; and indeed that the repose is already taking wholesome effect on him?

2. Question Marks
Several question marks which, in the editions of 1833 to 1858 and in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor*, are put inside the closing quotation marks, are placed outside these in the Library Edition of 1869 and the People’s Edition of 1871, as well as in the Centenary Edition and in *Sartor*, The World’s Classics, No. 19, as in:

“Adamitism”, par. 3. indeed?’ (1838; S.E.)
“Adamitism”, par. 3. fell?’ (1838; S.E.)
“Adamitism”, par. 10. carved?’ (1838; S.E.)

The Centenary Edition, therefore, reads:

Was not every soul, or rather every body, of these Guardians of our Liberties, naked, or nearly so, last night; ‘a forked Radish with a head fantastically carved’?

3. Exclamation Marks
Instead of being put inside the closing quotation marks, as in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor*, the following exclamation marks are placed outside these in the Centenary Edition:

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77. In *Sartor*, there are about thirty cases of a colon or semicolon at the end of a quotation. “Whereas the semicolon links equal or balanced clauses, the colon generally marks a step forward, from introduction to main theme, from cause to effect, premiss to conclusion, etc.” (ibid.: 41).
79. Ibid.: 149, par. 6.
80. The editions of 1869 and 1871 count eleven instances in which a question mark is placed outside a closing quotation mark. Cf. *SR* (S.E.), Historical Collation: 552–54, 566, 569, 581–82, 588.
“Romance”, par. 7. volcano! (S.E.)] volcano’! (C.E.).
“Church-Clothes”, par. 3. thereof!” (1838; S.E.)] thereof”! (1869; 1871; C.E.).

Thus, the Centenary Edition reads:

. . . till of the so fair and manifold internal world of our Diogenes, there remained Nothing, or only the ‘crater of an extinct volcano’.

4. Commas

From “the maxim—place punctuation according to sense”, it would also follow that, in Sartor, many commas which are hitherto placed before the closing quotation marks, should be put after these, as in:

“The Everlasting No”, par. 1. Time,’ (C.E.; S.E.)] Time’,
“The Everlasting Yea”, par. 4. eye,’ (C.E.; S.E.)] eye’,
“Pause”, par. 4. thou,’ (C.E.; S.E.)] thou’,
“Pause”, par. 4. Institution,’ (C.E.; S.E.)] Institution’,

The sentences in “Pause” would then read:

‘Nay how knowest thou’, cries he, ‘but this and the other pregnant Device . . . may have been properly my doing?’

‘An Institution’, hints he, ‘not unsuitable to the wants of the time . . .’

5. Full Stops

The above maxim would also require that several full stops which are hitherto placed inside the closing quotation marks, should be put outside these, as in:

“Reminiscences”, par. 13. dust.’ (C.E.; S.E.)] dust’.
“Pure Reason”, par. 1. peas.’ (C.E.; S.E.)] peas’.

The sentence in “Reminiscences” would then read:

It was a strange apartment; full of books and tattered papers, and miscellaneous shreds of all conceivable substances, ‘united in a common element of dust’.

82. Cf. SR (S.E.), Historical Collation: 587.
84. Hart’s Rules: 47.
Punctuation after Italicized Words

1. Colons and Semicolons
A colon or semicolon between italic and roman is set in italic in the Strouse, but in roman in the Centenary Edition of Sartor,\(^\text{88}\) as in:

“The Preliminary”, par. 3. Animal; whereas (S.E.) Animal; whereas (C.E.).
“The Preliminary”, par. 4. sagen; in (S.E.) sagen; in (C.E.).
“Editorial Difficulties”, par. 8. veritas; Teufelsdröckh (S.E.) veritas; Teufelsdröckh (C.E.).
“Reminiscences”, par. 10. hin: From (S.E.) hin: From (C.E.).
“Reminiscences”, par. 15. ich; in (S.E.) ich; in (C.E.).
“The World out of Clothes”, par. 5. vacuum: how (S.E.) vacuum: how (C.E.).
“Symbols”, par. 2. day: on (S.E.) day: on (C.E.).

Thus, the Centenary Edition reads:

In all speculations they have tacitly figured man as a Clothed Animal; whereas he is by nature a Naked Animal; and only in certain circumstances, by purpose and device, masks himself in Clothes.\(^\text{89}\)

‘Nay, in thy own mean perplexities, do thou thyself but hold thy tongue for one day: on the morrow, how much clearer are thy purposes and duties . . .’\(^\text{90}\)

2. A Question, Exclamation or Closing Quotation Mark
A question, exclamation or closing quotation mark following a word or words in italic, is set in italic in the Strouse Edition of Sartor,\(^\text{91}\) but in roman in the Centenary Edition, as in:

“Miscellaneous-Historical”, par. 4. Teusinke’ (S.E.) Teusinke’ (C.E.).
“Adamitism”, par. 5. is? (S.E.) is? (C.E.).
“Centre of Indifference”, par. 20. caput-mortuum! (S.E.) caput-mortuum! (C.E.).
“Natural Supernaturalism”, par. 15. There! (S.E.) There! (C.E.).

\(^{88}\) In Sartor, there are about forty cases of a colon or semicolon between italic and roman. It may here be noted that a comma between italic and roman is set in roman in the Strouse as well as in the Centenary Edition of Sartor, as in ‘Weissnichtwo, 1831’ (“Preliminary”, par. 6), and that, in both editions, parentheses enclosing italic material are set in roman too, as in ‘View of the World (Weltansicht)’ (“Prospective”, par. 13).

\(^{89}\) SR, “Preliminary”: 2, par. 3.

\(^{90}\) SR, “Symbols”: 174, par. 2.

\(^{91}\) Cf., however, the question mark, in roman, in ‘is not your very Attention a Stretching-to!’ (S.E., “Prospective”: 56, par. 9). Cf. also S.E.’s different treatment of punctuation after the italicized title in “Merrick’s valuable Work On Ancient Armour?” (S.E., “Miscellaneous-Historical”: 36, par. 1) and in ‘Hans Sachs . . . with his Schneider mit dem Panier?’ (S.E., “Tailors”: 212, par. 3).
The Centenary Edition, therefore, reads:

‘Rich men, I find, have Teusinke’ (a perhaps untranslateable article); ‘also a silver girdle, whereat hang little bells . . .’\(^\text{92}\)

‘How is this; or what make ye of your Nothing can act but where it is?’\(^\text{93}\)

‘To clap-on your felt, and, simply by wishing that you were Anywhere, straigtway to be There!’\(^\text{94}\)


\(^{93}\)SR, “Adamitism”: 47, par. 5. Cf. also SR, “Reminiscences”: 17, par. 11; “Pause”: 164, par. 11 and “Symbols”: 176, par. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAME “DIOGENES TEUFELSDRÖCKH”

Preliminary

In the “Genesis” chapter of Sartor, Teufelsdröckh states that, when as an infant he was entrusted to ‘the Futterals’ by ‘a Stranger of reverend aspect’, ‘a Taufschein (baptismal certificate), wherein unfortunately nothing but the Name was decipherable’,1 lay beside him. Pondering on ‘the Name, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh’, he says:

‘That it was my unknown Father’s name I must hesitate to believe . . . extra-ordinary names as we have in Germany, the name Teufelsdröckh, except as appended to my own person, nowhere occurs. Again, what may the unchristian rather than Christian “Diogenes” mean? Did that reverend Basket-bearer intend, by such designation, to shadow-forth my future destiny, or his own present malign humour? Perhaps the latter, perhaps both.’2

Of the name “Diogenes Teufelsdröckh”, Barrett writes: “The name . . . may reasonably be taken to imply God-born Reason, the higher principle in man, buffeted by the world and cast out by the devil. A Faust and Mephistopheles; Faith and ‘der Geist, der stäts verneint’; Idealism and Empiricism; Freedom and ‘the force of circumstances’;—are here represented in one individual, in whom there is waged a perpetual conflict, as of ‘sunbeams and miry clay’.3

And Tennyson: “Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, as has been long noted, signifies God-born Devil’s dung, suggesting at once the opposites of God and the devil, heaven and hell” and the idea of “child of both God and the devil”.4 These readings of the name, however, can hardly be correct, as is clear from the following.

Meaning of the Name “Teufelsdröckh”

1. “Teufelsdröckh” (“Teufelsdreck”), i.e., “Gadfly to the Devil”, or ‘Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’

In his Notes to Jane Welsh Carlyle’s letter of “1 September 1834” to his mother, in which she had written: “. . . but for the kindness and helpfulness shown me on all hands I must have traiked one would suppose”, Carlyle says: “‘Traiked’ means ‘Perished[‘],—contemptuous term, applied to cattle &c: ‘Traik = German ‘Dreck’.”5

2. Ibid.: 68–69, par. 8. For Teufelsdröckh on his ‘illustrious namesake’, Diogenes of Sinope, or Diogenes the Cynic (ca. 400–ca. 325 B.C.), cf. SR, “Incident in Modern History”: 168–69, par. 7. See also below.
Carlyle’s statement, “‘Traik’ = German ‘Dreck’”, suggests that the name “Teufelsdreckh” (“Teufelsdreck”) should be taken to mean “Devil-Traik”. The word “traik”, therefore, may here be looked at first.6

Speaking of “traik” in the sense of “A plague, a mischief, a disaster, applied both to things and persons”, 7 Jamieson, in An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language (1808), quotes the following passage from Douglas’s Virgil’s Aeneis (finished in 1513),8 where “traik” is used in the sense of “one who is a ‘pest’ or ‘plague’”9: “Bot al this time I bid na mare, I wys, / Saif that this wensche, this vengeabil pest or traik, / Be bet doun dede by my wound and sharp straik.” 10

It may here be noted that, if a “traik”—or “one who is a ‘pest’ or ‘plague’”—is a person who, like the Philosopher of Clothes in Sartor, is habitually engaged in provocative criticism of established opinion, typically as an individual citizen,11 in order to effect changes in the way things are, he would in English be called a “gadfly”.12

Of his thoughts about his ‘unknown’,13 ‘ill-starred Parent’,14 Teufelsdröckh writes in the “Genesis” chapter of Sartor:

‘Often have I fancied how, in thy hard life-battle, thou wert shot at, and slung at, wounded, hand-fettered, hamstrung, browbeaten and bedevilled by the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist) in thyself and others, till the good soul first given thee was seared into grim rage; and thou hadst nothing for it but to leave in me an indignant appeal to

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6. For the root of German “Dreck” and Scottish “traik”, see below.
9. OED, s.v. traik sb. Sc., 1.
11. Teufelsdröckh is “by title and diploma, Professor der Allerley-Wissenschaft, or . . . ‘Professor of Things in General’”, i.e., of “the ‘Science of Things in General’” (SR, “Reminiscences”: 13, par. 6). For ‘Things in General’, cf. the reference in “the half-official Program” of the “New University” of Weissnichtwo to ‘all things . . . rapidly or slowly, resolving themselves into Chaos’, so that, by ‘a Professorship of this kind’, ‘as occasion called, the task of bodying somewhat forth again from such Chaos might be, even slightly, facilitated’ (ibid.). The “enlightened Government of Weissnichtwo”, however, “had only established the Professorship, nowise endowed it; so that Teufelsdröckh . . . had been promoted thereby to a Name merely” (ibid.: 13–14, par. 6) and is but a “titular Professor” (SR, “The Phoenix”: 189, par. 14). For the phrase, “things in general”, cf. also SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 135–36, par. 1 (“‘Indignation and Defiance,’ especially against things in general”). For this phrase, cf. also Procter (Barry Cornwall) writing to Carlyle in Jan. 1827 with regard to “a letter of introduction to Jeffrey of the Edinr Review”: “I have sealed my letter to Mr Jeffrey, more from a feeling of delicacy than any thing else. It is a mistake I think to send such introductions unsealed. For my own part, I could only in such a case say ‘This is Mr Carlyle the author of The Essay on things in general &c—Pray know him.’ Were I to say more & lay it before the said Mr Carlyle—it would be fulsome” (4: 185, n. 9).
12. Thus, Samuel Adams (1722–1803) has been described as “the most colossal gadfly in political history” (The World Book Dictionary, 1972, quoting Newsweek), Voltaire as “this disconcerting gadfly” (J. E. N. Hearsey, Voltaire, 1976), and Bertrand Russell as “God’s gadfly, sent to challenge the smugness of the churches” (K. Tait, My Father Bertrand Russell, 1977). The word gadfly comes from the Old English word gadde, meaning “to sting or goad”, plus “fly”. Hence, figuratively, a gadfly is a person who goads others into action by persistent criticism.
the Future, and living speaking Protest against the Devil, as that same Spirit not of the Time only, but of Time itself, is well named! Which Appeal and Protest, may I now modestly add, was not perhaps quite lost in air.15

And in the “Farewell” chapter of Sartor, the Editor describes Teufelsdröckh as “a man who had manfully defied the ‘Time-prince,’ or Devil, to his face; nay perhaps, Hannibal-like, was mysteriously consecrated from birth to that warfare, and now stood minded to wage the same, by all weapons, in all places, at all times”.16

From the above, it is clear that the name “Teufelsdröckh” (“Teufelsdreck”) should be taken to mean “Devil-Traik”, i.e., “Gadfly to the Devil”, or ‘Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, which “discerns nothing but mechanism in the Universe”.17

2. The Root of German “Dreck”, Old English “dreccan”, Scottish “traik”, etc.

In Larousse’s Dictionnaire des racines des langues européennes,18 the entry for the root “dher-(europ.)” in the general sense of “trouble; sale”, reads:

dher- (europ.), trouble; sale.
   Gr. thrassô, troubler; tarassô, id.; trakhus, raboteux.
   D’où fr. trachée-artère (propem. artère raboteuse).
   Du germanique:
   ANGL. dark, obscur; -ité; draf, immondices; dregs, lie, résidu.
   ALL. trüben, troubler; Trübe, trouble.19

And in Deutches Wörterbuch (Grimm), German “Dreck” (“dirt, filth, mud, muck, rubbish”) is said to be related to English “dregs”, which has also been used in the now obsolete sense of “Faeces, excrement, refuse, rubbish; corrupt or defiling matters”.20 The root of German “Dreck”, therefore, like that of English “dregs”, is “dher- (europ.), trouble; sale”.

Just as Greek “tarassô” (to “trouble the mind, agitate, disturb”)21 and German “Dreck” come from the root “dher- (europ.), trouble; sale”, so do Old English “drecchen, dreccan” (“To vex, afflict, trouble, torture, torment; vexäre, affligère, tribuläre, turbäre, cruciäre”), Piers Plowman’s “drecchen” (“to vex”), Chaucer’s “drecche”, Layamon’s “i-dräcched” (“injured,
And for Layamon’s “idrácched” (“disturbed”) and Chaucer’s “drecche” (“to vex”):

\[ \textbf{þa he} \\ \text{king him awoc} \\ \text{swide he was idrapched} \\
\textit{When the king awoke, he was greatly disturbed.}^{30} \]

\[ \text{What is he more aboute, me to drecche} \\
\textit{Why is he so anxious to vex me?}^{31} \]

\[ \text{As man that in his dreem is drecched soore} \\
\textit{Like someone sorely troubled in his dream.}^{32} \]

From the above, it is clear that German “Dreck”, Old English “dreccean” (“to vex”), Scottish “traik” (in the sense of “one who is a ‘pest’ or ‘plague’”), etc., are cognate words, related by descent from the same root, “dher- (europ.), trouble; sale”.

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23. Cf. ibid., s.v. tregian, trega. According to Jamieson, Scottish “traik”, in the sense of “a plague, a mischief, a disaster, applied both to things and persons”, derives—like “tray”—from Old English “treg, trege, vexatio, contumelia, damnum; treg-ian, vexare”. Cf. Jamieson, s.v. traik 1; tray. For “tray”, cf. also OED, s.v. tray sb. Obs., and v. Obs.


27. The Anglo-Saxon version of Genesis (Caedmon).

28. Ps. 42, 2.

29. Mk. 5, 35. For these examples, cf. ASD, s.v. dreccan.


32. “The Nun’s Priest’s Tale”, 4077, Works: 200. Cf. OED, s.v. dretch v., 1, “To afflict, torment, vex; in ME. esp. to trouble in sleep”, from “OE. drecc(e)an”. Cf. quot. “1470–85 MALORY Arthur xx. v, We alle . . . were soo dretched that somme of vs lepte oute of oure beddes naked.”
Book Referred to as “this (medicinal) Devil’s Dung”, or “Assafoetida”

Speaking of “the Book” he is still working at, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 12 July 1831: “I am struggling forward with Dreck [i.e., MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II], sick enough, but not in bad heart. I think the world will nowise be enraptured with this (medicinal) Devil’s Dung [i.e., Asafoetida]...” And on 17 July 1831, to the same: “I am labouring at Teufel... I sometimes think the Book will prove a kind of medicinal Assafoetida for the pudding Stomach of England, and produce new secretions there.”

With regard to the fact that Carlyle here refers to asafoetida as “Devil’s Dung”, it may be noted that the old pharmaceutical, Latin nickname for asafoetida, viz. “stercus diaboli”, was vernacularized as “devil’s dung” in English, “deil’s dung” in Scottish, “Teufelsdreck” in German, “duivelsdrek” in Dutch, etc.

Commenting on Carlyle’s letters of 12 and 17 July 1831, D.E. writes: “Carlyle has in mind in both letters the idea of asafoetida as an emetic.” In medicine, however, asafoetida has been used for many purposes, but never as an emetic, i.e., a vomitory or vomitive. In these letters, Carlyle evidently has in mind the idea of asafoetida, or devil’s dung, as a carminative in the treatment of flatulence.

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33. TC to JAC, 12 July 1831 (5:303).
34. TC to JAC, 17 July 1831 (5:305). For “assafoetida” being a variant form of “asafoetida”, cf. OED, s.v. asafoetida. “Asafoetida” is a hybrid word from Persian “aza” (“asa” being the latinized form), a gum or mastic, plus Latin “foetida”, fem. of “foetidus”, ill-smelling, stinking, fetid. For a general account of asafoetida, an oleo-gum-resin with a strong alliaceous odour, see below.
35. Cf. Universal-Lexikon (Zedler), II, 1732; facs. rpt. (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961), s.v. asafoetida, “wegen seines stinkenden Geruchs, insgemein Stercus Diaboli, oder Daemonis, Teufels-Dreck, Teufelfs-Brod, stinkend Asand geheissen [because of its bad smell, generally called Stercus Diaboli, or Daemonis, Teufels-Dreck...].”
37. Cf. Jamieson, An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language (1808), s.v. deil’s dung (“Assafoetida”). Jamieson here notes: “It is singular, that its name in Teut. is the same in signification; duvvels dreck, diaboli stercus; and in Sw[edish] dyvvelstraec, the term traec denoting excrement” (ibid.). This peculiarity is evidently due to the fact, mentioned above, that the old pharmaceutical, Latin nickname for asafoetida, viz. “stercus diaboli”, was vernacularized as “devil’s dung” in English, “deil’s dung” in Scottish, “Teufelsdreck” in German, “duivelsdrek” in Dutch, etc.
38. Cf. Deutsches Wörterbuch (Grimm), s.v. Teufelsdreck 1 (“assa fetida”), with quotations from Luther, Hans Sachs, and Jean Paul (Titan), for which, see below. For my quotation from Jean Paul’s Hesperus, and Carlyle’s acquaintance with Hesperus (1795) and Titan (1800–1803), see below.
40. For asafoetida used as a carminative, cf. F. N. Howes, “Age-Old Resins of the Mediterranean Region and Their Uses”, Economic Botany, 4 (1950): 314 (“Medicinally asafoetida is employed as a carminative in flatulence”), and Martindale, The Extra Pharmacopoeia (27th ed.): 250 (“Asafoetida has been used as a carminative in the treatment of Flatulence”). The term “flatulence” is here used in the sense of “The state or condition of having the stomach... charged with gas” (OED, s.v. flatulence 2). Cf. also ibid., quot. “1858 Copland Dict. Pract. Med. I. 1044 When flatulence precedes or attends organic lesions of the stomach”. For asafoetida used “as an enema for intestinal flatulence”, see below.
In medicine, the term “carminative” “is applied to a group of aromatic drugs which induce a gentle irritation to the alimentary tract and thus afford a sense of well-being and comfort to the patient. When administered they often encourage the appetite and relieve any feeling of distension by promoting the eructation of gas”.

When Carlyle, therefore, speaks of “the Book” he is still working at, as “a kind of medicinal Assafoetida for the pudding Stomach of England”, he no doubt means to say that, in relieving the mental distension caused by old and antiquated ideas—such as those of the ‘antiquated’ ‘Mythus of the Christian Religion’ and in thus affording “a sense of well-being and comfort”, the Philosophy of Clothes does to the mind what asafoetida as carminative does to the body.

It may here be noted that asafoetida, or devil’s dung, was a well-known substance, the history and properties of which may here be looked at a little more closely.

**Asafoetida, or Stercus Diaboli, i.e., Devil’s Dung, Teufelsdreck, etc.**

1. **Derivation**

Asafoetida is . . . derived chiefly from an umbelliferous plant (Ferula foetida) which is indigenous to the plains of Kandahar, Eastern Persia and Western Afghanistan. It is obtained as an exudation of the decapitated rhizome or root of a plant about four years old. The stems are cut close to the root and asafoetida exudes in blobs or drops from the part left in the ground. The accumulated exudation is scraped off at intervals, the soft mass sometimes being rendered more convenient to handle by admixture with calcareous or other materials. Of the two kinds of asafoetida known in commerce, one turns red and then brownish when a fresh surface is exposed to air and the other remains white or pale buff. The latter variety is supposed to be derived from Ferula rubricaulis.

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41. Noel L. Allport, *The Chemistry and Pharmacy of Vegetable Drugs* (London: Newnes, 1943): 152. For cinnamon used as a carminative in flatulence, cf. *OED*, s.v. flatuency 1, quot. 1757. For the fruit of coriander being “carminative and aromatic”, cf. ibid., s.v. coriander 1, and for the seeds of the fennel “supposed to be stomachic, and carminative”, cf. ibid., s.v. carminative, adj., quot. 1804. Cf. also ibid., quot. “1710 Addison Tatler No. 224 The Carminative Wind-expelling Pills”. The word “carminative” is “a medical term from the old theory of humours. The object of carminatives is to expel wind, but the theory was that they dilute and relax the gross humours from whence the wind arises, combing them out like the knots in wool.” (Wedgwood)” (ibid., s.v. carminate, a. and sb.). “Cf. It. *carminare* ‘to card or teasell wool, also to make grosse humors fine and thin’ (Florio)” (ibid., s.v. carminate). For “card” in the sense of “a comblike tool for raising the nap on cloth”, cf. *Collins*, s.v. card 2. Cf. “Old French *carde* card, teasel, from Latin carduus thistle” (ibid.). The word “carminative” comes “from French *carminatif*, from Latin *carminäre* to card wool, remove impurities, from *cärere* to card” (ibid., s.v. carminate).


2. History

In “Asafoetida and Myrrh” (1943), Small notes that asafoetida “was much used as a condiment by the people of Baluchistan at least as early as the tenth century”, and that “Edrisi (twelfth century) noted it as collected in Afghanistan, and other writers about that date recognised asafoetida as a well-known and much valued condiment”.

Of the manner in which asafoetida “found its way into western European commerce”, Howes says in “Age-Old Resins of the Mediterranean Region and Their Uses” (1950):

Asafoetida was known to the Persian and Arabian geographers, and to travellers of the Middle Ages. Like many other commodities it found its way into western European commerce during the Middle Ages through the trading cities of Italy. In the 13th century the ‘Physicians of Myddfai’ in Wales considered asafoetida to be one of those substances which every physician ‘ought to know and use’.

And, in “Asafoetida” (1954), the subsequent commercial developments are described as follows:

. . . during the past few centuries it [asafoetida] became increasingly popular, especially in the south of India, which still constitutes the major consuming area. At the present time, India is the chief market for the world’s asafoetida, and Bombay is the main importing centre where the product is also processed and packed for distribution to other parts of the country. The industry is largely in the hands of a few established trading families who have carried on by traditional methods, handed over from one generation to another.

Of the form in which asafoetida is brought on the markets, Howes says in “Age-Old Resins” (1950): “Commercial asafoetida is either in the form of tears or in an agglomerated mass, the latter being the more common form and the form most likely to contain impurities, such as fragments of root or stems, fruits, earth, small stones or other matter. The tears may vary from a quarter of an inch or less to over an inch in diameter.”

Asafoetida was shipped in bags of 10–15 or boxes of 50–200 kilograms. In this connection, it may be noted that, in Titan (1800–1803), Jean Paul refers to the “Vorsicht . . . aus der die Schiffe den Teufelsdreck, den sie aus Persien holen, stets oben an den Mastbaum hängen,

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47. “Asafoetida” (1954): 382. Small notes that the “plains of Kandahar, and the Persian provinces of Laristan and Faristan, are still among its geographical sources” (“Asafoetida and Myrrh”, 1943: 126). According to Howes, the asafoetida from the Fars district of Persia—where the asafoetida plant “reaches seven to ten feet in height and is termed ‘anghuzeh’”—“goes mainly to Bombay via Persian Gulf ports, such as Bundar Abbas. From Bombay it is exported to European and other countries” (Howes, “Age-Old Resins”, 1950: 313).
48. Ibid.: 313. Cf. OED, s.v. asafoetida, quot. “1692 Ray Disc. iv. (1721) 52 A Lump of Asafoetida”. Cf. “Ray, John Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World 1692” (ibid., Books Quoted). Small notes that the best quality of asafoetida “rarely, if ever, appears on modern European markets; this is in the form of single separate drops or tears up to about half an inch in diameter, and is known in Bombay as Kandahari-hing, used as a condiment only by wealthy people” (“Asafoetida and Myrrh”, 1943: 126).
It is with which ships suspend devil’s dung, which they fetch from Persia, always from the top of the mast, lest its odour should spoil the cargo below deck”.

3. Its Use as Food Adjunct

In “Asafoetida” (1954), the use of asafoetida as food adjunct is described as follows:

Asafoetida is relished as a condiment in India and Persia, and is in demand in France for its use in cookery. . . quite a large section of people, especially in South India, regard it as a valuable spice without which the food preparation would be incomplete. In the regions of its growth the whole plant is used as a fresh vegetable, the inner portion of the full-grown stem being regarded as a luxury.

After pointing out, in “Asafoetida and Myrrh” (1943), that asafoetida “is an ingredient in Worcestershire sauce”, Small goes on to say: “The usual Persian method of using asafoetida as a condiment is to rub a heated plate with a piece of this material before placing meat on the plate; the flavour is thus obtained to a more concentrated degree than with the above-mentioned sauce. In India both Mohammedans and Hindus use asafoetida as a condiment, especially with the pulses made into dal”.

In this connection, the reference, in Goldsmith’s The Citizen of the World (1762), to asafoetida as flavouring agent may also be noted. Speaking of the fact that “Almost every subject of literature, has been already exhausted”, Lien Chi Altangi, in The Citizen of the World, writes to Fum Hoam, “first president of the Ceremonial Academy at Pekin, in China”: “I am become a perfect Epicure in reading, plain beef or solid mutton will never do. I’m for a Chinese dish of bear’s claws and bird’s nests. I am for sauce strong with asafoetida, or fuming with garlic.”

4. Its Use in Medicine

Of the use of asafoetida in medicine, Small writes in “Asafoetida and Myrrh” (1943):

Asafoetida in the pure condition is official in the British Pharmacopoeia, used in medicine as a sedative in hysteria, as a carminative and antispasmodic, as an expectorant in chronic bronchitis, also as an enema for intestinal flatulence. It is often used in conjunction with galbanum, another feruloid gum-resin, as in compound galbanum pills, of which the only other active ingredient is myrrh. Large quantities of asafoetida are used in


51. “Asafoetida” (1954): 382. Cf. also ibid.: 385–86, where it is pointed out that asafoetida “is sold in the Indian market essentially as a flavouring agent” with “millions of consumers, especially in India”, but that it “is difficult to state whether at the levels at which it is normally consumed, it merely serves as a flavouring agent or whether it also exercises any therapeutic action”. In connection with asafoetida being “in demand in France”, mention may be made of the excellent though smelly cheese called “la crotte du diable”, marketed by Bongrain as “le fromage crée pour goûter le vin”.

52. Small, “Asafoetida and Myrrh” (1943): 125. As ingredient in Worcestershire sauce, asafoetida occurs “to the extent of 1/4 ounce with about 17 lb. of other ingredients in 7 gallons of vinegar” (ibid.). Cf. also The Merck Index (1976): 844–45, and The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1978), s.v. asafoetida (“gum resin relished as a condiment in India and Iran, where it is used to flavour curries, meatballs, and pickles”).

veterinary medicine. Mixed with cayenne pepper and sweet flag, asafoetida is a popular medicine for cholera in India.54

In medicine, use was made of “Pills of Asafetida”, “Oil of Asafoetida”, “Aqua Asafoetidae”, “Tincture of Asafetida”, etc.55 In this connection, the following entry in Macready’s diary is not without interest. Speaking of a disturbance in a New York theatre while he was performing Macbeth, Macready writes in his diary, in an entry for 7 May 1849: “Copper cents were thrown, some struck me, four or five eggs, a great many apples, nearly—if not quite—a peck of potatoes, lemons, pieces of wood, a bottle of asafoetida which splashed my own dress, smelling, of course, most horribly.”56

5. Its Use in Perfumes
Asafoetida has been used in perfumes in Europe and the United States.57 For asafoetida used in perfume, Goldsmith’s Citizen of the World (1762) may here be referred to again. Speaking of the occasion upon which, “posted in the usual place behind the screen”, she saw for the first time, “through a slit”, the “fashionable” colonel (her admirer), Yaoua, a Chinese lady of distinction, writes to her female confidant: “Upon his first entering the room, I could easily perceive he had been highly perfumed with assa foetida.”58

6. Its Use as a Repellent
According to The Merck Index (1976), asafoetida was used in a “2% suspension as repellent against dogs, cats, rabbits, deer”,59 though it hardly worked as a rat repellent as is clear from the

first chapter of Jean Paul’s *Hesperus* (1795), in which a curate, called Eymann, tells Seebass, a servant from the neighbourhood, that even devil’s dung would not drive the rats from his house; “it pleases them much more”.

**Meaning of the Name “Diogenes”**


   . . . man as an ego-personality originated from the transcendental self, . . . all the time he is living by virtue of his ego’s connection with its numinous origin whether he knows it or not. Jung’s words “It is not I who create myself, rather I happen to myself” posit the self as an a priori existent. Whether known or unknown, it is the hidden operator behind our lives. In the religious language of the ancients: *Vocatus atque non vocatus Deus aderit*. Called or uncalled, affirmed or denied, the god will be present.

   With regard to “the individual and the universal nature of the self”, Jung writes in *Aion* (1951): “. . . as the essence of individuality it [the self] is unitemporal and unique; as an archetypal symbol it is a God-image and therefore universal and eternal.” Similarly, in *Sartor*, the Divine Idea of the World is called the “very Soul’s Soul”, or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”.

   Speaking of the “innermost self of every man and animal, of plants and crystals”, Jung says:

   The innermost self of every man and animal, of plants and crystals, is God, but infinitely diminished and approximated to his ultimate individual form. In approximating to man he is also “personal,” like an antique god, and hence “in the likeness of a man” (as Yahweh appeared to Ezekiel).

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60. Speaking, in *German Romance* (1827), of the novels *Hesperus* and *Titan*, Carlyle says: “. . . the former only is known to me” (“J. P. F. Richter”, *GR* 2: 127, par. 14). Evidence of Carlyle reading *Titan* is found in “J. P. F. Richter Again” (1830), where he says to have “read Titan with a certain disappointment, after hearing so much of it” (*E* 2: 138–39, par. 45).


Similarly, for Carlyle, “under all [things] there lies, as the essence of them . . . the ‘Divine Idea of the World’ ”, 67 “of which all Appearance, from the starry sky to the grass of the field, but especially the Appearance of Man and his work, is but the vesture, the embodiment that renders it visible”.68

From the above, it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s first name, “Diogenes”, can be taken to mean “He Who Is Born in the State of Being Divine”, 69 like every human being.

2. “Diogenes”, or “He Who Creates the Divine”, as It Were, by Recognizing that “under all [things] there lies, as the essence of them . . . the ‘Divine Idea of the World’ ”
Concerning life with or without “recognition of its numinous background”, Jaffé writes:

An experience of meaning comes—aside from living faith—only from a deepening of external reality through recognition of its numinous background. “Life that just happens in and for itself is not real life: it is real only when it is known”, “real life” being understood here as “meaningful life”.70


This divine mystery is in all times and in all places; veritably is. In most times and places it is greatly overlooked; and the Universe, definable always in one or the other dialect, as the realised Thought of God, is considered a trivial, inert, commonplace matter,—as if, says the Satirist, it were a dead thing, which some upholsterer had put together! It could do no good, at present, to speak much about this; but it is a pity for every one of us if we do not know it, live ever in the knowledge of it. Really a most mournful pity;—a failure to live at all, if we live otherwise!72

And in “Diderot” (1833): “…whosoever, in one way or another, recognises not that ‘Divine Idea of the World, which lies at the bottom of Appearances,’ can rightly interpret no Appearance; and whatsoever spiritual thing he does, must do it partially, do it falsely.”73

“The individuation process”, as Jaffé points out, “is a progressive realisation of wholeness in life and it takes the form of a confrontation between conscious and unconscious, ego and self”.74 Of the “reciprocal relation between ego and self, or man and self”, Jaffé says:

In spite of its manifest dependence on the self, it [the ego] retains an inalienable sense of freedom which is the precondition of human dignity and the necessary basis of moral responsibility. Above all, the ego is the vehicle

68. Ibid., “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4.
69. For the Greek suffix “-genes” in “the sense ‘born in a certain . . . condition’ ”, cf. OED, s.v. –gen. For Greek “dios” in the sense of “divine”, cf. R. d’Hauterive, Dictionnaire des racines des langues européennes, 2nd ed. (Larousse, 1949), s.v. dei- (i.-e.).
70. Jaffé: 80, quoting “Individual Dream Symbolism in Relation to Alchemy” (1936), CW 12, par. 105, where “known” is in italics.
71. HH (1841), “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4.
72. Ibid.
74. Jaffé: 88–89.
of all experience: without it, individuation could not become a reality, for we would not be aware of anything or anybody to individuate on. In this sense, the self is in a position of relative dependence on the ego: the ego creates it, as it were, by the conscious realisation and actualisation of unconscious contents. It discerns the images of the self in dreams and its patternings in life, and, through this observation and acceptance of the observed, it lifts the self out of the darkness of the unconscious into the light of consciousness.75


Up to a point we create the self by making ourselves conscious of our unconscious contents, and to that extent it is our son. This is why the archetypists called their incorruptible substance—which means precisely the self—the filius philosophorum. But we are forced to make this effort by the unconscious presence of the self, which is all the time urging us to overcome our unconsciousness. From that point of view the self is the father.76

From the above, it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s first name, “Diogenes”, can also be taken to mean “He Who Creates the Divine,77 as it were, by recognizing that “under all [things] there lies, as the essence of them . . . the ‘Divine Idea of the World’ ”.78

3. Connotation
Teufelsdröckh’s first name, “Diogenes”, immediately calls to mind the figure of Diogenes of Sinope, or Diogenes the Cynic (ca. 400–ca. 325 B.C.), the most disconcerting gadfly in the history of Hellenic civilization, whose emergence in fourth-century Athens appears to be explicable only by the Cynic philosopher’s deep conviction that Hellenic civilization in its existing form could not be saved.79

Of Diogenes the Cynic and George Fox (1624–1691), founder of the Society of Friends, commonly called the Quakers,80 Teufelsdröckh says in the “Incident in Modern History” chapter:

‘. . . if, as D’Alembert asserts, my illustrious namesake, Diogenes, was the greatest man of Antiquity, only that he wanted Decency, then by stronger reason is George Fox the greatest of the Moderns, and greater than Diogenes himself: for he too stands on the adamantine basis of his Manhood, casting aside all props and shoars; yet not, in half-savage Pride, undervaluing the Earth; valuing it rather, as a place to yield him warmth and food, he looks Heavenward from his Earth, and dwells in an element of Mercy and Worship, with a still Strength,

75. Ibid.: 89. Cf. ibid.: 90.
77. Cf. OED, s.v. -gen, “ad. F. -gène, ultimately repr. Gr” -genes, gen- being the root of gignesthai, to be born, as well as of gennaein, to beget (cf. ibid.). Cf. also Hutter, s.v. gen- I, gne- (i.-e.), meaning “naitre” as well as “engendrer”. In the vocabulary of chemistry, the ending -gène, as in “hydrogène” (1787), or -gen(e), as in “hydrogen(e)”, expresses the sense of “that which produces”, though the suffix -genes “in Gr. words was not capable” of carrying that meaning (cf. OED, s.v. -gen).
78. HH (1841), The Hero as Man of Letters”: 156, par. 5.
80. “The earliest documentary name for the new society is ‘Children of Light’ . . . It was soon, however, superseded by the happy designation of ‘Tr lockdown Friends’, or ‘Friends of Truth’, abbreviated into ‘Friends’. Their popular nickname was given to them at Derby on 30 Oct. 1650 . . . the new society was a collective protest against the presbyterian system” (DNB).
such as the Cynic’s Tub did nowise witness. Great, truly, was that Tub, a temple from which man’s dignity and divinity was scornfully preached abroad: but greater is the Leather Hull, for the same sermon was preached there, and not in Scorn but in Love.\textsuperscript{82}

Teufelsdröckh, too, does not live ‘in half-savage Pride, undervaluing the Earth’. The fact remains, however, that Teufelsdröckh’s first name, “Diogenes”, immediately calls to mind his ‘illustrious namesake’, Diogenes the Cynic, called by the Editor “Diogenes the First”.\textsuperscript{83} Teufelsdröckh’s first name, “Diogenes”, thus connotes the fact that Teufelsdröckh, like Diogenes the Cynic, is a disconcerting gadfly, habitually engaged in provocative criticism of established opinion, typically as an individual citizen, in order to effect changes in the way things are.

The ‘mystic influences’ of Names

Having noted, as seen above, that his ‘ill-starred Parent’, ‘bedevilled by the Time-Spirit (\textit{Zeitgeist})’ in himself ‘and others’, had ‘nothing for it but to leave’ in him ‘an indignant appeal to the Future, and living speaking Protest against the Devil, as that same Spirit not of the Time only, but of Time itself, is well named’, Teufelsdröckh goes on to say: ‘Which Appeal and Protest, may I now modestly add, was not perhaps quite lost in air. [par.] For indeed, as Walter Shandy often insisted, there is much, nap almost all, in Names.’\textsuperscript{84} Of the ‘mystic influences’ of Names, Teufelsdröckh then says:

‘The Name is the earliest Garment you wrap round the earth-visiting Mr; to which it thenceforth cleaves, more tenaciously (for there are Names that have lasted nigh thirty centuries) than the very skin. And now from without, what mystic influences does it not send inwards, even to the centre; especially in those plastic first-times, when

\textsuperscript{81} Cf. TC to R. Mitchell, 6 Nov. 1818, 1: 142 (see below); TC to JAC, 13 Jan. 1829, 5: 6 (“Alas for the days when Diogenes could fit up his tub, and let the ‘literary world’ and all other worlds, except the only true one within his own soul, wag hither and thither at discretion”); TC to J. S. Mill, “12 July 1839”, 9: 6 (“I am so dreary of mood... that it often seems quite foolish in me to think of going anywhither—if not into total abstraction from mankind, into some Diogenes’ Hermit-barrel, with not even the sun to shine on me”); TC to T. S. Spedding, “9 Nov. 1840”, “Given in our Tub at Chelsea” (12: 318); TC to R. W. Emerson, 18 Aug. 1841, 13: 217 (“Newington Lodge [at Annan]... proved to be too rough an undertaking: upholsterers, expense and confusion—the Cynic snarled, ‘Give me a whole Tub rather! I want nothing but shelter from the elements, and to be let alone of all men’”) and TC to Browning, 10 Oct. 1851, 26: 201 (“Piccadilly and the Glass-Palace regions are still roaring with mad noise; but here is a forgotten corner, where the wearied soul can cover itself as under a Diogenes’ tub”). Cf. also TC to JAC, 12 Nov. 1830 (5: 189) and 12 July 1831 (5: 303), and TC to JWC, 7 April 1841 (13: 82) and 2 Sept. 1841 (13: 239).

\textsuperscript{82} SR, “Incident in Modern History”: 168–69, par. 7. For Fox’s ‘perennial suit of Leather’, cf. ibid.: 167–68, pars. 5–6. “Despite his warm love of man, for his whole nature was suffused with human understanding, he [Diogenes] nonetheless pitilessly satirized everything that the men of his time held sacred” (Jung, \textit{Psychological Types}, 1921, \textit{CW} 6, par. 43). Asking himself, in a letter to R. Mitchell of 6 November 1818, where his “comfort” would be, if he would “at last” have been driven “entirely from the kindly sympathies of life”, Carlyle goes on to say: “Had I lived at Athens, in the plastic days of that brilliant commonwealth, I might have purchased ‘a narrow paltry tub’, and pleased myself with uttering gall among them of Cynosarges. But in these times—when political institutions and increased civilization have fixed the texture of society—when Religion has the privilege of prescribing principles of conduct, from which it is a crime to dissent—when, therefore, the aberrations of philosophical enthusiasm are rewarded not by admiration but contempt—when Plato would be dissected in the Edin review, and Diogenes laid hold of by a ‘society for the suppression of beggars’—in these times—it may not be” (1: 142).

\textsuperscript{83} SR, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 203, par. 2. Cf. also SR, “Genesis”: 69, par. 8.

\textsuperscript{84} SR, “Genesis”: 69, pars. 8–9. Cf. Sterne, \textit{Tristram Shandy}, Vol. 1, Ch. XIX.
the whole soul is yet infantine, soft, and the invisible seedgrain will grow to be an all overshadowing tree! Names? Could I unfold the influence of Names, which are the most important of all Clothings, I were a second greater Trismegistus. Not only all common Speech, but Science, Poetry itself is no other, if thou consider it, than a right Naming. Adam’s first task was giving names to natural Appearances: what is ours still but a continuation of the same; be the Appearances exotic-vegetable, organic, mechanic, stars, or starry movements (as in Science); or (as in Poetry) passions, virtues, calamities, God attributes, Gods?

Commenting on his own name, “Diogenes Teufelsdröckh”, Teufelsdröckh concludes his remarks on the “Sovereign power of Names and Naming” by saying: ‘—In a very plain sense the Proverb says, Call one a thief, and he will steal; in an almost similar sense may we not perhaps say, Call one Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, and he will open the Philosophy of Clothes?’

From a man whose first name, “Diogenes”, can be taken to mean “He Who Is Born in the State of Being Divine”, as well as “He Who Creates the Divine”, as it were—and whose last name, “Teufelsdröckh”, means “Devil-Traik”, i.e., “Gadfly to the Devil”, or ‘Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”—it may indeed be expected that ‘he will open the Philosophy of Clothes’, according to which, “under all [things] there lies, as the essence of them . . . the ‘Divine Idea of the World’ ”, of which all Appearance, from the starry sky to the grass of the field, but especially the appearance of Man and his work, is but the vesture, the embodiment that renders it visible”.

85. SR, “Genesis”: 69–70, par. 9.
86. Ibid.: 64, Summary.
87. Ibid.: 70, par. 9. In the Strouse Edition of Sartor, the closing quotation mark of paragraph nine has been omitted (cf. SR, S.E.: 68, 515, 558), but should no doubt have been retained, paragraphs 8–11 being a collation of two distinct passages gleaned from the “miscellaneous Paper-masses”. Cf. SR, “Genesis”: 64, par. 2, and 71, par. 12.
89. Ibid.: 156, par. 5.
90. Ibid., “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4.
CHAPTER IX
TEUFELSDRÖCKH'S QUEST FOR WHOLENESS

Teufelsdröckh’s “Autobiographical Documents”

Having received from Professor Teufelsdröckh, whom he had met in “Weissnichtwo”, “a Presentation-copy”\(^\text{1}\) of the book, ‘\textit{Die Kleider, ihr Werden und Wirken} (Clothes, their Origin and Influence): \textit{von Diog. Teufelsdröckh, J.U.D. etc. Stillschweigen und Co\(\textsuperscript{an}e. Weissnichtwo [Keepsilence and Co. Know-not-where], 1831 [1830]};\(^\text{2}\) and wishing to present it to the English public, the Editor, in “Editorial Difficulties”, observes: “Directly on the first perusal, almost on the first deliberate inspection [of \textit{Die Kleider}], it became apparent that here a quite new Branch of Philosophy, leading to as yet undescribed ulterior results, was disclosed; farther, what seemed scarcely less interesting, a quite new human Individuality, an almost unexampled personal character, that, namely, of Professor Teufelsdröckh the Discloser.”\(^\text{3}\) The Editor, therefore, finds himself in the following impasse:

\[\ldots\] to state the Philosophy of Clothes without the Philosopher, the ideas of Teufelsdröckh without something of his personality, was it not to insure both of entire misapprehension? Now for Biography, had it been otherwise admissible, there were no adequate documents; no hope of obtaining such, but rather, owing to circumstances, a special despair. Thus did the Editor see himself, for the while, shut out from all public utterance of these extraordinary Doctrines, and constrained to revolve them, not without disquietude, in the dark depths of his own mind.\(^\text{4}\)

After some months, the lack of “adequate” biographical “documents” is felt even more acutely: “\ldots the Volume on Clothes, read and again read, was in several points becoming lucid and lucent; the personality of its Author more and more surprising, but, in spite of all that memory and conjecture could do, more and more enigmatic; whereby the old disquietude seemed fast settling into fixed discontent . . .”\(^\text{5}\) But “unexpectedly arrives a Letter from Herr Hofrath Heuschrecke, our Professor’s chief friend and associate in Weissnichtwo . . . intimating not obscurely, that should the present Editor feel disposed to undertake a Biography of Teufelsdröckh, he, Hofrath Heuschrecke, had it in his power to furnish the requisite Documents.”\(^\text{6}\) “Thus . . . in the sure expectation of these [Documents]”, the Editor begins to work at his “\textit{Sartor Resartus}, which is properly a ‘Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh’”;\(^\text{7}\) Speaking, however, in the “World out of Clothes”, of the “complexity” of Teufelsdröckh’s “Philosophy, or spiritual Picture of Nature”, the Editor writes: “Often, also, we have to exclaim: Would to Heaven those same Biographical Documents were come! For it seems as if demonstration lay much in the Author’s individuality; as if it were not Argument that had taught him, but Experience.”\(^\text{8}\)

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{SR}, “Preliminary”: 5, par. 8.
\item Ibid., par. 6. For date, see above.
\item \textit{SR}, “Editorial Difficulties”: 6, par. 2.
\item Ibid.: 7, par. 3.
\item Ibid., par. 4.
\item Ibid.: 7–8, par. 4.
\item Ibid.: 8, par. 5. See also above.
\item \textit{SR}, “The World out of Clothes”: 40, par. 2.
\item Ibid.: 40–41, par. 2.
\end{enumerate}
In “Prospective”, the Editor breaks off his account of Teufelsdröckh’s philosophy with the information that the “Biographical Documents” have finally arrived, accompanied by “a too long-winded Letter”, the contents of which he describes as follows:

Hofrath Heuschrecke . . . proceeds to remind us of what we knew well already: that however it may be with Metaphysics, and other abstract Science originating in the Head (Verstand) alone, no Life-Philosophy (Lebensphilosophie), such as this of Clothes pretends to be, which originates equally in the Character (Gemüth), and equally speaks thereto, can attain its significance till the Character itself is known and seen; ‘till the Author’s View of the World (Weltansicht), and how he actively and passively came by such view, are clear: in short till a Biography of him has been philosophico-poetically written, and philosophico-poetically read.’

Of the importance of the documents sent by him to the Editor, Heuschrecke says:

‘I here, by the unexampled favour you stand in with our Sage, send not a Biography only, but an Autobiography: at least the materials for such; wherefrom, if I misreckon not, your perspicacity will draw fullest insight: and so the whole Philosophy and Philosopher of Clothes will stand clear to the wondering eyes of England, nay hence, through America, through Hindostan, and the antipodal New Holland, finally conquer (einnehmen) great part of this terrestrial Planet!’

From the Life of Teufelsdröckh in Book Two of Sartor, it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s ‘View of the World (Weltansicht)’ is the outcome of the process of conversion starting with the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, and ending with the ‘glorious revolution’ ‘on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains’. We are clearly in need of a model, however, that will help us to determine how the process of Teufelsdröckh’s conversion—referred to by me as Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness—has to be understood. The description, in analytical psychology, of the natural process of individuation consciously realized—as distinct from “individuation worked on and brought to consciousness by way of analysis”—will here be used as the model, therefore, that will help us to determine how the process of Teufelsdröckh’s conversion has to be understood and how Teufelsdröckh’s ‘View of the World (Weltansicht)’ has to be defined.

Loss of Religious Belief

In “The Process of Individuation”, M.-L. von Franz observes: “The actual process of individuation . . . generally begins with a wounding of the personality and the suffering that accompanies it.” In the “Everlasting No” chapter, too, Teufelsdröckh is described as a wounded personality, injured especially by “the loss of his religious Belief”: “. . . the loss of his religious Belief was the loss of everything. Unhappy young man! All wounds, the crush of long-continued Destitution, the stab of false Friendship and of false Love, all wounds in thy so genial heart, would have healed again, had not its life-warmth been withdrawn.”

11. Ibid.: 61, par. 16. Cf. also SR, “Pause”: 161, par. 6 (“these Autobiographical Documents”).
14. Samuels: 111. See also above, Ch. IV.
Having “lost all tidings of another and higher [world],” Teufelsdröckh exclaims: ‘Is there no God, then; but at best an absentee God, sitting idle, ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of his Universe, and seeing it go? Has the word Duty no meaning; is what we call Duty no divine Messenger and Guide, but a false earthly Fantasm, made-up of Desire and Fear, of emanations from the Gallows and from Doctor Graham’s Celestial-Bed?’ Teufelsdröckh, however, goes on to say that the loss of religious belief ‘is but the common lot in this era’: ‘Not having come to spiritual majority prior to the Siècle de Louis Quinze, and not being born purely a Loghead (Dummkopf), thou hadst no other outlook. The whole world is, like thee, sold to Unbelief; their old Temples of the Godhead, which for long have not been rainproof, crumble down; and men ask now: Where is the Godhead; our eyes never saw him?’ For Teufelsdröckh, the decay of ‘Religion, where lies the Life-essence of Society’, has been going on for ‘the last three centuries, above all for the last three quarters of a century’, so that ‘Society . . . can be regarded as defunct’:

‘Call ye that a Society . . . where there is no longer any Social Idea extant; not so much as the Idea of a common Home, but only of a common over-crowded Lodging-house? Where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries “Mine!” and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-purse and cut-throat Scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed? Where Friendship, Communion, has become an incredible tradition; and your holiest Sacramental Supper is a smoking Tavern Dinner, with Cook for Evangelist? Where your Priest has no tongue but for plate-licking: and your high Guides and Governors cannot guide; but on all hands hear it passionately proclaimed: Laissez faire; Leave us alone of your guidance, such light is darker than darkness; eat you your wages, and sleep!’

Of the healing of patients who have lost their religious belief, Jaffé writes: “. . . in Jung’s experience no one is really healed, and no one finds his meaning, ‘who did not regain his religious outlook. This of course has nothing whatever to do with a particular creed or membership of a church’.” Jaffé then says: “Meaning is the experience of totality. Any description of it presupposes the reality lived in time as well as life’s quality of timelessness: personal and conscious experiences as well as a realm that transcends consciousness and the tangible world. If the tension between these two poles of being is lacking, man has the ‘feeling that he is a haphazard creature without meaning, and it is this feeling that prevents him from living his life with the intensity it demands if it is to be enjoyed to the full. Life becomes stale and is no longer the exponent of the complete man’.” Having lost “his religious Belief”, Teufelsdröckh has to regain his religious outlook in a process by which, in terms of “Signs of

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.: 129–30, par. 4. Cf. PP (1843), “Proem”, V: 29, par. 3: “‘Nature in late centuries,’ says Sauerteig, ‘was universally supposed to be dead; an old eight-day clock, made many thousand years ago, and still ticking, but dead as brass,—which the Maker, at most, sat looking at, in a distant, singular and indeed incredible manner . . .’

In Parr’s edition of Sartor: 247–48, the note to ‘Doctor Graham’s Celestial-Bed’ reads: “Dr. James Graham (1745–94) was a fashionable quack doctor. He established a magnificent Temple of Health in London, charged high fees and attracted the notice of Horace Walpole. To sleep on the Celestial Bed was a cure for sterility, for which the price demanded was £50. He died mad.”
the Times” (1829), the balance is restored between the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”.

In this connection, Carlyle’s remarks, in “Signs of the Times”, on the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man” may here be looked at first.

**The “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man”**

1. The “Dynamical nature of man”

Referring, in “Psychology and Religion” (1938/1940), to “certain dynamic factors that are conceived as ‘powers’ ”, Jung defines religion as follows:

Religion appears to me to be a peculiar attitude of mind which could be formulated in accordance with the original use of the word *religio*, which means a careful consideration and observation of certain dynamic factors that are conceived as “powers”: spirits, daemons, gods, laws, ideas, ideals, or whatever name man has given to such factors in his world as he has found powerful, dangerous, or helpful enough to be taken into careful consideration, or grand, beautiful, and meaningful enough to be devoutly worshipped and loved.24

In “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle, on his part, speaks of the “inward primary powers” in “the Dynamical nature of man”25:

To speak a little pedantically, there is a science of *Dynamics* in man’s fortunes and nature, as well as of *Mechanics*. There is a science which treats of, and practically addresses, the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and *infinite* character; as well as a science which practically addresses the finite, modified developments of these, when they take the shape of immediate ‘motives,’ as hope of reward, or as fear of punishment.

Now it is certain, that in former times the wise men, the enlightened lovers of their kind, who appeared generally as Moralists, Poets or Priests, did, without neglecting the Mechanical province, deal chiefly with the Dynamical; applying themselves chiefly to regulate, increase and purify the inward primary powers of man; and fancying that herein lay the main difficulty, and the best service they could undertake.26

And of the “wonders” that “lie slumbering” in the “mystic region” from which “all wonders, all Poesies, and Religions . . . have proceeded”, Carlyle says in “Characteristics” (1831):

The fever of Scepticism must needs burn itself out, and burn out thereby the Impurities that caused it; then again will there be clearness, health. The principle of life, which now struggles painfully, in the outer, thin and barren domain of the Conscious or Mechanical, may then withdraw into its inner sanctuaries, its abysses of mystery and miracle; withdraw deeper than ever into that domain of the Unconscious, by nature infinite and inexhaustible; and creatively work there. From that mystic region, and from that alone, all wonders, all Poesies, and Religions, and Social Systems have proceeded: the like wonders, and greater and higher, lie slumbering there; and, brooded on by the spirit of the waters, will evolve themselves, and rise like exhalations from the Deep.27

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25. “Signs of the Times” (1829), *E* 2: 70, par. 25.
27. “Characteristics” (1831), *E* 3: 40, par. 53. Cf. ibid.: 3, par. 4 (“Boundless as is the domain of man, it is but a small fractional proportion of it that he rules with Consciousness and by Forethought: what he can contrive, nay, what he can altogether know and comprehend, is essentially the mechanical, small; the great is ever, in one sense or other, the vital; it is essentially the mysterious, and only the surface of it can be understood”). Cf. also “Diderot” (1833), *E* 3: 234, par. 77 (“the deep fathomless domain of the Unconscious”).
Commenting on the term ‘dynamic’ in Jung’s definition of religion, Fordham notes: “The operative word in this definition is ‘dynamic’; it is the dynamism of the religious function that makes it both futile and dangerous to try to explain it away. This dynamism was expressed in the past in the great proselytizing movements, in crusades, religious wars, and persecutions, in heresy hunts and witch hunts, and in the creative efforts which caused men to build vast tombs and places of worship filled with every kind of treasure.”

Similarly, of the Crusades, the Reformation and the “English Revolution” having “originated in the Dynamical nature of man, not in his Mechanical nature”, Carlyle writes in “Signs of the Times” (1829):

Strange as it may seem, if we read History with any degree of thoughtfulness, we shall find that the checks and balances of Profit and Loss have never been the grand agents with men; that they have never been roused into deep, thorough, all-pervading efforts by any computable prospect of Profit and Loss, for any visible, finite object; but always for some invisible and infinite one. The Crusades took their rise in Religion; their visible object was, commercially speaking, worth nothing. It was the boundless Invisible world that was laid bare in the imaginations of those men; and in its burning light, the visible shrunk as a scroll. Not mechanical, nor produced by mechanical means, was this vast movement. No dining at Freemasons’ Tavern, with the other long train of modern machinery; no cunning reconciliation of “vested interests,” was required here: only the passionate voice of one man, the rapt soul looking through the eyes of one man; and rugged, steel-clad Europe trembled beneath his words, and followed him whither he listed. In later ages it was still the same. The Reformation had an invisible, mystic and ideal aim; the result was indeed to be embodied in external things; but its spirit, its worth, was internal, invisible, infinite. Our English Revolution too originated in Religion. Men did battle, in those old days, not for Purse-sake, but for Conscience-sake.

2. Disjunction of the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man”

Of the importance for man “to experience the god-image within himself and to feel its correspondence with the forms that his religion gives to it”, Fordham says:

The experience of the God-image or archetype of the self is at once the most vital and the most overwhelming that can happen to man . . . Jung . . . not only demonstrates the existence of the religious function in individuals and opens a way to its comprehension ‘by reason as well as feeling’, but stresses that ‘it is the prime task of all education (of adults) to convey the archetype of the God-image, or its emanations and effects, to the conscious mind’.

This is what Christian education has tried to do, but ‘the Western attitude, with its emphasis on the object, tends to fix the ideal—Christ—in its outward aspect and thus to rob it of its mysterious relation to the inner man’.

For Teufelsdröckh, too, ‘no living Figure or Spirit any longer dwells’ under the outward forms of religion. Defining ‘Church-Clothes’ as ‘the Forms, the Vestures, under which men have at various periods embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principle; that is to say, invested the Divine Idea of the World with a sensible and practically active Body, so that it might dwell among them as a living and life-giving Word’, and considering these same

31. Ibid.: 73–74, quoting Psychology and Alchemy (1944), CW 12, par. 14 and 8 respectively.
32. SR, “Church-Clothes”: 170, par. 2.
‘Church-Clothes’ to be ‘unspeakably the most important of all the vestures and garnitures of Human Existence’, Teufelsdröckh goes on to say:

‘Meanwhile, in our era of the World, those same Church-Clothes have gone sorrowfully out-at-elbows: nay, far worse, many of them have become mere hollow Shaptes, or Masks, under which no living Figure or Spirit any longer dwells; but only spiders and unclean beetles, in horrid accumulation, drive their trade; and the mask still glares on you with its glass-eyes, in ghastly affectionation of Life,—some generation-and-half after Religion has quite withdrawn from it, and in unnoticéd nooks is weaving for herself new Vestures, wherewith to reappear, and bless us, or our sons or grandsons. As a Priest, or Interpreter of the Holy, is the noblest and highest of all men, so is a Sham-priest (Schein-priester) the falsest and basest; neither is it doubtful that his Canonicals, were they Popes’ Tiaras, will one day be torn from him, to make bandages for the wounds of mankind; or even to burn into tinder, for general scientific or culinary purposes.’

Speaking of Jung’s diagnosis of the spiritual condition of modern man, who lacks the experience of “the god-image within himself”, Fordham summarizes Jung as follows: “Man needs to experience the god-image within himself and to feel its correspondence with the forms that his religion gives to it. If this does not happen there is a split in his nature; he may be outwardly civilized, but inwardly he is a barbarian ruled by an archaic god.” Fordham then goes on to quote the following passage from *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944) on the character of the “great events of our world as planned and executed by man”:

Not the individual alone but the sum total of individual lives in a nation proves the truth of this contention. The great events of our world as planned and executed by man do not breathe the spirit of Christianity but rather of unadorned paganism. These things originate in a psychic condition that has remained archaic and has not been even remotely touched by Christianity. The Church assumes, not altogether without reason, that the fact of *semel credidisse* (having once believed) leaves certain traces behind it; but of these traces nothing is to be seen in the broad march of events. Christian civilization has proved hollow to a terrifying degree: it is all veneer, but the inner man has remained untouched and therefore unchanged. His soul is out of key with his external beliefs; in his soul the Christian has not kept pace with external developments. Yes, everything is to be found outside—in image and in word, in Church and Bible—but never inside. Inside reign the archaic gods, supreme as of old; that is to say the inner correspondence with the outer God-image is undeveloped for lack of psychological culture and has therefore got stuck in heathenism. Christian education has done all that is humanly possible, but it has not been enough. Too few people have experienced the divine image as the innermost possession of their own souls. Christ only meets them from without, never from within the soul; that is why dark paganism still reigns there, a paganism which, now in a form so blatant that it can no longer be denied and now in all too threadbare disguise, is swamping the world of so-called Christian civilization.

Of the danger of “an outward form of religion where all the emphasis is on the outward figure” and “the archetype of the God-image” remains “unconscious as a psychic factor”, Jung writes:

Every archetype is capable of endless development and differentiation. It is therefore possible for it to be more developed or less. In an outward form of religion where all the emphasis is on the outward figure (hence where we are dealing with a more or less complete projection), the archetype is identical with externalized ideas but remains unconscious as a psychic factor. When an unconscious content is replaced by a projected image to that

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33. Ibid., par. 3.
34. Ibid.: 172, par. 6.
35. Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944), CW 12, par. 12 (1st part), quoted by me below.
37. *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944), CW 12, par. 12 (2nd part).
extent, it is cut off from all participation in and influence on the conscious mind. Hence it largely forfeits its own life, because prevented from exerting the formative influence on consciousness natural to it; what is more, it remains in its original form—unchanged, for nothing changes in the unconscious. At a certain point it even develops a tendency to regress to lower and more archaic levels. It may easily happen, therefore, that a Christian who believes in all the sacred figures is still undeveloped and unchanged in his inmost soul because he has “all God outside” and does not experience him in the soul. His deciding motives, his ruling interests and impulses, do not spring from the sphere of Christianity but from the unconscious and undeveloped psyche, which is as pagan and archaic as ever.

Similarly, in “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle speaks of the disjunction or split between the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”—which might be fancied to be, “to all spiritual intents, extinct”—and describes the spiritual condition of modern man as “perhaps inferior to most civilised ages”:

To judge by the loud clamour of our Constitution-builders, Statists, Economists, directors, creators, reformers of Public Societies; in a word, all manner of Mechanists, from the Cartwright up to the Code-maker; and by the nearly total silence of all Preachers and Teachers who should give a voice to Poetry, Religion and Morality, we might fancy either that man’s Dynamical nature was, to all spiritual intents, extinct, or else so perfected that nothing more was to be made of it by the old means; and henceforth only in his Mechanical contrivances did any hope exist for him.

. . . This, we take it, is the grand characteristic of our age. By our skill in Mechanism, it has come to pass, that in the management of external things we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilised ages.

3. Conjunction of the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man”
Since “the mental health of the individual and the progress of civilization depend to so large extent on the suitable expression of the religious function”, Jung had to find an answer to the question what solution there was “for those who cannot return to any Church, or find in the ‘Christian drama’ no satisfactory expression of their needs”. Of “the answer” found by Jung, Fordham says:

Jung found the answer to this question gradually evolved itself during years of work with patients, and borrowed the word ‘individuation’ to describe it. There were, he found, a relatively large number of people who . . . were unconsciously and yet unswervingly seeking a goal, which eventually defined itself as the quest of wholeness—that mysterious entity ‘the whole man’—and which necessitated the forging of a link between the conscious and the unconscious aspects of the psyche. The experience could also be formulated as the finding of the God within or the full experience of the archetype of the self.

Of “the forging of a link between the conscious and the unconscious aspects of the psyche”, Jung writes in “Conscious, Unconscious, and Individuation” (1939):

38. Ibid., par. 12 (1st part).
41. Fordham: 76.
42. Ibid. “The term ‘individuation’ was taken up by Jung via the philosopher Schopenhauer but dates back to Gerard Dorn, a sixteenth-century alchemist. Both speak of the principium individuationis. Jung applied the principle to psychology” (CD, s.v. individuation).
Conscious and unconscious do not make a whole when one of them is suppressed and injured by the other. If they must contend, let it at least be a fair fight with equal rights on both sides. Both are aspects of life. Consciousness should defend its reason and protect itself, and the chaotic life of the unconscious should be given the chance of having its way too—as much of it as we can stand. This means open conflict and open collaboration at once. That, evidently, is the way human life should be. It is the old game of hammer and anvil: between them the patient iron is forged into an indestructible whole, and “individual.”

This, roughly, is what I mean by the individuation process. As the name shows, it is a process or course of development arising out of the conflict between the two fundamental psychic facts.

In “Signs of the Times”, Carlyle, on his part, speaks of “the right coördination” of “the inward or Dynamical province” and “the outward” or “Mechanical province” of “man’s activity”, and “the vigorous forwarding of both”:

To define the limits of these two departments of man’s activity, which work into one another, and by means of one another, so intricately and inseparably, were by its nature an impossible attempt. Their relative importance, even to the wisest mind, will vary in different times, according to the special wants and dispositions of those times. Meanwhile, it seems clear enough that only in the right coördination of the two, and the vigorous forwarding of both, does our true line of action lie. Undue cultivation of the inward or Dynamical province leads to idle, visionary, impracticable courses, and, especially in rude eras, to Superstition and Fanaticism, with their long train of baleful and well-known evils. Undue cultivation of the outward, again, though less immediately prejudicial, and even for the time productive of many palpable benefits, must, in the long-run, by destroying Moral Force, which is the parent of all other Force, prove not less certainly, and perhaps still more hopelessly, pernicious.

‘Fantasy’, ‘the organ of the Godlike’

Of the nature and “creative activity” of fantasy, Jung says in Psychological Types (1921):

Fantasy is just as much feeling as thinking; as much intuition as sensation. There is no psychic function that, through fantasy, is not inextricably bound up with the other psychic functions. Sometimes it appears in primordial form, sometimes it is the ultimate and boldest product of all our faculties combined. Fantasy, therefore, seems to me the clearest expression of the specific activity of the psyche. It is, pre-eminently, the creative activity from which the answers to all answerable questions come; it is the mother of all possibilities, where, like all psychological opposites, the inner and outer worlds are joined together in living union. Fantasy it was and ever is which fashions the bridge between the irreconcilable claims of subject and object, introversion and extraversion. In fantasy alone both mechanisms are united.

For Teufelsdröckh, similarly, ‘Fantasy’ fashions the bridge between the ‘Visible’ and ‘Invisible’. Thus, of Teufelsdröckh’s conception of the power of ‘Fantasy’, the Editor writes: “. . . nowhere is he [Teufelsdröckh] more mysterious, impalpable, than in this of ‘Fantasy being the organ of the Godlike’; and how ‘Man thereby, though based, to all seeming, on the small Visible, does nevertheless extend down into the infinite deeps of the Invisible, of which Invisible, indeed, his Life is properly the bodying forth.’”

And comparing the ‘Logical, Mensurative faculty’ to the ‘Imaginative one’, Teufelsdröckh observes:

44. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 73, par. 31.
45. Psychological Types (1921), CW 6, par. 78. Cf. CD, s.v. fantasy. For “the repression of creative fantasy by the Church”, see Hannah: 152–53 and Psychological Types, CW 6, pars. 80–83. For “the creative activity of fantasy”, which may not be “equated . . . with the ‘active imagination’ “, cf. also Jacobi: 24–25, and 144–45.
'Yes, Friends, . . . not our Logical, Mensurative faculty, but our Imaginative one is King over us; I might say, Priest and Prophet to lead us heavenward; or Magician and Wizard to lead us hellward. Nay, even for the basest Sensualist, what is Sense but the implement of Fantasy; the vessel it drinks out of? Ever in the dullest existence there is a sheen either of Inspiration or of Madness (thou partly hast it in thy choice, which of the two), that gleams-in from the circumambient Eternity, and colours with its own hues our little islet of Time. The Understanding is indeed thy window, too clear thou canst not make it; but Fantasy is thy eye, with its colour-giving retina, healthy or diseased.'

Teufelsdröckh, therefore, concludes: ‘Of this thing . . . be certain: wouldst thou plant for Eternity, then plant into the deep infinite faculties of man, his Fantasy and Heart; wouldst thou plant for Year and Day, then plant into his shallow superficial faculties, his Self-love and Arithmetical Understanding, what will grow there.’

The Everlasting No

When, in his reminiscence “James Carlyle”, written in 1832, Carlyle comes to speak of the death, at Mainhill, of his father’s youngest brother, Thomas Carlyle (1776–1816), he writes the following sketch of his uncle:

The youngest Brother, my “Uncle Tom,” died next: a fiery, passionate, self-secluded warm-loving genuine soul, without fear and without guile: of whom it is recorded that he never from the first tones of speech, “told any lie.” A true old-Roman soul, yet so marred, so stunted; who well deserves a chapter to himself, especially from me, who so lovingly admired him. He departed in my Father’s house, in my presence, in the year 1815 [1816]: the first Death I had ever understood and laid with its whole emphasis to heart.

In 1878, in a conversation with Allingham, the deathbed itself is described as follows by Carlyle:

‘I looked up to him [“Uncle Tom”] with the greatest admiration and respect. He was ill, and my mother used to sit up with him at night. . . . One night I took the watch upon me, to relieve her—I was about nineteen years of age—and in the middle of the night it became clear that my uncle was dying. He fixed his eyes upon me with a wild stare—bright blue eyes—and tried to lift his head from the pillow, but could not do it, and the eyes kept wide open till life went out of them—ah dear!—it was about three in the morning. It was then I first began to make reflections upon death. He had no disease—a general break-up, mostly from hard work.’

It may here be noted that, in his biography of Carlyle, Wilson writes: “He [Carlyle] was still talking of it [his uncle’s deathbed] after sixty years, and had often said in the interval that it suggested the ‘Everlasting No’ of Sartor.” For a proper understanding of the reference to “the ‘Everlasting No’ of Sartor”, the following passage in “The Hero as Man of Letters”, which—as indicated below—echoes the “Everlasting No” chapter in Sartor Resartus, may here be looked at first. In “The Hero as Man of Letters”, Carlyle writes:

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47. Ibid.: 176–77, par. 8. See also SR, “Romance”: 115, par. 19, where Fantasy is called ‘the true Heaven-gate and Hell-gate of man’.
49. See above, Ch. 1.
50. R: 22. For date (9 June 1816), cf. ibid., n. 1 and W 1: 118. The eldest brother, Carlyle’s uncle John, had died in 1801 (cf. R: 21, n. 2).
... this I do say, and would wish all men to know and lay to heart, that he who discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe has in the fatalest way missed the secret of the Universe altogether. That all Godhood should vanish out of men’s conception of this Universe seems to me precisely the most brutal error,—I will not disparage Heathenism by calling it a Heathen error,—that men could fall into. It is not true; it is false at the very heart of it. A man who thinks so will think wrong about all things in the world; this original sin will vitiate all other conclusions he can form. One might call it the most lamentable of Delusions,—not forgetting Witchcraft itself! Witchcraft worshipped at least a living Devil; but this worshiped a dead iron Devil; no God, not even a Devil!—Whatever is noble, divine, inspired, drops thereby out of life. There remains everywhere in life a despicable caput-mortuum; the mechanical hull, all soul fled out of it. How can a man act heroically? The ‘Doctrine of Motives’ will teach him that it is, under more or less disguise, nothing but a wretched love of Pleasure, fear of Pain; that Hunger, of applause, of cash, of whatsoever victual it may be, is the ultimate fact of man’s life. Atheism, in brief,—which does indeed frightfully punish itself. The man, I say, is become spiritually a paralytic man; this godlike Universe a dead mechanical steamengine, all working by motives, checks, balances, and I know not what; wherein, as in the detestable belly of some Phalaris’-Bull of his own contriving, he the poor Phalaris sits miserably dying!

In the passage quoted above, Carlyle makes clear that, with the disjunction or split between the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man” found in modern life, “Whatever is noble, divine, inspired” in man “drops . . . out of life”. This description of the spiritual condition of modern man may well have been inspired by Carlyle’s recollection of his uncle’s deathbed, when, with the disjunction of the body and soul, or death, of his uncle, everything that was noble in him dropped out of life.

With regard to the split between conscious and unconscious, Jung writes: “Our concern with the unconscious has become a vital question for us—a question of spiritual being or non-being.” In Sartor, the effect of the disjunction or split between the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man” is called by Carlyle the Everlasting No, which may be defined as a state of spiritual paralysis, i.e., as a state of existence in which there is “nothing left but a Mechanical life”, whereby “Whatever is noble, divine, inspired, drops . . . out of life” and “There remains everywhere in life a despicable caput-mortuum; the mechanical hull, all soul fled out of it”. Modern man, therefore, “is become spiritually a paralytic man” and “this

53. Cf. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 133, par. 8 (“you cannot so much as believe in a Devil”). See also below.
54. Cf. ibid.: 129–30, par. 4. For the ‘Doctrine of Motives’, see also below.
55. Cf. ibid.: 133, par. 8 (“one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine”). See also below.
56. In his edition of On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History, Athenaeum Press Series (Boston: Ginn, 1901): 347, MacMechan notes: “Carlyle has confused Perillus, the inventor of the brazen bull, with Phalaris, the tyrant who roasted him in it. A common error.”
57. HH (1841), “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 173, par. 31. For “spiritual paralysis”, cf. also ibid.: 170–71, pars. 27–28. Cf. PP (1843), “The Modern Worker”, I: 136–37, pars. 2–3: “To speak in the ancient dialect, we ‘have forgotten God’;—in the most modern dialect and very truth of the matter, we have taken up the Fact of this Universe as it is not. . . . There is no longer any God for us! God’s Laws are become a Greatest-Happiness Principle, a Parliamentary Expediency . . . man has lost the soul out of him; and now, after the due period,—begins to find the want of it! This is verily the plague-spot; centre of the universal Social Gangrene, threatening all modern things with frightful death.”
59. For Carlyle on the nobleness of his uncle, whom he “so lovingly admired”, cf. R: 22, quoted above.
60. “Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious” (1934/1954), CW 9i, par. 51. For Jung on the task “to bring a consciousness that has hurried too far ahead into contact again with the unconscious background”, see below, Ch. XIII.
62. HH, “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 171, par. 28 (“Spiritual Paralysis, I say, nothing left but a Mechanical life, was the characteristic of that [18th] century”).
godlike Universe a dead mechanical steamengine, . . . wherein, as in the detestable belly of some Phalaris’-Bull of his own contriving, he the poor Phalaris sits miserably dying!”

In the “Everlasting No” chapter of Sartor, the image of the “Universe” as “a dead mechanical steamengine” is used as follows:

‘Some comfort it would have been, could I, like a Faust, have fancied myself tempted and tormented of the Devil; for a Hell, as I imagine, without Life, though only diabolic Life, were more frightful: but in our age of Down-pulling and Disbelief, the very Devil has been pulled down, you cannot so much as believe in a Devil. To me the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility: it was one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb. O, the vast, gloomy, solitary Golgotha, and Mill of Death! Why was the Living banished thither companionless, conscious? Why, if there is no Devil; nay, unless the Devil is your God?”

Of the way in which ‘the world would indeed grind him [man] to pieces’, Teufelsdröckh says in the “Symbols” chapter of Sartor:

. . . ‘Man is by birth somewhat of an owl. Perhaps, too, of all the owleries that ever possessed him, the most owlish, if we consider it, is that of your actually existing Motive-Millwrights. Fantastic tricks enough man has played, in his time; has fancied himself to be most things, down even to an animated heap of Glass: but to fancy himself a dead Iron-Balance for weighing Pains and Pleasures on, was reserved for this his latter era. There stands he, his Universe one huge Manger, filled with hay and thistles to be weighed against each other; and looks long-eared enough. Alas, poor devil! spectres are appointed to haunt him: one age he is hagridden, bewitched; the next, priestridden, befooled; in all ages, bedevilled. And now the Genius of Mechanism smothers him worse than any Nightmare did; till the Soul is nigh choked out of him, and only a kind of Digestive, Mechanic life remains. In Earth and in Heaven he can see nothing but Mechanism; has fear for nothing else, hope in nothing else: the world would indeed grind him to pieces; but cannot he fathom the Doctrine of Motives, and cunningly compute these, and mechanise them to grind the other way?’

Neurosis

Of the suffering of about “a third” of his cases, Jung writes in “The Aims of Psychotherapy” (1931): “About a third of my cases are not suffering from any clinically definable neurosis, but from the senselessness and aimlessness of their lives.” Teufelsdröckh, too, is suffering from

63. Ibid.: 173, par. 31. Cf. ibid.: 171, par. 28 (“a World-Machine”). In “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle writes that “Mechanism, like some glass bell, encircles and imprisons us”, whilst “the soul looks forth on a fair heavenly country which it cannot reach, and pines, and in its scanty atmosphere is ready to perish” (E 2: 81, par. 42).
64. SR, “The Everlasting No”: 133, par. 8.
66. “The Aims of Psychotherapy” (1931), CW 16, par. 83, where Jung goes on to say: “I should not object if this were called the general neurosis of our age.” Cf. also Jacob: 133. “A psychoneurosis must be understood, ultimately, as the suffering of a soul which has not discovered its meaning” (“Psychotherapists or the Clergy”, 1932, CW 11, par. 497). In “The Concept of the Collective Unconscious” (1936), Jung notes: “Since neuroses are in most cases not just private concerns, but social phenomena, we must assume that archetypes are constellated in these cases too. . . . private neuroses have become almost a fiction in the world of today” (CW 9i, par. 98), and in “The Psychology of the Unconscious” (1917/1926/1943): “Neurosis is intimately bound up with the problem of our time and really represents an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the individual to solve the general problem in his own person” (CW 7, par. 18).
the senselessness and aimlessness of his life, a suffering that manifests itself as ‘a continual, indefinite, pining fear’:

Having no hope, neither had I any definite fear, were it of Man or of Devil: nay, I often felt as if it might be solacing, could the Arch-Devil himself, though in Tartarean terrors, but rise to me, that I might tell him a little of my mind. And yet, strangely enough, I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear; tremulous, pusillanimous, apprehensive of I knew not what; it seemed as if all things in the Heavens above and the Earth beneath would hurt me; as if the Heavens and the Earth were but boundless jaws of a devouring monster, wherein I, palpitating, waited to be devoured.

Teufelsdröckh here describes himself as living ‘in a continual, indefinite, pining fear’. He also notes, however: ‘Having no hope, neither had I any definite fear, were it of Man or of Devil: nay, I often felt as if it might be solacing, could the Arch-Devil himself, though in Tartarean terrors, but rise to me, that I might tell him a little of my mind.’ Teufelsdröckh’s ego, therefore, appears to be strong enough to integrate the experiences that lie ahead of him in his quest for wholeness.

Of “a good many” of “the so-called neurotics of our day” being “merely optional neurotics” (“blosse ‘Fakultativneurotiker’”), Jung writes in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*:

Among the so-called neurotics of our day there are a good many who in other ages would not have been neurotic—that is, divided against themselves. If they had lived in a period and in a milieu in which man was still linked by myth with the world of the ancestors, and thus with nature truly experienced and not merely seen from outside, they would have been spared this division with themselves. I am speaking of those who cannot tolerate the loss of myth and who can neither find a way to a merely exterior world, to the world as seen by science, nor rest satisfied with an intellectual juggling with words, which has nothing whatsoever to do with wisdom.

These victims of the psychic dichotomy of our time are merely optional neurotics; their apparent morbidity drops away the moment the gulf between the ego and the unconscious is closed.

And of the doctor’s opinion about the patient who “is looking for something that will take possession of him and give meaning and form to the confusion of his neurotic soul”, Jung says: “. . . he [the doctor] sees only too clearly why his patient is ill . . . he sees that he has no love, but only sexuality; no faith, because he is afraid to grope in the dark; no hope, because he is disillusioned by the world and by life; and no understanding, because he has failed to read the meaning of his own existence . . .”

Teufelsdröckh, too, has no love:

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67. Cf. *SR*, “The Everlasting No”: 133, par. 8 (“To me the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility”). See above.
68. Ibid.: 134, par. 11.
69. For a “strong ego” being “necessary for individuation”, cf. Mattoon: 182. See above, Ch. IV.
71. *MDR*: 143–44. “. . . the cause of neurosis is the discrepancy between the conscious attitude and the trend of the unconscious. This dissociation is bridged by the assimilation of unconscious contents” (“Principles of Practical Psychotherapy”, 1935, *CW* 16, par. 26). Cf. also “Psychotherapy or the Clergy” (1932), *CW* 11, par. 522 (“Neurosis is an inner cleavage—the state of being at war with oneself . . . a splitting of personality”) and “The Tavistock Lectures” (1935), *CW* 18, par. 382 (“A neurosis is a dissociation of personality”).
72. “Psychotherapists or the Clergy” (1932), *CW* 11, par. 498.
73. Ibid., par. 499.
‘Invisible yet impenetrable walls, as of Enchantment, divided me from all living: was there, in the wide world, any true bosom I could press trustfully to mine? O Heaven, No, there was none! I kept a lock upon my lips: why should I speak much with that shifting variety of so-called Friends, in whose withered, vain and too-hungry souls Friendship was but an incredible tradition? In such cases, your resource is to talk little, and that little mostly from the Newspapers. Now when I look back, it was a strange isolation I then lived in. The men and women around me, even speaking with me, were but Figures; I had, practically, forgotten that they were alive that they were not merely automatic.’

No faith: “. . . as he wanders wearisomely through this world, he has now lost all tidings of another and higher. Full of religion, or at least of religiosity, as our Friend has since exhibited himself, he hides not that, in those days, he was wholly irreligious: ‘Doubt had darkened into Unbelief,’ says he; ‘shade after shade goes grimly over your soul, till you have the fixed, starless, Tartarean black.’”

No hope: “We see him, for the present, quite shut-out from Hope; looking not into the golden orient, but vaguely all round into a dim copper firmament, pregnant with earthquake and tornado.”

And no understanding:

Thus has the bewildered Wanderer to stand, as so many have done, shouting question after question into the Sibyl-cave of Destiny, and receive no Answer but an Echo. It is all a grim Desert, this once-fair world of his; wherein is heard only the howling of wild-beasts, or the shrieks of despairing, hate-filled men; and no Pillar of Cloud by day, and no Pillar of Fire by night, any longer guides the Pilgrim.

**The Healing of Neurosis**

Speaking, in “Psychotherapists or the Clergy” (1932), about the healing of neurosis, Jung says: “Among all my patients in the second half of life—that is to say, over thirty-five—. . . none . . . has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook.”

Asked, some 30 years later, if he “still adhered” to these words, Jung replied in a letter dated 11 February 1961:

After 60 years of experience I can wholeheartedly confirm my former dictum about the healing of neurosis. As a neurosis starts from a fragmentary state of human consciousness, it can only be cured by an approximative totality of the human being. Religious ideas and convictions from the beginning of history had the aspect of the mental pharmakon. They represent the world of wholeness in which fragments can be gathered and put together again. Such a cure cannot be effected by pills and injections.

As to how the patient is to obtain “what he needs in order to live”, Jung writes:

One cannot just think up a system or truth which would give the patient what he needs in order to live, namely faith, hope, love, and understanding.

These four highest achievements of human endeavour are so many gifts of grace, which are neither to be taught nor learned, neither given nor taken, neither withheld nor earned, since they come through experience, which is an irrational datum not subject to human will and caprice. Experiences cannot be made. They happen—yet fortunately their independence of man’s activity is not absolute but relative. We can draw closer to them—
that much lies within our human reach. There are ways which bring us nearer to living experience, yet we should beware of calling these ways “methods.” The very word has a deadening effect. The way to experience, moreover, is anything but a clever trick; it is rather a venture which requires us to commit ourselves with our whole being.81

In Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness, too, as will be seen below, it is “not Argument” that teaches him, “but Experience”.82

**I. Incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’**

1. Revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’

In The Myth of Meaning in the Work of C. G. Jung (1970), Jaffé writes: “Without the sense of inner freedom and without the autonomy of the ego there would be no individuation . . .”83 And she goes on to say: “Individuation begins as a rule with the becoming conscious of one’s shadow . . . In the shadow dwells everything that will not, or cannot adapt itself to custom and convention . . . It is . . . the counter-reality with its disobedience, recalcitrant will, and revolt against the cultural canon. . . . We get, as Jung puts it, into a collision of duties. Obligation is pitted against obligation, will against will.”84 For an example of such a revolt against the cultural canon, Jaffé refers to “the experience of Martin Luther who, as an unknown monk . . . launched forth into public criticism of the Catholic Church”, and quotes the “famous words that are put into his mouth” and “with which he ended his defence at the Diet of Worms” (1521): “Here I stand, I can do no other, so help me God, Amen.”85 Similarly, having lost his sense of inner freedom,86 and living ‘in a continual, indefinite, pining fear’,87 Teufelsdröckh, in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, revolts against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’,88 which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”,89 his ‘whole Me’ standing up, ‘in native God-created majesty’, and ‘with emphasis’ recording ‘its Protest’:

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81. “Psychotherapists or the Clergy” (1932), *CW* 11, pars. 500–01.
83. Jaffé: 95.
84. Ibid.: 96. “A man’s self-awareness and ethics are tested not in the matter-of-fact fulfilment of secular and spiritual precepts, but in the way he behaves and decides when confronted with collisions of duty. Here he is challenged as a whole man, standing alone. ‘In his case the court is transposed to the inner world where the verdict is pronounced behind closed doors’ ”—Jaffé: 97, quoting *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*: 345 (318). Cf. Jaffé: 169, n. 6.
86. Cf. *SR*, “The Everlasting No”: 135, par. 12 (‘canst thou not . . . as a Child of Freedom . . . trample Tophet itself under thy feet’) and “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1 (“the fire-baptised soul . . . here feels its own Freedom, which feeling is its Baphometic Baptism”).
88. For Teufelsdröckh having often ‘fancied’ how his ‘ill-starred Parent’ had ‘nothing for it but to leave’ in him a ‘living speaking Protest against the Devil’, or ‘Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, cf. *SR*, “Genesis”: 69, par. 8. And for the Editor describing Teufelsdröckh as “a man who had manfully defied the ‘Time-prince’, or Devil, to his face; nay perhaps, Hannibal-like, was mysteriously consecrated from birth to that warfare”, cf. *SR*, “Farewell”: 234, par. 3. See also above, Ch. VIII.
. . . perhaps the miserablest man in the whole French Capital or Suburbs, was I, one sultry Dogday, after much perambulation, toiling along the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer, among civic rubbish enough, in a close atmosphere, and over pavements hot as Nebuchadnezzar’s Furnace; whereby doubtless my spirits were little cheered; when, all at once, there rose a Thought in me, and I asked myself: “What art thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! what is the sum-total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet too, and all that the Devil and Man may, will or can do against thee! Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be; and, as a Child of Freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it!” And as I so thought, there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul; and I shook base Fear away from me forever. I was strong, of unknown strength; a spirit, almost a god. Ever from that time, the temper of my misery was changed: not Fear or whining Sorrow was it, but Indignation and grim fire-eyed Defiance.

‘Thus had the Everlasting No (das ewige Nein) pealed authoritatively through all the recesses of my Being, of my Me; and then was it that my whole Me stood up, in native God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded its Protest. Such a Protest, the most important transaction in Life, may that same Indignation and Defiance, in a psychological point of view, be fitly called. The Everlasting No had said: “Behold, thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine (the Devil’s)”; to which my whole Me now made answer: “I am not thine, but Free, and forever hate thee!”

‘It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-birth, or Baphometic Fire-baptism; perhaps I directly thereupon began to be a Man.’

Teufelsdröckh here uses the word “Devil” as name for the Everlasting No. This should be taken to mean that existence in a world in which there is “nothing left but a Mechanical life”, is experienced by him as a demonic state of existence, in which “Whatsoever is noble, divine, inspired, drops . . . out of life” and “There remains everywhere in life a despicable caput-mortuum; the mechanical hull, all soul fled out of it”.

In The Myth of Meaning in the Work of C. G. Jung, Jaffé points out that, though the kind of revolt she is speaking of, is followed by years of “suffering and disorientation”, it also
produces “the sense of inner freedom”, without which “there would be no individuation”.96 Similarly, in Sartor, the Editor observes:

Though, after this ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’ of his, our Wanderer signifies that his Unrest was but increased; as, indeed, ‘Indignation and Defiance,’ especially against things in general, are not the most peaceable inmates; yet can the Psychologist surmise that it was no longer a quite hopeless Unrest; that henceforth it had at least a fixed centre to revolve round. For the fire-baptised soul, long so scathed and thunder-riven, here feels its own Freedom, which feeling is its Baphometic Baptism: the citadel of its whole kingdom it has thus gained by assault, and will keep inexpugnable; outwards from which the remaining dominions, not indeed without hard battling, will doubtless by degrees be conquered and pacificated. Under another figure, we might say, if in that great moment, in the Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer, the old inward Satanic School was not yet thrown out of doors, it received peremptory judicial notice to quit;—whereby, for the rest, its howl-chantings, Ernulphus-cursings, and rebellious gnashings of teeth, might, in the meanwhile, become only the more tumultuous, and difficult to keep secret.97

The Editor here stresses the fact that Teufelsdröckh now “feels” his “own Freedom, which feeling is” his “Baphometic Baptism”.

From the above analysis of the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”, liberates him from the “deep, paralysed subjection”98 to ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, and makes him feel his “own Freedom”.

With regard to the phrase ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’, however, Parr notes: “What Carlyle intended by this phrase has always been regarded as uncertain.”99 We shall here try to determine, therefore, how the phrase, ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’, has to be understood.

2. The Phrase ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’
   a. Critics: Phrase Echoing the “Story of the Fallen Master” in Werner’s The Templars in Cyprus (Die Templer auf Cypern, 1803)

According to Parr and Harrold, as will be seen below, the phrase, ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’, echoes the “Story of the Fallen Master”, translated by Carlyle from Werner’s Die Templer auf Cypern (The Templars in Cyprus) in “Life and Writings of Werner” (1828).100 The “Story of the Fallen Master”, therefore, may here be looked at first.

96. Ibid.: 95.
97. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 135–36, par. 1. In “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”, the Editor notes that, “To our less philosophical readers”, it is clear that, after the Blumine episode, “the so passionate Teufelsdröckh . . . has only one of three things which he can next do: Establish himself in Bedlam; begin writing Satanic Poetry; or blow-out his brains” (SR: 119, par. 2). In the Preface to his A Vision of Judgement (1821), Southey referred to “Byron, Shelley, and their imitators” as “the Satanic school”. Cf. OED, s.v. satanic 3, and see quot. 1821. Cf. also WR (comp. 1827), Ch. V: 92 (the “arsenical school”). For what the Editor, in Sartor, calls “the internal” or “inward Satanic School”, cf. SR, “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”: 120, par. 3; 126, par. 15, and “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1; 141, par. 9 and 145, par. 19.
98. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 80–81, par. 42.
Before the “Story of the Fallen Master” is read out, Adalbert, in the “chief and final” trial of initiation, “starts back in horror” at the sight of a “Bust” resting “on four gilt Dragon’s-feet”:

A colossal Devil’s-head appears between the two Skeletons; its form is horrible; it is gilt; has a huge golden Crown, a Heart of the same on its Brow; rolling flaming Eyes; Serpents instead of Hair; golden Chains round its neck, which is visible to the breast; and a golden Cross, yet not a Crucifix, which rises over its right shoulder, as if crushing it down. The whole Bust rests on four gilt Dragon’s-feet.

This “Bust” is that of Baffometus, as is clear from the “Story of the Fallen Master”, which, as summarized by Parr, reads:

. . . Baffomettus [sic] had received from the Lord a command to complete his Temple, but had diverted the precious materials that had been given him for the purpose to his own uses. So when the Lord came and found his Temple still unfinished he first gave Baffomettus further time, but afterwards being three times deceived ‘came down in wrath’, and taking the gold which was the price for which Baffomettus had sold the stones, he put it in a melting-pot which he set upon the Sun, and with the molten gold anointed Baffomettus on the brow, and heart, and put a crown upon his head and a cross upon his neck, and set two Deaths to guard him, the Death of Life and the Death of Hope.

In The Templars in Cyprus, the “Story of the Fallen Master” ends with the lines: ‘So languishes the outcast Baffometus / Four thousand years and four-and-forty moons, / Till once a Saviour rise from his own seed, / Redeem his trespass and deliver him.’

Considering the “Story of the Fallen Master” to be the account of “the actual Fire-baptism of a certain Baffomettus [sic], or as he is otherwise called, the Fallen Master”, Parr goes on to say that it is not “quite clear what the exact analogy may be between Baffomettus and Teufelsdröckh (or Carlyle), unless it be that like the ‘Fallen Master’ he was reduced by the Baptism from a state of actual sin to a condition of passivity or Indifference, as he calls it, in which he was ready to receive the call of Redemption when it came”.

Though he does not look upon the “Story of the Fallen Master” as the Fire-baptism of Baffometus, Harrold, on his part, comments on the term ‘Baphometic’ in ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’: “A word of very uncertain derivation; meaning here merely a sudden culmination of suffering leading to a blinding (flame-like) spiritual illumination or understanding. . . . Teufelsdröckh’s spirit of denial, his life as a spiritual outcast, and his sufferings, all make him a kind of Baffometus; but he has now had his ‘fire-baptism,’ an experience still to come to Werner’s character.”

Of “this marvellous ‘Story of the Fallen Master’”, Carlyle writes in “Life and Writings of Werner” (1828): “. . . we know not with certainty . . . what precisely either they [the Templars] or Werner intended, by this marvellous ‘Story of the Fallen Master,’ to shadow forth. At first

102. Ibid.
106. Ibid. For the Centre of Indifference, see below.
view, one might take it for an allegory, couched in Masonic language,—and truly no flattering
allegory—of the Catholic Church . . .*108

In this connection, it may be noted that, in one of his letters, Werner says of the “fallen
Master Baffomet”:

Der gefallene Meister Baffomet (etymologisch: der mit Weisheit getauft) ist der gefallene Mensch, sonst der
Meister der Schöpfung, jetzt durch Habsucht und Egoismus, dem Prinzip des Bösen, dem Teufel ähnlich. Gott
(der Herr) schuf ihn, seinen Tempel d.h. sich selbst zu einem Tempel Gottes, zu hauen; er isolirte sich von Gott
(baute sich ein Wohnhaus) durch Egoismus.109

The fallen Master Baffomet (etymologically: he who is baptized with wisdom) is fallen man, once the master of
creation, now, through greed and egoism, resembling the principle of evil, the devil. God (the Lord) created him
in order to build His temple, i.e., in order to make himself into a temple of God; he isolated himself from God
(built a dwelling for himself) through egoism.110

b. My Interpretation: Phrase Echoing the Account of Adalbert’s Baphometic Fire-baptism
in Werner’s The Templars in Cyprus (Die Templer auf Cypern, 1803)
It will here be seen that the phrase, ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’, echoes the account of Adalbert’s
Baphometic Fire-baptism in Werner’s The Templars in Cyprus.

After the “Story of the Fallen Master” has been read out, Adalbert, facing “the Bust” of
Baffometus, is told to take “the neckband”, to “lift the crown from ’s head” and to “take the
golden heart from off his brow”.111 He is then ordered to trample on the Cross and to deny “Him
whom” he has “served” till then:

ARMED MAN. Take from his back the Cross,
And throw it from thee!—

adalbert. How! The Saviour’s token?
head. Deliver, O, deliver me!

Arm Man. This Cross
Is not thy Master’s, not that bloody one:
Its counterfeit is this: throw ’t from thee!

adalbert [taking it from the Bust, and laying it softly on the ground].

The Cross of the Good Lord that died for me?

ARMED MAN. Thou shalt no more believe in one that died;
Thou shalt henceforth believe in one that liveth

And never dies!—Obey, and question not,—

Step over it!

adalbert. Take pity on me!

ARMED Man [threatening him with his Sword]. Step!

adalbert. I do ’t with shuddering—

[Steps over, and then looks up to the Head, which raises itself as freed
from a load].

How the figure rises

108. “Life and Writings of Werner” (1828), E 1: 103.
109. Werner, in Louis Guinet, Zacharias Werner et l’ésotérisme maçonnique, Diss. Univ. de Paris 1960 (Caen:
Caron, 1961): 209, n. 156.
216–24, 238.
And looks in gladness!

**Armed Man.** Him whom thou hast served

Till now, deny!

**Adalbert** [horror-struck]. Deny the Lord my God?

**Armed Man.** Thy God ’tis not: the Idol of this World!

Deny him, or—

[Pressing on him with the Sword in a threatening posture].

—thou diest!

**Adalbert.** I deny!

**Armed Man** [pointing to the Head with his Sword].

Go to the Fallen!—Kiss his lips!—

Carlyle’s translation of part of Scene Two ends here and is followed by the comment:

—And so on through many other sulphurous pages! How much of this mummery is copied from the actual practice of the Templars we know not with certainty . . . At first view, one might take . . . this trampling on the Cross, which is said to have been actually enjoined on every Templar at his initiation, to be a type of his secret behest to undermine that Institution [the Catholic Church], and redeem the spirit of Religion from the state of thraldom and distortion under which it was there held. It is known at least, and was well known to Werner, that the heads of the Templars entertained views, both on religion and politics, which they did not think meet for communicating to their age, and only imparted by degrees, and under mysterious adumbrations, to the wiser of their own Order. 

We shall now look at the remaining part of Scene Two.

Having been ordered to “Kiss his [the Fallen’s] lips”, Adalbert exclaims:

**Adalbert** (horror-struck).

For God’s sake!—No! For the sight of his bloody throat makes all my blood run cold.

**Armed Man.**

He is your twin brother—now, kiss him!

**Adalbert.**

No—I’d rather die!—

**Head** (with a soft, touching voice).

Deliver me, Adalbert!

**Adalbert.**

Your voice is as soft as that of my Agnes. (Decided. I will save you!—Protect me, my sainted one, so that nature will not succumb to the horror! (At last, after making other horrified gestures, he quickly approaches the Devil’s-head and embraces it.)

**Head.**

I thank you!—(At this moment the Head and Adalbert, who embraces it, sink below the floor together with the Skeletons and the Book.)

**Adalbert** (crying out).

Oh! Save me! I sink down!—

**Armed Man** (while holding his arm in the opening).

Climb out, Brother, with the help of your Brother’s arm! (He pulls Adalbert out, who clings to his arm.)

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112. Ibid.: 102–03.

113. “Life and Writings of Werner” (1828), E 1: 103. With regard to the Cross, Werner notes, in one of his letters, that Baffometus has become “ein Knecht . . . des Aberglaubens (der durch das schwere Kreuz bezeichnet wird) [a slave . . . of superstition (which is symbolized by the heavy cross)]” (Werner, in Guinet: 224, n. 214). Cf. also ibid.: 292–93, 325.
I. INCIDENT IN THE ‘RUE SAINT-THOMAS DE L’ENFER’

Adalbert.

Praised be God!—My hair still stands on end!—(Pointing to the open trapdoor, where he came from.) What an awful darkness!—Ah! I am covered with blood!

Armed Man.

Listen!—(The Lamp hanging down from the vault goes out; in the background, where at first stood the Devil’s-head and the Skeletons, appears, at the top of a transparency painting, a severed head with a sword lying in a dish, while from the spot where it is visible, the following words ring out:) From blood and darkness salvation wells up! (While Adalbert speaks, the apparition slowly withdraws to the side, where it then disappears.)

Adalbert.

Does my eye deceive me?—Whose bloody head is this? (Running towards it.) Don’t fly away yet!—It moves off already!—

Armed Man.

That was the Baptist, who baptizes with Fire!—From his blood grew the red Cross, the true Cross of the Saviour and our Emblem. (He points with his sword to the centre of the background, where, at the very spot where at first the head was, a transparency painting of a red Cross appears with the attributes mentioned right below.) And from the Cross spring heavenwards the heliotrope, the rose and the palm!—(He swings his sword.) Darken, Heaven!—(The apparition disappears.) Brood, Midnight! (The stage grows completely dark.) The trial is completed. Off to the admission! (He leads Adalbert to the stairs on the left and mounts these with him.)

From the above, it is clear that the phrase, ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’, echoes the account of Adalbert’s Baphometic Fire-baptism in Werner’s The Templars in Cyprus (Die Templer auf Cypern, 1803).

Just as, in The Templars in Cyprus (Die Templer auf Cypern, 1803), Adalbert’s “trampling on the Cross” and denial of “Him whom” he has “served” till then, free him from the subjection to the Institution of the Catholic Church, so, in Sartor, Teufelsdröckh’s revolt against ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’—which “discerns nothing but Mechanism in the Universe”—liberates him from the “deep, paralysed subjection” to ‘the Time-Spirit (Zeitgeist)’, and makes him “feel” his “own Freedom, which feeling is”, as the Editor points out, his “Baphometic Baptism”.

Speaking of Teufelsdröckh’s “Unrest” “after this ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’ of his”, the Editor, therefore, writes in the ‘Centre of Indifference’ chapter of Sartor:

Though, after this ‘Baphometic Fire-baptism’ of his, our Wanderer signifies that his Unrest was but increased; as, indeed, ‘Indignation and Defiance,’ especially against things in general, are not the most peaceable inmates; yet can the Psychologist surmise that it was no longer a quite hopeless Unrest; that henceforth it has at least a fixed centre to revolve round. For the fire-baptised soul, long so scathed and thunder-riven, here feels its own Freedom, which feeling is its Baphometic Baptism . . .


115. Ibid.: 168–69. See above.


117. SR, “Genesis”: 69, par. 8. See above.

118. HH, “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 173, par. 31. See above.

119. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 80–81, par. 42.

120. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 1.

121. Ibid.: 135–36, par. 1.
c. The Word “Baphomet”

In *OED*, the word “Baphomet”, “a. F. Baphomet; cf. Pr. Bafomet, OSp. Mafomat”, is defined as the “Alleged name of the idol which the Templars were accused of worshipping”, and as “A form of the name Mahomet used by Mediaeval writers”, whilst Littré defines the word “baphomet” somewhat more fully as “Un des noms donnés par les écrivains du moyen âge et de la Renaissance à Mahomet”, and as “Idole qu'on prétendait adorée par les musulmans et surtout par les templiers”.

Of the “name given to the idol, ‘Baphomet’”, Partner says in *The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and Their Myth* (1982):

The name given to the idol, ‘Baphomet’ (once or twice the form Mahomet is actually used by witnesses in the trial), is one of the most persuasive pieces of evidence that the charges were concocted to ‘smear’ the Templars. It was impossible for the Templars to have ‘picked up in the East’ the practice of worshipping an idol bearing the name of the Prophet Muhammed, since no such idol existed anywhere in the Levant, even among breakaway sects such as the Ismailis or the Druse. The idea that Muslims were idolaters was itself a part of another system of ‘smears’, the pejorative representation of the oriental world by western Christians.

Referring to l’Abbé Constant, *OED* notes that “According to l’Abbé Constant, quoted by Littré”, the word “Baphomet” “was cabalistically formed by writing backward tem. o. h. p. ab., abbreviation of templi omnium hominum pacis abbas, ‘abbot’ or ‘father of the temple of peace of all men’.” And in his “Notes and Explanations” for his last novel, *Le Baphomet* (1965),—included in the English translation of 1988—Klossowski writes that “the three phonemes that constitute the denomination [‘Baphomet’] are also said to signify, in coded fashion, Basileus philosophorum metaloricum: the sovereign of metallurgical philosophers, that is, of the alchemical laboratories that were supposedly established in various chapters of the Temple.

**The Next Two Stages**

In Carlyle’s quest for wholeness, the encounter with Goethe and Jane Welsh may be compared, as seen above, to what, in analytical psychology, is called the encounter with the outward form of the wise old man and the anima, in which a real man and woman become the carriers of the projection of the wise old man and the anima respectively.

In Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness, however, no such encounter with a male or female figure occurs. The second and third stage of Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness, therefore, will here be discussed in conjunction with the second and third stage of Carlyle’s quest for wholeness.

123. Littré, s.v. Baphomet.
128. See above, Ch. IV.
II. Turning to “the Not-me”

As personified component of the psyche, the anima, which Jung defines as “the archetype of life itself”, connects and involves man with life. Similarly, looking back on his encounter with Jane Welsh in 1821—which may be compared to the encounter with the outward form of the anima, and which, as seen above, marks the second stage of his quest for wholeness—Carlyle speaks of Jane Welsh as calling him “back to light, and life”. In Sartor, also, the second stage of Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness is characterized as the stage in which “he [Teufelsdröckh] is now, if not ceasing, yet intermitting to ‘eat his own heart’; and clutches round him outwardly on the Not-me for wholesomer food.” Thus, we find Teufelsdröckh:
— looking ‘with interest’ upon ‘Towns’ and ‘Cities, especially the ancient’;
— reflecting on the ‘worth’ of ‘Books’;
— visiting the plain of ‘Marchfeld’, with ‘Wagram’ in the middle of it, and lamenting the ‘waste’ of war;
— examining ‘the net-purport and upshot of war’;
— reading ‘in most Public Libraries . . . including those of Constantinople and Samarcand’;
— studying ‘in most Colleges, except the Chinese Mandarin ones’;
— meting-out ‘much of the terraqueous Globe with a pair of Compasses that belonged’ to himself ‘only’;
— lingering ‘by the Pine-chasms of Vaucluse’;
— sitting ‘under the Palm-trees of Tadmor’;
— smoking ‘a pipe among the ruins of Babylon’;
— looking at the ‘great Wall of China’;
— witnessing the ‘birth-pangs of Democracy, wherewith convulsed Europe was groaning in cries that reached Heaven’;
— declaring to ‘have ever had the warmest predilection’ for ‘great Men’, whom he calls ‘the inspired (speaking and acting) Texts of that divine Book of Revelations, whereof a Chapter is completed from epoch to epoch, and by some named History’;
— emerging “in the solitude of the North Cape” on a “June Midnight”, ‘all Europe and Africa’ lying behind him ‘fast asleep, except the watchmen’, and before him ‘the silent Immensity, and Palace of the Eternal, whereof our Sun is but a porch-lamp’;
— encountering there what appears to be ‘a Russian Smuggler’, and drawing out ‘a sufficient Birmingham Horse-pistol’ to make him ‘retire’;
— reflecting on ‘the genuine use of Gunpowder’, and stating his ‘ideas’ with respect to ‘Duels’.

130. Cf. TC to JBW, 18 Nov. 1822 (2: 204–05). See above, Ch. IV.
131. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 136, par. 2. For the phrase, to ‘eat his own heart’, see above, Ch. IV.
132. Speaking of his ‘predilection’ for ‘great Men’, Teufelsdröckh says: “‘. . . did not I, in very early days, having disguised me as tavern-waiter, stand behind the field-chairs, under that shady Tree at Treisnitz by the Jena Highway; waiting upon the great Schiller and greater Goethe; and hearing what I have not forgotten. For— —’ [par.] — —But at this point the Editor recalls his principle of caution, some time ago laid down, and must suppress much. Let not the sacredness of Laurelled, still more, of Crowned Heads, be tempered with” (ibid.: 142, pars. 12–13). Cf. FS, Pt. 3: 124, par. 34 (‘At Triesnitz, a couple of English miles from Jena, Goethe and he [Schiller] . . . might sometimes be observed sitting at table, beneath the shade of a spreading tree’).
III. Perceiving the Reality of ‘the great mystic Deep’

“The main thing” Philemon, the figure of the wise old man, taught Jung, was “the reality of the psyche”. Similarly, recalling his encounter with Goethe—which may be compared to the encounter with the outward form of the wise old man, and which, as seen above, marks the third stage of Carlyle’s quest for wholeness—Carlyle refers to Goethe as letting him see ‘the real nature of life and things’. In the third stage of his quest for wholeness, Teufelsdröckh, too, comes to see ‘the real nature of life and things’ in as much as he comes to see the reality of ‘the great mystic Deep’. Thus, of man’s “Invisible inheritances and possessions”, he says:

‘Of Man’s Activity and Attainment the chief results are aeriform, mystic, and preserved in Tradition only: such are his Forms of Government, with the Authority they rest on; his Customs, or Fashions both of Cloth-habits and of Soul-habits; much more his collective stock of Handicrafts, the whole Faculty he has acquired of manipulating Nature: all these things, as indispensable and priceless as they are, cannot in any way be fixed under lock and key, but must flit, spirit-like, on impalpable vehicles, from Father to Son; if you demand sight of them, they are nowhere to be met with. Visible Ploughmen and Hammermen have there been, ever from Cain and Tubalcaín downwards: but where does your accumulated Agricultural, Metallurgic, and other Manufacturing SKILL lie warehoused? It transmits itself on the atmospheric air, on the sun’s rays (by Hearing and by Vision); it is a thing aeriform, impalpable, of quite spiritual sort. In like manner, ask me not, Where are the LAWS; where is the GOVERNMENT? In vain wilt thou go to Schönbrunn, to Downing Street, to the Palais Bourbon: thou findest nothing there but brick or stone houses, and some bundles of Papers tied with tape. Where, then, is that same cunningly-devised almighty GOVERNMENT of theirs to be laid hands on? Everywhere, yet nowhere: seen only in its works, this too is a thing aeriform, invisible; or if you will, mystic and miraculous.’

Teufelsdröckh, therefore, concludes: ‘So spiritual (geistig) is our whole daily Life: all that we do springs out of Mystery, Spirit, invisible Force; only like a little Cloud-image, or Armida’s Palace, air-built, does the Actual body itself forth from the great mystic Deep.’

The Centre of Indifference

Wondering how “the inner man of Teufelsdröckh” prospered “under so much outward shifting”, and noting that “Experience is the grand spiritual Doctor”, the Editor goes on to quote Teufelsdröckh as saying:

‘At length, after so much roasting . . . I was what you might name calcined. Pray only that it be not rather, as is the more frequent issue, reduced to a caput-mortuum! But in any case, by mere dint of practice, I had grown familiar with many things. Wretchedness was still wretched; but I could now partly see through it, and despise it. Which highest mortal, in this inane Existence, had I not found a Shadow-hunter, or Shadow-hunted; and, when I looked through his brave garnitures, miserable enough? Thy wishes have all been sniffed aside, thought I: but what, had they even been all granted! Did not the Boy Alexander weep because he had not two Planets to conquer; or a whole Solar System; or after that, a whole Universe? Ach Gott, when I gazed into these Stars, have they not looked-down on me as if with pity, from their serene spaces; like Eyes glistening with heavenly tears.”

134. Hannah: 122. See above, Ch. IV.
135. Allingham: 253 (Entry for 12 Jan. 1877). See above, Ch. IV.
136. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 137, par. 4.
138. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 137, par. 4.
139. Ibid. For Armida, cf. OCEL, s.v. Armida, “in Tasso’s Jerusalem Delivered, the niece of Hidraotes, king of Damascus, a powerful magician”. The palace of the enchantress “was a by-word of beauty and luxury” (Parr, ed., Sartor: 251).
140. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 145, par. 20.
over the little lot of man! Thousands of human generations, all as noisy as our own, have been swallowed-up of Time, and there remains no wreck of them any more; and Arcturus and Orion and Sirius and the Pleiades are still shining in their courses, clear and young, as when the Shepherd first noted them in the plain of Shinar. Pshaw! what is this paltry little Dog-cage of an Earth; what art thou that sittest whining there? Thou art still Nothing, Nobody: true; but who, then, is Something, Somebody? For thee the Family of Man has no use; it rejects thee; thou art wholly as a dissevered limb: so be it; perhaps it is better so!'\[141\

The Editor here comments: “Too-heavy-laden Teufelsdröckh! Yet surely his bands are loosening; one day he will hurl the burden far from him, and bound forth free and with a second youth.”\[142\] And he goes on to quote Teufelsdröckh as saying: ‘This . . . was the CENTRE OF INDIFFERENCE I had now reached; through which whoso travels from the Negative Pole to the Positive must necessarily pass.’\[143\]

Teufelsdröckh’s statements quoted above, should be read in conjunction with the following “glimpses”, “faithfully imparted”\[144\] by the Editor:

He [Teufelsdröckh] says: ‘The hot Harmattan wind had raged itself out; its howl went silent within me; and the long-deafened soul could now hear. I paused in my wild wanderings; and sat me down to wait, and consider; for it was as if the hour of change drew nigh. I seemed to surrender, to renounce utterly, and say: Fly, then, false shadows of Hope; I will chase you no more, I will believe you no more. And ye too, haggard spectres of Fear, I care not for you; ye too are all shadows and a lie. Let me rest here: for I am way-weary and life-weary; I will rest here, were it but to die: to die or to live is alike to me; alike insignificant.’—And again: ‘Here, then, as I lay in that CENTRE OF INDIFFERENCE; cast, doubtless by benignant upper Influence, into a healing sleep, the heavy dreams rolled gradually away, and I awoke to a new Heaven and a new Earth. The first preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self (Selbst-tödtung), had been happily accomplished; and my mind’s eyes were now unsealed, and its hands ungyved.’\[145\]

We shall now deal with the question how, in Teufelsdröckh’s quest for wholeness, the Centre of Indifference has to be understood.
1. Critics: Teufelsdröckh’s State of Mind during the Wanderings Following the Incident in
the *Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer*

Speaking of the Centre of Indifference as Teufelsdröckh’s state of mind after his wanderings
through the world, MacMechan writes in his edition of *Sartor* (1896): “Through much
experience of life he [Teufelsdröckh] attains to the ‘Centre of Indifference,’ which is realizing
the nothingness of life, not only for himself, but for the race. The stars burn and brand this
truth into him...”

In Carlyle criticism, however, the Centre of Indifference is generally said to refer to
Teufelsdröckh’s state of mind during the wanderings following the incident in the *Rue Saint-
Thomas de l’Enfer*.

Thus, in *Guide to Carlyle* (1920; rpt. 1969), Ralli writes: “From the centre of indifference,
or the numbness caused by pain, it [the soul] turns to the Not-me, to that which is outside itself,
for wholesomer food.” And in his edition of *Sartor* (1937), Harrold maintains that, not yet
“having seized upon any creative channels for the development of his personality and for the
intellectual construction of his new universe (or his new religious outlook)”, Teufelsdröckh,
after the incident in the *Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer*, finds himself “in the Centre of
Indifference, in a state of torpor, insensibility, and resigned sadness”, wandering on “in
moral indifference”, “midway between the opposite poles of unimaginative mechanistic
realism, and inspired dynamic idealism”, until “he has decided ‘to renounce utterly’” and
“he awakens ‘to a new Heaven and a new Earth’”.

In *Beyond the Tragic Vision* (1962), Peckham interprets the Centre of Indifference as
Teufelsdröckh’s “socially alienated wandering with but the self restored” by the incident in
the *Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer*. And in *Sartor Called Resartus* (1965), Tennyson refers to
the Centre of Indifference as the period in which Teufelsdröckh, after the incident in the *Rue
Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer*, “is far from spiritually secure; there are still times of misery and
doubt; but there are signs of regeneration: ‘In a word, he is now, if not ceasing, yet intermitting
to “eat his own heart”; and clutches round him outwardly on the Not-me for wholesomer
food’”.

Having noted that, in magnetism, “the ‘point of indifference’ is that point midway between
the Negative and Positive Poles of a magnet when there is neither attraction nor repulsion”,
Tarr goes on to say in the Strouse Edition of *Sartor* (2000): “However, Teufelsdröckh has never
been in such a fixed state, but rather has always been on the move travelling between the poles
of ‘The Everlasting No’ and ‘The Everlasting Yea’.” And commenting on “Tennyson’s view

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gazed into these Stars’).
*Sartor Resartus* (1913; rpt. 1931), see above.
149. Ibid.: xlv.
150. Ibid.: 349, col. 2.
151. Ibid.: xlv.
152. Ibid.: xlv.
74–75.
that ‘The Everlasting No’ (negation) represents the ‘turning point’ in Teufelsdröckh’s spiritual
development, and [that] it is at this point that Teufelsdröckh enters into ‘Centre of Indifference’
(defiance), which is followed by the ‘climax’ in ‘The Everlasting Yea’ (realization),” Tarr writes:

It is more likely that the triad is interdependent and constantly in flux; that is, “Centre of Indifference” occurs
toward the end of “The Everlasting No” and continues into the beginning of “The Everlasting Yea,” making
it the center and the link of the triadic structure rather than merely the second of three movements in a linear
progression. . . . This structural relationship, constructed of intersecting cycles, allows Carlyle to make the point
that “No” (negation) and “Yea” (realization) have no meaning without “Centre” (defiance). . . . Put in magnetic
terms, the negative and the positive poles achieve interdependent harmony through the tension created by the
ever-adjusting center between the two opposing poles . . .

According to Tarr, “The ‘Centre of Indifference’ is that nebulous state between denial
(‘The Everlasting No’) and affirmation (‘The Everlasting Yea’). Teufelsdröckh is now in a state
of waiting; he has defied negation th[r]ough Hope, but he has yet to discover the final path
to spiritual Freedom through corporeal Work. He is now looking outward toward a state of
action rather than within toward introspection. He observes but does not react. The ‘Centre of
Indifference’ is for him a type of socio-moral-political purgatory; he knows what he must do,
but he does not know how to do it.”

2. My Interpretation: Teufelsdröckh’s State of Mind after the Wanderings Which Followed
the Incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’

Speaking of ‘the CENTRE of INDIFFERENCE’ he ‘had now reached; through which whoso travels
from the Negative Pole to the Positive must necessarily pass’,158 Teufelsdröckh says:
— that his ‘wishes have all been sniffed aside, . . . but what, had they all been granted!’;
— that he is ‘still Nothing, Nobody, . . . but who, then, is Something, Somebody?’;
— and that, for him, ‘the Family of Man has no use’, rejecting him, so that he is ‘wholly as a
dissevered limb’, of which he says: ‘so be it; perhaps it is better so!’

Having thus spoken, in the “Centre of Indifference” chapter, of the CENTRE of INDIFFERENCE
he ‘had now reached’, Teufelsdröckh goes on to say in the “Everlasting Yea” chapter of Sartor:
— that he ‘paused’ in his ‘wild wanderings’;
— that ‘it was as if the hour of change drew nigh’;
— that he ‘seemed to surrender, to renounce utterly’;
— that he ‘will chase . . . no more’, ‘believe . . . no more’, the ‘false shadows of Hope’;
— and that he cares not for the ‘haggard spectres of Fear’, which ‘too are all shadows and a lie’;
— and he concludes his remarks by saying: ‘Let me rest here: for I am way-weary and life-
weary; I will rest here, were it but to die: to die or to live is alike to me; alike insignificant.’

From the above, it is clear that, when Teufelsdröckh says: ‘This . . . was the CENTRE
of INDIFFERENCE I had now reached; through which whoso travels from the Negative Pole to the

156. Ibid.: 346.
157. Ibid.: 356.
158. SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 146, par. 22.
159. Cf. ibid.: 145–46, par. 20.
Positive must necessarily pass,\footnote{SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 146, par. 22. Cf. also SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 149, par. 5 (“Here, then, as I lay in that CENTRE OF INDIFFERENCE”).} he is evidently speaking of the neutral state of mind reached by him after the ‘wanderings’ that followed the incident in the ‘Rue Saint-Thomas de l’Enfer’, and before his experience of the Divine Idea of the World ‘on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains’. This neutral state of mind is described by him, as seen above, as the state of mind in which to have all his wishes ‘sniffed aside’—as, up to now, they ‘have all been’—or to have them ‘all granted’;\footnote{Ibid.: 145, par. 20.} to be ‘Nothing, Nobody’—as he ‘still’ is—or to be ‘Something, Somebody’;\footnote{SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 149, par. 5. For Carlyle reaching this state of mind in 1825, see above, Ch. IV.} ‘to die or to live’—are ‘alike’ to him; ‘alike insignificant’.\footnote{SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1.}

In “The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1928), Jung makes clear, as seen above, that the ego has to “draw back” before “the self”, or “the ‘God within us’”, can be experienced.\footnote{SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 153, par. 15.} Similarly, in the “Everlasting Yea” chapter, Teufelsdröckh points out that the ego in him ‘needed to be annihilated’\footnote{SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 149, par. 5, where Teufelsdröckh speaks of the ‘first preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self (Selbst-tödtung)’ as having ‘been happily accomplished’.}—as had now ‘been happily accomplished’\footnote{Ibid.: 153, par. 15. See also below.}—before ‘the Godlike that is in Man’\footnote{SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1.} could be recognized by him, i.e., before he could experience the Divine Idea of the World, referred to in Sartor as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”.\footnote{SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 148, par. 4.} To this ‘glorious revolution’\footnote{SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1.} ‘on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains’,\footnote{SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 148, par. 7.} we shall now turn our attention.

**IV. Experience of the Divine Idea of the World**

Speaking of the “innermost self of every man and animal, of plants and crystals”, Jung writes in *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944): “The innermost self of every man and animal, of plants and crystals, is God, but infinitely diminished and approximated to his individual form. In approximating to man he is also ‘personal’, like an antique god, and hence ‘in the likeness of a man’…”\footnote{Psychology and Alchemy (1944), CW 12, par. 44. On 9 February 1960, Jung wrote to A. D. Cornell: “So far as we can see, the collective unconscious is identical with Nature to the extent that Nature herself, including matter, is unknown to us” (Letters, II: 540, trans.).} Of the symbols of the Self, Jacobi says in *The Psychology of C. G. Jung*: “According to an individual’s conscious situation and degree of psychic development, everything in creation, whether big or little, lowly or sublime, abstract or concrete, can become a symbol of the self... But it is the mandalas which most eloquently and aptly symbolize a united synthetic view of the psyche.”\footnote{Jacobi: 135–36.} And of the “basic design” of the mandalas:

The mandalas all show the same typical arrangement and symmetry of the pictorial elements. Their basic design is a circle or square (most often a square) symbolizing ‘wholeness’, and in all of them the relation to a centre is
Teufelsdörckh’s description of the panorama from ‘the high table-land’ may be compared to the basic design of the mandala, the ‘four azure-flowing curtains’,—namely, of the Four azure Winds’ being comparable to the quaternity, and the ‘Schreckhorn’ to the centre of the mandala. Teufelsdörckh’s description reads:

‘Beautiful it was to sit there, as in my skyey Tent, musing and meditating; on the high table-land, in front of the Mountains; over me, as roof, the azure Dome, and around me, for walls, four azure-flowing curtains,—namely, of the Four azure Winds, on whose bottom-fringes also I have seen gilding. And then to fancy the fair Castles that stood sheltered in these Mountain hollows; with their green flower-lawns, and white dames and damosels, lovely enough: or better still, the straw-roofed Cottages, wherein stood many a Mother baking bread, with her children round her:—all hidden and protectingly folded-up in the valley-folds; yet there and alive, as sure as if I beheld them. Or to see, as well as fancy, the nine Towns and Villages, that lay round my mountain-seat, which, in still weather, were wont to speak to me (by their steeple-bells) with metal tongue; and, in almost all weather, proclaimed their vitality by repeated Smoke-clouds; whereon, as on a culinary horologe, I might read the hour of the day. For it was the smoke of cookery, as kind housewives at morning, midday, eventide, were boiling their husbands’ kettles; and ever a blue pillar rose up into the air, successively or simultaneously, from each of the nine, saying, as plainly as smoke could say: Such and such a meal is getting ready here. Not uninteresting! For you have the whole Borough, with all its love-makings and scandal-mongeries, contentions and contentments, as in miniature, and could cover it all with your hat.—If, in my wide Wayfarings, I had learned to look into the business of the World in its details, here perhaps was the place for combining it into general propositions, and deducing inferences therefrom.

‘Often also could I see the black Tempest marching in anger through the Distance: round some Schreckhorn, as yet grim-blue, would the eddying vapour gather, and there tumultuously eddy, and flow down like a mad witch’s hair; till, after a space, it vanished, and, in the clear sunbeam, your Schreckhorn stood smiling grim-white, for the vapour had held snow. How thou fermentest and elaboratest, in thy great fermenting-vat and laboratory of an Atmosphere, of a World, O Nature!—Or what is Nature? Ha! why do I not name thee God? Art not thou the “Living Garment of God”? O Heavens, is it, in very deed, Hr, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?’

Teufelsdörckh here comes to see “the sacred mystery of the Universe . . . That divine mystery, which lies everywhere in all Beings, ‘the Divine Idea of the World’.” Teufelsdörckh’s description of the panorama from ‘the high table-land’, therefore, symbolizes wholeness through union with the Divine Idea of the World, i.e., with the invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power in the Unknown Deep of nature, the experience of which is indistinguishable from the experience of God, so that he does not hesitate to call the Unknown Deep of nature, in mythic language, God.

Impact of the Experience
In An Introduction to Jung’s Psychology, Fordham notes that the “experience of the God-image or archetype of the self” is “at once the most vital and the most overwhelming that can happen
to man”. Similarly, of his coming to see Nature as ‘the “living Garment of God” ’, and of the ‘Fore-shadows’ of ‘that Truth’ falling ‘mysteriously’ over his soul, Teufelsdromkh says:

‘Fore-shadows, call them rather fore-splendours, of that Truth, and Beginning of Truths, fell mysteriously over my soul. Sweeter than Dayspring to the Shipwrecked in Nova Zembla; ah, like the mother’s voice to her little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown tumults; like soft streamings of celestial music to my too-exasperated heart, came that Evangel. The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but godlike, and my Father’s!’

**Brotherhood with ‘fellow man’**

Of the “individuated” person’s feeling of relatedness to the world, Fordham writes: “The individuated person . . . through his acceptance of the unconscious has, while remaining aware of his unique personality, realized his brotherhood with all living things, even with inorganic matter and the cosmos itself.” Teufelsdromkh, on his part, ‘now first’ has a feeling of brotherhood with his ‘fellow man’:

‘With other eyes, too, could I now look upon my fellow man: with an infinite Love, an infinite Pity. Poor, wandering, wayward man! Art thou not tried, and beaten with stripes, even as I am? Ever, whether thou bear the royal mantle or the beggar’s gabardine, art thou not so weary, so heavy-laden; and thy Bed of Rest is but a Grave. O my Brother, my Brother, why cannot I shelter thee in my bosom, and wipe away all tears from thy eyes!—Truly, the din of many-voiced Life, which, in this solitude, with the mind’s organ, I could hear, was no longer a maddening discord, but a melting one; like inarticulate cries, and sobbings of a dumb creature, which in the ear of Heaven are prayers. The poor Earth, with her poor joys, was now my needy Mother, not my cruel Stepdame; Man, with his cruel Wants and so mean Endeavours, had become the dearer to me; and even for his sufferings and his sins, I now first named him Brother.’

**The Everlasting Yea**

Of ‘the whim’ he had of ‘Happiness’, Teufelsdromkh says:

‘. . . What is this that, ever since earliest years, thou hast been fretting and fuming, and lamenting and self-tormenting, on account of? Say it in a word: is it not because thou art not happy? Because the Thou (sweet gentleman) is not sufficiently honoured, nourished, soft-bedded, and lovingly cared-for? Foolish soul! What Act of Legislature was there that thou shouldst be Happy? A little while ago thou hadst no right to be at all. What if thou wert born and predestined not to be Happy, but to be Unhappy! Art thou nothing other than a Vulture, then, that fliest through the Universe seeking after somewhat to eat; and shrieking dolefully because carrion enough is not given thee? Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe.’

And of the value of ‘Afflictions’, the ‘Annihilation of Self’ and the recognition of ‘the Godlike that is in Man’:

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179. Fordham: 73.
183. For Teufelsdromkh on ‘the whim we have of Happiness’, cf. ibid.: 152, par. 12.
184. Ibid.: 153, par. 14. Cf. the preceding paragraph, reading: ‘Well did the Wisest of our time write: “It is only with Renunciation (Entsagen) that Life, properly speaking, can be said to begin”.’ Cf. **WM** 2: 334 (Travels, XIV, par. 61), where mention is made of “the high meaning of Renunciation, by which alone the first real entrance into life is conceivable”.

'Es leuchtet mir ein, I see a glimpse of it! . . . there is in man a HIGHER than Love of Happiness: he can do without Happiness, and instead thereof find Blessedness! Was it not to preach-forth this same HIGHER that sages and martyrs, the Poet and the Priest, in all times, have spoken and suffered; bearing testimony, through life and through death, of the Godlike that is in Man, and how in the Godlike only has he Strength and Freedom? Which God-inspired Doctrine art thou also honoured to be taught; O Heavens! and broken with manifold merciful Afflictions, even till thou become contrite, and learn it! O, thank thy Destiny for these; thankfully bear what yet remain: thou hadst need of them; the Self in thee needed to be annihilated. By benignant fever-paroxysms is Life rooting out the deep-seated chronic Disease, and triumphs over Death. On the roaring billows of Time, thou art not engulfed, but borne aloft into the azure of Eternity. Love not Pleasure; love God. This is the EVERLASTING YEA, wherein all contradiction is solved: wherein whoso walks and works, it is well with him."185

With regard to the split between conscious and unconscious found in modern life, Jung writes in “Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious” (1934/1954), as seen above: “Our concern with the unconscious has become a vital question for us—a question of spiritual being or non-being.”186 Similarly, in Sartor, the effect of the disjunction or split between the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man” is called by Carlyle the Everlasting No, defined above as a state of spiritual paralysis, i.e., as a state of existence in which there is “nothing left but a Mechanical life”,187 whilst the effect of the conjunction between the “Mechanical” and “Dynamical nature of man” is called by him the Everlasting Yea, which may be defined as a state of spiritual wholeness through union with the Divine Idea of the World—or “spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”188—which “to discern”, “to seize”, and “live wholly in”, “is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom”.189

‘a new Mythus’

Of the answers to “the question of meaning”, and of Jung’s effort to clothe the old truths of “the Christian myth” in “the garment of a new yet immemorial myth”, Jaffé writes in The Myth of Meaning in the Work of C. G. Jung:

Every statement about meaning, whether it be an hypothesis or a confession of faith, is a myth, a product partly of consciousness and partly of the unconscious. But modern man is too rational, too smart, too much of a know-all, too far removed from nature and her contradictions to take his own intimations or the images arising from his psyche seriously. He has forgotten how to create myths, and because of this he has failed to go on building the Christian myth. This was the gravamen of Jung’s “protest” against contemporary Christianity. He himself applied his research to the task of understanding the Bible and dogma anew through the psychology of the unconscious. The old truths were clothed in the garment of a new yet immemorial myth which . . . draws the ordinary sinful man into the divine drama. That is why the myth concerns him in a very special way. For Jung it became an experience of meaning.190

185. SR, “The Everlasting Yea”: 153–54, par. 15. For Teufelsdröckh’s ‘Annihilation of Self (Selbst-tödtung)’, see above.
187. HH, “The Hero as Man of Letters”: 171, par. 18 (“Spiritual Paralysis, I say, nothing left but a Mechanical life, was the characteristic of the [18th] century”).
188. SR, “Circumspective”: 214, par. 1.
189. “State of German Literature” (1827), E 1: 58, par. 34.
190. Jaffé: 148. “There is no objectively valid answer to the question of meaning; for, besides objective thinking, subjective valuation also plays its part. Each and every formulation is a myth that man creates in order to answer the unanswerable” (ibid.: 12).
Teufelsdröckh’s concern, too, is ‘to embody the divine Spirit’ of the ‘antiquated’ ‘Mythus of the Christian Religion’ ‘in a new Mythus, in a new vehicle and vesture’:

‘Cease, my much-respected Herr von Voltaire . . . shut thy sweet voice; for the task appointed thee seems finished. Sufficiently hast thou demonstrated this proposition, considerable or otherwise: That the Mythus of the Christian Religion looks not in the eighteenth century as it did in the eighth. . . . But what next? Wilt thou help us to embody the divine Spirit of that Religion in a new Mythus, in a new vehicle and vesture, that our Souls, otherwise too like perishing, may live?’

**Duty**

To a person wishing “to know how one *ought* to live”, Jung writes:

If you always do the next thing that needs to be done, you will go most safely and sure-footedly along the path prescribed by your unconscious. Then it is naturally no help at all to speculate about how you ought to live. And then you know, too, that you cannot know it, but quietly do the next and most necessary thing. So long as you think you don’t yet know what this is, you still have too much money to spend in useless speculation. But if you do with conviction the next and most necessary thing, you are always doing something meaningful and intended by fate.

Similarly, of the importance of the ‘precept . . . “Do the Duty which lies nearest thee”’, Teufelsdröckh says:

‘. . . Conviction, were it never so excellent, is worthless till it convert itself into Conduct. Nay properly Conviction is not possible till then; inasmuch as all Speculation is by nature endless, formless, a vortex amid vortices: only by a felt indubitable certainty of Experience does it find any centre to revolve round, and so fashion itself into a system. Most true is it, as a wise man teaches us, that “Doubt of any sort cannot be removed except by Action.” On which ground, too, let him who gropes painfully in darkness or uncertain light, and prays vehemently that the dawn may ripen into day, lay this other precept well to heart, which to me was of invaluable service: “Do the Duty which lies nearest thee,” which thou knowest to be a Duty! Thy second Duty will already have become clearer.’

Commenting on Jung’s statement: “. . . if you do with conviction the next and most necessary thing, you are always doing something meaningful and intended by fate”, Jaffé writes: “So Jung once described simplicity in daily life. ‘But simple things are always the most difficult’ is the corollary that recurs in many places in his work. Simplicity is a great art, because it is in constant danger of being wrecked in collision with the world or by unconsciousness, but it remains a goal. It brings that original, transcendental wholeness of the self into reality once its opposites become conscious and its multitudinous aspects are made one again.” In “Boswell’s Life of Johnson” (1832), Carlyle, on his part, describes the “knowledge of the transcendental,
immeasurable character of Duty” as “the basis of all Gospels, the essence of all Religion: he who with his whole soul knows not this, as yet knows nothing, as yet is properly nothing”. 196

Therapeutic Effect
Of the therapeutic effect of individuation, Jung says in “The Development of Personality” (1934):

Just as the great personality acts upon society to liberate, to redeem, to transform, and to heal, so the birth of personality in oneself has a therapeutic effect. It is as if a river that had run to waste in sluggish side-streams and marshes suddenly found its way back to its proper bed, or as if a stone lying on a germinating seed were lifted away so that the shoot could begin its natural growth. 197

Describing the therapeutic effect of his quest for wholeness, Teufelsdröckh, on his part, refers to what ‘vision’ means for the body—the sound eye, like a lamp, showing the body its way—and what the creation of ‘Light’ meant for the universe:

‘But it is with man’s Soul as it was with Nature: the beginning of Creation is—Light. Till the eye have vision, the whole members are in bonds. Divine moment, when over the tempest-tost Soul, as once over the wild-weltering Chaos, it is spoken: Let there be Light! Ever to the greatest that has felt such moment, is it not miraculous and God-announcing; even as, under simpler figures, to the simplest and least. The mad primeval Discord is hushed; the rudely-jumbled conflicting elements bind themselves into separate Firmaments: deep silent rock-foundations are built beneath; and the skyey vault with its everlasting Luminaries above: instead of a dark wasteful Chaos, we have a blooming, fertile, heaven-encompassed World.

‘I too could now say to myself: Be no longer a Chaos, but a World, or even Worldkin. Produce! Produce! Were it but the pitifullest infinitesimal fraction of a Product, produce it, in God’s name! ‘Tis the utmost thou hast in thee: out with it, then. Up, up! Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy whole might. Work while it is called Today; for the Night cometh, wherein no man can work.’

“Conversion”
Of “the birth of the self” in the final stage of individuation, Jacobi says: “For the conscious personality the birth of the self [or “the ‘God within us’ ”] means a shift of its psychic centre, and consequently an entirely different attitude toward, and view of, life—in other words a ‘transformation’ in the fullest sense of the word.”199 Similarly, in the “Pause” chapter of Sartor, the Editor writes that Teufelsdröckh has now reached “a certain clearer state of what he himself seems to consider as Conversion”; 200

197. “The Development of Personality” (1934), CW 17, par. 317. Cf. ibid., par. 308 (“Only the man who can consciously assent to the power of the inner voice becomes a personality”). Cf. also Jacobi: 105–07.
199. Jacobi: 127. Cf. “The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1928), CW 7, par. 399 (“It [the self] might equally well be called the ‘God within us’ ”). Cf. also “Jung and Religious Belief”, CW 18, par. 1624 (“Individuation is the life in God”). See above, Ch. IV. In The Myth of Meaning in the Work of C. G. Jung, Jaffé notes that “the central archetype of the self . . . ‘draws the subject under its spell’ and finally brings with it ‘a depth and fullness of meaning’, not only when this archetype is acknowledged as a transcendental power, but above all when life is devoted to its realisation” (Jaffé: 21–22, quoting “On the Nature of the Psyche”, par. 405. Cf. Jaffé: 159, n. 32).
‘Blame not the word,’ says he, ‘rejoice rather that such a word, signifying such a thing, has come to light in our modern Era, though hidden from the wisest Ancients. The Old World knew nothing of Conversion; instead of an *Ecce Homo*, they had only some *Choice of Hercules*. It was a new-attained progress in the Moral Development of man: hereby has the Highest come home to the bosoms of the most Limited; what to Plato was but a hallucination, and to Socrates a chimera, is now clear and certain to your Zinzendorfs, your Wesleys, and the poorest of their Pietists and Methodists.’

It should here be noted, however, that, whilst the Methodist’s and Pietist’s conversion can be defined as “a spiritual change from sinfulness, ungodliness, or worldliness to love of God and pursuit of holiness,” Teufelsdröckh’s conversion may be defined as a shift of “the centre of gravity” of his “total personality” from the ego to the Divine Idea of the World—or “spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”—which “to discern”, “to seize”, and “live wholly in”, “is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom.”

“Authorship” as “divine calling”

Having noted that Teufelsdröckh has now reached “a certain clearer state of what he himself seems to consider as Conversion”, the Editor writes: “It is here, then, that the spiritual majority of Teufelsdröckh commences: we are henceforth to see him ‘work in well-doing,’ with the spirit and clear aims of a Man. He has discovered that the Ideal Workshop he so panted for is even this same Actual ill-furnished Workshop he has so long been stumbling in.” The Editor then goes on to quote Teufelsdröckh as saying:

‘Tools? Hast thou not a Brain, furnished, furnishable with some glimmerings of Light; and three fingers to hold a Pen withal? Never since Aaron’s rod went out of practice, or even before it, was there such a wonder-working Tool: greater than all recorded miracles have been performed by Pens. For strangely in this so solid-seeming World, which nevertheless is in continual restless flux, it is appointed that Sound, to appearance the most fleeting, should be the most continuing of all things. The Word is well said to be omnipotent in this world; man, thereby divine, can create as by a Fiat.’

He then “accepts Authorship as his divine calling”, ‘Awake, arise! Speak forth what is in thee; what God has given thee, what the Devil shall not take away. Higher task than that of Priesthood was allotted to no man: wert thou but the meanest in that sacred Hierarchy, is it not honour enough therein to spend and be spent?’

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201. Ibid. For Carlyle referring to the conversion experience of “Methodist people”, cf. also the Hoddam Hill account of 1869 (*CL* 4: 142). See above, Ch. IV.


204. SR, “Circumspective”: 214, par. 1.

205. “State of German Literature” (1827), E 1: 58, par. 34.


207. SR, “Pause”: 158, par. 2.

208. Ibid.: 157, summary.

CHAPTER X
THE TITLE “SARTOR RESARTUS”

Meaning of the Title “Sartor Resartus”
1. Critics
   a. “Sartor Resartus”, i.e., “the Tailor Re-tailored, or German Philosophy with a new application”

Of Sartor Resartus and its title, Henry Larkin, in Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life (1886), writes:

... essentially it [Sartor Resartus] is an importation from Germany; a wonderfully successful attempt to embody in a practically suggestive form, for the use of English readers, the entire German Transcendental Literature, which centred and culminated in Goethe... all visible or imaginable appearances are regarded as the covering or symbolic clothing of whatever reality may be hidden within them. It was this grand and pregnant thought which suggested to Carlyle his quaint notion of the ‘Philosophy of Clothes,’ which ‘Sartor Resartus’ (the Tailor Re-tailored, or German Philosophy with a new application) professes to elucidate.1

According to Larkin, “Teufelsdröckh... stands in Carlyle’s imagination for no individual man. ... Least of all... is Teufelsdröckh a portraiture of himself.”2 Teufelsdröckh, Larkin maintains, “was intended, and expected to be understood, as a symbolic embodiment of the essential Literary Life of Germany, beginning, unrecognized, in the times of Frederick the Great, and culminating in the maturest world-wide wisdom of Goethe”.3

In Interpretations of Literature (1916), Hearn’s comment on the title “Sartor Resartus” reads:

The name of the book means “the tailor repatched,” an extraordinary title, but not out of keeping with the extraordinary subject, which is the Philosophy of Clothes. And the meaning of the title becomes obvious before we read very far. To re-carpenter a carpenter or to re-tailor a tailor, means simply to do the man’s work over again better than it was done at first. We now can see that Carlyle wishes it to be understood that he is going to do over again something which has not previously been well done—and that something is the philosophy of clothes. Here I may observe that it seems to me the whole idea of the book from beginning to end was inspired by a single stanza of the great poet Goethe—

In Being’s floods, in Action’s storm
I walk and work, above, beneath,
Work and weave in endless motion!
   Birth and Death,
   An Infinite Ocean;
   A seizing and giving
   The fire of Living;
’Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the Garment thou seest Him by.

2. Larkin: 16.
3. Ibid.: 38.
This is the song of the Earth Spirit in “Faust,” and it really contains the germ of all the philosophy in “Sartor Resartus,” though only in potential form. The meaning of course is that the phenomenal universe is only the visible garment of the invisible infinite—a thought quite Buddhist in itself, and also quite true as a scientific fact, considering the mystery of matter. Nearly all the great thoughts of the world are thus in harmony; it is only in small ideas that I can find disagreement.⁴

Speaking of “the second part—the autobiographical part” of *Sartor*, Hearn says: “The philosophical value of the biography lies in the fact that it represents the experience of a great number of intelligent and generous-hearted persons able to think deeply. It is not because Carlyle paints his own history, so much as because that history is the history of many men.”⁵

b. “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor”—i.e., Teufelsdröckh as Author of *Die Kleider*—“Patched” (by the Editor)

MacMechan, in his edition of *Sartor* (1896), comments on the title “Sartor Resartus”:

In the very first chapter, the reader encounters a German professor and his book. The name of the book is given in full with a translation appended. Even such details as the name of the publishers, the place and date of publication are added, but they are discreetly allowed to remain undisturbed in the original. . . . The quaint Latin rubric [“Sartor Resartus”] which Carlyle pitched upon implies that his book is secondary, derivative and based upon the German treatise. It is hardly a stretch of language to call the discoverer of the clothes-philosophy “tailor,” or the rehabilitation of his theories by the “English editor,” “patching.” But the title is not quite accurate. The first and third books do indeed consist ostensibly of extracts from *Die Kleider*, with introductions, comments, and explanations; but in the second book . . . the clothes-philosophy gives place altogether to the life of the clothes-philosopher.⁶

c. “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor”—i.e., Teufelsdröckh as Author of *Die Kleider* and of the Account of His Life—”Patched” (by the Editor)

In his Introduction to the Everyman Edition of *Sartor* (1908; reissue 1984), Hudson says of the form of *Sartor* and the title of the book:

. . . the work [*Sartor Resartus*] took the form of a “Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh,” and as such it was offered to the world. Here, of course, we reach the explanation of its fantastic title—"Sartor Resartus," or the Tailor Patched: the tailor being the great German “Clothes-philosopher,” and the patching being done by Carlyle as his English editor.⁷

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And in Parr’s edition of *Sartor* (1913; rpt. 1931), the comment on the title reads: “SARTOR RESARTUS. The Tailor Patched. The tailor is Teufelsdröckh, in recognition of his Clothes-philosophy: the patching is done by Carlyle in his capacity as editor.”

d. The Title “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Patched”, Suggesting the Book’s “patch-work (that is, serial) appearance in *Fraser’s Magazine*”

On 27 May 1833, Carlyle, as seen above, offered MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II to Fraser for serial publication in *Fraser’s Magazine*, mentioning, at the same time, that he “might see right to alter the title a little”. In the Strouse Edition of *Sartor* (2000), Tarr says that the new title, “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Patched”, “suggests its [the book’s] patch-work (that is, serial) appearance in *Fraser’s Magazine*”.

e. “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor”—i.e., Man as “clothes-making and clothes-wearing animal”—“Retailored” (Furnished with New Clothes)

Harrold, in his edition of *Sartor Resartus* (1937), says of the title “Sartor Resartus”:

The informing theme of *Sartor Resartus* is suggested by the meaning of its Latin title. “The Tailor Re-tailored” deals with a conception of the world which is as old as Oriental thought, and as familiar as the Biblical saying: “As a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed.” . . .

As a Calvinist without Calvin’s theology, he [Carlyle] developed a transcendentalism, more realistic than subjective, on the thought-patterns of his native faith. *Sartor Resartus* is thus a brilliant metaphorical adaptation of German idealism, in its terms and concepts, to the surviving intellectual design bequeathed by Calvinism when shorn of its dogmas. . . . the chief elements in the Calvinist faith . . . enabled Carlyle to transform into prophecy and into materials of great literary beauty a number of German ideas on man, the world, history, heroes, symbols, knowledge, ethics, and social relations.

And more succinctly: “He [Teufelsdröckh] has, from the start, demanded new forms, new concepts, new institutions, ‘clothes’ for the modern mind. He has prophesied man re-clothed, the tailor re-tailored, sartor resartus.”

Having stated that Carlyle’s “theory of clothes, their origin and influence, is a theory of symbols”, Peckham, in *Beyond the Tragic Vision* (1962), explains the meaning of the title “Sartor Resartus”, translated by him as “The Tailor Retailored”, as follows: “Man’s clothes are symbols. In creating those clothes, he is a tailor. But his clothes wear out. He must, therefore, retailor himself, make himself new clothes. At certain periods in history his most important clothes . . . are in rags.” And in *A Carlyle Reader* (1969), Tennyson comments on the title of *Sartor*:

The central idea of the work lies in the title, which means the “tailor retailed,” or the “patcher repatched,” whereby Carlyle undertakes to refashion common ideas about life and society. . . . When . . . the outward forms no longer conform to any transcendent reality, the time is out of joint. Such is the condition of the contemporary

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9. Tarr in *SR*, S.E. (2000): 248. For TC to J. Fraser, 27 May 1833, see above, Ch. VII.
11. Ibid.: li.
world. Modern society is garbed in old clothes that increasingly fail to conceal inward emptiness. They must be retailed . . .

f. “Resartus” Linked to “Reserator”
In his Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle’s Writings and Ana (1928), Dyer quotes a Note from a “learned friend” in which “Resartus”, in the title “Sartor Resartus”, is linked to Latin “reserator”. This Note, which is quoted from Dyer in Harrold’s edition of Sartor (1937), in the Appendix “On the Title of Sartor Resartus”, reads as follows:

“Sartor Resartus doubtless means the ‘Tailor Patched,’ but it has, surely, also a secondary meaning, the ‘Clothes Volume Edited’; and thus I was pleased when I noted that the Latin word had of old been used in this secondary sense. The work in question is:

‘Concilia illustrata . . . Conciliorum et colloquiorum . . . omnium . . . consessus . . . acta et decreta . . . sistens, etc., J. L. Ruelius coeptit, J. L. Hartmannus continuavit. 4 vols. in 3. 4° Noribergæ, 1675.’”

The 3rd volume bears the words: “Reserator J. L. Hartmanno.”

Stating that there “is no convincing argument for allowing only one reading of the title”, and adopting “the reading ‘clothes volume edited’, first suggested in Dyer’s Bibliography . . . and included by Harrold, Sartor”, Tennyson, in Sartor Called Resartus (1965), maintains:

... Sartor Resartus means “the tailor retailed,” “the patcher patched,” and the “clothes volume edited.” . . . When once we have stopped thinking of Sartor as either the story of Teufelsdröckh or as a synonym for Die Kleider—with each reading excluding the other—we are in a position to investigate the structural unity of the whole work.

And he goes on to note: “Sartor Resartus is both the retailoring of the tailor and the editing of the clothes volume. It is neither exclusively, and we cannot dispense with the process of the editing.” Of “the change in title” in 1833, Tennyson says:

... if we apprehend rightly the Editor’s role in the movement of Sartor, we see in it the very unifying factor that those who seize upon Teufelsdröckh as subject fail to see. Viewed from the Editor’s standpoint, the change in title is of central significance: the work is no longer “Teufelsdreck,” or even “Thoughts on Clothes,” but the “Clothes Volume Edited” and the “Tailor Retailored.”

13. G. B. Tennyson, ed., A Carlyle Reader (1969): 122–23. In Sartor Called Resartus (1965), Tennyson notes: “The social applications in Book Three were, in Carlyle’s view, never really grasped. The tailor [i.e., according to Tennyson, Teufelsdröckh] has certainly been retailed, but has he also given society a new suit of clothes that it will happily wear?” (Tennyson: 303). For Tennyson, see also below.
15. Dyer: 585, quoting a “learned friend”. In the Strouse Edition of Sartor, Tarr speaks of “Old Latin reseratore (to edit)” (Tarr in SR, S.E.: 453), as if “reseratore” is a verb instead of a noun (“reserator”), for which, see below.
17. Ibid.
19. Ibid.: 175.
20. See above. Cf. also App. VIII, 2.
The Note quoted by Dyer and taken over by Harrold and Tennyson, may here be looked at a little more closely.

Speaking of the title “Sartor Resartus” and referring to Concilia illustrata, begun by J. L. Ruelius and continued by J. L. Hartmannus, “4 vols. in 3”, “Noribergæ, 1675”, and to the fact that the “3rd volume bears the words: ‘Reseratore J. L. Hartmanno’ ”, the “learned friend” quoted by Dyer, maintains “that the Latin word [‘resartus’] had of old been used in this secondary sense” of “edited”, as “the words: ‘Reseratore J. L. Hartmanno’ ” would indicate. In Latin, however, “reserator” is related to “reseū ~āre ~āūi ~āatum, tr. [re-+sera+-o]”, not to “resarcīō ~cīre (~śi) ~cum (~tum), tr. [re-+sarcio]”. Even if “reserator” would have been used in the sense of “editor”, therefore, it would not follow “that the Latin word [‘resartus’] had of old been used in this secondary sense” of “edited”.

With regard to the actual meaning of “reserator”, the following may be noted. In “reseūrē to unbar, unbolt, open, f. re-...+ sera bar, bolt”, “has the same force as Engl. un-”, implying an undoing of some previous action, as in . . . revēlāre to unveil”. In Classical Latin, “reserare” may occur in the sense of “to make known, disclose (secrets or sim.)”, as in Ovid: “augestae reserabo oracula mentis” (“I’ll unlock / Sure oracles of intellect sublime”), and, in Latin, from the fourth century onwards, in the sense of “relate, publish”. In “Reseratore J. L. Hartmanno”, therefore, “reserator” no doubt means “publisher” in the sense of “One who as author, or esp. as editor, gives it [a book or literary work] to the public; ‘one who puts out a book into the world’ (J.). Now rare”, as in: “1726 Swift Gulliver, The Publisher to the Reader. The author of these Travels, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, is my ancient and intimate friend.”

2. My Interpretation

a. “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor”—i.e., the Clothes-maker, Treated by the World ‘as the ninth part of a man’—”Made Whole Again” (by Die Kleider), the Tailor Symbolizing the Poet or Moral Teacher, Found To Be Spiritually Incomplete, but Made Whole Again by Die Kleider

Commenting, in Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life (1886), on the “Tailors” chapter in Sartor, Larkin writes: “Under the symbol of Tailors, or Clothes-makers, Carlyle here gives a brief but vivid picture of the neglect and contumely with which the best moral teachers
and Formers and Re-formers of Society have hitherto been treated."\(^{33}\) And in *The Rhetorical Form of Carlyle's Sartor Resartus* (1972), Brookes states that the “Tailors” chapter “does good-natured honor to tailors and by implication to all who remake the world”,\(^{34}\) and that it “attempts to readjust English values by calling for due attention to the true moral and social leaders”.\(^{35}\)

It will here be seen, however, that, in the “Tailors” chapter of *Sartor*, the sad plight of the Tailor, treated by the world ‘as the ninth part of a man’,\(^{36}\) symbolizes\(^{37}\) that of the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete.\(^{38}\)

In this connection, the following remarks by Carlyle on the modern Poets and moral Teachers may here be looked at first.

Speaking of those men “to whom a higher instinct has been given; who struggle to be persons, not machines”, Carlyle writes in “Characteristics” (1831):

For such men there lie properly two courses open. The lower, yet still an estimable class, take up with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike; keep trimming and trucking between these and Hypocrisy, pubblindly enough, miserably enough. A numerous intermediate class end in Denial; and form a theory that there is no theory; that nothing is certain in the world, except this fact of Pleasure being pleasant; so they try to realise what trifling modicum of Pleasure they can come at, and to live contented therewith, winking hard. Of those we speak not here; but only of the second nobler class, who also have dared to say No, and cannot yet say Yea; but feel that in the No they dwell as in a Golgotha, where life enters not, where peace is not appointed them.\(^ {39}\)

For Carlyle, those who “take up with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike”, are “Sartorial men; ninth-parts of a man”, as is clear from his letter to Emerson of 9 December 1840. Speaking of the adherents of the Oxford Movement, Carlyle says in this letter:

... on the whole are we not the formallest people ever created under this Sun? Cased and overgrown with Formulas, like very lobsters with their shells, from birth upwards; so that in the man we see only his breeches, and believe and swear that wherever a pair of old breeches are there is a man! I declare I could both laugh and cry. These poor good men, merciful, zealous, with many sympathies and thoughts, there do they vehemently appeal to me, *Et tu Brute*? Brother, wilt thou too insist on the breeches being old; not ply a needle among us here?—To the naked Caliban, gigantic, for whom such breeches would not be a glove, who is stalking and groping there in

\(^{33}\) H. Larkin, *Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life* (1886; rpt. 1970): 55. In *Sartor*, the summary of 1858 of the “Tailors” chapter reads: “Injustice done to Tailors, actual and metaphorical. Their rights and great services will one day be duly recognised” (*SR, “Tailors”: 229*). “A letter from Carlyle to Vernon Lushington on October 5, 1857, suggests that Lushington was responsible for at least the first draft of the Summary and Index for both *On Heroes and Sartor Resartus*” (*SR, S.E.: cxx*). Of these Summaries and Indexes, Carlyle writes to Larkin on 5 October 1857: “... of the Summaries & Indexes I know not that there is anything whatever imperfect; but I desire you to examine, and bring them to a conformity (in any point you may find needing it) with your own honest productions and wise methods in that kind” (TC to H. Larkin, in *SR, S.E.: cxxi*, quoting from MS).

\(^{34}\) G. H. Brookes, *The Rhetorical Form of Carlyle’s Sartor Resartus* (1972): 144.

\(^{35}\) Ibid.: 169. Speaking of Carlyle’s “humor, as distinguishing the style of *Sartor*”, MacMechan notes: “Some of his [Carlyle’s] fooling does not seem at all admirable; for instance, in the chapter on tailors. The unwieldy elephant uses all his might to make us mirth, but he wreathes his lithe proboscis in vain” (*MacMechan, ed., *SR: lvi*). Without the correct definition, however, of what the Tailor in the “Tailors” chapter symbolizes (see below), Carlyle’s humour, there, cannot be properly understood.

\(^{36}\) *SR, “Tailors”: 231*, par. 6.


\(^{38}\) See below.

\(^{39}\) “Characteristics” (1831), *E* 3: 31, par. 40.
search of *new* breeches and accoutrements, sure to get them, a[nd] to tread into nonentity whoever hinders him in the search,—they are blind [s i[f] they had no eyes. Sartorial men; ninth-parts of a man:—enough of them. 40

And of those who, instead of taking up “with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike”, “have dared to say No, and cannot yet say Yea”, Carlyle writes in “Characteristics”:  

Hard, for most part, is the fate of such men; the harder the nobler they are. In dim forecasts, wrestles within them the ‘Divine Idea of the World,’ yet will nowhere visibly reveal itself. They have to realise a Worship for themselves, or live unworshipping. The Godlike has vanished from the world; and they, by the strong cry of their soul’s agony, like true wonder-workers, must again evoke its presence. This miracle is their appointed task; which they must accomplish, or die wretchedly: this miracle has been accomplished by such; but not in our land; our land yet knows not of it. Behold a Byron, in melodious tones, ‘cursing his day’: he mistakes earthborn passionate Desire for heaven-inspired Freewill; without heavenly loadstar, rushes madly into the dance of meteoric lights that hover on the mad Mahlstrom; and goes down among its eddies. Hear a Shelley filling the earth with inarticulate wail; like the infinite, inarticulate grief and weeping of forsaken infants. 41

According to Carlyle, in the last “godless two centuries”, 42 ever since the Restoration of 1660, 43 England’s “most melodious Singers have sung as from the throat outwards”:

The Spiritualism of England, for those Godless years, is, as it were, all forgettable. Much has been written: but the perennial Scriptures of Mankind have had small accession: from all English Books, in rhyme or prose, in leather binding or in paper wrappage, how many verses have been added to these? Our most melodious Singers have sung as from the throat outwards: from the inner Heart of Man, from the great Heart of Nature, through no Pope or Philips, has there come any tone. The Oracles have been dumb. In brief, the Spoken Word of England has not been true. The Spoken Word of England turns out to have been trivial; of short endurance; not valuable, not available as a Word, except for the passing day. It has been accordant with transitory Semblance; discordant with eternal Fact. It has been unfortunately not a Word, but a Cant; a helpless involuntary Cant, nay too often a cunning voluntary one: either way, a very mournful Cant; the Voice not of Nature and Fact, but of something other than these. 44

Of the “effort of Nature”, therefore, in the absence of “an inspired Poesy and Faith for Man”, to “become One, become whole” again, Carlyle writes in “Characteristics” (1831):

The doom of the Old has long been pronounced, and irrevocable; the Old has passed away: but, alas, the New appears not in its stead; the Time is still in pangs of travail with the New. . . .

43. Cf. ibid.: 166, par. 1.  
44. Ibid.: 168, par. 5. For Pope’s quarrel with Ambrose Philips (1674–1749) “over the relative merits of their pastoralss”, cf. *OCEL*, s.v. Philips, A.
Such being the condition, temporal and spiritual, of the world at our Epoch, can we wonder that the world ‘listens to itself,’ and struggles and writhes, everywhere externally and internally, like a thing in pain? Nay, is not even this unhealthy action of the world’s Organisation, if the symptom of universal disease, yet also the symptom and sole means of restoration and cure? The effort of Nature, exerting her medicative force to cast-out foreign impediments, and once more become One, become whole? In Practice, still more in Opinion, which is the precursor and prototype of Practice, there must needs be collision, convulsion; much has to be ground away. Thought must needs be Doubt and Inquiry, before it can again be Affirmation and Sacred Precept. Innumerable ‘Philosophies of Man,’ contending in boundless hubbub, must annihilate each other, before an inspired Poesy and Faith for Man can fashion itself together.45

The above remarks by Carlyle on the modern Poets and moral Teachers should be kept in mind when reading the “Tailors” chapter in Sartor, where the sad plight of the Tailor, treated by the world ‘as the ninth part of a man’,46 symbolizes that of the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete.

Of the idea people have about Tailors, Teufelsdröckh says in the “Tailors” chapter of Sartor, or “the concluding page”47 of Die Kleider:

‘An idea has gone abroad, and fixed itself down into a wide-spreading rooted error, that Tailors are a distinct species in Physiology, not Men, but fractional Parts of a Man. Call any one a Schneider (Cutter, Tailor), is it not, in our dislocated, hoodwinked, and indeed delirious condition of Society, equivalent to defying his perpetual fellest enmity?’48

Alluding to the saying, “Nine tailors make a man”,49 Teufelsdröckh points out that the Tailor is a ‘much-injured’ man, whom the world scoffs at and ‘treats with contumely, as the ninth part of a man’,50 and that it will take a long time ‘before Tailors can be admitted to their true prerogatives of manhood’

45. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 32–33, par. 43.
47. Ibid.: 229, par. 1.
48. Ibid.: 230, par. 3. The word “tailor” is an “agent-n. from tāliāre to cut” (OED, s.v. tailor), i.e., from “late pop. and med. L. tāliāre, tallīare, f. talliāre, in cl. L. tālea rod, twig, cutting” (ibid., s.v. tail). “Although historically the tailor is the cutter, in the trade the ‘tailor’ is the man who sews or makes up what the ‘cutter’ has shaped” (ibid., s.v. tailor 1). Cf. German “Schneider” and “Zuschneider” (cutter). Tarr’s note to ‘fractional Parts of a Man’ reads: “An allusion to the Breton proverb: ‘Il faut neuf tailleurs pour faire un homme’ (It takes nine tailors to make a man)” (Tarr in SR, S.E.: 451). See, however, below.
49. The origin of the saying, “Nine tailors make a man”, has been variously explained. Cf. A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue: “Nine tailors make a man; an ancient and common saying, originating from the effeminacy of their employment; or, as some have it, from nine tailors having been robbed by one man; according to others, from the speech of a woollender, meaning that the custom of nine tailors would make or enrich one man” (Grose, s.v. tailor). Cf. also OED: “1908. H. B. Walters in Church Bells 96 ‘Nine Tailors make a man’, is said to be really ‘nine tellers’, ‘tellers’ being the strokes for male, female, or child, in a funeral knell or passing bell. 3 x 3 for male. [In Dorset these strokes are said to be called tailors: Acad. 11 Feb. 1899, 190/1,]” (OED, s.v. tailor 1 b. OED’s brackets). “The literal meaning is that a gentleman must select his attire from various sources” (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, 2nd ed., 1992, s.v. tailor).
50. SR, “Tailors”: 231, par. 6. Cf. Teufelsdröckh’s remark: ‘Does it not stand on record that the English Queen Elizabeth, receiving a deputation of Eighteen Tailors, addressed them with a “Good-morning, gentlemen both!”’ (ibid.: 230, par. 3). In the second anecdote, Elizabeth I is said to have boasted ‘that she had a Cavalry Regiment, whereof neither horse nor man could be injured; her Regiment, namely, of Tailors on Mares’ (ibid.). Tarr’s note to ‘Tailors on Mares’ reads: “In the reeling of yarn, a cross thread is referred to as a mare” (Tarr in SR, S.E.: 452). For the pun on ‘Mares’, however, reference should no doubt be made to “mare” in the sense of “spectre”; cf. OED, s.v. mare (2) 2. For another allusion to the saying, “Nine tailors make a man”, cf. the song ‘The Taylor’s a Man, come deny it who dare’ in The Honour of the Tailors; or, The Famous and Renowned History of Sir John Hawkwood, Knight (1687). See App. VII, 1.
‘Upwards of a century . . . must elapse, and still the bleeding fight of Freedom be fought, whoso is noblest perishing in the van, and thrones be hurled on altars like Pelion on Ossa, and the Moloch of Iniquity have his victims, and the Michael of Justice his martyrs, before Tailors can be admitted to their true prerogatives of manhood, and this last wound of suffering Humanity be closed.’

Describing an incident that occurred to him ‘in the Scottish Town of Edinburgh’, Teufelsdörckh recalls how his soul was ‘rent, as it were, and shed asunder’, when, turning the corner of a lane there, he ‘came upon a Signpost, whereon stood written that such and such a one was “Breeches-Maker to his Majesty”; and stood painted the Effigies of a Pair of Leather Breeches, and between the knees these memorable words, Sic itur ad astra’, on which he comments:

‘Was not this the martyr prison-speech of a Tailor sighing indeed in bonds, yet sighing towards deliverance, and prophetically appealing to a better day? A day of justice, when the worth of Breeches would be revealed to man, and the Scissors become forever venerable.’

Teufelsdörckh then goes on to state:

‘Neither, perhaps, may I now say, has his appeal been altogether in vain. It was in this high moment, when the soul, rent, as it were, and shed asunder, is open to inspiring influence, that I first conceived this Work on Clothes: the greatest I can ever hope to do; which has already, after long retardations, occupied, and will yet occupy, so large a section of my Life; and of which the Primary and simpler Portion may here find its conclusion.’

Teufelsdörckh is saying here that it was the sad plight of the Tailor which made him conceive his ‘Work on Clothes’, consisting of two volumes, viz. ‘Die Kleider, ihr Werden und Wirken (Clothes, their Origin and Influence)’ and the “Volume of the Palingenesie der menschlichen Gesellschaft” (‘On the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society’), ‘which volume’, Teufelsdörckh says, ‘is already in a state of forwardness’.

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52. SR, “Tailors”: 232, par. 9.
53. Ibid., par. 8.
55. SR, “Tailors”: 232, par. 8. Cf. Carlyle’s reference, in “Characteristics” (1831), to those who, instead of taking up “with worn-out Symbols of the Godlike”, “have dared to say No, and cannot yet say Yea; but feel that in the No they dwell as in a Golgotha, where life enters not, where peace is not appointed them” (E 3: 31, par. 40). For Byron and Shelley, cf. ibid., par. 41. See also above.
57. SR, “Preliminary”: 5, par. 6.
58. SR, “Circumspective”: 216, par. 8. See also below, Ch. XIII.
59. SR, “Church-Clothes”: 173, par. 7. For “the Palingenesie”, cf. also SR, “Farewell”: 237, par. 11.
60. SR, “Church-Clothes”: 173, par. 7.
In the “Tailors” chapter, or “the concluding page” of Die Kleider, Teufelsdröckh makes clear that the Tailor is ‘not only a Man, but something of a Creator or Divinity’.61

‘For, looking away from individual cases, and how a Man is by the Tailor new-created into a Nobleman, and clothed not only with Wool but with Dignity and a Mystic Dominion,—is not the fair fabric of Society itself, with all its royal mantles and pontifical stoles, whereby, from nakedness and dismemberment, we are organised into Polities, into nations, and a whole coöperating Mankind, the creation, as has here [in Die Kleider] been often irrefragably evinced, of the Tailor alone?’62

The Tailor, in fact, ranks with ‘Poets and moral Teachers’, who are ‘but a species of Metaphorical Tailors’: ‘—What too are all Poets and moral Teachers, but a species of Metaphorical Tailors? Touching which high Guild the greatest living Guild-brother has triumphantly asked us: “Nay if thou wilt have it, who but the Poet first made Gods for men; brought them down to us; and raised us up to them?”’63 Teufelsdröckh, therefore, assures the Tailor of ‘a noble better time’:64

‘Be of hope! Already streaks of blue peer through our clouds; the thick gloom of Ignorance is rolling asunder, and it will be Day. Mankind will repay with interest their long-accumulated debt: the Anchorite that was scoffed at will be worshipped; the Fraction will become not an Integer only, but a Square and Cube. With astonishment the world will recognise that the Tailor is its Hierophant and Hierarch, or even its God.’65

From the above, it is clear that the title, “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”;66 should be taken to mean that the Tailor, treated by the world as a ‘Fraction’ or ‘the ninth part of a man’, is made whole again by Die Kleider, the Tailor symbolizing the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete, but made whole, or complete, again by Die Kleider.67

b. “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor”—i.e., the Poet or Moral Teacher, Found To Be Spiritually Incomplete—”Made Whole Again” (by Die Kleider)

It goes without saying that, in the title “Sartor Resartus”, the word “Sartor”, or “Tailor”, is also used as a metaphor for the Poet or moral Teacher. With the word “Sartor”, or “Tailor”, used as a metaphor for the Poet or moral Teacher, the title, “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”, should be taken to mean that the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete, is made whole, or complete, again by Die Kleider, Die Kleider giving the Poet or

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61. SR, “Tailors”: 231, par. 5. For Jeffrey excluding from “Burns” (1828) “such a word as fragmentary” and, as he puts it, “that very simple and well used joke of the clothes making the man and the tailor being a creator”, cf. F. Jeffrey to TC, 22 Oct. “1828” (W 2: 73). Cf. CL 4: ix.
62. SR, “Tailors”: 231, par. 5.
63. Ibid. For quotation from Goethe, cf. WM I: 114 (Aprr., Bk. 2, II, par. 17).
64. SR, “Tailors”: 231, par. 6.
65. Ibid.: 232, par. 6. Cf. SR, “Symbols”: 179, par. 15 (“A Hierarch . . . and Pontiff of the World will we call him, the Poet and inspired Maker; who, Prometheus-like, can shape new Symbols, and bring new Fire from Heaven to fix it there”).
66. Cf. Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, s.v. sarcĕo, “sarsi, sartum . . . to patch, botch, mend, repair, restore, etc.: sarcire est integrum facere []”, i.e., to make whole, complete; to restore to a state of wholeness, completeness or unity. Hereafter cited as Lewis. Cf. OED, s.v. patch 2: “To mend, repair, or make whole”, and s.v. mend 5: “To restore to a complete or sound condition . . . transf. and fig. . . . 1500–20 DUNBAR Poems xxviii 22 And ye tailouris, with wellmaid clais Can mend the worst maid man that gais. 1597 SHAKS. 2 Hen. IV, III. ii. 176”, reading: “Fal. I would thou wert a man’s tailor, that thou mightst mend him . . .” See also below.
67. See also below.
moral Teacher something in which he can believe and by which, in doing so, he is made whole again.

**Etymology of “Sartor” and “Resartus”**

1. Derivation and Cognate Forms

In Larousse’s *Dictionnaire des racines des langues européennes*, the entry for the root “serk-, sark- (grec, latin)” in the general sense of “clôturer; rapiécer”, reads:

serk-, sark- (grec, latin), clôturer; rapiécer.

Gr. *herkos* (pour *serkos*), clôture, clayonnage; *horkos*, serment;

*Horkizô*, faire jurer; *exorkizô*, faire sortir par des conjurations.


Lat. *sarcire*, -tum, recoudre, réparer; *sartor*, ravaudeur; *sarcina*, bagages (enveloppés dans une toile cousue).

Du latin:

A. fr. *sartor*, -tre, tailleur; *sartir* (de *sartire*), ajuster.

Fr. *sertir*.


This list may be complemented by Latin “resarcire” (to patch or mend again), and by the following English terms:

resarce, “v. Obs. rare. . . . trans. To patch up, mend”;
resarciate, “v. Obs. Also -tiate. . . . trans. To mend, amend”;
sarcinate, “v. Obs. . . . trans. To load (a beast of burden)”;
sarcinator, “Obs. . . . A mender, patcher”;
sartor, “Humorously pedantic. . . . A tailor”;
sartorial, “Of or belonging to a tailor or his art”;
sartry, “Obs. . . . A tailor’s workshop”.

In this connection, it may be noted that the word “sartor” (from “sarcire”73) occurs in late and medieval Latin only,72 and that, in late Latin, it is used in the sense of “a patcher, botcher, mender”,73 and, in medieval Latin, in that of “a tailor”.74

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69. Lewis, s.v. résarciro. Cf. ibid., s.v. sarcimen, sarciñâtor, sartûra; sarciñâris, sarciñâtus, sarciñâsus. Cf. also OLD, s.v. sarciôtor.

70. OED, s.v. resarce, resarciate, etc.

71. Cf. OLD, s.v. sarciô, “~cire ~sî ~tum”.

72. In written, classical Latin, the word “sartor” only occurs as collateral form of “sarriror” (a hoer, weeder), i.e., as derivative of “sarrirre” (to hoe, to weed). Cf. Lewis, s.v. sarriror. Cf. also Lewis, s.v. sarrio (sario), “ûi and lîvi . . . îtum”, and OLD, s.v. sâriô, ~tire ~ûi ~tum [sic].

73. Cf. Lewis, s.v. sartor.

2. Usage

a. “sartus et tectus”

The phrase, “sartus et tectus”,\(^{75}\) used figuratively, may here be looked at first. In a letter of 44 B.C., Cicero writes to Manius Aelius, governor of Achaia, concerning Manius Curius, a banker at Patrae: “… hoc mihi da et largire, ut M’ Curium sartum et tectum, ut aiunt … conserves [grant and allow me this, that you keep Manius Curius ‘right and tight’, as they say].”\(^{76}\)

b. Resarcire

For the figurative use of “resarcire”\(^{77}\), reference may be made to Augustine’s Confessiones (ca. 400), reading: “… tempora … paulatim resarciebant me pristinis generibus delectationum …”\(^{78}\) (“peu à peu il [le temps] me recousait aux anciens genres de plaisirs”\(^{79}\)).

c. To Resarce

In OED, the usage of the now obsolete verb “to resarce”, meaning “To patch up, mend”,\(^{80}\) is illustrated by quotation “1524 St. Papers Hen. VII, VI. 366 That the Kinges Grace studieth not a little, howe to resarce and supplie on his side al maner of defaultes and errours”\(^{81}\).

d. To Resarciate or Resartiate

For the now obsolete verb “to resarciate” (also “-tiate”), meaning “To mend, amend”,\(^{82}\) the supporting quotations in OED read: “a 1656 Vines Lord’s Supp. (1677) 234 To resarciate the damage or injury done to thee”, and “1657 Tomlinson Renou’s Disp. 57 We resartiate their native humidity”\(^{83}\).

\(^{75}\) Cf. Lewis, s.v. sarcio, “Hence, sartus, a, um, P. a., mended, repaired, put in order, only in the phrase sartus tectus, adj.; or more freq. subst. in the neutr. plnr. sarta tecta, buildings in good repair.” For “sartus (et, ac) tectus, (of buildings)”, cf. OLD, s.v. sartus (sarctus).

\(^{76}\) The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, eds. (Dublin: Dublin Univ. Press, 1897): 207. Cf. Lewis, s.v. sarcio, and OLD, s.v. sartus (sarctus).

\(^{77}\) Cf. Lewis, s.v. resarco, “no perf., sartum, 4, v. a., to patch or mend again; to repair, restore (rare; not in Cic.; cf. sarco)”. Cf. OLD, s.v. resarciō, “~cēre (~sē) ~sum (~tum)”.

\(^{78}\) The Confessions of Augustine, J. Gibb and W. Montgomery, eds., Cambridge Patristic Texts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927): 91 (Bk 4, 8).


\(^{80}\) Cf. OED, s.v. resarce, “ad. obs. F. resarcir or L. resarcire”.

\(^{81}\) Ibid. Cf. “State papers (during the reign of) Henry the eighth (1830–52)” (ibid., Books Quoted).

\(^{82}\) Cf. OED, s.v. resarciate, “irreg. f. L. resarcī-re (see RESARCE)”.

CHAPTER XI
THE TITLE “SARTOR RESARTUS” AND OTHER TITLES

The Song Title “The Taylor Done Over”
In his *Dictionary of English Literature* (1881), Davenport Adams comments on the title “Sartor Resartus”: “‘Sartor Resartus’ (i.e., ‘the Tailor Patched’—the title of an old Scottish ballad).”

Referring to this statement, MacMechan, in his edition of *Sartor* (1896), notes: “Mr. W. Davenport Adams, in his *Dictionary of English Literature*, asserts that the title is taken from a Scotch ballad, *The Tailor Patched*, but no authority is adduced, and a careful search by Prof. J. T. Hatfield, Ph.D., through a large mass of ballad literature, and by myself at Harvard, has failed to discover any such ballad.”

Barrett, on his part, says of the title “Sartor Resartus”: “[‘Sartor Resartus’] i.e. ‘The tailor done over’: said to be the title of an old Scottish song.”

Of the song, “The Tailor Done Over”, and the title “Sartor Resartus”, Dyer writes in his *Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle’s Writings and Ana* (1928):

The verses, “The Tailor Done Over,” alluded to in . . . [the Note: “This title (‘Sartor Resartus’) was probably suggested by an old song called ‘The Tailor Done-over’”], and in Mr. Barrett’s edition, were well known in Carlyle’s time and country. In all probability Carlyle took his title from this old countryside rhyme or song when he changed it from his original title, the first verse of which runs:

“I once was a tailor, I lived with great pleasure,
I cut all my cloth to my customer’s measure;
Oh, I once was so lusty they called me Bill the Rover,
But now I’m a skeleton fairly done over.
Oh oover oho hover, ohoover oho over oho ho.”

And Harrold, in his edition of *Sartor* (1937), in the section “On the title of Sartor Resartus”:

The verses, “The Tailor done over,” referred to in Barrett’s edition of *Sartor Resartus* (p. 7, n.), were a well known old Scottish song, sung widely in Carlyle’s time and country. When he finally decided to abandon the rather awkward title, “Thoughts on Clothes: or Life and Opinions of Herr D. Teufelsdröckh [D. U. J.],” and to give his book the cryptic Latin title which was to become famous, he no doubt found the English original in the old countryside song, the first stanza of which runs as follows: [quotes from Dyer: 585, the stanza given above].

The title “Sartor Resartus”, however, as seen above, should not be translated as “The Tailor Done Over”, nor as “The Tailor Retailored”, for that matter, but as “The Tailor Made Whole Again”. It cannot be said, therefore, that Carlyle “no doubt found the English original” of...

2. MacMechan, ed., *Sartor Resartus*: 284. For MacMechan, see also above, Ch. X.
5. Ibid.: 585. The first two lines are largely those of the second stanza quoted below.
6. Harrold, ed., *Sartor Resartus*: 301. For Harrold, see also above, Ch. X.
7. For “do over . . . AmE to do again”, as in “This exercise has a lot of mistakes. You’d better do it over”, cf. Longman’s *Dictionary of American English*, s.v. do. For “do over . . . = make over (make v. 92 d)”, i.e., “To remake, refashion”, as in “1908 Smart Set Sept. 84/1 If only somebody would ‘do over’ Browning into English”, cf. *OED*, s.v. do 50 f.
8. See above, Ch. X.
“the cryptic Latin title”, “Sartor Resartus”, in the song called “The Tailor Done Over”, which, moreover, is not an “old Scottish” countryside song, but an English single-sheet song, published in London circa 1785 as a song “Sung with universal Applause in several Convivial Societies: The Words by Mr. Harriss”. Soon after this English publication, an Irish version of the song with identical text but slightly variant tune, was published by Lee in Dublin as “A favourite NEW Comic Song”, and reprinted for Walker’s Hibernian Magazine in 1789.

“The Tailor Done Over” makes fun of the tailor for not being man enough11 ‘to do a girl over’,12 as Mr. Harriss would no doubt have put it. The text of the English prototype version of the song reads as follows:

THE TAYLOR DONE OVER

A TAYLOR I once was as blithe as e’er need be until Love alas has a Devil13 sure made me I that once was so lusty was call’d WILL THE ROVER Am now a poor Skeleton Oh! I’m done over14 over over over Oh!

How many a Day have I stood with great Pleasure, And cut out my Cloth, to my Customers Measure: With a full Yard for Cabbage15—I liv’d then in clover; But SUE’S cruel frowns has16 me almost done over.

When first I beheld her, in Silks dress’d so gaily, I fell into Fits, and they trouble me daily: O how cruel must she be, the fight could not move her; I fear that these Fits17 will one day do me over.

10. See ibid.
11. Cf. the saying “Nine tailors make a man”. See above, Ch. X. This saying being silently understood, the main comic device of the song appears to be that of dramatic irony. Cf. Abrams, GLT, s.v. dramatic irony.
12. For “do over” in the sense of “To copulate with; to seduce. slang”, cf. OED, s.v. do 50 e. Cf. quot. 1873 and “1961 R. Amato in C. K. Stead N.Z. Short Stories (1966) 233 All sailors . . want to marry the girl they’ve done over”.
13. “A poor wretched fellow, one in a sorry plight” (OED, s.v. devil 4 c). In this sense, “chiefly with poor” (ibid.). For the listless movement of the melody of this song, see App. VII, 2.
14. In Slang, “to do”, in the sense of “To operate upon or deal with (an object) in any way”, is “employed euphemistically to avoid the use of some verb plainly naming the action” (OED, s.v. do 11). This may have a comic effect, as in this song, where “to do over” is used in the sense of: (1) “To cheat, swindle, get the better of. slang” (ibid., 50 b). — (2) “To disable, wear out, tire out. colloq.” (ibid., 50 c). — (3) “To handle (a person) roughly. Austral. and N.Z. slang” (ibid., 50 d). — (4) To kill.
15. “Cloth, stuff, or silk, purloined by tailors from their employers, which they deposit in a place called hell: or their eye: from the first, when taxed with their knavery, they equivocally swear, that if they have taken any, they wish they may find it in hell; or, alluding to the second, protest, that what they have over and above is not more than they could put in their eye” (Grose, s.v. cabbage). According to Partridge, “Grose’s Dictionary is especially valuable because it does present so wonderful a picture of eighteenth century colloquialisms, slang, and cant” (Partridge, in Gross: vii).
16. For “has”, the Irish version reads “have”.
17. Cf. OED, s.v. fit 3 c: “In 18th c. often used spec. without defining word = ‘fainting-fit’ or ‘fit of the mother’ (i.e. of hysteria . . .).”
Next time that I saw her pass by my Shop window,
My Goose (being hot) burnt a Sleeve to a Cinder:
The Girls do so Jeer me, that I can go no where;
Was ever poor TAYLOR so badly done over.

The last time I saw her was with a bold SAILOR,
She smil’d and she said “there’s the done over TAYLOR[“];
“Good bye”—(said she)—“Stitch-Louse. I’m going to Dover”:
So there is an end for the TAYLOR’S done over.

The Title of Byron’s *The Deformed Transformed* (1824)

Unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book, Carlyle, on 27 May 1833, offers it to Fraser, as seen above, for serial publication in *Fraser’s Magazine*, telling Fraser, at the same time, that “perhaps we might see right to alter the title a little”. And by 18 July 1833, Carlyle has replaced the title “Thoughts on Clothes” of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II by the title “Sartor Resartus”.

For the title “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”, reference should be made, as seen above, to the “Tailors” chapter, in which the Tailor—symbolizing the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete—is said to be transformed by *Die Kleider*, or the “Treatise” on Clothes, from a ‘Fraction’ or ‘the ninth part of a man’ to ‘not only a Man, but something of a Creator or Divinity’, whilst, for the alliterative form of the title, reference can be made to “the occurrence”, in the book, “of jingling words in pairs, which are nearly always alliterative and sometimes rhyme; for example, ‘lucid and lucent’, ‘habitable and habilable’, ‘booby and bustard’, ‘clothwebs and cobwebs’, ‘fluid and florid’, ‘staggers and swaggers’, ‘right and tight’.”

It may here be noted, however, that the idea of transformation is also expressed in the title of Byron’s *The Deformed Transformed* (1824), in which Arnold, the deformed, is transformed

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18. “A taylor’s goose; a smoothing iron used to press down the seams, for which purpose it must be heated: hence it is a jocular saying, that a taylor, be he ever so poor, is always sure to have a goose at his fire” (Grose, s.v. goose). “So called from the resemblance of the handle to the shape of a goose’s neck” (*OED*, s.v. goose 5). Cf. also E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (8th ed., 1984). Hereafter cited as Partridge.


20. A derisive name for a tailor, on the analogy of “prick-louse”. Cf. Partridge, s.v. stitch-louse, and *OED*, s.v. prickle (“Now dial. Also 8- prick-the-(a)-louse”). For “stitch” (v.), in the sense of “To prick, stab”, cf. *OED*, s.v. stitch. “A tailor is frequently styled prickleouse, from their assaults on those vermin with their needles” (Grose, s.v. tailor). “Grose spells either ‘taylor’ (more often) or ‘tailor’ ” (Partridge, in Grose: xii).

21. For the facsim. rpt. of the English prototype version, see App. VII.

22. Cf. TC to J. Fraser, 27 May 1833 (6: 395–97). See also above, Ch. VII.

23. See above, Ch. VII. Cf. TC to J. S. Mill, 18 July 1833: “*Teufelsdröckh* under the as whimsical title of *Sartor Resartus*, is to come out piecemeal in *Fraser’s Magazine* . . .” (6: 414–15). This letter should no doubt be placed after Carlyle’s letter to S. Austin of 18 July 1833 (cf. 9: 397,25–26, and see below).

24. SR, “Preliminary”: 5, par. 5.

25. Cf. SR, “Tailors”: 231–32, pars. 5–6. See above, Ch. X.


from a hideous, cloven-footed hunchback into the god-like figure of Achilles, and that the alliterative form of the title “Sartor Resartus”, consisting in the repetition of the same root-syllable, corresponds to that of the title “The Deformed Transformed”.

From Carlyle’s and Jane Welsh’s interest in Byron’s latest publications up to the time of his death in April 1824, it is clear, moreover, as will be seen below, that Carlyle was well acquainted with Byron’s The Deformed Transformed (1824), “founded . . . partly on the ‘Faust’ of the great Goëthe”, and much admired by Goethe, as Carlyle must have heard in 1832, while being unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book.

It may well be, therefore, that the idea of transformation expressed in the title “The Deformed Transformed”, made Carlyle replace the title “Thoughts on Clothes” of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II by a title referring to what was his immediate concern, viz. the transformation of the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete, whilst the alliterative form of the title “The Deformed Transformed” may well have stood model for that of the title “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”.

In the pages below, special attention will be given to the publication of The Deformed Transformed in February 1824, to Carlyle’s references to Byron in 1827–1830, and to Carlyle’s meetings with Robinson in February 1832, when the latter must have told him about his meetings with Goethe in August 1829 and about Goethe’s admiration for Byron’s The Deformed Transformed.

1. Carlyle, Byron, and Jane Welsh, 1821–1824

From Edinburgh, Carlyle used to keep Jane Welsh in Haddington informed about Byron’s latest publications, which were sometimes sent by him to Haddington. Thus, Sardanapalus, The Two Foscari and Cain, published in one volume on 19 December 1821, were sent by

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30. The title of Byron’s unfinished drama read at first “The Deformed”, as is clear from MS L, i.e., the “MS. in the Lovelace Collection (L, location Bodleian Library, Oxford)”, which “is B’s rough draft and exclusively in his hand” and “headed by B ‘Pisa [januar]y 1822’ ” (CPW 6: 517, 725). Cf. also ibid.: 304 (photograph of MS with heading and title). The title “The Deformed Transformed”, as well as the Prefatory Note and list of dramatis personae, appear to have been added to Mary Shelley’s transcript of the play, which was presumably sent to the Hunts for publication and “does not seem to have survived” (ibid.: 725).
31. Prefatory Note to The Deformed Transformed (1824), CPW 6: 517.
33. See above, Ch. X.
35. Cf. CPW 6: x. According to McGann, “few would dissent from the view that Sardanapalus, Cain, and The Deformed Transformed are all major writings. Of the plays written in the Romantic Period, only Shelley’s The Cenci bears comparison with any of these three works” (ibid.: xiii).
him on 21 January 1822, whilst the publication of the first number of The Liberal (with The Vision of Judgment), “printed by and for John Hunt” and published on 15 October 1822, is mentioned by Carlyle in his letter to Jane Welsh of “28 October 1822”, and Werner, published on 23 November 1822, was sent by him to Haddington circa 25 November 1822.

With regard to “the Liberals”, the second number of which, published on 1 January 1823, contained Heaven and Earth, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 12 January 1823: “I have not seen . . . the second number of the Liberal, with Byron’s Heaven and Earth . . . in it. I thought to get the Liberals for you yesterday, but could not. The vice-society is prosecuting for Byron’s articles, and men are shy of selling them. Mr Bradfute I think is the publisher here—you will see them when you come to Town.” On ‘14 January 1823’, however, Jane Welsh writes to Eliza Stodart, “a childhood friend in Haddington”, now living at 22 George Square, Edinburgh, where she kept house for her uncle, Mr Bradfute: “. . . I suppose our visit to town must remain, in prospectu, for some weeks longer . . .”, and, on 23 January 1823, Carlyle, who had not seen Jane Welsh for almost a year, is invited to come to Haddington, where he stayed from 14 to 17 February 1823. Concerning The Age of Bronze, published on 1 April 1823, Carlyle tells Jane Welsh on 6 April 1823: “Byron has sent us a new poem the Age of Bronze . . . You shall see his Bronze (a poetical squib) when you arrive; and another Liberal which is on the way.” With regard to the remaining publications in 1823, it should be noted that, at the time

36. Cf. TC to JBW, ‘21 Jan. 1822’ (2: 15) and JBW to TC, ‘ca. 27 Jan. 1822’ (2: 19). For Cain, cf. TC to James Johnston, 15 Dec. 1821 (1: 411), and for the “tragedies”, cf. TC to John Fergusson, 11 Feb. 1822 (2: 34). For Carlyle’s comment, in “Goethe’s Faust”, written in January 1822, on “the controversy which has arisen respecting its [Faust’s] connection with Manfred”, cf. “Goethe’s Faust” (1822): 30–31, final par. For Carlyle contrasting “Mephistophiles” and “the biographer of Don Juan”, cf. ibid.: 31–32. On 21 January 1822, Carlyle also sent “Goethe’s Faust” to Jane Welsh, which essay was no doubt discussed by them during his second visit to Haddington on 2–3 February 1822. Cf. TC to JBW, ‘21 Jan. 1822’ (2: 14); JBW to TC, ‘ca. 27 Jan. 1822’ (2: 19) and App. IV. “Goethe’s Faust” was published in April 1822. Cf. also TC to Dr. Poole, ‘ca. 23 Mar. 1822’ (2: 58–59, 76); JBW to TC, 11 Nov. 1822 (2: 199); TC to MAC, 14 Nov. 1822 (2: 204) and TC to JBW, 17 Nov. 1822 (2: 209).
37. Cf. CPW 6: x and frontispiece.
42. TC to JBW, 12 Jan. 1823 (2: 270).
44. JBW to Eliza Stodart, ‘14 Jan. 1823’ (2: 280). For Eliza Stodart (ca. 1794–1869) and John Bradfute (1764–1837), who was “not married” and “perhaps a relation of the Welshes” (Marrs: 85), cf. CL I: 199, n. and 204, n. 4 respectively. Cf. also Carlyle’s Notes to JWC’s letters: “She [Jane Welsh] was often in Edinr on visit with her Mother, to ‘Uncle Robert in Northumb/ Street,’ to ‘Old Mr Bradfute in George’s Square’; and I had leave to call on these occasions,—whh I zealously enough, if not too zealously sometimes, in my awkward way, took advantage of” (3: 376).
45. For the meetings between Carlyle and Jane Welsh, see App. IV.
46. Cf. JBW to TC, “23 Jan. 1823” (2: 282) and see App. IV.
47. Cf. CPW 7: xi.
48. TC to JBW, 6 Apr. 1823 (2: 327). Jane Welsh and her mother arrived at 22 George Square on 29 April 1823 and left Edinburgh again on 10 May 1823. Cf. JBW to TC, “30 April 1823” (2: 343) and “10 May 1823” (2: 350).
of publication of *The Island* (26 June 1823), Carlyle was in Kinnaird,49 at that of *Don Juan*, Cantos VI–VIII (15 July 1823) at Mainhill, and at that of Cantos IX–XI (24 August 1823) and Cantos XII–XIV (17 December 1823) at Kinnaird again.50

b. *The Deformed Transformed* (1824)

According to the Commentary in *The Complete Poetical Works*, “It was not until 20 February 1824 that the Hunts published”51 *The Deformed Transformed*, a “third edition” of which “had appeared by 23 February 1824”.52 From the fact, however, that *The Deformed Transformed* was reviewed in the *Examiner* for 15 February and in the *Literary Chronicle* for 18 February 1824,53 it may no doubt be inferred that “The / Deformed Transformed; / A Drama. / By the / Right Hon. Lord Byron. / London, 1824: / Printed for J. and H. L. Hunt, / Bond Street, and Tavistock Street”,54 had been published by circa 10 February 1824, while Carlyle and Jane Welsh were both staying in Edinburgh, where they were seeing each other until 24 February, when she and her mother returned to Haddington.55 Between circa 10 and 24 February 1824, therefore, Carlyle and Jane Welsh must have read and discussed Byron’s unfinished poetic drama, *The Deformed Transformed*, the Prefatory Note of which reads:

*This production is founded partly on the story of a Novel called 'The Three Brothers,' published many years ago, from which M. G. Lewis's 'Wood Demon' was also taken—and partly on the 'Faust' of the great Goëthe.*


50. During this period, Jane Welsh was at Templand (20 May–9 July), Galloway (9–16 July), Dumfries (16–18 July) and Templand again (18 July–ca. 3 Sept. 1823). Cf. App. IV and JBW to TC, 16 Sept. “1823” (2: 426). On 18 July 1823, Carlyle wrote to Jane Welsh: “I am not Job more than you are . . .” (2: 400). According to D.E., “One of Jane’s scribblings on the back of this letter is ‘sick of imitating Job’, from Byron’s *Don Juan*, canto 8, st. 50” (ibid., n. 2). At the time, however, Jane Welsh can hardly have been quoting Canto VIII (cf. also JBW to TC, ‘23 July’ “1823”, 2: 402). Byron’s latest publications may have been discussed during Carlyle’s fourth visit to Haddington from 5–ca. 8 December 1823 (cf. App. IV).


52. *CPW* 6: 728.


55. Jane Welsh and her mother were staying at 22 George Square from 19 January to 24 February 1824, while Carlyle was living at 1 Moray Street from 7 February to 25 March, and at Mainhill from 25 March to 25 May 1824. See App. IV. Cantos XV–XVI of Byron’s *Don Juan* were published on 26 March 1824 (cf. *CPW* 7: xi), while Carlyle was at Mainhill. For Carlyle’s and Jane Welsh’s reaction to the news of Byron’s death on 19 April 1824, cf. TC to JBW, 19 May 1824 (3: 68) and JBW to TC, 20 May 1824 (3: 69–70) and 25 May “1824” (3: 70). Cf. also TC to JBW, 27 May 1824: “I had such a fight to-day with Brewster and a gothic German for the memory of our poor Byron!” (3: 72).
The present publication contains the two first Parts only, and the opening chorus of the third. The rest may perhaps appear hereafter.66

Because of the reference, in this Note, to “the ‘Faust’ of the great Goëthe”, Carlyle must have been particularly interested in Byron’s drama, which, in C. E. Robinson’s “The Devil as Doppelgänger in The Deformed Transformed” (1970), has been summarized as follows:

In this first scene, Arnold, the deformed hero, was rejected by his mother and reminded of his hunchback and lame, cloven foot by his reflection in a fountain. Hated and hating himself, Arnold despaired and attempted suicide, but was deterred by a Mephistophelean “Stranger” who miraculously appeared from the fountain and offered Arnold a new body in order that he could successfully love and be beloved by others. After engaging a compact with the Stranger, who then raised the bodily forms of Julius Caesar, Alcibiades, Socrates, Antony, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Achilles from antiquity, Arnold chose the form of Achilles and was transformed into the “unshorn boy of Peleus” and “Beautiful shadow / Of Thetis’s boy.” But then the Stranger, transforming himself, cleverly assumed Arnold’s rejected and deformed “form,” consequently became the “shadow” (I.i.449) or second self of Arnold, and chose to be called Caesar. The protagonist and antagonist in new forms then mounted their coal-black horses and raced to “where the World / Is thickest,” to “where there is War / And Woman in activity” (I.i.494–497).

The remainder of the unfinished drama presents Arnold’s and Caesar’s exploits with “War” and “Woman.” The second scene of Part I and the three scenes of Part II describe Arnold and Caesar before and during the Siege and Sack of Rome in 1527. As the Bourbon’s gallant knight, Arnold successfully led the besieging army over the walls of Rome, engaged Benvenuto Cellini, who had slain the Bourbon as he ascended the wall, and rescued the Roman beauty, Olimpia, from the despoiling troops of St Peter’s. Although Olimpia disdained Arnold’s bravery and cast herself down from the Pope’s altar in the church, Arnold and Caesar revived her and bore her body from the carnage at the conclusion of Part II.57

2. Carlyle and Robinson, June 1824–February 1825
Shortly before Carlyle first met him at Irving’s on 22 June 1824,58 Robinson, whose “feelings for Byron were . . . decidedly hostile”,59 wrote in his Diary for 9 May 1824:
Read Lord Byron’s *Deformed Transformed*—a poem, offensive, as all he has written, but with striking passages. The Evil Spirit has the character of Mephistopheles, and the deformed man who performs the part of Faust will be more interesting to the general reader than his prototype, though his character has neither the profundity nor the significance of the original. The songs are the best things in the poem. The death of Lord Byron, since announced, has probably interrupted the course of a fiction which would have been as unsatisfactory to the contemplative critic and as useless to the moral world as all the other works of the author. I do not join in the cant of lamentation which will sicken us for the next month from every quarter.\(^{60}\)

Because of their common interest in Goethe—for which, see also below—Carlyle and Robinson must have discussed the connection of Byron’s drama, *The Deformed Transformed*, with Goethe’s *Faust* in one of their meetings in London in 1824–1825.\(^{61}\)


The earliest references to Byron in the works of Carlyle occur in *Wotton Reinfred*\(^{62}\) and “State of German Literature” (1827). In *Wotton Reinfred*, Maurice says of Byron and the “arsenical school”: ‘Lord Byron was the loudest harper, but not the first or the best of this arsenical school. The keynote was struck in Goethe’s *Werther*, and Europe has rung ever since with the tune and its variations.’\(^{63}\) Referring to ‘the want of the age’, Wotton comments:

> ‘It is the want of the age... Thousands on thousands feel as Byron felt; and his passionate voicing of emotions hitherto shapeless and crushing with a force vague and invisible was a relief to the heart that could not speak them. He was a spirit of Heaven, though cast down into the abyss; and his song, like that singing of the fallen seraphs,
>
> was partial, but the harmony
>
> (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
>
> Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
>
> The thronging audience.’\(^{64}\)

Of what, “With longer life”, was “to have been hoped for from Byron”, Carlyle writes in “State of German Literature” (1827): “Our Byron was in his youth but what Schiller and Goethe had been in theirs: yet the author of *Werter* wrote *Iphigenie* and *Torquato Tasso*; and he who began with the *Robbers* ended with *Wilhelm Tell*. With longer life, all things were to have been hoped for from Byron: for he loved truth in his inmost heart, and would have discovered at last that his Corsairs and Harolds were not true. It was otherwise appointed.”\(^{65}\) Other early references


\(^{61}\) For these meetings, see below, App. I, 4.

\(^{62}\) For *Wotton Reinfred*, written in the early months of 1827, see above, Ch. IV. Cf. also App. VIII, 2.

\(^{63}\) *WR*, Ch. V: 92. Cf. ibid., Ch. IV: 68.

\(^{64}\) Ibid., Ch. VI: 92.

\(^{65}\) “State of German Literature” (1827), *E* 1: 69, par. 44.
to Byron occur in “Goethe’s Helena” (1828), 66 “Goethe” (1828), 67 “Burns” (1828), 68 “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again” (1830) 69 and “Schiller”, finished by 22 December 1829 and published in 1831. 70

4. Reading the First Volume of Moore’s Biography of Byron, 1830

Reading, in 1830, the first volume of Moore’s Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of His Life (1830), later published as The Life of Lord Byron, with His Letters and Journals, 71 Carlyle must have come across the passage in which Moore speaks of the origin of the drama The Deformed Transformed. The passage reads:

In the few anecdotes of his early life which he related in his “Memoranda,” though the name of his mother was never mentioned but with respect, it was not difficult to perceive that the recollections she had left behind—at least, those that had made the deepest impression—were of a painful nature. One of the most striking passages, indeed, in the few pages of that Memoir which related to his early days, was where, in speaking of his own sensitiveness, on the subject of his deformed foot, he described the feeling of horror and humiliation that came over him, when his mother, in one of her fits of passion, called him “a lame brat.” As all that he had felt strongly through life was, in some shape or other, reproduced in his poetry, it was not likely that an expression such as this should fail of being recorded. Accordingly we find, in the opening of his drama, “The Deformed Transformed,”

Bertha. Out, hunchback!
Arnold. I was born so, mother!

It may be questioned, indeed, whether that whole drama was not indebted for its origin to this single recollection. 72

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67. Cf. “Goethe” (1828), E 1: 218, par. 26, 27 (“Byron was our English Sentimentalist and Power-man; the strongest of his kind in Europe; the wildest, the gloomiest, and it may be hoped the last”), and 243, par. 48 (“Among our own poets, Byron was almost the only man we saw faithfully and manfully struggling, to the end, in this cause [i.e., in this battle to attain “to spiritual manhood”]; and he died while the victory was still doubtful, or at best, only beginning to be gained”).


72. T. Moore: 13. When a woman said to Byron’s nurse: “‘What a pretty boy Byron is! What a pity he has such a leg!’ . . . the child’s eyes flashed with anger, and striking at her with a little whip which he held in his hand, he exclaimed impatiently, ‘Dinna speak of it!’” (T. Moore: 5). Cf. TC to J. S. Mill, “18 Aug. 1834”: “A copy of Teufelsdörflch was ma[r]ked for you; another for Mrs Taylor; I hope the man [Fraser] sent them. As Byron said of his club-foot: Dinna speak o’ it!” (7: 276. First brackets D.E.’s). For the privately issued edition of Sartor, cf. TC to JAC, 15 Aug. 1834 (7: 271) and Dyer: 220–21.
5. Carlyle “meditating an Essay on Byron”, November 1830

By 28 October 1830, Carlyle has finished MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I,\textsuperscript{73} which, circa 24 November 1830, is sent by him to Fraser for publication in Fraser’s Magazine.\textsuperscript{74}

Having been requested by Napier, on 9 November 1830, to write something for the Edinburgh Review,\textsuperscript{75} Carlyle let him know on 23 November 1830:

Occasionally of late I have been meditating an Essay on Byron: which, on appearance of Mr Moore’s Second Volume, now soon expected, I should have no objection to attempt for you. Of Mr Moore himself I should say little; or rather perhaps, as he may be a favourite of yours, Nothing: neither would my opinion of Byron prove very heterodox; my chief aim would be to see him and show him, not, as is too often the way, (if I could help it) to write merely ‘about him and about him.’ . . .

I have been thinking sometimes likewise of a Paper on Napoleon . . . This however were a task of far more difficulty than Byron, and perhaps not so promising at present.

For Byron, no Books were wanted except Mr Moore’s two volumes to which Galt’s might be added: except the Plays and Don Juan, which also would be needed, all his Poems are already here.\textsuperscript{76}

In his letter of reply of 9 December 1830, however, Napier “suggested that he [Carlyle] write a review of the Historic Survey of German Poetry, Interspersed with Various Translations, 3 vols. (1828–30), by William Taylor of Norwich (1765–1836),”\textsuperscript{77} which review was written by Carlyle in January 1831 and published in the Edinburgh Review of March 1831.\textsuperscript{78}

6. Carlyle and Robinson, February 1832

Wishing to make a book of it, Carlyle, on 21 January 1831, asks John Carlyle to get from Fraser the “long Paper entitled Thoughts on Clothes . . . unless it is absolutely printed”.\textsuperscript{79} On 23 February 1831, he is in possession again of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I,\textsuperscript{80} and, at the end of July 1831, MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II has been completed.\textsuperscript{81} Of the ensuing period and his efforts to get the manuscript published as a book, Carlyle says in his Notes to Althaus:

. . . went up [to London] August 1831, with Sartor [i.e., MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II] in my pocket, intending to be back in a month; could not get Sartor published (Reform-Bill agitation &c &c); sent for my Wife, & passed

\textsuperscript{73} Cf. TN: 177.
\textsuperscript{74} Cf. ibid.: 178 and CL 5: 190–91, xii, 215. See also above, Ch. VII.
\textsuperscript{75} Cf. TC to JAC, 12 Nov. 1830 (5: 190 and n. 11).
\textsuperscript{77} CL 5: 203, n. 15. Cf. “Taylor’s Historic Survey of German Poetry” (1831), E 2: 333–70. For Napier requesting Carlyle on 24 April 1832 to write an article on Byron for the Encyclopedia Britannica, see below.
\textsuperscript{78} Cf. App. VIII, 2.
\textsuperscript{79} TC to JAC, 21 Jan. 1831 (5: 215). See also above, Ch. VII.
\textsuperscript{80} Cf. TC to JAC, 26 Feb. 1831 (5: 232).
\textsuperscript{81} Cf. TC to MAC, 19 July 1831 (5: 308).
the Winter there, making agreeable friends Leigh Hunt, John Mill, &c and experiences;—returned (still with Sartor in my pocket), March 1832.\textsuperscript{82}

While in London, Carlyle, on 16 February 1832, writes to John Carlyle about Crabbe Robinson, who had met Goethe again in August 1829: “Crabbe Robinson has found me out with copious anecdotes of him [Goethe], and indeed of all things: he is last from Rome, very communicative, and strangely respectful”,\textsuperscript{83}

During the meetings with Carlyle in February 1832, which will be looked at below, Robinson must have told him of Goethe’s admiration for Byron’s *The Deformed Transformed* (1824). In this connection, Goethe’s remarks of 1825–1826 on *The Deformed Transformed* as recorded by Eckermann in the first volume of his *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life)—published in 1836\textsuperscript{84}—and Robinson’s visits to Goethe in 1829, when the latter spoke again of *The Deformed Transformed*, may here be looked at first.

\begin{quote}
\textbf{a. Goethe on *The Deformed Transformed*, 1825–1826}

On 18 January 1825, Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, is reported as saying: “Lord Byron’s transformed devil is a continuation of my Mephistopheles, and quite right too! Had he attempted to evade him from some whim to be original, he would certainly have made a worse one.”\textsuperscript{85} On 8 November 1826, Eckermann records:

Goethe again spoke to-day with admiration of Lord Byron. ‘I have re-read,’ he said, ‘his *Deformed Transformed*, and I must say that his talent appears to me greater than ever. His devil has his origin in my Mephistopheles, but he is no imitation; everything is entirely original and new, and everything concise, excellent and brilliant. There is not a passage in the piece that is weak, not a spot as large as a pin’s head where invention and genius are not to be found. If the hypochondriac and negative element in him did not stand in his way, Byron would be as great
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} TR: 69. For Carlyle referring to Byron in SR and “Characteristics”, written circa 2 Nov.–17 Dec. 1831 (see App. VIII, 2), cf. SR, “Miscellaneous-Historical”: 36, par. 2; “Sorrows of Teufelsdröckh”: 127, par. 17; “Centre of Indifference”: 142, par. 13; “The Everlasting Yea”: 153, par. 14 (‘Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe’), and “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 31, par. 41 (“Behold a Byron, in melodious tones, ‘cursing his day’: he mistakes earthen passion for heaven-inspired Freewill; without heavenly loadstar, rushes madly into the dance of meteoric lights that hover on the mad Mahlstrom; and goes down among its eddies”). See also above, Ch. X. For *The Deformed Transformed* having been published by Murray in 1831 as part of a collected edition of the Works of Lord Byron, see below.
\item \textsuperscript{83} TC to JAC, 16 Feb. 1832 (6: 126).
\end{itemize}
as Shakespeare and the ancients.’ I expressed my surprise. ‘Yes,’ said Goethe, ‘you may take it from me, I have studied him anew, and am compelled to concede this to him.’

And on 29 November 1826:

I [Eckermann] had now read Lord Byron’s *Deformed Transformed*, and discussed it with Goethe after dinner. ‘Are not,’ he said, ‘the first scenes great, and poetically great? The remainder, where the piece falls asunder and passes to the siege of Rome, I will not praise as poetic, but it must be confessed that it is brilliant.’

In the highest degree, I said; but there is no art in being brilliant, if one has respect for nothing.

Goethe laughed. ‘You are not entirely wrong,’ said he; ‘one must, I admit, confess that the poet says more than one would like him to say; he says the truth, but it makes us feel uncomfortable, and we should have preferred him to have kept silent. There are things in the world which it is better the poet should veil than disclose; but this was just Byron’s character, and to wish him otherwise would be to destroy him.’

Yes, I said; he is in the highest degree brilliant. How excellent, for example, is this passage:

> The Devil speaks truth much oftener than he’s deemed,
> He hath an ignorant audience.

‘That,’ said Goethe, ‘is certainly just as great and frank as anything my Mephistopelhes has said.’

b. Goethe and Robinson, August 1829

In 1829, “Robinson spent the month of August in Weimar, and appears to have visited Goethe on the 2nd, and then daily from the 13th to the 18th.” As Butler remarks, “Do what Old Crabb would in August 1829 he could neither dim nor shake nor even slightly discourage the German poet’s delight in Byron. During the seven afternoons and evenings which the two men spent together it was Byron, Byron all the time . . .”

With regard to Goethe’s appreciation of *The Deformed Transformed*, Robinson writes in his Diary for 13 August 1829: “I was glad to find that Goethe particularly admired Byron’s *Heaven and Earth* and the first two acts of *The Deformed Transformed*. These are precisely my favourites.” And in his reminiscences, he notes: “I pointed out *The Deformed Transformed* as being really an imitation. I was pleased to find that Goethe especially praised this piece.”

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89. Ibid.: 162–63.

90. Robinson 1: 369.

91. Ibid.: 373. Cf. Butler: 164. Cf. Goethe to Eckermann, 8 Nov. 1826, in Robertson, *Goethe and Byron*: 103 (“His [Byron’s] devil has his origin in my Mephistopheles, but he is no imitation; everything is entirely original and new, and everything concise, excellent and brilliant”). See also above.
c. Carlyle and Robinson, February 1832

In 1832, Carlyle met Robinson on 11, 12, 17 and 19 February 1832.92 The meetings with Carlyle on 11, 12 and 17 February 1832 were recorded by Robinson in his Diary. Thus, on 11 February 1832, he writes: “I had a longer chat with Carlyle, my Scotch acquaintance—a deep-thinking German who contrives to unite his almost idolatrous admiration of Goethe with the profession of a sort of religion . . .”93 On 12 February 1832:

Carlyle breakfasted with me and I had an interesting morning with him. He is a character and a singular compound. His voice and manner and even the style of his conversation are that of a religious zealot—and he keeps up that character in his declamations against the anti-religious. But then—if not the God of his idolatry—at least he has a priest and prophet of his church in Goethe, of whose profound wisdom he speaks like an enthusiast. But for him Carlyle says he should not now be alive. He owes everything to him! But in strange union with such idolatry is his admiration of Buonaparte. . . . He left me at one.94

And on 17 February 1832: “I took tea with Carlyle; he delighted me while he excited my envy by showing me the most charming verses accompanying little presents from Goethe to him and his wife. Goethe seems to hold Carlyle in high esteem.”95

It goes without saying that, in February 1832, Robinson must have told Carlyle about his meetings with Goethe in 1829. In February 1832, therefore, while being unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book, Carlyle must have heard of Goethe’s admiration for Byron’s The Deformed Transformed.

7. Carlyle’s Last Letter to Goethe, March 1832

Circa 20 March 1832, Carlyle writes a letter to Goethe which is now lost,96 but which, in Carlyle’s letter to Eckermann of 27 July 1832, is summarized as follows:

A long Answer [to Goethe’s letter of 19 August 1831] . . . was written, some time about the twentieth of March; wherein all that I had been doing and considering was sketched out: my sad astonishment at much I had seen in London, active and speculative; my joy to escape out of it, and think my own thought, and go my own path, once

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92. Cf. Robinson 1: 402–03. For later meetings between Carlyle and Robinson, cf. Robinson 2: 541–42 (25 Nov. 1837); 550 (22 May 1838); 796 (5 Apr. 1860) and 819 (12 Feb. 1866).
93. Ibid.: 402. In his reminiscences, Robinson says: “Feb. 11th [1832] . . . He [Carlyle] . . . then surprised his acquaintance by combining an intense love of Goethe with a religious sentiment, which most persons would deem incompatible . . .” (ibid.: 402–03). Robinson, as Butler observes, “was so pious that he often regretted what he believed to be a want of religious feeling in his idol Goethe” (Butler: 162).
95. Robinson 1: 403. Cf. also Robinson’s reminiscences: “On the 17th Carlyle showed me letters of Goethe manifesting the respect in which Goethe held him. Carlyle declared he owed his life to Goethe” (ibid.). Cf. App. V, 3. In Eckermann’s Gespräche mit Goethe, Goethe is reported as saying on 25 July 1827: “In Carlyle it is admirable how he, in his criticisms on our German Writers, keeps before him the spiritual and moral essence as the chief factor. Carlyle is a moral force of great significance. He has a great future before him, and indeed one can see no end to all that he will do and effect by his influence” (Entry for 25 July 1827 in C. E. Norton, ed., Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle, London: MacMillan, 1887: 54, n. 1). Cf. Eckermann: 508. For Goethe on Carlyle, cf. also Eckermann: 207–08 (15 July 1827); Herwig, ed., Goethes Gespräche, 3, 2: 222 (F. v. Müller, 15 Sept. 1827), 315 (B. R. Abeken, 5 July 1828) and Eckermann: 232–33 (11 Oct. 1828) and 395 (5 Apr. 1831).
96. Cf. CL 6: 188, n. 2.
more among the Mountains. I concluded, I remember, by earnestly requesting a Letter; said, “I should not feel at home again till a Weimar message and welcome reached me there.”

Having left London on 24 March, Carlyle, on 7 April, “was met at Dumfries by tidings” that Goethe had died on 22 March 1832. On the next day, he writes to Napier: “The death of Goethe, which I heard of last night, is for me a very sad and great event. Not to be mourned over, but to be viewed with reverence, with solemn awe. ‘How beautifully sinks that summer sun! So dies a Hero; glorious; to be worshipped!’” On 14 April, Carlyle is back in Craigenputtock, where he interrupts his work on “Corn-Law Rhymes” to write “Death of Goethe”, which he finishes on 26 April 1832.

8. Napier Requesting an “Encyclopedia memoir of Lord Byron”, April 1832

On 24 April 1832, Napier asked Carlyle to write an article on Byron for the Encyclopedia Britannica. On 28 April 1832, Carlyle replied: “If it can gratify any wish of yours, I shall very readily undertake that little piece on Byron: but it will be tacente Minervâ, without inward call; nor indeed am I sure that you have fixed on the right man for your object.” Of Byron’s fame, thought and “moral nature”, he then goes on to say:

In my mind, Byron has been sinking at an accelerated rate, for the last ten years, and has now reached a very low level: I should say too low, were there not a Hibernicism involved in the expression. His fame has been very great, but I see not how it is to endure; neither does that make him great. No genuine productive Thought was ever revealed by him to mankind; indeed no clear undistorted vision into anything, or picture of anything; but all had a certain falsehood, a brawling theatrical insincere character. The man’s moral nature too was bad, his demeanour, as a man, was bad. What was he, in short, but a huge sulky Dandy: of giant dimensions, to be sure, yet still a Dandy; who sulked, as poor Mrs Hunt expressed it[,] “like a schoolboy that had got a plain bunn given him instead of a plum one.” His Bunn was nevertheless God’s Universe with what Tasks are there; and it had served better men than he. I love him not; I owe him nothing; only pity, and forgiveness: he taught me nothing that I had not again to forget.
Of the work done on this “Encyclopedia memoir of Lord Byron” after finishing “Corn-Law Rhymes” circa 4 May 1832, and of the “uncertainty” of the project, Carlyle writes in his Journal on 16 May 1832: “Purposed next to draw up an Encyclopedia memoir of Lord Byron (for N. and purely in compliance with his request); had accordingly jotted down some pages of it: but now an uncertainty arises whether my service (as I explained the possibility of rendering it) is wanted; which uncertainty will soon become a certainty that said service cannot be had. I had no manner of call to speak there about Lord Byron; and had much rather eschew it.” As it turned out, the article was never completed.

9. Reading Heraud’s “Critical Illustrations of Byron’s Poetry” (1833), March 1833
Circa 6 March 1833, Carlyle is reading, in Fraser’s Magazine, Heraud’s “Critical Illustrations of Byron’s Poetry”, which was a review of the “Works of Lord Byron. Vols. VII. to XI. London: John Murray, 1832”. In reply to a letter, dated 9 March 1833, in which J. S. Mill asked Carlyle about the authorship of the article, which, as Mill put it, “looks like the production of some half-fledged pupil of yours”, Carlyle writes to Mill on 18 April 1833:

Speaking of Fraser, let me not forget a second time to answer you that the writer of that Byron (according to my guess) is no disciple of mine, but of Coleridge’s: one Heraud, who lives at Tottenham, and looks better on Paper than otherwise; a meritorious creature nevertheless, who from the depths of some Law-Stationer’s shop could contrive to appropriate an Idea or two (even in Coleridge’s sense), and now reechoes them, in long continuance,—I fear, as from unfurnished chambers.

10. Replacing the Title “Thoughts on Clothes” of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II by the Title “Sartor Resartus”, 1833
Unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book, Carlyle, on 27 May 1833, offers it to Fraser, as seen above, for serial publication in Fraser’s Magazine, telling Fraser, at the same time, that “perhaps we might see right to alter the title a little”. And by 18 July

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110. J. S. Mill to TC, 9 Mar. 1833 (Sanders: 105, n. 71).


112. Cf. TC to J. Fraser, 27 May 1833 (6: 395–97). See also above, Ch. VII.

113. Ibid.: 395.
1833, Carlyle has replaced the title “Thoughts on Clothes” of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II by the title “Sartor Resartus”.  

For the title “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”, reference should be made, as seen above, to the “Tailors” chapter of Sartor, in which the Tailor—symbolizing the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete—is said to be transformed by Die Kleider from a ‘Fraction’ or ‘the ninth part of a man’ to ‘not only a Man, but something of a Creator or Divinity’.  

It may well be, however, as stated above, that the idea of transformation expressed in the title of Byron’s The Deformed Transformed (1824)—“founded . . . partly on the ‘Faust’ of the great Goëthe”, and much admired by Goethe, as Carlyle must have heard in 1832, while being unable to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II published as a book—made Carlyle replace the title “Thoughts on Clothes” of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II by a title referring to what was his immediate concern, viz. the transformation of the Poet or moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete, whilst the alliterative form of the title “The Deformed Transformed” may well have stood model for that of the title “Sartor Resartus”, or “The Tailor Made Whole Again”.  

11. Supplementary  

By way of complement to the matter discussed above, it may here be noted that, by 12 September 1836, four months before finishing his French Revolution, Carlyle was reading the first two volumes of Eckermann’s Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens (Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life), which he had borrowed from Mrs. Austin. While reading “Eckermann’s Conversations with Goethe”, Carlyle must have come across the entries, quoted above, of 18 January 1825, 8 November 1826 and 29 November 1826, in which Goethe, in conversation with Eckermann, speaks of Byron’s The Deformed Transformed (1824).  

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115. See above, Ch. X.  

116. Cf. App. III.  

117. Cf. TC to JAC, 12 Sept. 1836 (9: 61).  

CHAPTER XII
TEUFELSDRÖCKH AND THE SAINT-SIMONIANS

Preliminary

Of the ‘fruits’ of his ‘unseen sowing’, Teufelsdröckh says in the “Pause” chapter of Sartor:

‘Writings of mine, not indeed known as mine (for what am I?), have fallen, perhaps not altogether void, into the mighty seed-field of Opinion; fruits of my unseen sowing gratifyingly meet me here and there. . . .

‘Nay how knowest thou . . . but this and the other pregnant Device, now grown to be a world-renowned far-working Institution; like a grain of right mustard-seed once cast into the right soil, and now stretching-out strong boughs to the four winds, for the birds of the air to lodge in,—may have been properly my doing? Some one’s doing, it without doubt was; from some Idea, in some single Head, it did first of all take beginning: why not from some Idea in mine?’

With regard to the ‘world-renowned far-working Institution’ mentioned here by Teufelsdröckh, the Editor writes:

Does Teufelsdröckh here glance at that ‘SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY (Eigenthums-conservirende Gesellschaft),’ of which so many ambiguous notices glide spectre-like through these inexpressible Paper-bags? ‘An Institution,’ hints he, ‘not unsuitable to the wants of the time; as indeed such sudden extension proves: for already can the Society number, among its office-bearers or corresponding members, the highest Names, if not the highest Persons, in Germany, England, France; and contributions, both of money and of meditation, pour in from all quarters; to, if possible, enlist the remaining Integrity of the world, and, defensively and with forethought, marshal it round this Palladium.’ Does Teufelsdröckh mean, then, to give himself out as the originator of that so notable Eigenthums-conservirende (‘Owndom-conserving’) Gesellschaft; and if so, what, in the Devil’s name, is it?

Of the desirability of ‘some such Universal Association’ as the ‘SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY’, Teufelsdröckh is then quoted as saying:

‘At a time when the divine Commandment, Thou shalt not steal, wherein truly, if well understood, is comprised the whole Hebrew Decalogue, with Solon’s and Lycurgus’s Constitutions, Justinian’s Pandects, the Code Napoléon, and all Codes, Catechisms, Divinities, Moralities whatsoever, that man has hitherto devised (and enforced with Altar-fire and Gallows-ropes) for his social guidance: at a time, I say, when this divine Commandment has all-but faded away from the general remembrance; and, with little disguise, a new opposite Commandment, Thou shalt steal, is everywhere promulgated,—it perhaps behoved, in this universal dotage and deliration, the sound portion of mankind to bestir themselves and rally. When the widest and wildest violations of that divine right of Property, the only divine right now extant or conceivable, are sanctioned and recommended by a vicious Press, and the world has lived to hear it asserted that we have no Property in our very Bodies, but only an accidental Possession and Life-rent, what is the issue to be looked for? Hangmen and Catchpoles may, by their noose-gins and baited fall-traps, keep down the smaller sort of vermin; but what, except perhaps some such Universal Association, can protect us against whole meat-devouring and man-devouring hosts of Boa-constrictors?’

For a proper understanding of the passages quoted above, Teufelsdröckh’s remarks on the conservation of ‘Property’ may here be looked at first.

1. SR, “Pause”: 159, pars. 3–4. “About 90 per cent of all articles were anonymous before 1870, and well over 90 per cent for the whole century” (Seigel: 24, n. 8).
2. SR, “Pause”: 159, par. 4.
3. Ibid.: 159–160, par. 4.
Teufelsdröckh’s Remarks on the Conservation of ‘Property’

1. Critics
   a. Larkin: “sarcastic reflections”
   Glancing at Teufelsdröckh’s remarks on the conservation of ‘Property’, Larkin notes that there is no need to “dwell on the sarcastic reflections concerning the ‘Conservation of Property:’ how at a time when religion and all that is sacred seems tumbling into wreck, this is the one thought that anywhere rises into articulate expression: ‘Property, property, property,’ is all he [Teufelsdröckh] can hear them say”.

   b. Harrold: Remarks Based on Locke, and Referring to the Preservation of “property, material and mental”
   Of the passage on the desirability of ‘some such Universal Association’ as the ‘SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY’, Harrold, on his part, says: “The passage . . . dealing whimsically with the idea of property, material and mental, rests upon a passage in Locke’s Two Treatises of Government (1690); see the second treatise, ch. 9, in which men are said to quit the state of nature and to form a society ‘for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, which I call by the general name—property’.”

2. My Interpretation: Remarks Referring to the Conservation of “the inward primary powers” in “the Dynamical Nature of man”
   With regard to the fact that “the British reader often reads and hears in this time . . . That Society ‘exists for the protection of property’ “, Carlyle says in Chartism (1839):
   True enough, O friends, ‘for protecting property’; most true: and indeed, if you will once sufficiently enforce that ‘Eighth Commandment, the whole ‘rights of man’ are well cared for; I know no better definition of the rights of man. Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not be stolen from: what a Society were that, Plato’s Republic, More’s Utopia mere emblems of it! Give every man what is his, the accurate price of what he has done and been, no man shall any more complain, neither shall the earth suffer any more. For the protection of property, in very truth, and for that alone!

   Carlyle then goes on to define man’s “property” as follows:

   And now what is thy property? That parchment title-deed, that purse thou buttonest in thy breeches-pocket? Is that thy valuable property? Unhappy brother, most poor insolvent brother, I without parchment at all, with purse oftenest in the flaccid state, imponderous, which will not fling against the wind, have quite other property than that! I have the miraculous breath of Life in me, breathed into my nostrils by Almighty God. I have affections, thoughts, a god-given capability to be and do; rights, therefore,—the right for instance to thy love

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4. Larkin, Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life (1886; rpt. 1970): 39. For Larkin, see above, Ch. X.
5. Harrold, ed., Sartor Resartus: 200, n. 3. As The Oxford Companion to English Literature points out, the two Treatises of Government (1690) were “designed to combat the theory of the divine right of kings” (OCEL, s.v. Locke). In this note, Harrold also refers to “Ess., II, 66–67 [“Signs of the Times”]; IV, 163 [Chartism]”. Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 66–67, pars. 20–21 (“we might note the mighty interest taken in mere political arrangements, as itself the sign of a mechanical age. . . . it [Good government] is emphatically a machine: to the discontented, a ‘taxing-machine’; to the contented, a ‘machine for securing property’ ”). For Chartism, E 4: 163, see below.
7. Ibid.
if I love thee, to thy guidance if I obey thee: the strangest rights, whereof in church-pulpits one still hears something, though almost unintelligible now; rights stretching high into Immensity, far into Eternity! Fifteen-pence a-day; three-and-sixpence a-day; eight hundred pounds and odd a-day, dost thou call that my property? I value that little; little all I could purchase with that. For truly, as is said, what matters it? In torn boots, in soft-hung carriages-and-four, a man gets always to his journey’s end. Socrates walked barefoot, or in wooden shoes, and yet arrived happily. They never asked him, What shoes or conveyance? never, What wages hadst thou? but simply, What work didst thou?—Property, O brother? ‘Of my very body I have but a life-rent.’ As for this flaccid purse of mine, ‘tis something, nothing; has been the slave of pickpockets, cutthroats, Jew-brokers, gold-dust robbers; ‘twas his, ‘tis mine;—‘tis thine, if thou care much to steal it. But my soul, breathed into me by God, my Me and what capability is there; that is mine, and I will resist the stealing of it. I call that mine and not thine; I will keep that, and do what work I can with it: God has given it me, the Devil shall not take it away.8

From the above, it is clear that, in these paragraphs in Chartism and Sartor, the term “property” is used by Carlyle for what, in “Signs of the Times” (1829), he calls “the inward primary powers” in “the Dynamical nature of man,”9 which are described by him as “the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and infinite character.”10

Of the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”, Carlyle writes in “Signs of the Times” (1829):

To judge by the loud clamour of our Constitution-builders, Statists, Economists, directors, creators, reformers of Public Societies; in a word, all manner of Mechanists, from the Cartwright up to the Code-maker; and by the nearly total silence of all Preachers and Teachers who should give a voice to Poetry, Religion and Morality, we might fancy either that man’s Dynamical nature was, to all spiritual intents, extinct, or else so perfected that nothing more was to be made of it by the old means; and henceforth only in his Mechanical contrivances did any hope exist for him.

. . . This, we take it, is the grand characteristic of our age. By our skill in Mechanism, it has come to pass, that in the management of external things we excel all other ages; while in whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are perhaps inferior to most civilised ages.11

And of the disastrous effect of the neglect of “the Dynamical nature of man”, he says in Past and Present (1843):

Ah me, into what waste latitudes, in this Time-Voyage, have we wandered; like adventurous Sindbads;12—where the men go about as if by galvanism, with meaningless glaring eyes, and have no soul, but only a beaver-faculty

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8. Ibid.: 163–64, par. 14. For the statement, ‘Of my very body I have but a life-rent’, cf. the entry, written between 24 Nov.–29 Dec. 1830, in Carlyle’s Journal: “. . . of my Body I have only a life-rent; of all that is without my Skin only an accidental Possession—so long as I can keep it” (TN: 179). For “Carlyle’s Journal, Oct. 28, 1830” (Harrold, ed., Sartor: 201, n. 4), read “Carlyle’s Journal, between 24 Nov.–29 Dec. 1830” (cf. TN: 177, 181). Cf. OED, s.v. liferent, “Sc. Law. . . a right to use and enjoy property during one’s life”.
10. Ibid.: 68, par. 24. Cf. also “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 40, par. 53 (“that mystic region” from which “all wonders, all Poiesies, and Religions, and Social Systems have proceeded”). See above, Ch. IX.
12. “The allusion is to the tale of ‘Sinbad the Sailor’ in the Arabian Nights, and his strange adventures in search of wealth” (Hughes, ed., PP: 331).
and stomach! The haggard despair of Cotton-factory, Coal-mine operatives, Chandos Farm-labourers, in these days, is painful to behold; but not so painful, hideous to the inner sense, as that brutish godforgetting Profit-and-Loss Philosophy and Life-theory, which we hear jangled on all hands of us, in senate-houses, spouting-clubs, leading-articles, pulpets and platforms, everywhere as the Ultimate Gospel and candid Plain-English of Man’s Life, from the throats and pens and thoughts of all-but all men!—

Enlightened Philosophies, like Molière Doctors, will tell you: ‘Enthusiasms, Self-sacrifice, Heaven, Hell and suchlike: yes, all that was true enough for old stupid times; all that used to be true: but we have changed all that, nous avons changé tout cela!’ Well; if the heart be got round now into the right side, and the liver to the left; if man have no heroism in him deeper than the wish to eat, and in his soul there dwell now no Infinite of Hope and Awe, and no divine Silence can become imperative because it is not Sinai Thunder, and no tie will bind if it be not that of Tyburn gallows-ropes,—then verily you have changed all that; and for it, and for you, and for me, behold the Abyss and nameless Annihilation is ready. So scandalous a beggarly Universe deserves indeed nothing else; I cannot say I would save it from Annihilation. Vacuum, and the serene Blue, will be much handsomer; easier too for all of us. I, for one, decline living as a Patent-Digester: Patent-Digester, Spinning-Mule, Mayfair Clothes-Horse: many thanks, but your Chaosships will have the goodness to excuse me!

**Teufelsdröckh and the Saint-Simonians**

1. The ‘Program in the Public Journals’

In *Sartor*, the passage about ‘the widest and wildest violations of that divine right of Property’ being ‘sanctioned and recommended by a vicious Press’, is followed by the statement: ‘If, therefore, the more sequestered Thinker have wondered, in his privacy, from what hand that perhaps not ill-written *Program* in the Public Journals, with its high *Prize-Questions* and so liberal *Prizes*, could have proceeded,—let him now cease such wonder; and, with undivided faculty, betake himself to the *Concurrenz* (Competition).’ Being at a loss to determine what Teufelsdröckh is here referring to, the Editor asks:

Has this same ‘perhaps not ill-written *Program*,’ or any other authentic Transaction of that Property-conserving Society, fallen under the eye of the British Reader, in any Journal foreign or domestic? If so, what are those *Prize-Questions*, what are the terms of Competition, and when and where? No printed Newspaper-leaf, no farther light of any sort, to be met with in these Paper-bags! Or is the whole business one other of those whimsicalities and perverse inexplicabilities, whereby Herr Teufelsdröckh, meaning much or nothing, is pleased so often to play fast-and-loose with us?

Teufelsdröckh’s statement should evidently be taken to mean that the article ‘in the Public Journals’ had proceeded from his hand and had originally been published in the shape of Academic ‘Program’, i.e., as “an essay . . . prefixed to the annual report” of the “New

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13. “As the stoniest opponent of repeal [of the Corn Law] he [Richard Grenville, second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos] was known as ‘The Farmer’s Friend’ . . . While the labourers on his domains lived as poorly as man can, his prodigality involved him in a debt of £1,000,000” (ibid.: 332).
14. “‘Nous avons changé tout cela’: Molière, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, ii. 6. Said by the sham doctor to justify his mistake as to the positions of the heart and liver” (ibid.).
17. Ibid., par. 5.
University”\textsuperscript{19} of Weissnichtwo. Carlyle, no doubt, here has in mind “Signs of the Times”, which had appeared in the \textit{Edinburgh Review} in August 1829,\textsuperscript{20} and, in translation, “in the November 1\textsuperscript{829} issue of the \textit{Revue Brittanique},\textsuperscript{21} and which had been written with the express purpose of counteracting the ‘violations of that divine right of Property’\textsuperscript{22} and the undue cultivation of the “Mechanical nature” of man.\textsuperscript{23} In France, the “Saint Simonians displayed deep interest in the article, publishing a long commentary on it which extended into two issues of their weekly newspaper, ‘L’Organisateur’,\textsuperscript{24} “March 21, 1830; April 18, 1830”.\textsuperscript{25}

2. Teufelsdröckh’s Comment on the Saint-Simonians

What the Saint-Simonians stood for, has been described as follows:

Saint Simonism, which only became a creed after the death of its founder in 1825, owed much to a band of brilliant disciples, engineers, doctors and men of science, who combined a highly rationalistic analysis of society with something approaching religious mania. Despite this strange contradiction they developed and extended Saint Simon’s ideas which had been in a state of ceaseless evolution from scientism to pacifism, from pacifism to industrialism, from industrialism to socialism, and from socialism to “New Christianity”. In their enthusiastic hands the master’s writings were welded into a powerful and extremely original analysis of society which many enlightened minds found both persuasive and provocative. They attacked the institutions of competition, private property and inheritance, espoused the interests of the labouring class because it was the largest and poorest class, advocated the emancipation of women—one half the human race, and demanded a new social organization in which the rôle of the worker, the artist and the priest would be radically transformed. In the hierarchical society they envisaged careers would be open to talent, each would perform the tasks to which he or she was suited and would be rewarded according to his or her work.\textsuperscript{26}

In his last letter to the Editor, Heuschrecke recalls that ‘when the Saint-Simonian Society transmitted its Propositions hither, and the whole \textit{Gans}\textsuperscript{27} was one vast cackle of laughter, lamentation, and astonishment, our Sage sat mute; and at the end of the third evening said merely: “Here also are men who have discovered, not without amazement, that Man is still

\textsuperscript{19} SR, “Reminiscences”: 13, par. 6.
\textsuperscript{20} Cf. App. VIII, 2.
\textsuperscript{22} SR, “Pause”: 160, par. 4. See also above.
\textsuperscript{23} Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), \textit{E} 2: 73, pars. 30–31. See also above, Ch IX. “Signs of the Times”, as Froude points out, was “the first of the essays in which he [Carlyle] brought out his views of the condition of modern English society” (F 2: 59).
\textsuperscript{24} Pankhurst: 29.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., n. 2. Cf. \textit{CL} 5: 135, n. 1.
\textsuperscript{26} Pankhurst: vii–viii.
\textsuperscript{27} The “coffee-house”, “\textit{Zur Grünen Gans}”, was “the largest in Weissnichtwo, where all the Virtuosity, and nearly all the Intellect of the place assembled of an evening” (\textit{SR}, “Reminiscences”: 11, par. 2). In this connection, the following variants may here be noted: (1) \textit{Zum Grünen Ganse} 1833; \textit{Zur Grünen Gans} 1858. “Reminiscences”: 11, par. 2. — (2) at the \textit{Grünen Ganse} 1833; at the Grüne Gans 1858. “Reminiscences”: 14, par. 8. — (3) ‘at the Ganse’ 1834; ‘at the Gans’ 1858. “Farewell”: 236, par. 9. — (4) ‘the whole Ganse’] 1834; ‘the whole Gans’ 1858. “Farewell”: 237, par. 10. — For these variants, cf. SR (S.E.): 490, 501. Tarr’s note to “\textit{Zur Grünen Gans}” reads: “‘At the Green Goose.’ . . . In the 1858 Uniform Edition and thereafter, the gender of the goose was changed throughout the text, from ‘Ganse’ (female goose) to ‘Gans’ (gander), a change which was evidently deliberate, but inexplicable” (Tarr in \textit{SR}, S.E.: 251–52). This is incorrect. The change was from “Ganse” (gander) to “Gans” (female goose). For the New High German, now obsolete word “Ganse”, meaning “Gänseriche” (gander), cf. \textit{DW} (Grimm), s.v. Ganse.
Man; of which high, long-forgotten Truth you already see them make a false application.” 28
Carlyle here has in mind the fact that, in 1830, the Saint-Simonians sent “to the writer of the
Caractère de notre époque” the commentary on “Signs of the Times” which had appeared in
L’Organisateur, together with other Saint-Simonian writings (among which Saint-Simon’s
Nouveau Christianisme, 1825)29 and a covering letter from Gustave d’Eichthal dated 29 April
183030 and received by Carlyle circa 23 July 1830.31 Teufelsdröckh’s comment on the Saint-
Simonians may here be compared to Carlyle’s statement about them in his letter to Gustave
d’Eichthal of 17 May 1831, reading:

I have said to myself, and still repeat: Here too are men that know and feel thro’ their whole soul the grand and
almost forgotten truth, Man is still Man, and glory in it as they ought; with such I am heartily, if not Brother in
Saint-Simon or any other mortal, yet Brother in God, by whose Inspiration they and I are made to understand.
Better, in an age of steam-engines, that such a sublime and to us infinitely cheering Truth, were even misapplied
than altogether unknown.32

We shall now deal with the question how Teufelsdröckh’s comment on the Saint-Simonians
has to be understood.

a. “Man is still Man”
Of ‘the deep meaning of the Laws of Mechanism’ lying ‘heavy on us’, Carlyle writes in “Signs of the Times” (1829): “Truly may we say, with the Philosopher, ‘the deep meaning of the Laws of Mechanism lies heavy on us’; and in the closet, in the marketplace, in the temple, by the social hearth, encumbers the whole movements of our mind, and over our noblest faculties is spreading a nightmare sleep.”33 In the same essay, however, he also notes: “Indications we do see in other countries and in our own, signs infinitely cheering to us, that Mechanism is not always to be our hard taskmaster, but one day to be our pliant, all-ministering servant;

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28. SR, “Farewell”: 237, par. 10. For “Man is still Man”, Tarr, in SR (S.E.): 458, refers to Goethe as quoted by
Heuschrecke in the passage reading: ‘But why,’ says the Hofrath, and indeed say we, ‘do I dilate on the uses of our
Teufelsdröckh’s Biography? The great Herr Minister von Goethe has penetratingly remarked that “Man is properly the only object that interests man”: thus I too have noted, that in Weissnichtwo our whole conversation is little or nothing else but Biography or Auto-Biography; ever humano-anecdotal (menschlich-anekdotisch). Biography is by nature the most universally profitable, universally pleasant of all things: especially Biography of distinguished individuals’ (SR, “Prospective”: 59–60, par. 13). For the meaning of the phrase, “Man is still Man”, however, see “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 42, par. 56, quoted below.
29. Cf. TC to JAC, 6 Aug. 1830 (5: 133) and TC to G. d’Eichthal, 9 Aug. 1830 (5: 134–35 and n. 1). Cf. also
K. J. Fielding, “Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians (1830–1832): New Considerations”, in Carlyle and His
31. Cf. TC to JAC, 6 Aug. 1830 (5: 133).
32. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831 (5: 279). Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 81, par. 42 (quoted below),
where Carlyle speaks of “signs infinitely cheering to us”. Cf. also TC to Goethe, 22 Jan. 1831: “I should say, they [the ‘Saint-Simonians in Paris’] have discovered and laid to heart this momentous and now almost forgotten truth, Man is still a Man; and are already beginning to make false applications of it” (5: 222).
33. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 79–80, par. 39.
that a new and brighter spiritual era is slowly evolving itself for all men.”

Alluding to these statements in “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle says in “Characteristics” (1831):

Remarkable it is, truly, how everywhere the eternal fact begins again to be recognised, that there is a Godlike in human affairs . . . Such recognition we discern on all hands and in all countries: in each country after its own fashion. In France, among the younger nobler minds, strangely enough; where, in their loud contention with the Actual and Conscious, the Ideal or Unconscious is, for the time, without exponent; where Religion means not the parent of Polity, as of all that is highest, but Polity itself; and this and the other earnest man has not been wanting, who could audibly whisper to himself: “Go to, I will make a religion.” In England still more strangely; as in all things, worthy England will have its way: by the shrieking of hysterical women, casting out of devils, and other ‘gifts of the Holy Ghost.’ Well might Jean Paul say, in this his twelfth hour of the Night, ‘the living dream’; well might he say, ‘the dead walk.’ Meanwhile let us rejoice rather that so much has been seen into, were it through never so diffracting media, and never so madly distorted; that in all dialects, though but half-articulately, this high Gospel begins to be preached: Man is still Man. The genius of Mechanism, as was once before predicted [in “Signs of the Times”], will not always sit like a choking incubus on our soul; but at length, when by a new magic Word the old spell is broken, become our slave, and as familiar-spirit do all our bidding.

From the above, it is clear that Teufelsdröckh’s statement about the Saint-Simonians: “Here also are men who have discovered, not without amazement, that Man is still Man”, should be taken to mean: “Here also are men who have discovered, not without amazement”, that “there is a Godlike in human affairs”.

b. “a false application”

Commenting on the books sent to him, Carlyle writes to G. d'Eichthal on 9 August 1830:

In these Books of your Society, which for most part were new to me, I find little or nothing to dissent from: the spirit at least meets my entire sympathy—the opinions also are often such as I, in my own dialect, have been accustomed to cherish, and more or less clearly enunciate. That the last century was a period of Denial, of Irreligion and Destruction; to which a new period of Affirmation, of Religion, must succeed, if Society is to be reconstituted, or even to continue in existence: this with its thousand corollaries is a proposition for which the thinking minds of all nations are prepared. . . .

34. Ibid.: 81, par. 42. “Carlyle titled his essay [“Signs of the Times”] after Christ’s words in Matthew, 16: 3, ‘O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?’ ” (Tennyson, A Carlyle Reader: 31). In Matthew, 16, Christ, addressing the Pharisees and Sadducees, “ironically concedes their ability to recognize natural portents in heaven but adroitly invites them to discern supernatural portents on earth among the blind, the lame, the deaf (cf. 11: 4 f.), announcing the new Messianic day” (A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, B. Orchard et al., eds., London: Nelson, 1953: 881).

35. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 42–43, par. 56. On 31 August 1830, Carlyle writes to Goethe: “Some weeks ago I had a strange Letter with certain strange Books from a Society in Paris, which calls itself La Société Saint-Simonienne, and professes among other wonderful things, now that Saint-Simon is dead, to be instituting a new Religion in the world. Their address to me grounded itself on an Essay entitled Signs of the Times which I had written for the Edinburgh Review, about a year ago, and which seemed to point me out as their man” (5: 156). For Irving’s “prayer-meetings”, cf. TC to JWC, 22 Aug. 1831 (5: 351–52); TC to MAC, 19 Sept. 1831, 5: 438 (“‘silly women’ . . . shrieking out at his [Irving’s] prayer-meetings, and clavering downright jargon, which they name Gift of the Holy Ghost, and Speaking with Tongues!’”); TC to MAC, 20 Oct. 1831 (6: 24–25); TC to JAC, 21 Oct. 1831 (6: 33), and R: 297–98. Carlyle wrote “Characteristics” (1831) between circa 2 November and 17 December 1831 (cf. App. VIII, 2).
These prospects and interests of society I find set forth in your Works, in logical sequence and coherence, with precision, clear illustration, and the emphasis of a noble zeal.\textsuperscript{36}

When he comes to speak of the fact, however, that the Saint-Simonian Society was “cherishing within it a New Religion”, Carlyle goes on to note:

The more curious am I to understand how, in your minds, Scientific insight has transformed itself into Religion; or in what sense, not of exaggerated metaphor, men of cultivated talent, strong power of thought, and far above all superstition and deception, use these extraordinary words: Dieu est revenu à la France en Saint-Simon, et la France annoncera au monde le Dieu nouveau [God has returned to France in Saint-Simon, and France will announce the new God to the world]. On which most important of all points I yet await instruction. For, let not loving Disciples take it amiss of a stranger to their Doctrine and their Master, in these writings of Saint-Simon himself, even in the Nouveau Christianisme, I find indeed an ardent, all-hoping temper, a keen, far-glancing, yet often, as seems to me, hasty and flighty, vision; surely nothing of a Divine Character; no Inspiration, save what every man of genius, who has once seen Truth, and with his whole heart embraced it, may be equally said to feel; none, indeed, but what several of his Disciples manifest in a still more unquestionable form.\textsuperscript{37}

Nine months later, on 17 May 1831, Carlyle writes again to G. d’Eichthal about “Saint-Simonian Doctrine” being held out as “a new Religion”:

...were the Saint-Simonian Doctrine stated as a mere Scientific Doctrine, or held out as the Prophecy of an Ultimate Perfection towards which Society must more and more approximate,—I could with few reservations subscribe to it, and heartily agree with you that it was the duty of all men, by whatever best means they had, to forward such a consummation. Nevertheless, in one quarter, lies a mighty chasm, the darkness of which is still to me quite void. You call yourselves a Church, and founders of a new Religion; which Religion, permit me to confess, I hitherto seek for in vain.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{36} TC to G. d’Eichthal, 9 Aug. 1830 (5: 136–37). Inviting the Saint-Simionists to read other articles of his, Carlyle says in the postscript to this letter: “Some clearer insight into my views, Moral and Religious, which as originating from almost the opposite point of vision, yet curiously corresponding, your Society might find it interesting to compare with their own, is to be had in an Article entitled Voltaire, No. 6 of the Foreign Review; in Novalis, No. 7 of the same Periodical, and Goethe No. 3” (ibid.: 139).

\textsuperscript{37} TC to G. d’Eichthal, 9 Aug. 1830 (5: 137. D.E.’s brackets). For the Saint-Simonian Society “cherishing within it a New Religion” (ibid.: 136), cf. also TC to JAC, 6 Aug. 1830 (5: 133); TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830 (5: 156) and “Parliamentary History of the French Revolution” (1837), E 4: 7, par. 10. Having noted, in his letter of 9 Aug. 1830, that, “for the present, there is no public Religion”, Carlyle goes on to say: “That there will and must be a Religion no man, who feels the unimpaired, fresh-created soul of a man within him, will doubt... ‘But as yet,’ says Jean Paul, a deep, prophetic thinker, probably well known to you, ‘But as yet struggles the twelfth hour of the Night; spectres uproar; the dead walk; the living dream.—Thou, Eternal Providence wilt cause the day to dawn’ ” (5: 138). Cf. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 32, par. 42, and 42, par. 56, quoted above. For “the dead walk; the living dream”, see above, Ch. VI. For Jung on “the religion of the future”, cf. C. G. Jung to Leslie Hollingsworth, 21 April 1934 (Letters I: 158). Cf. also C. G. Jung to Pastor H. Wegmann, 12 Dec. 1945 (ibid.: 402).

\textsuperscript{38} TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831 (5: 278). Of “the Religion of all Thinkers... for the last half century”, Carlyle says in this letter: “...if our Symbol of God is henceforth to be his own great Universe, and our Gospel the acted History of Man, then to my view is such Religion ill named the Saint-Simonians; inasmuch as it has been the Religion of all Thinkers (tho’ in a far-scattered Communion) for the last half-century: of Goethe, for example; in a less distinct sort, of Schiller, of Lessing, Jacobi, Herder. Alas! Of such Religion the Liturgy is still all to make; the Homilies too lie scattered widely, as poor scraps and fragments, in the Froth-ocean of what we call Literature;—whence he were a wise man that could gather, and complete them” (ibid.: 278–79). For Carlyle on religion, cf. PP (1843), “The Modern Worker”, XV: 225–32, pars. 1–11, and LP (1850), 8, “Jesuitism”: 333–35, pars. 72–76.
When Teufelsdröckh, therefore, after saying of the Saint-Simonians: “Here also are men who have discovered, not without amazement, that Man is still Man”, goes on to note: “of which high, long-forgotten Truth you already see them make a false application”, he evidently means to say that, in as much as the Saint-Simonians “call” themselves “founders of a new Religion”, they are making “a false application” of the “high, long-forgotten Truth” that “Man is still Man”, or that “there is a Godlike in human affairs”.

3. The ‘Society for the Conservation of Property’
Speaking of the ‘fruits’ of his ‘unseen sowing’, Teufelsdröckh says, as seen above:

‘Nay how knowest thou . . . but this and the other pregnant Device, now grown to be a world-renowned far-working Institution . . . may have been properly my doing? Some one’s doing, it without doubt was; from some Idea, in some single Head, it did first of all take beginning: why not from some Idea in mine?’

Teufelsdröckh should here be understood as saying that ‘some Idea’ of his in ‘that perhaps not ill-written Program in the Public Journals’—with which, as seen above, Carlyle has “Signs of the Times” (1829) in mind—may have led to ‘this and the other pregnant Device’, or project, which had brought about the ‘sudden extension’ of the ‘Society for the Conservation of Property’, ‘already’ numbering, ‘among its office-bearers or corresponding members, the highest Names, if not the highest Persons, in Germany, England, France’.

In “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle writes, as seen above: “Indications we do see in other countries and in our own, signs infinitely cheering to us, that Mechanism is not always to be our hard taskmaster, but one day to be our pliant, all-ministering servant; that a new and brighter spiritual era is slowly evolving itself for all men.” Of the Saint-Simonians being “among the Signs”, Carlyle says in his Journal circa 16 August 1830: “Received about four weeks ago a strange letter from some Saint-Simoniens at Paris, grounded on my little Signs of the Times. These people have strange notions, not without a large spicing of truth, and are themselves among the Signs. I shall feel curious to know what becomes of them.” And on 31 August 1830, Carlyle writes to Goethe: “Some weeks ago I had a strange Letter with certain strange Books from a Society in Paris, which calls itself La Societé Saint-Simonienne . . . Their address to me grounded itself on an Essay entitled Signs of the Times which I had written for the Edinburgh Review, about a year ago, and which seemed to point me out as their man.”

“Signs of the Times” (1829) had been especially written to emphasize the need for the conservation of the “inward primary powers” in “the Dynamical nature of man”, i.e., of the “primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and infinite character”. The Saint-Simonians, as seen above, “displayed deep interest in the article,

40. Cf. OED, s.v. device 6.
41. SR, “Pause”: 159, par. 4.
42. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 81, par. 42.
43. Journal entry, ca. 16 Aug. 1830 (TN: 158). Speaking of the Saint-Simonians, Carlyle writes to Goethe, on 22 Jan. 1831, that he is “looking on their Society and its progress . . . as a true and remarkable Sign of these Times” (5: 222). See also below.
44. TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830 (5: 156). See also above.
45. Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 68–70; pars. 24–25, and 73, pars. 30–31. See also above, Ch. IX.
TEUFELSDRÖCKH AND THE SAINT-SIMONIANS

publishing a long commentary on it which extended into two issues of their weekly newspaper, ‘L’Organisateur’, “March 21, 1830; April 18, 1830”.

From the above, it is clear that, with the ‘Society for the Conservation of Property (Eigenthums-conservirende Gesellschaft)’—also referred to as the ‘Owndom-conserving’ or “Property-conserving Society”46—Carlyle has the Saint-Simonian Society in mind, understood not as a Society professing “to be instituting a new Religion in the world”, but, in terms of “Signs of the Times”, as a Society for the conservation of “the inward primary powers”—referred to by Carlyle as “property”—in “the Dynamical nature of man”.

4. “Paper-bags” Containing “so many . . . notices” of the ‘SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY’

In Sartor, the statement that, of “that ‘SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF PROPERTY (Eigenthums-conservirende Gesellschaft)’”—which the Editor is unable to identify47—“so many ambiguous notices glide spectre-like through these inexpressible Paper-bags”, underlines Teufelsdröckh’s interest in the Saint-Simonian Society as a Society ‘not unsuitable to the wants of the time’.48 Carlyle, no doubt, here has in mind that, between circa 23 July 1830, when he received the first parcel of Saint-Simonian publications,49 and circa 28 July 1831, when he completed MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II,50 he often concerned himself with the Saint-Simonian Society, as is clear from the letters written by him at the time. In these letters, as well as in his Journal, we find Carlyle:
— referring to the receipt of “a Parcel of Books from Paris” and “a Letter addressed A l’Auteur de l’Article intitulé, Caractère de notre Epoque”;51
— commenting on the books sent to him and on the Saint-Simonian Society “cherishing within it a New Religion”;52
— wishing “to hear” Goethe’s “thoughts” on the “Saint-Simonian affair”;53
— requesting dispatch of Saint-Simonian publications “by the very first chance”;54
— translating Saint-Simon’s Nouveau Christianisme (1825).55

47. See ibid.: 159, par. 4, quoted above.
48. Ibid.
49. Cf. TC to JAC, 6 Aug. 1830 (5: 133).
50. See App. VIII, 2.
51. Cf. TC to MAC, ’27 July 1830’ (5: 140); TC to JAC, 6 Aug. 1830 (5: 133); TC to G. d’Eichthal, 9 Aug. 1830 (5: 134–36); Journal, ca. 16 Aug. 1830 (TN: 158) and TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830 (5: 156).
53. Cf. TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830: “If you have chanced to notice that Saint-Simonian affair, which long turned on Political Economy, and but lately became artistic and religious, I could like much to hear your thoughts on it” (5: 156). Cf. also Goethe to TC, 17 Oct. 1830: “Von der Société St. Simonienne bitte Sich fern zu halten. . . . hierüber gelegentlich das Nähere [From the St. Simonian Society pray hold yourself aloof. More about this on another occasion]” (N: 225 and 226), and TC to Goethe, 22 Jan. 1831: “I have every disposition to follow your advice, and stand apart from them; looking on their Society and its progress nevertheless as a true and remarkable Sign of these Times” (5: 222). It may here be noted that, in the few remaining letters to Carlyle, no more is said by Goethe about the Saint-Simonians. Cf. App. V, 3.
54. Cf. TC to JAC, 12 Nov. 1830 (5: 191). For MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I, written ca. 28 Sept.–ca. 28 Oct. 1830 and sent to Fraser ca. 24 Nov. 1830 for publication in Fraser’s Magazine, see App. VIII, 2.
— examining ways to get this translation published;\textsuperscript{56}
— referring to “a large mass” of Saint-Simonian publications, amongst which “Proclamations sent forth during the famous Three Days”, having again been transmitted to him;\textsuperscript{57}
— noting that he has “nearly determined” to approach “Bowring of the Westminster” “on the matter of that ‘everlasting MS [of the History of German Literature] ’”, and that he could “write also a Paper on the Saint-Simonians. One too on Dr. Johnson—for Napier”;\textsuperscript{58}
— commenting again on “the Saint-Simonian Doctrine” and on the Saint-Simonians calling themselves “a Church, and founders of a new Religion”;\textsuperscript{59}
— regretting to be unable to meet d’Eichthal in London, but cordially inviting him to come to Craigenputtock;\textsuperscript{60}
— receiving another parcel of Saint-Simonian publications circa 7 June 1831;\textsuperscript{61}
— and commenting on the Saint-Simonians making “converts in every direction”, his comment reading: “. . . so unfurnished is the general Heart and Head, at this epoch, I should not be much surprised if the New Religion (as it is pleased to name itself) gained very universal acceptance among the Young; who again, in their turn, become the Old. One comfort is that enter where it may, it is like to cast out seven Devils worse than itself.”\textsuperscript{62}

5. Teufelsdröckh in Paris?
Trying to explain Teufelsdröckh’s disappearance from Weissnichtwo, which he cannot ‘attribute’ to ‘those Parisian Three Days’ or to the ‘Sedition of the Tailors’,\textsuperscript{63} Heuschrecke tells the Editor: ‘. . . yet still comes there the shadow of a suspicion out of Paris and its Politics.’\textsuperscript{64} Having recalled Teufelsdröckh’s comment on the Saint-Simonians ‘at the end of the third evening’ after ‘the Saint-Simonian Society transmitted its Propositions hither’,\textsuperscript{65} Heuschrecke goes on to note: ‘Since then, as has been ascertained by examination of the Post-Director, there passed at least one Letter with its Answer between the Messieurs Bazard-Enfantin and our Professor himself; of what tenor can now only be conjectured. On the fifth night following, he was seen for the last time!’\textsuperscript{66} According to Heuschrecke, therefore, Teufelsdröckh may well be in Paris: ‘Has this invaluable man, so obnoxious to most of the hostile Sects that convulse our

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. ibid. and TC to JAC, 21 Jan. 1831 (5: 216–17). Cf. also App. VIII, 2. On 21 Jan. 1831, Carlyle asks his brother John to get MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I back from Fraser “unless it is absolutely printed” (5: 215).
\textsuperscript{57} Cf. TC to Goethe, 22 Jan. 1831 (5: 222).
\textsuperscript{58} Journal for 7 Feb. 1831 (7V: 183). Cf. TC to John Bowring, 8 Feb. 1831 (5: 228) and TC to JAC, 10 Feb. 1831 (5: 230–31). On 23 Feb. 1831, Carlyle is in possession again of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I (cf. 5: 232). For MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II, written ca. 2 Mar. – ca. 28 July 1831, see App. VIII, 2.
\textsuperscript{59} Cf. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831 (5: 278), being a reply to G. d’Eichthal’s letter of 27 April 1831 (cf. 5: xiii, 276).
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831 (5: 279) and TC to JAC, 6 June 1831 (5: 283). On 27 April 1831, G. d’Eichthal, planning to go to England, had asked Carlyle to meet him in London (cf. 5: 276, n.1).
\textsuperscript{61} Cf. TC to JAC, 6 June 1831 (5: 283).
\textsuperscript{62} TC to John Bowring, 11 July 1831 (5: 300–01).
\textsuperscript{63} SR, “Farewell”: 236, par. 9. For ‘those Parisian Three Days’ and the ‘Sedition of the Tailors’, see above, Ch. VII.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.: 236–37, par. 10.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.: 237, par. 10. See above. Carlyle had received the commentary on “Signs of the Times” which had appeared in \textit{L’Organisateur}, together with other Saint-Simonian writings, circa 23 July 1830, shortly before the “Revolts of Paris” of 27–29 July 1830 and the Swing Rebellion from August to December 1830. See above, Ch. VII.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid.
Era, been spirited away by certain of their emissaries; or did he go forth voluntarily to their
head-quarters to confer with them and confront them? 67 Making a “private conjecture” of his
own, the Editor here comments:

So that Teufelsdröckh’s public History were not done, then, or reduced to an even, unromantic tenor: nay,
perhaps the better part thereof were only beginning? We stand in a region of conjectures, where substance has
melted into shadow, and one cannot be distinguished from the other. May Time, which solves or suppresses all
problems, throw glad light on this also! Our own private conjecture, now amounting almost to certainty, is that,
safe-moored in some stillest obscurity, not to lie always still, Teufelsdröckh is actually in London 68

**Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians from August 1831 to May 1834**

By way of supplement to the discussion above, something may here be said of Carlyle and the
Saint-Simonians after the completion of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II circa 28 July 1831.

1. London: August 1831–March 1832

During his stay in London from 9 August 1831 to 24 March 1832, 69 Carlyle continued to show
great interest in the Saint-Simonians, “looking on their Society and its progress . . . as a true
and remarkable Sign of these Times”. 70 Thus, in the letters and Journal of that period, we find
Carlyle:
— talking “of the St. Simonians” “at an Eatinghouse among Frenchmen”, 71 at Irving’s, 72 and at
a dinner given by Fraser “in a tavern” 73
— commenting on an article “on the Saint-Simonians by Southey” in the *Quarterly Review*; 74
— giving John Carlyle, on his way to Italy, a letter of introduction to G. d’Eichthal in Paris; 75
— deriving “not a little information” from *Le Globe*; 76
— promising Gustave d’Eichthal, still planning to go to England, to place the manuscript of his
translation of *Nouveau Christianisme* at his disposal; 77
— hoping to see d’Eichthal in London during his “promised Apostolic Mission” to England; 78

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67. Ibid.: 237, par. 11.
68. Ibid.: 237, par. 13. In the “Phoenix” chapter of *Sartor*, the Editor notes: “Elsewhere he [Teufelsdröckh]
quotes without censure that strange aphorism of Saint-Simon’s, concerning which and whom so much were to
be said: ‘L’âge d’or, qu’une aveugle tradition a placé jusqu’ici dans le passé, est devant nous: The golden age,
which a blind tradition has hitherto placed in the Past, is Before us’” (*SR*, “The Phoenix”: 188, par. 11).
69. See App. III.
70. TC to Goethe, 22 Jan. 1831 (5: 222).
d’Eichthal the St. Simonian this night!” (*TN*: 201). On the evening of 10 Oct. 1831, however, Carlyle did not see
Gustave, but Adolphe d’Eichthal, “a Brother of Gustave’s . . . a very intelligent youth, no Saint Simonian, but a
76. Cf. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 3 Oct. 1831 (6: 3).
77. Cf. ibid.
78. Cf. ibid.
— commenting on John Carlyle’s “sketches of Saint-Simonism”,
— meeting Gustave d’Eichthal on 21 January,
— telling Napier that the Edinburgh Review “should have some account” of the Saint-Simonians;
— sending to G. d’Eichthal, still in England, the manuscript of his translation of Nouveau Christianisme with a covering letter reading: “I fully authorize you to print or to burn it, or to do what you wish with it, upon the single condition that my name be not mentioned”;
— and commenting on the split among the Saint-Simonians.

2. Scotland: March 1832–May 1834

From the “last days” of March 1832 to 9 May 1834, Carlyle was back in Scotland.

On 29 May 1832, John Stuart Mill informs Carlyle “that the ‘apostles’ had been obliged to give up the Globe and ‘everything else which they had in hand’”, and describes their situation as follows:

Enfantin and about fifty more, among whom are our two friends d’Eichthal and Duveyrier, have now retired to a place called Ménilmontant at a short distance out of Paris, where they are all living together, and are employed, as they assure, in training themselves to preach to the world by their example. . . . I do not know many of the particulars of their life at Ménilmontant; but it appears that one feature of it is to do without domestic servants, which they consider a vestige of slavery: & they take their turns to perform all menial offices for one another.

Commenting on the sad plight in which the Saint-Simonians found themselves, Carlyle replies on 16 June 1832:

The men are to be honoured and loved in this, that they have dared to be men, as they could, tho’ the Gig should break altogether down with them, and nothing remain for it but bare soles. Such a feat is too hard for above one

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80. Cf. Journal for 21 Jan. 1832 (7N: 248) and JWC to JC, ‘23 Jan. 1832’ (6: 101). In the Journal entry of 21 Jan. 1832, Carlyle says of G. d’Eichthal: “. . . a pure martyr and apostle, as it seems to me; almost the only one (not ‘belonging to the Past’) whom I have met with in my pilgrimage” (7N: 248). In her letter of ‘23 Jan. 1832’, Jane Welsh refers to G. d’Eichthal as “a creature . . . ready to do and suffer all for his faith” (6: 101). For the events in Paris on 21 Jan. 1832, when the “temple” of the Saint-Simonians “in the Salle Taitbout” was closed by order of the government, cf. Pankhurst: 55–57.

81. Cf. TC to MAC, ‘23’ Jan. 1832 (6: 94) and JWC to JC, ‘23’ Jan. 1832 (6: 101). For “Gustave d’Eichthal” (6: 94, n. 3), read “Charles Duveyrier” (cf. App. I, 4). It may here be noted that, on the following day, 24 Jan. 1832, Carlyle received a letter from his sister Jane, informing him that his father had died on 22 January (cf. 6: 102, 106).

82. Cf. TC to M. Napier, 6 Feb. 1832 (6: 117).


84. Cf. TC to G. d’Eichthal, 15 Feb. 1832 (6: 118, trans. of trans.).


87. Cf. TC to JWC, 17 May 1834 (7: 146).

88. Pankhurst: 87.

in ten thousand; yet for all except very fortunate men, it is the first condition of true worth. As to the Saint-Simonian sect, it seems nearly sure to die with the existing “Father of Humanity”; but in his hands it may hold together, and do much indirect good. While “the Fancy” remain in England unwhipt and without hemp-mallets in their hands, let the St. Simonians remain unlaughed at.90

In the subsequent letters of this period, we find Carlyle:
— commenting on the article “Saint-Simonianisme” which had appeared in the Westminster Review for April 1832,91
— thanking Mill for his “few sentences” on the Trial of the Saint-Simonians, which he “had elsewhere inquired after in vain”;92
— asking Mill to lend him “any pamphlets, books, or even newspaper-leaves” about the Trial;93
— telling Mill: “I sometimes even think of writing about it [the Trial] . . . had I materials”94
— comparing Enfantin to Edward Irving;95
— inquiring after Gustave d’Eichthal and Duveyrier;96
— thinking of “an Essay on the Saint-Simonians” as one of “two things” he “could write about”, the other essay being “a History of the Diamond Necklace”;97
— and abandoning the idea of writing such an essay, “the Saint-Simons . . . having very unexpectedly come to light again, and set to giving missionary lectures of a most questionable sort in London”.98

On 6 May 1834, two days before his six years’ residence at Craigenputtock came to an end,99 Carlyle wrote “on the back fly-leaf” of the “bound volume” marked “Saint-Simonisme. Piéces [sic] Diverses. / 1818–1831”.100

The foregoing Works, with many others of less moment, were sent to me at Craigenputtoch, in 1830 and subsequently. The Saint-Simonian Sect, after attracting considerable notice for a space of two years, began to split in pieces, underwent a sentence of Law (apparently on false charges) in 1832, and soon dissolved and disappeared. The little Truth that lay among their crudities has not disappeared, or even properly appeared, but yet waits its time. As a constituted sect these men are not without significance; not undeserving some slight remembrance.101

90. TC to J. S. Mill, 16 June 1832 (6: 175). For Carlyle on Enfantin, the “Supreme Father” (Pankhurst: 60), cf. also TC to J. S. Mill, 16 Oct. 1832 (6: 239). See below.
97. TC to JAC, 1 Oct. 1833 (7: 6).
99. Cf. TC to A. Glen, 7 May 1834 (7: 144).
101. Note of 6 May 1834 (ibid.).
In this Note, Carlyle—who wrote to Gustave d’Eichthal on 17 May 1831: “I have said to myself, and still repeat: Here too are men that know and feel thro’ their whole soul the grand and almost forgotten truth, Man is still Man”\(^{102}\)—should evidently be understood as saying that, with the disappearance of the “Saint-Simonian Sect”, the “Truth” of its belief that “Man is still Man”, or that “there is a Godlike in human affairs”\(^{103}\) “has not disappeared, or even properly appeared, but yet waits its time”.

\(^{102}\) TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831 (5: 279).

\(^{103}\) “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 42–43, par. 56. See above.
CHAPTER XIII
THE PALINGENESIA, OR NEWBIRTH OF SOCIETY

Introductory
In Sartor, Carlyle’s immediate concern is to give the modern Poet and moral Teacher, found to be spiritually incomplete, something in which they can believe and by which, in doing so, they are made whole again. Carlyle’s ultimate concern, however, is the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society as a whole to be accomplished in a collective process of spiritual rebirth, which may last ‘two centuries’ or more.

We shall here deal with the question how this collective process has to be understood and how the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society has to be defined.

In this connection, Jung’s analysis of modern history as the “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon” “that had set in with the Renaissance”, and Carlyle’s interpretation of the French Revolution as the “third and final act of Protestantism” and as the starting point of a collective process of spiritual rebirth, may here be looked at first.

Jung’s Analysis of Modern History as the “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon” “that had set in with the Renaissance”
According to Jung, the Renaissance set in a process which, in Aion (1951), he calls the “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon”. Jung uses the term “enantiodromia”—which literally means “a running contrariwise”—for “the emergence of the unconscious opposite in the course of time”, of which he says: “This characteristic phenomenon practically always occurs when an extreme, one-sided tendency dominates conscious life; in time an equally powerful counterposition is built up, which first inhibits the conscious performance and subsequently breaks through the conscious control.” According to Jung, enantiodromia “always threatens when a movement attains to undisputed power”, but “offers no solution of the problem, for it is just as blind in its disorganization as it was in its organization”.

In Aion (1951), the “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon”, starting with the Renaissance and ending in “a worldwide situation today” in which “the wheel of history” has been turned back “a full two thousand years”, is described as follows:

A factor that no one has reckoned with . . . is the fatality inherent in the Christian disposition itself, which leads inevitably to a reversal of its spirit—not through the obscure workings of chance but in accordance with psychological law. The ideal of spirituality striving for the heights was doomed to clash with the materialistic earth-bound passion to conquer matter and master the world. This change became visible at the time of the “Renaissance.” The word means “rebirth,” and it referred to the renewal of the antique spirit. We know today that this spirit was chiefly a mask; it was not the spirit of antiquity that was reborn, but the spirit of medieval Christianity that underwent strange pagan transformations, exchanging the heavenly goal for an earthly one, and the vertical of the Gothic style for a horizontal perspective (voyages of discovery, exploration of the world and of nature). The subsequent developments that led to the Enlightenment and the French Revolution have

1. Aion (1951), CW 9ii, par. 160.
2. Cf. OED, s.v. enantiodromia (from Greek enantios opposite + dromos running).
3. Psychological Types (1921), CW 6, par. 709. Cf. CD, s.v. enantiodromia.
5. Aion (1951), CW 9ii, par. 368. See below.
produced a worldwide situation today which can only be called “antichristian” in a sense that confirms the early Christian anticipation of the “end of time.”

Of the part played by “modern science” in this enantiodromia, Jung says in *Aion*:

... modern science has given us an unparalleled knowledge of the “dark” side of matter. It has also penetrated into the secrets of physiology and evolution, and made the very roots of life itself an object of investigation. In this way the human mind has sunk deep into the sublunary world of matter... The climax of this development was marked in the eighteenth century by the French Revolution, in the nineteenth century by scientific materialism, and in the twentieth century by political and social “realism,” which has turned the wheel of history back a full two thousand years and seen the recrudescence of the despotism, the lack of individual rights, the cruelty, indignity, and slavery of the pre-Christian world, whose “labour problem” was solved by the “ergastulum” (convict-camp). The “transvaluation of all values” is being enacted before our eyes.

According to Jung, the “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon” is also seen in what, in “Basic Postulates of Analytical Psychology” (1931), he calls “the spiritual catastrophe of the Reformation,” begun, in Germany, by Martin Luther in 1517: “The iconoclasm of the Reformation... quite literally made a breach in the protective wall of sacred images, and since then one image after another has crumbled away. They became dubious, for they conflicted with awakening reason.” Jung, in fact, sees a historical connection between the iconoclasm of the Reformation and the disrespect for the deepest needs of the human soul in the Age of Enlightenment and that of nuclear physics: “People hate the human soul, it is *nothing but* ‘psychological.’ They don’t understand that it has needs, and they throw its treasures into the street without understanding them. That is what Protestantism started, the Encyclopedists continued, and *la Déesse Raison* will finish off. Our rites will become solemn syntheses of hydrogen bombs.” In the French Revolution too, “men witnessed”, according to Jung, “the enantiodromia that had set in with the Renaissance.” For Jung, the French Revolution “was less a political revolution than a revolution of minds”: “It was a colossal explosion of all the inflammable matter that had been piling up ever since the Age of Enlightenment. The official deposition of Christianity by the Revolution must have made a tremendous impression on the unconscious pagan in us, for from then on he found no rest.”

Of the task which “the frightful regressions of our time” impose upon “whole civilizations”, Jung says in “A Study in the Process of Individuation” (1934/1950):

... to bring a consciousness that has hurried too far ahead into contact again with the unconscious background with which it should be connected... is a task that today faces not only individuals but whole civilizations. What else is the meaning of the frightful regressions of our time? The tempo of the development of consciousness

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6. Ibid., par. 78.
7. Ibid., par. 368.
8. “Basic Postulates of Analytical Psychology” (1931), CW 8, par. 649.
11. *Aion* (1951), CW 9ii, par. 156.
12. “The Role of the Unconscious” (1918), CW 10, par. 22. Cf. also the statement in *Psychological Types* (1921): “... begun in the name of philosophy and reason, with a soaring idealism, it [the French Revolution] ended in blood-drenched chaos... The Goddess of Reason proved herself powerless against the might of the unchained beast” (CW 6, par. 116).
through science and technology was too rapid and left the unconscious, which could no longer keep up with it, far behind, thereby forcing it into a defensive position which expresses itself in a universal will to destruction.13


The self, being individual and unique, is made manifest in the individuation process of the individual. But the self is also universal and eternal, and under this aspect it is made manifest in a process we can only call the individuation of mankind. It is a collective process that takes the form of a gradual extension and differentiation of consciousness over the millennia. The drama “began in the grey mists of antiquity and continues through the centuries into a remote future. This drama is an ‘Aurora Consurgens’—the dawning of consciousness in mankind.” As far back as historical records go, it is accompanied by a continually changing conception of God or of the God-image: “The gods at first lived in superhuman power and beauty on the top of snow-clad mountains or in the darkness of caves, woods, and seas. Later on they drew together into one god, and then that god became man.” . . .

Personal individuation is not separate from collective individuation, since the spirit of the age realises itself in the individual and the specific, time-bound God-image is constellation in his unconscious as an image of totality, the self.14

The new God-image, however, as M.-L. von Franz points out, “Up till now . . . has only cropped up as the inner experience of individual seekers who have given up their external struggles and looked at their own shadows in order to achieve a more profound and more authentic relationship with their fellow human beings.” And she goes on to note that, according to Jung, “only if an adequate number of individuals become conscious”, through personal individuation, of the new God-image, “can our civilization renew itself and survive. Otherwise, we shall surely fall back into barbarity, a regressive tribal mentality, and endless war, possibly to the point of final extinction.”15

Carlyle’s Interpretation of the French Revolution as the “third and final act of Protestantism”

Carlyle finds a “natural historical sequence” from the Reformation to the French Revolution. Thus, in On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History (1841), he writes: “From that first necessary assertion of Luther’s, ‘You, self-styled Papa, you are no Father in God at all; you are—a Chimera, whom I know not how to name in polite language!’—from that onwards to the shout which rose round Camille Desmoulins in the Palais-Royal, ‘Aux armes!’ when the people had burst-up against all manner of Chimeras,—I find a natural historical sequence.”16

Unlike Jung, however, Carlyle does not look upon the Reformation and the French Revolution as events belonging to an “enantiodromia of the Christian aeon”: “... Protestantism has not died yet, that I hear of! Protestantism, if we will look, has in these days produced its Goethe, its Napoleon; German Literature and the French Revolution; rather considerable signs of life! Nay, at bottom, what else is alive but Protestantism? The life of most else that one meets is a galvanic one merely,—not a pleasant, not a lasting sort of life!”

Of the French Revolution as the “final act of Protestantism” and as the starting point of a process from which men “must begin again confidently to build-up”, Carlyle writes:

It [the French Revolution] is properly the third and final act of Protestantism; the explosive confused return of mankind to Reality and Fact, now that they were perishing of Semblance and Sham. We call our English Puritanism the second act: ‘Well then, the Bible is true; let us go by the Bible!’ ‘In Church,’ said Luther; ‘In Church and State,’ said Cromwell, ‘let us go by what actually is God’s Truth.’ Men have to return to reality; they cannot live on semblance. The French Revolution, or third act, we may well call the final one; for lower than that savage Sansculottism men cannot go. They stand there on the nakedest haggard Fact, undeniable in all seasons and circumstances; and may and must begin again confidently to build-up from that.

And having stated, in Frederick the Great, that, “On the grand World-Theatre, the curtain has fallen [in 1763] for a New Act”, Carlyle goes on to say of the “Spontaneous Combustion, in the year 1789” and “the New Act in World-History”, or “Drama of World-History, Part Third”:

There, readers, there is the next mile-stone for you, in the History of Mankind! That universal Burning-up, as in hellfire, of Human Shams. The oath of Twenty-five Million men, which has since become that of all men whatsoever, ‘Rather than live longer under lies, we will die!’—that is the New Act in World-History. New Act,—or, we may call it New Part; Drama of World-History, Part Third. If Part Second was 1,800 years ago, this I reckon will be Part Third. This is the truly celestial-infernal Event: the strangest we have seen for a thousand years. Celestial in one part; in the other, infernal. For it is withal the breaking-out of universal mankind into Anarchy, into the faith and practice of No-Government,—that is to say (if you will be candid), into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers,—which I do charitably define to be a Search, most unconscious, yet in deadly earnest, for true Governors and Teachers.

According to Carlyle, the French Revolution, marking the beginning of a new aeon in World History, is the starting point of a process leading to what he calls the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society. In the pages below, the Jungian concept of individuation will be used to help us to determine how this process has to be understood.

17. Ibid., “The Hero as Priest”: 137, par. 33.
18. Ibid., “The Hero as King”: 237, par. 67.
20. Cf. Teufelsdröckh’s reference to his ‘Second Volume, On the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society; which volume, as treating practically of the Wear, Destruction, and Retexture of Spiritual Tissues, or Garments, forms, properly speaking, the Transcendental or ultimate Portion of this my work on Clothes, and is already in a state of forwardness’ (SR, “Church-Clothes”: 173, par. 7). Cf. SR, “Circumspective”: 216, par. 8 (“that promised Volume of the Palingenesie der menschlichen Gesellschaft (Newbirth of Society)”: “Tailors”: 232, par. 9 (“this Work on Clothes ... of which the Primary and simpler Portion may here find its conclusion’) and “Farewell”: 237, par. 11 (“his archives ... where much, perhaps the Palingenesie itself, is thought to be reposited’). For Palingenesia, cf. SR, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 203, par. 2 (“the promised land, where Palingenesia, in all senses, may be considered as beginning’) and “Circumspective”: 213–14, par. 1 (“Have many British Readers actually arrived with us at the new promised country ... do we at length stand safe in the far region of Poetic Creation and Palingenesia, where that Phoenix Death-Birth of Human Society, and of all Human Things, appears possible, is seen to be inevitable?”) and 214, par. 3 (“this grand and indeed highest work of Palingenesia”).
I. The French Revolution and “the breaking-out of universal mankind . . . into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers”

“Individuation”, as Jaffé points out, “begins as a rule with the becoming conscious of one’s shadow . . . In the shadow dwells everything that will not, or cannot adapt itself to custom and convention . . . It is . . . the counter-reality with its disobedience, recalcitrant will, and revolt against the cultural canon.” Similarly, the collective process of spiritual rebirth Carlyle is speaking of, starts with the French Revolution and “the breaking-out”, in imitation of France, “of universal mankind . . . into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers”.22

. . . France made her Great Revolution; uttered her tremendous doom’s-voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming, as with the great Last Trumpet, that shams should be no more. I often call that a celestial-infernal phenomenon,—the most memorable in our world for a thousand years; on the whole, a transcendent revolt against the Devil and his works (since shams are all and sundry of the Devil, and poisonous and unendurable to man). For that we all infinitely love and honour France. And truly all nations are now busy enough copying France in regard to that! From side to side of the civilised world there is, in a manner, nothing noticeable but the whole world in deep and dismally-chaotic Insurrection against Shams, determination to have done with shams, coûte que coûte.23

To abolish the “shams which were of the Devil”, however, Carlyle goes on to say, is one thing, that of “achieving . . . the practicable realities which should be veritable and of God”, another:

Indispensable that battle, however ugly. Well done, we may say to all that; for it is the preliminary to everything:—but, alas, all that is not yet victory: it is but half the battle, and the much easier half. The infinitely harder half, which is the equally or the still more indispensable, is that of achieving, instead of the abolished shams which were of the Devil, the practicable realities which should be veritable and of God. That first half of the battle, I rejoice to see, is now [in 1870] safe, can now never cease except in victory; but the farther stage of it, I also see, must be under better presidency than that of France, or it will forever prove impossible. The German race, not the Gaelic, are now to be protagonist in that immense world-drama; and from them I expect better issues.24

The ‘Body Politic’, or Organized Society as a Whole

1. ‘Society . . . can be regarded as defunct’

Of the different parts of ‘the Body Politic’, i.e., of organized society25 as a whole, Teufelsdröckh says in Die Kleider:

‘. . . if Government is, so to speak, the outward Skin of the Body Politic, holding the whole together and protecting it; and all your Craft-Guilds, and Associations for Industry, of hand or of head, are the Fleshly Clothes, the muscular and osseous Tissues (lying under such Skin), whereby Society stands and works;—then is Religion the inmost Pericardial and Nervous Tissue, which ministers Life and warm Circulation to the

21. Jaffé: 96. See also above.
22. FG, Bk 21, “1763–1786”, 1, par. 2, quoted more fully above.
25. For “body politic” in “the wider sense of ‘organized society’ ”, cf. OED, s.v. body 14 b.
whole. Without which Pericardial Tissue the Bones and Muscles (of Industry) were inert, or animated only by a Galvanic vitality; the Skin would become a shrivelled pelt, or fast-rotting raw-hide; and Society itself a dead carcass,—deserving to be buried.26

And of ‘that same Pericardial Nervous Tissue . . . of Religion’ having been gradually destroyed, and of the effect of this on ‘Society’, he says in the “Phoenix” chapter of Sartor: ‘For the last three centuries, above all for the last three quarters of a century, that same Pericardial Nervous Tissue (as we named it) of Religion, where lies the Life-essence of Society, has been smote-at and perforated, needfully and needlessly; till now it is quite rent into shreds; and Society, long pining, diabetic, consumptive, can be regarded as defunct; for those spasmodic, galvanic sprawlings are not life; neither indeed will they endure, galvanise as you may, beyond two days.’27

Having defined ‘Church-Clothes’ as ‘the Forms, the Vestures, under which men have at various periods embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principle; that is to say, invested the Divine Idea of the World with a sensible and practically active Body, so that it might dwell among them as a living and life-giving Word’,28 Teufelsdröckh says of the condition of ‘those same Church-Clothes’ ‘in our era of the World’:

‘Meanwhile, in our era of the World, those same Church-Clothes have grown sorrowfully out-at-elbows: nay, far worse, many of them have become mere hollow Shapes, or Masks, under which no living Figure or Spirit any longer dwells; but only spiders and unclean beetles, in horrid accumulation, drive their trade; and the mask still glares on you with its glass-eyes, in ghastly affectation of Life,—some generation-and-half after Religion has quite withdrawn from it, and in unnoticed nooks is weaving for herself new Vestures, wherewith to reappear, and bless us, or our sons or grandsons.’29

In the next paragraph, Teufelsdröckh makes clear that the lamentable condition of ‘Church-Clothes’ ‘in our era of the World’—as a result of which society ‘can be regarded as defunct’—and the fact that religion ‘in unnoticed nooks is weaving for herself new Vestures’, by which society may be regenerated, will be the very subject of the ‘Second Volume’ or ‘Transcendental . . . Portion’ of his ‘work on Clothes’: ‘All which, as out of place here, falls to be handled in my Second Volume, On the Palingenesia, or Newbirth of Society; which volume, as treating practically of the Wear, Destruction, and Retexture of Spiritual Tissues, or Garments, forms, properly speaking, the Transcendental or ultimate Portion of this my work on Clothes, and is already in a state of forwardness.’30

26. SR, “Church-Clothes”: 172, par. 5.
29. Ibid.: 172, par. 6.
30. Ibid.: 173, par. 7. In “Circumspective”, the Editor speaks of “the Ulterior or Transcendental portion of the Science [of Clothes]” and of “that promised Volume of the Palingenesie der menschlichen Gesellschaft (Newbirth of Society)” (SR: 216, par. 8). In “Tailors”, Teufelsdröckh refers to Die Kleider as ‘the Primary and simpler Portion’ of his ‘Work on Clothes’ (SR: 232, par. 9). For “the Palingenesie”, cf. also SR, “Farewell”: 237, par. 11.
2. The ‘Phoenix-cremation’ of Human Society
For society having become ‘a dead carcass,—deserving to be buried’, Teufelsdröckh, in *Die Kleider*, uses the image of the serpent shedding ‘its old skin’ to assume a nobler, and, especially, that of the phoenix “burning herself” to be reborn from the ashes. Thus, using the image of the serpent, Teufelsdröckh writes: ‘Society . . . is not dead: that Carcass, which you call dead Society, is but her mortal coil which she has shuffled-off, to assume a nobler; she herself, through perpetual metamorphoses, in fairer and fairer development, has to live till Time also merge in Eternity.’

Because of the extensive use made by Carlyle of the image of the phoenix, the story of the phoenix, of which only one is ever alive at any particular time, may here be given first:

The phoenix, according to the most developed forms of the story, is a bird about the size of an eagle, brilliantly coloured in plumage; it is either purple with a golden collar, or a dazzling mixture of red, gold and blue.

The bird is the only one of its kind, and lives in Arabia; at the end of an epoch, as it feels death drawing near, it builds a pyre of the sweetest spices, on which it then sits, singing a song of rare beauty. The rays of the sun ignite the nest, and both this and the bird are consumed to ashes. From the ashes there arises a worm, which eventually grows into a new phoenix. The bird’s first task is to gather the remains of its parent and, accompanied by a throng of other birds, to fly to Heliopolis (the City of the Sun) on the Nile. Here the priests of the sun receive it with great ceremony; it buries its parent in the temple, and returns to Arabia, its mission accomplished.

The roots of this story first appear in ancient Greek literature, in Herodotus’s account of Egypt (c 430 BC). Later writers have recounted other details, such as the bird’s rebirth as a worm from its dead parent’s body, and the accompanying flight of birds. There was, however, some doubt as to the length of the true interval between the arrival of two phoenixes . . . Tacitus reports: ‘Regarding the length of its life, accounts vary. The commonest view favours 500 years. But some estimate that it appears every 1461 years . . .’ . . .

It is only in the 4th century AD that the idea of a fiery death is to be found, in two complete poems on the phoenix, by Claudian and Lactantius.

Of the destruction going on when “the World-Phoenix is burning herself”, Teufelsdröckh says: ‘When the Phoenix is fanning her funeral pyre, will there not be sparks flying! Alas, some millions of men, and among them such as a Napoleon, have already been licked into that high-eddying Flame, and like moths consumed there. Still also have we to fear that incautious beards will get singed.’ And of the time ‘such Phoenix-cremation’ and ‘the Phoenix Death-Birth itself’ will take before we ‘find ourselves again in a Living Society’:

‘For the rest, in what year of grace such Phoenix-cremation will be completed, you need not ask. The law of Perseverance is among the deepest in man: by nature he hates change; seldom will he quit his old house till it has actually fallen about his ears. Thus have I seen Solemnities linger as Ceremonies, sacred Symbols as idle Pageants, to the extent of three-hundred years and more after all life and sacredness had evaporated out of them. And then, finally, what time the Phoenix Death-Birth itself will require, depends on unseen contingencies.—Meanwhile, would Destiny offer Mankind, that after, say two centuries of convulsion and conflagration, more

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31. SR, “Church-Clothes”: 172, par. 5. See above.
33. Ibid.
or less vivid, the fire-creation should be accomplished, and we to find ourselves again in a Living Society, and no longer fighting but working,—were it not perhaps prudent in Mankind to strike the bargain?38

3. ‘organic filaments of the New’
Commenting on the fact that Teufelsdröckh appears to be “content” with the ‘Phoenix-cremation’ of society, the Editor remarks:

Thus is Teufelsdröckh content that old sick Society should be deliberately burnt (alas, with quite other fuel than spice-wood); in the faith that she is a Phoenix; and that a new heavenborn young one will rise out of her ashes! We ourselves, restricted to the duty of Indicator, shall forbear commentary. Meanwhile, will not the judicious reader shake his head, and reproachfully, yet more in sorrow than in anger, say or think: From a *Doctor utriusque Juris*, titular Professor in a University, and man to whom hitherto, for his services, Society, bad as she is, has given not only food and raiment (of a kind), but books, tobacco and gukguk, we expected more gratitude to his benefactress; and less of a blind trust in the future, which resembles that rather of a philosophical Fatalist and Enthusiast, than of a solid householder paying scot-and-lot in a Christian country.39

And of the “prospect” of those “who happen to live while the World-Phoenix is burning herself”, the Editor says: “For us, who happen to live while the World-Phoenix is burning herself, and burning so slowly that, as Teufelsdröckh calculates, it were a handsome bargain would she engage to have done ‘within two centuries,’ there seems to lie but an ashy prospect.”40 The Editor, however, goes on to note: “Not altogether so . . . does the Professor figure it.”41 Teufelsdröckh is then quoted as saying that ‘ever as the ashes of the Old are blown about, do organic filaments of the New’—such as those of a new ‘View of the World (*Weltansicht*)’;42 witness the religious voices of new wise men, like Goethe, in Literature,43—‘mysteriously spin themselves’, whereby society will become again a living, organic whole:

‘In the living subject, . . . change is wont to be gradual: thus, while the serpent sheds its old skin, the new is already formed beneath. Little knowest thou of the burning of a World-Phoenix, who fanciest that she must first burn-out, and lie as a dead cinereous heap; and therefrom the young one start-up by miracle, and fly heavenward. Far otherwise! In that Fire-whirlwind, Creation and Destruction proceed together; ever as the ashes of the Old are blown about, do organic filaments of the New mysteriously spin themselves: and amid the rushing and the waving of the Whirlwind-element come tones of a melodious Deathsong, which end not but in tones of a more melodious Birthsong.’44

Teufelsdröckh, therefore, assures the reader that the ‘World-Phoenix’, ‘as now’, ‘immolates herself in flame’ only to ‘soar the higher and sing the clearer’ in a future, new spiritual epoch:

38. Ibid., par. 13. For Carlyle’s view of the Reformation, begun, in Germany, by Martin Luther in 1517, ‘three-hundred years and more’ before the writing of *Sartor*, see above.
41. Ibid.
43. Cf. ibid.: 201–02, pars. 23–24, quoted above. See also below.
44. Ibid.: 194–95, par. 1.
‘Find Mankind where thou wilt, thou findest it in living movement, in progress faster or slower: the Phoenix soars aloft, hovers with outstretched wings, filling Earth with her music; or, as now, she sinks, and with spherical swan-song immolates herself in flame, that she may soar the higher and sing the clearer.’

II. Liberty

Having stated that a collective idea “may appear in consciousness lacking the affective emphasis that properly belongs to it”, and that it “must then be transposed back into its archetypal context—a task that is usually discharged by poets and prophets”, Jung goes on to say of “the idea of liberty”:

Thus Hölderlin, in his “Hymn to Liberty,” lets this concept, worn stale by frequent use and misuse, rise up again in its pristine splendour:

Since her arm out of the dust has raised me,
Beats my heart so boldly and serene;
And my cheek still tingles with her kisses,
Flushed and glowing where her lips have been.
Every word she utters, by her magic
Rises new-created, without flaw;
Hearken to the tidings of my goddess,
Hearken to the Sovereign, and adore!

It is not difficult to see here that the idea of liberty has been changed back to its original dramatic state—into the shining figure of the anima, freed from the weight of the earth and the tyranny of the senses, the psychopomp who leads the way to the Elysian fields.

And commenting on Delacroix’s Liberty Leading the People, painted shortly after the July Revolution in Paris in 1830, von Franz notes that, in this picture, “Liberty leading the French revolutionaries . . . images the anima’s function of assisting individuation by liberating unconscious contents.”

What liberty—the “universal cry” of which marks the second stage of the collective process of spiritual rebirth—meant to those who had broken out “into unappeasable Revolt against Sham-Governors and Sham-Teachers”, is explained as follows by Carlyle:

Hero-worship would have sounded very strange to those workers and fighters in the French Revolution. Not reverence for Great Men; not any hope or belief, or even wish, that Great Men could again appear in the world! Nature, turned into a ‘Machine,’ was as if effete now; could not any longer produce Great Men:—I can tell her, she may give-up the trade altogether, then; we cannot do without Great Men!—But neither have I any quarrel with that of ‘Liberty and Equality’; with the faith that, wise great men being impossible, a level immensity of foolish small men would suffice. It was a natural faith then and there. ‘Liberty and Equality; no Authority needed any longer. Hero-worship, reverence for such Authorities, has proved false, is itself a falsehood; no more of it! We have had such forgeries, we will now trust nothing. So many base plated coins passing in the market, the belief has now become common that no gold any longer exists,—and even that we can do very well without

45. Ibid.: 197, par. 7.
46. Aion (1951), CW 9ii, pars. 55–56.
gold!’ I find this, among other things, in that universal cry of Liberty and Equality; and find it very natural, as matters then stood.

And yet surely it is but the transition from false to true.48 Considered as the whole truth, it is false altogether;—the product of entire sceptical blindness, as yet only struggling to see.49

What liberty should really be taken to mean, is elucidated thus:

The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in his finding out, or being forced to find out the right path, and to walk thereon. To learn, or to be taught, what work he actually was able for; and then by permission, persuasion, and even compulsion, to set about doing of the same! That is his true blessedness, honour, ‘liberty’ and maximum of wellbeing: if liberty be not that, I for one have small care about liberty. You do not allow a palpable madman to leap over precipices; you violate his liberty, you that are wise; and keep him, were it in strait-waistcoats, away from the precipices! Every stupid, every cowardly and foolish man is but a less palpable madman: his true liberty were that a wiser man, that any and every wiser man, could, by brass collars, or in whatever milder or sharper way, lay hold of him when he was going wrong, and order and compel him to go a little righter. O, if thou really art my Senior, Seigneur, my Elder, Presbyter or Priest,—if thou art in very deed my Wiser, may a beneficent instinct lead and impel thee to ‘conquer’ me, to command me! If thou do know better than I what is good and right, I conjure thee in the name of God, force me to do it; were it by never such brass collars, whips and handcuffs, leave me not to walk over precipices! That I have been called, by all the Newspapers, a 'free man' will avail me little, if my pilgrimage have ended in death and wreck. O that the Newspapers had called me slave, coward, fool, or what it pleased their sweet voices to name me, and I had attained not death, but life!—Liberty requires new definitions.50

In this connection, an examination of Carlyle’s ideas on the democracy of his time appears to be in place.

**Carlyle on the Democracy of His Time**

1. The “consummation of No-government and Laissez-faire”

Having described the “Spontaneous Combustion, in the year 1789”,51 as “the breaking-out of universal mankind into Anarchy, into the faith and practice of No-Government”,52 Carlyle, in *Frederick the Great*, goes on to speak of what may well be a “Millennium of Anarchies” in the shape of “No-Government”:

... when the Spontaneous Combustion breaks out; and, many-coloured, with loud noises, envelopes the whole world in anarchic flame for long hundreds of years: then has the Event come; there is the thing for all men to mark, and to study and scrutinise as the strangest thing they ever saw. Centuries of it yet lying ahead of

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48. Cf. *HH* (1841), “The Hero as Priest”: 127, par. 18, reading: “All this of Liberty and Equality, Electoral suffrages, Independence and so forth, we will take . . . to be a temporary phenomenon, by no means a final one. Though likely to last a long time, with sad enough embroilments for us all, we must welcome it, as the penalty of sins that are past, the pledge of inestimable benefits that are coming.”

49. Ibid., “The Hero as King”: 202–03, pars. 12–13. Cf. also the final paragraph of *Heroes and Hero-worship*: “It is a great subject, and a most grave and wide one, this which, not to be too grave about it, I have named Hero-worship. It enters deeply, as I think, into the secret of Mankind’s ways and vitalez interests in this world, and is well worth explaining at present” (ibid.: 243, par. 76).

50. *PP* (1843), “The Modern Worker”, XIII: 212–13, par. 8. Of the “best path for every man”, Carlyle says: “This path, to find this path and walk in it, is the one thing needful for him. Whatsoever forwards him in that, let it come to him even in the shape of blows and spurnings, is liberty: whatsoever hinders him, were it wardmotes, open-vestries, pollbooths, tremendous cheers, rivers of heavy-wet, is slavery” (ibid.: 219, par. 20).


52. Ibid., par. 2. See also above.
us; several sad Centuries, sordidly tumultuous, and good for little! Say Two Centuries yet,—say even Ten of such a process: before the Old is completely burnt out, and the New in any state of sightliness? Millennium of Anarchies;—abridge it, spend your heart’s blood upon abridging it, ye Heroic Wise that are to come! For it is the consummation of All the Anarchies that are and were,—which I do trust always means the death (temporary death) of them; Death of the Anarchies: or a world once more built wholly on Fact better or worse; and the lying jargoning professor of Sham-Fact, whose name is Legion, who as yet (oftenest little conscious of himself) goes tumulting and swarming from shore to shore, become a species extinct, and well known to be gone down to Tophet!—

For Carlyle, democracy, “take it where you will in our Europe”, was “the consummation of No-government and Laissez-faire”: “Democracy, take it where you will in our Europe, is found but as a regulated method of rebellion and abrogation; it abrogates the old arrangement of things; and leaves, as we say, zero and vacuity for the institution of a new arrangement. It is the consummation of No-government and Laissez-faire.”

For Europe, therefore, according to Carlyle, something more than democracy is required: “It [democracy] may be natural for our Europe at present; but cannot be the ultimatum of it. Not towards the impossibility, ‘self-government’ of a multitude by a multitude; but towards some possibility, government by the wisest, does bewildered Europe struggle. The blessedest possibility: not misgovernment, not Laissez-faire, but veritable government!”

2. The “hugest question”: “How, in conjunction with inevitable Democracy, indispensable Sovereignty is to exist”

Of “the hugest question ever heretofore propounded to Mankind”, which it will take “centuries” to solve, Carlyle says in Past and Present:

How, in conjunction with inevitable Democracy, indispensable Sovereignty is to exist: certainly it is the hugest question ever heretofore propounded to Mankind! The solution of which is work for long years and centuries. Years and centuries, of one knows not what complexion;—blessed or unblessed, according as they shall, with earnest valiant effort, make progress therein, or, in slothful unveracity and dilettantism, only talk of making progress. For either progress therein, or swift and ever swifter progress towards dissolution, is henceforth a necessity.

And of the lesson to be learned from “the convulsive struggles of the last Half-Century”:

If the convulsive struggles of the last Half-Century have taught poor struggling convulsed Europe any truth, it may perhaps be this as the essence of innumerable others: That Europe requires a real Aristocracy, a real Priesthood, or it cannot continue to exist. Huge French Revolutions, Napoleonisms, then Bourbonisms with their
corollary of Three Days, finishing in very unfinal Louis-Philippisms: all this ought to be didactic! All this may have taught us, That False Aristocracies are insupportable; that No-Aristocracies, Liberty-and-Equalities are impossible; that true Aristocracies are at once indispensable and not easily attained.57

Without “a real Aristocracy” and “a real Priesthood”, Carlyle goes on to say, no Society ever existed or will exist:

Aristocracy and Priesthood, a Governing Class and a Teaching Class: these two, sometimes separate, and endeavouring to harmonise themselves, sometimes conjoined as one, and the King a Pontiff-King:—there did no Society exist without these two vital elements, there will none exist. It lies in the very nature of man: you will visit no remotest village in the most republican country of the world, where virtually or actually you do not find these two powers at work. Man, little as he may suppose it, is necessitated to obey superiors. He is a social being in virtue of this necessity; nay he could not be gregarious otherwise. He obeys those whom he esteems better than himself, wiser, braver; and will forever obey such; and even be ready and delighted to do it.58

3. “some reality of a Ruling Sovereign”
Of England being “the model of the world just now”, Carlyle says in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850):

. . . the model of the world just now is England and her Constitution; all Nations striving towards it: poor France swimming these last sixty years in seas of horrid dissolution and confusion, resolute to attain this blessedness of free voting, or to die in chase of it. Prussia too, solid Germany itself, has all broken out into crackling of musketry, loud pamphleteering and Frankfort parliamenting and palavering; Germany too will scale the sacred mountains, how steep soever, and, by talisman of ballot-box, inhabit a political Elysium henceforth. All the Nations have that one hope.59

According to Carlyle, however, “all the Nations labour somewhat under a mistake as to England, and the causes of her freedom and her prosperous cotton-spinning; and have much misread the nature of her Parliament, and the effect of ballot-boxes and universal-suffrages there.”60

In “these last fifteen years”, i.e., practically speaking, since the Reform Act of 1832,61 “the British Parliament”, as Carlyle points out in 1850, instead of being “Adviser of the Sovereign”, is, “actually and in practice”, “the sovereign ruler and real executive King of this Empire”,62 “Parliaments”, however, “admirable as Advising Bodies, and likely to be in future universally useful in that capacity, are, as Ruling and Sovereign Bodies, not useful, but useless or worse”, since “a Sovereign with nine-hundred or with six-hundred and fifty-eight heads, all set to talk against each other in the presence of thirty-four or twenty-seven or eighteen millions, cannot do the work of sovereignty at all; but is smitten with eternal incompetence for that function

58. Ibid., par. 6.
59. LP (1850), I, “The Present Time”: 30, par. 42. For the title “Latter-Day Pamphlets”, i.e., Pamphlets belonging to the latter or last days of the period of “unideal practices” starting with the Restoration of 1660 and ending, as Carlyle thinks in 1850, “before many years”, see App. VIII, 2.
60. Ibid.
62. LP, 6, “Parliaments”: 224, par. 16. For the history of the “present Parliament of England” from circa 1265 to 1874, cf. Friebel: 105–07, where the period from 1832 to 1874 is said to be “marked by the sovereignty of the House of Commons”.

by the law of Nature itself.” According to Carlyle, “not only our poor British Parliament of those years and decades, but all the sudden European Parliaments at Paris, Frankfort, Erfurt and elsewhere, are Parliaments which undertake that . . . impossible function of governing as Parliaments, and must either do it, or sink in black anarchy one knows not whitherward.” Of the vital necessity of “some reality of a Ruling Sovereign”, in the shape of Prime Minister, “to preside over Parliament”, therefore, Carlyle says:

... reform in matters social does not now mean, as he [the constitutional man] has long sleepily fancied, reform in Parliament alone or chiefly or perhaps at all. My alarming message to him is, that the thing we vitally need is not a more and more perfectly elected Parliament, but some reality of a Ruling Sovereign to preside over Parliament; that we have already got the former entity in some measure, but that we are farther than ever from the road towards the latter; and that if the latter be missed and not got, there is no life possible for us. A New Downing Street, an infinitely reformed Governing Apparatus; there some hope might lie. A Parliament, any conceivable Parliament, continuing to attempt the function of Governor, can lead us only into No-Government which is called Anarchy; and the more ‘reformed’ or Democratic you make it, the swifter will such consummation be.65

Referring to Carlyle’s remarks on Parliament in ‘Latter-Day Pamphlets’ (1850), Larkin, in ‘Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life’ (1886), observes:

... as Carlyle [in ‘Latter-Day Pamphlets’] points out, Parliament has in these days usurped a function, which the more popular it becomes the more impossible it will be for it to efficiently discharge. It now practically assumes to be itself the Executive; and in actual fact the Executive and the Parliament have got so hopelessly mingled and muddled together into one inextricable tangle, that the Gordian Knot was a trifle to it. Carlyle tried desperately to loosen the knot, but was mocked at for his pains . . . Nevertheless,—perhaps long after our deluge of oratory has spent itself and subsided,—in our future Ideal Commonwealth [i.e., democratic state], our Working Executive, and our Popular Tribune, or representative Voice of the Nation, will, in one good way or another, very certainly become two sufficiently distinct, yet mutually co-operative entities.66

It may here be noted that, today, the British “Parliament has ceased to determine the policy of government”,67 and that the Prime Minister “alone now determines the course of government policy”:

Today, ... “parliamentary government” has ceased to mean “government by Parliament”. As a consequence of the emergence of party organizations and party discipline the position of the Prime Minister, who almost invariably is also the leader of his party, has been strengthened enormously. This has resulted in a reversal of the relationship between Commons and Government. Formally, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are still responsible to the House of Commons, but the Cabinet responsibility—collective and individual responsibility—has become meaningless, because those who, as Members of the House of Commons, should control the Government, are controlled in fact by the Government and especially by the Prime Minister. But the Cabinet itself has become involved in this shift of power, for its members are also members of the party of the Prime Minister who has long ceased to be primus inter pares as far as the Cabinet is concerned. He alone now

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64. Ibid., 6, “Parliaments”: 232, par. 32.

65. Ibid.: 233, par. 33. Cf. also ibid.: 214, par. 1.


determines the course of government policy; the Cabinet merely assists him in “policy decision”, and the non-Cabinet Ministers are practically confined to the task of “policy execution” and administration.\textsuperscript{68}

Today, in fact, the British Prime Minister commands greater powers perhaps than any other democratically elected leader:

It is worth while to recognize the singularity of the Prime Minister’s position and the decline of the power of the Cabinet since the beginning of the 20th century. He is undeposable like the President of the U.S.A., and like him he controls the Cabinet. But whereas the American President can never be sure of the support of his own party in Congress, the British Prime Minister, if he is competent and capable of firm leadership, controls Parliament. The Commons and the Cabinet, which in the 19th century could make or break governments, are now, more often than not, merely instruments.\textsuperscript{69}

Of the “leadership” needed “to bring democracy to life”, Schlesinger, quoting Lord Bryce, says: “‘Perhaps no form of government,’ said Lord Bryce, ‘needs great leaders as much as democracy.’ For democracy is not self-executing. It takes leadership to bring democracy to life. Great democratic leaders are visionaries. They have an instinct for their nation’s future, a course to steer, a port to seek. Through their capacity for persuasion, they win the consent of their people and call forth democracy’s inner resources.”\textsuperscript{70} Carlyle, on his part, as seen above, speaks of democracy needing, as leader, “some reality of a Ruling Sovereign”,\textsuperscript{71} i.e., a leader “who knows for himself the divine Appointments of this Universe, the Eternal Laws ordained by God the Maker”,\textsuperscript{72} and is “some sort of King, made in the image of God, who could a little achieve for the People, if not their spoken wishes, yet their dumb wants, and what they would at last find to have been their instinctive will”.\textsuperscript{73}

III. “religious voices” of New Wise Men, like Goethe, in Literature

Of “Goethe and German Literature” “as complement and spiritual exponent” of the French Revolution, Carlyle says in \textit{Past and Present} (1843):

... in our poor distracted Europe ... in these newest times, have there not religious voices risen,—with a religion new and yet the oldest; entirely indisputable to all hearts of men? Some I do know, who did not call or think themselves ‘Prophets,’ far enough from that; but who were, in very truth, melodious Voices from the eternal Heart of Nature once again; souls forever venerable to all that have a soul. A French Revolution is one phenomenon; as complement and spiritual exponent thereof, a poet Goethe and German Literature is to me another. The old Secular or Practical World, so to speak, having gone up in fire, is not here the prophecy and dawn of a new Spiritual World, parent of far nobler, wider, new Practical Worlds? A Life of Antique devoutness, Antique veracity and heroism, has again become possible, is again seen actual there, for the most modern man.

\textsuperscript{68}. Ibid.: 14–15.
\textsuperscript{71}. \textit{LP}, 6, “Parliaments”: 233, par. 33. See above.
\textsuperscript{72}. \textit{LP}, 1, “The Present Time”: 32, par. 46.
\textsuperscript{73}. \textit{LP}, 6, “Parliaments”: 214, par. 1.
A phenomenon, as quiet as it is, comparable for greatness to no other! ‘The great event for the world is, now as always, the arrival in it of a new Wise Man.’

From the above, it is clear that, in the collective process of spiritual rebirth, the figures of new wise men in literature—who are “in very truth, melodious Voices from the eternal Heart of Nature once again”—may be compared to what, in analytical psychology, are called the outward forms of the wise old man, “the archetype of meaning or of spirit”.

Of Literature containing “precious things”, Carlyle then says in Past and Present:

Touches there are, be the Heavens ever thanked, of new Sphere-melody; audible once more, in the infinite jargoning discords and poor scannel-pipings of the thing called Literature;—priceless there, as the voice of new Heavenly Psalms! Literature, like the old Prayer-Collections of the first centuries, were it ‘well selected from and burnt,’ contains precious things. For Literature, with all its printing-presses, puffing-engines and shoreless deafening triviality, is yet ‘the Thought of Thinking Souls.’ A sacred ‘religion,’ if you like the name, does live in the heart of that strange froth-ocean, not wholly froth, which we call Literature; and will more and more disclose itself therefrom;—not now as scorching Fire: the red smoky scorching Fire has purified itself into white sunny Light. Is not Light grander than Fire? It is the same element in a state of purity.

And in Sartor Resartus, Teufelsdörckh writes of Goethe and of the “precious things” contained in Literature:

‘But there is no Religion? . . . Fool! I tell thee, there is. Hast thou well considered all that lies in this immeasurable froth-ocean we name Literature? Fragments of a genuine Church-Homiletic lie scattered there, which Time will assort: nay fractions even of a Liturgy could I point out. And knowest thou no Prophet, even in the vesture, environment, and dialect of this age? None to whom the Godlike had revealed itself, through all meatest and highest forms of the Common; and by him been again prophetically revealed: in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days, Man’s Life again begins, were it but afar off, to be divine? Knowest thou none such? I know him, and name him—Goethe.’

Having noted, in “Jesuitism”, the final pamphlet of Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850), that “The Poet in the Fine Arts, especially the Poet in Speech, what Fichte calls the ‘Scholar’ or the ‘Literary Man,’ is defined by Fichte as the ‘Priest’ of these Modern Epochs,—all the Priest they have”, Carlyle comments:

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74. PP (1843), “The Modern Worker”, XV: 236, par. 18. For Goethe “embodying the nobleness of the past into a new whole”, cf. “Goethe’s Works” (1832), E 2: 433–34, par. 67, quoted above, Ch. IV. In “Signs of the Times” (1829), Carlyle calls for “the right coördination” of “the inward or Dynamical province” and “the outward” or Mechanical province of “man’s activity” (E 2: 73, par. 31), whereby “The wisdom, the heroic worth of our forefathers, which we have lost, we can recover” and “That admiration of old nobleness, which now so often shows itself as a faint dilettantism, will one day become a generous emulation, and man may again be all that he has been, and more than he has been” (ibid.: 81, par. 42).

75. “Concerning Mandala Symbolism” (1950), CW 9i, par. 682. See also above. In “Death of Goethe” (1832), Carlyle writes: “It begins now to be everywhere surmised that the real Force, which in this world all things must obey, is Insight, Spiritual Vision and Determination. . . . The true Sovereign of the world, who moulds the world like soft wax, according to his pleasure, is he who lovingly sees into the world; the ‘inspired Thinker,’ whom in these days we name Poet. The true Sovereign is the Wise Man” (E 2: 377, par. 7).


77. SR, “Organic Filaments”: 201–02, par. 23. Cf. also TC to G. d’Eichthal, 17 May 1831, 5: 279 (“the Froth-ocean of what we call Literature”). See above, Ch. XII.
And indeed Nature herself will teach us that the man born with what we call ‘genius,’ which will mean, born with better and larger understanding than others; the man in whom ‘the inspiration of the Almighty,’ given to all men, has a higher potentiality;—that he, and properly he only, is the perpetual Priest of Men; ordained to the office by God himself, whether men can be so lucky as to get him ordained to it or not: nay, he does the office, too, after a sort, in this and in all epochs. Ever must the Fine Arts be if not religion, yet indissolubly united to it, dependent on it, vitally blended with it as body is with soul.  

IV. Belief in the Divine Idea of the World

In the “Natural Supernaturalism” chapter of Sartor, the Editor makes clear that, in the “stupendous Section, headed Natural Supernaturalism,” we are taken “safe into the promised land, where Palingenesia, in all senses, may be considered as beginning”. And to the “Happy few” who, “provided with a discursiveness of intellect rare in our day”, have been able to follow him, the Editor says in the next chapter:

Happy few! Little band of Friends! be welcome, be of courage. By degrees, the eye grows accustomed to its new Whereabout; the hand can stretch itself forth to work there: it is in this grand and indeed highest work of Palingenesia that ye shall labour, each according to ability.

From the above, it is clear that the final stage of the collective process of spiritual rebirth is marked by Natural Supernaturalism, or the belief in an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power, called the Divine Idea of the World, in the Unknown Deep of nature.

The collective process of spiritual rebirth—which may last ‘two centuries’ or more—may be defined, therefore, as the process by which, in terms of “Signs of the Times” (1829), the balance is restored between the overdeveloped “Mechanical” and the neglected “Dynamical nature of man”, and wholeness is established through union with the Divine Idea of the World, referred to in Sartor as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”.

78. *LP* (1850), 8, “Jesuitism”: 318–19, par. 42. Cf. also “The New Downing Street”, where Carlyle writes: “If Literature continue to be the haven of expatriated spiritualism, and have its Johnsons, Goethes and true Archbishops of the World, to show for itself as heretofore, there may be hope in Literature” (*LP*, 4: 168, par. 65).
81. *SR*, “Circumspective”: 214, par. 3. Cf. ibid.: 213, par. 1 (“the new promised country”).
82. See above, Ch. IV. Of his anxiety to get his “great Message (of the Natural *being* the Supernatural)” uttered, Carlyle writes in his Journal on 31 March 1833: “Neither fear thou that this thy great Message (of the Natural *being* the Supernatural) will wholly perish unuttered. One way or other it will and shall be uttered[,] Write it down on Paper any way; speak it from thee; so shall thy painful, destitute Existence not have been in vain” (*CL* 6: 367, n. 28. D.E.’s brackets. Cf. F 2: 345).
83. See above, Ch. IV. See also below, Ch. XIV.
85. Cf. “Signs of the Times” (1829), E 2: 73, pars. 30–31. See also above, Ch. IX.
CHAPTER XIV
THE HIDDEN REALITY

‘ “We are such stuff / As dreams are made of” ’
Speaking, “in his stupendous Section, headed Natural Supernaturalism”, of ‘Generation after generation . . . forth-issuing from Cimmerian Night’, Teufelsdröckh writes:

‘Generation after generation takes to itself the Form of a Body; and forth-issuing from Cimmerian Night, on Heaven’s mission appears. What Force and Fire is in each he expends: one grinding in the mill of Industry; one hunter-like climbing the giddy Alpine heights of Science; one madly dashed in pieces on the rocks of Strife, in war with his fellow:—and then the Heaven-sent is recalled; his earthly Vesture falls away, and soon even to sense becomes a vanished Shadow. Thus, like some wild-flaming, wild-thundering train of Heaven’s Artillery, does this mysterious MANKIND thunder and flame, in long-drawn, quick-succeeding grandeur, through the unknown Deep. Thus, like a God-created, fire-breathing Spirit-host, we emerge from the Inane; haste stormfully across the astonished Earth; then plunge again into the Inane. Earth’s mountains are levelled, and her seas filled up, in our passage: can the Earth, which is but dead and a vision, resist Spirits which have reality and are alive? On the hardest adamantine some footprint of us is stamped-in; the last Rear of the host will read traces of the earliest Van. But whence?—O Heaven, whither? Sense knows not; Faith knows not; only that it is through Mystery to Mystery, from God and to God.

“We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little Life
Is rounded with a sleep!”

We shall here deal with the question how this remarkable passage has to be understood.

1. Critics
   a. E. Barrett Browning/Horne: “work . . . unavailing and yet a necessity”

In the Carlyle essay by Elizabeth Barrett Browning (then Miss Barrett) and Richard Hengist Horne in Horne’s A New Spirit of the Age (1844), the passage, ‘Thus, like a God-created, fire-breathing Spirit-host’ to ‘ “Is rounded with a sleep!” ’, is quoted as illustration of “his [Carlyle’s] contradictory tone concerning all work, as unavailing and yet a necessity”.

2. Ibid.: 212, par. 24. Cf. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 37, par. 50; TC to JAC, 2 Dec. 1832 (6: 267) and “The Diamond Necklace” (1837), E 3: 327–29, pars. 6–7. Cf. The Tempest IV.i.156–58: “We are such stuff / As dreams are made on; and our little life / Is rounded with a sleep.” For the preceding lines: “And, like the baseless fabric of this vision, / The cloud-capp’d towers, the gorgeous palaces, / The solemn temples, the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit [i.e., who occupy it], shall dissolve, / And, like this insubstantial pageant faded, / Leave not a rack behind” (IV.i.151–56; the Arden Shakespeare), cf. the Editor’s quotation of the “thousand-times repeated speech of the Magician, Shakspeare” (SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1). Cf. “Centre of Indifference”: ‘Thousands of human generations, all as noisy as our own, have been swallowed-up of Time, and there remains no wreck of them any more . . . ’ (SR: 145–46, par. 20).
b. Peckham: “meaningless and insane activity”
Commenting on the final paragraph of “Natural Supernaturalism” and on the phrase, ‘“We are such stuff / As dreams are made of’”, Peckham writes in *Victorian Revolutionaries* (1970), in the chapter entitled “We Are Insane”:

In *Sartor Resartus* an extraordinary passage reveals man issuing from mystery, storming across the earth in a frenzy of meaningless and insane activity, and disappearing once again into mystery—“from god and to God.” But if God is here, so is the frenzy, the madness. . . . “We are such stuff as dreams are made of,” and most of our dreams are nightmares, and those that are not are self-indulgent deceptions. We are such stuff as lies are made of, and insanity. Between the sane and the insane the difference is only definitional, only cultural, only a matter of beliefs. This was the ultimate insight that only rarely he permitted himself to articulate, or even to recognize, but it was the direction in which his thinking necessarily moved. We should not speak of the Carlylean pessimism but of the Carlylean terror.⁴

2. My Interpretation: The World of Time and Space “a phenomenon or appearance, no real thing”, “like a dream which seems a reality as long as we are in it”
Of the “unending growth and decay of life and civilizations”, on the one hand, and the “sense of something that lives and endures underneath the eternal flux”, on the other hand, Jung says in the Prologue to *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*:

Life has always seemed to me like a plant that lives on its rhizome. Its true life is invisible, hidden in the rhizome. The part that appears above ground lasts only a single summer. Then it withers away—an ephemeral apparition. When we think of the unending growth and decay of life and civilizations, we cannot escape the impression of absolute nullity. Yet I have never lost a sense of something that lives and endures underneath the eternal flux. What we see is the blossom, which passes. The rhizome remains.⁵

Carlyle, on his part, notes that ‘Thousands of human generations, all as noisy as our own, have been swallowed-up of Time’,⁶ but that “Time itself”, as he puts it in “Characteristics” (1831), “reposes on Eternity”.

The veneration of the Past (and to what pure heart is the Past, in that ‘moonlight of memory,’ other than sad and holy?) sorrows not over its departure, as one utterly bereaved. The true Past departs not, nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die; but is all still here, and,  

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⁶ SR, “Centre of Indifference”: 145, par. 20. Of “all things” being ‘swallowed-up of Time’, Carlyle says in his Journal on 28 February 1854: “Sunday morning last [26 February 1854], there came into my mind a vision of the old Sunday mornings I had seen at Mainhill, &c. Poor old mother, father, and the rest of us bustling about to get dressed in time and down to the meeting-house at Ecclefechan. Inexpressibly sad to me, and full of meaning. They are gone now, vanished all; their poor bits of thrifty clothes, more precious to me than Queen’s or King’s expensive trappings, their pious struggling effort, their ‘little life,’ it is all away. It has all melted into the still sea; it was ‘rounded with a sleep.’ So with all things. Nature and this big universe in all corners of it show nothing else. Time! Death! All-devouring Time! This thought, ‘Exeunt omnes,’ and how the generations are like crops of grass, temporary; very, and all vanishes, as it were an apparition and a ghost; these things, though half a century old in me, possess my mind as they never did before” (F 4: 148. And of his then state of mind: “. . . I feel as if fairly broken and pounded in the mortar; and have oftenset no prayer except Rest, rest; let me sleep then if that must be my doom! For as God lives I am weary, very weary, and the way of this world does not suit me at all” (ibid.: 148–49). Cf. also TC to JC Aitken, “4?” Dec. 1855 (30: 134). For the Journal entry of 28 Feb. 1854, cf. also *CL* 29: 40–41, n. 2.
recognised or not, lives and works through endless changes. If all things, to speak in the German dialect, are discerned by us, and exist for us, in an element of Time, and therefore of Mortality and Mutability; yet Time itself reposes on Eternity: the truly Great and Transcendental has its basis and substance in Eternity; stands revealed to us as Eternity in a vesture of Time. Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost: it is but the superficial, as it were the body only, that grows obsolete and dies; under the mortal body lies a soul which is immortal; which anew incarnates itself in fairer revelation; and the Present is the living sum-total of the whole Past.\footnote{Characteristics} (1831), E 3: 38, par. 51. Cf. Carlyle, in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850), ostensibly quoting “the celebrated Gathercoal, a Yankee friend” of his, as saying: ‘My enlightened friends of this present supreme age, what shall I say to you? That Time does rest on Eternity; that he who has no vision of Eternity will never get a true hold of Time, or its affairs. Time is so constructed; that is the fact of the construction of this world. And no class of mortals who have not,—through Nazareth or otherwise,—come to get heartily acquainted with such fact, perpetually familiar with it in all the outs and ins of existence, have ever found this Universe habitable long’ (LP, 8, “Jesuitism”: 331, par. 66. Carlyle’s quotation marks only).

For Carlyle, “no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die”, but is preserved in the Unknown Deep of nature, the vital force of which he calls the Divine Idea of the World, referred to by him as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind”.\footnote{SR, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1.}

Commenting, in Memories, Dreams, Reflections, on two dreams illuminating the “thorny problem of the relationship between eternal man, the self and earthly man in time and space”, Jung observes that, “in the opinion of the ‘other side’, our unconscious existence is the real one and our conscious world a kind of illusion, an apparent reality constructed for a specific purpose, like a dream which seems a reality as long as we are in it.”\footnote{MDR: 322–23. For the “reversal of the relationship between ego-consciousness and the unconscious” (ibid.), cf. also the statement, in The Psychology of C. G. Jung, that “self-realization” or individuation “means the possibility of an anchor in what is indestructible and imperishable, in the primordial nature of the objective psyche. By self-realization he [the individual] returns to the eternal stream in which birth and death are only stations of passage and the meaning of life no longer resides in the ego” (Jacobi: 150–51). For the “decisive question for man . . . : Is he related to something infinite or not?”, cf. MDR: 325.}

For Carlyle, similarly, the locus of reality is ‘the unknown Deep’ of nature, and its hidden force, the Divine Idea of the World,\footnote{Cf. SR, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 211–12, par. 23. (‘These Limbs, whence had we them; this stormy Force; this life-blood with its burning Passion? They are dust and shadow; a Shadow-system gathered round our Me; wherein, through some moments or years, the Divine Essence is to be revealed in the Flesh’). Cf. also ibid.: 211, par. 22 (‘Are we not Spirits, that are shaped into a body, into an Appearance; and that fade away again into air and Invisibility? This is no metaphor, it is a simple scientific fact; we start out of Nothingness, take figure, and are Apparitions; round us, as round the veriest spectre, is Eternity’). For Teufelsdröckh on the ‘illusory Appearances’ of ‘Space and Time’, cf. ibid.: 207–12, pars. 14–23.}

the world of time and space, as his quotation from The Tempest shows,\footnote{In 1876, Carlyle told Allingham: ‘I recollect when I first heard of Shakespeare, when I went to school at Annan . . . one day in the street of Annan I found a wandering Italian resting a board with very bad imagery—“images” (C. imitated the cry), and among them a figure leaning on a pedestal with “The Cloudcap towers,” etc. Various passers-by looked on, and a woman read aloud the verses, very badly, and then the name below, “Shankespeare,” that was the way she gave it, “Shankespeare” (laughing)’ (Allingham: 247). Carlyle went to Annan Academy on 26 May 1806 at the age of ten, and left it in 1809, when he was thirteen. For “Ecclefechan” (Harrold, ed., SR: 267, n. 2), read “Annan” (cf. Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought: 76). According to Harrold, the lines, “We are such stuff”, etc., which Carlyle probably first came across ‘in the street of Annan’, became a “kind of motto for him [Carlyle] throughout his life” (Harrold, ed., SR: 267, n. 2).} being for him “an apparent reality . . . like a dream which seems a reality as long as we are in it”. Thus, in “The Hero as Divinity” (5 May 1840), Carlyle says:

\footnote{7. “Characteristics” (1831), E 3: 38, par. 51. Cf. Carlyle, in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850), ostensibly quoting “the celebrated Gathercoal, a Yankee friend” of his, as saying: ‘My enlightened friends of this present supreme age, what shall I say to you? That Time does rest on Eternity; that he who has no vision of Eternity will never get a true hold of Time, or its affairs. Time is so constructed; that is the fact of the construction of this world. And no class of mortals who have not,—through Nazareth or otherwise,—come to get heartily acquainted with such fact, perpetually familiar with it in all the outs and ins of existence, have ever found this Universe habitable long’ (LP, 8, “Jesuitism”: 331, par. 66. Carlyle’s quotation marks only).


9. MDR: 322–23. For the “reversal of the relationship between ego-consciousness and the unconscious” (ibid.), cf. also the statement, in The Psychology of C. G. Jung, that “self-realization” or individuation “means the possibility of an anchor in what is indestructible and imperishable, in the primordial nature of the objective psyche. By self-realization he [the individual] returns to the eternal stream in which birth and death are only stations of passage and the meaning of life no longer resides in the ego” (Jacobi: 150–51). For the “decisive question for man . . . : Is he related to something infinite or not?”, cf. MDR: 325.

10. Ibid.: 324. For the “reversal of the relationship between ego-consciousness and the unconscious” (ibid.), cf. also the statement, in The Psychology of C. G. Jung, that “self-realization” or individuation “means the possibility of an anchor in what is indestructible and imperishable, in the primordial nature of the objective psyche. By self-realization he [the individual] returns to the eternal stream in which birth and death are only stations of passage and the meaning of life no longer resides in the ego” (Jacobi: 150–51). For the “decisive question for man . . . : Is he related to something infinite or not?”, cf. MDR: 325.

11. Cf. SR, “Natural Supernaturalism”: 211–12, par. 23. (‘These Limbs, whence had we them; this stormy Force; this life-blood with its burning Passion? They are dust and shadow; a Shadow-system gathered round our Me; wherein, through some moments or years, the Divine Essence is to be revealed in the Flesh’). Cf. also ibid.: 211, par. 22 (‘Are we not Spirits, that are shaped into a body, into an Appearance; and that fade away again into air and Invisibility? This is no metaphor, it is a simple scientific fact; we start out of Nothingness, take figure, and are Apparitions; round us, as round the veriest spectre, is Eternity’). For Teufelsdröckh on the ‘illusory Appearances’ of ‘Space and Time’, cf. ibid.: 207–12, pars. 14–23.

12. In 1876, Carlyle told Allingham: ‘I recollect when I first heard of Shakespeare, when I went to school at Annan . . . one day in the street of Annan I found a wandering Italian resting a board with very bad imagery—“images” (C. imitated the cry), and among them a figure leaning on a pedestal with “The Cloudcap towers,” etc. Various passers-by looked on, and a woman read aloud the verses, very badly, and then the name below, “Shankespeare,” that was the way she gave it, “Shankespeare” (laughing)’ (Allingham: 247). Carlyle went to Annan Academy on 26 May 1806 at the age of ten, and left it in 1809, when he was thirteen. For “Ecclefechan” (Harrold, ed., SR: 267, n. 2), read “Annan” (cf. Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought: 76). According to Harrold, the lines, “We are such stuff”, etc., which Carlyle probably first came across ‘in the street of Annan’, became a “kind of motto for him [Carlyle] throughout his life” (Harrold, ed., SR: 267, n. 2).}
They seem to have seen, these brave old Northmen, what Meditation has taught all men in all ages. That this world is after all but a show, a phenomenon or appearance, no real thing. All deep souls see into that, the Hindoo Mythologist, the German Philosopher, the Shakspeare, the earnest Thinker, wherever he may be:

'We are such stuff as Dreams are made of!'13

Of Goethe’s and Shakespeare’s world, Carlyle writes in “Goethe’s Works” (1832): “For Goethe, as for Shakspeare, the world lies all translucent, all fusible we might call it, encircled with WONDER; the Natural in reality the Supernatural, for to the seer’s eyes both become one. What are the Hamlets and Tempests, the Fausts and Mignons, but glimpses accorded us into this translucent, wonder-encircled world; revelations of the mystery of all mysteries, Man’s Life as it actually is?”14 In “The Hero as Poet” (12 May 1840), therefore, Carlyle says: “Nature seemed to this man [Shakspeare] also divine; unspeakable, deep as Tophet, high as Heaven: ‘We are such stuff as Dreams are made of!’ That scroll in Westminster Abbey, which few read with understanding, is of the depth of any seer.”15

In a Journal entry of 14 February 1831, Carlyle refers to the phrase, “We are such stuff/As dreams are made on”, as being “the basis of a whole Poetic universe”: “Is Homer or Shakespeare the greater genius? Were hard to say. Shakespeare’s world is the more complex, the more spiritual, and perhaps his mastery over it was equally complete. ‘We are such stuff as Dreams are made on’: there is the basis of a whole Poetic universe; to that mind all forms, and figures of men and things, would become ideal.”16 And in “Corn-Law Rhymes” (1832):

One deeply poetical idea, above all others, seems to have taken hold of him [the Corn-Law Rhymer]: the idea of TIME. . . . This deep mystery of ever-flowing Time; bringing forth, and as the Ancients wisely fabled, devouring what it has brought forth; rushing on, in us, yet above us, all uncontrollable by us; and under it; dimly visible athwart it, the bottomless Eternal;—this is, indeed, what we may call the primary idea of Poetry; the first that introduces itself into the poetic mind. . . . And not the first idea only, but the greatest, properly the parent of all others. For if it can rise in the remotest ages, in the rudest states of culture, wherever an ‘inspired thinker’ happens to exist, it connects itself still with all great things; with the highest results of new Philosophy, as of primeval Theology; and for the Poet, in particular, is as the life-element, wherein alone his conceptions can take poetic form and the whole world become miraculous and magical.

We are such stuff
As Dreams are made of: and our little life
Is rounded with a Sleep!

16. *TN*: 187. In “Pure Reason”, the Editor remarks that, for Teufelsdröckh, “Matter, were it never so despicable, is Spirit, the manifestation of Spirit: were it never so honourable, can it be more? The thing Visible, nay the thing Imagined, the thing in any way conceived as Visible, what is it but a Garment, a Clothing of the higher, celestial Invisible, ‘unimaginable, formless, dark with excess of bright’?” (*SR*: 52, par. 6), and in “Prospective”, Teufelsdröckh observes: ‘All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken, is not there at all: Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and body it forth’ (*SR*: 57, par. 7).
Figure that, believe that, O Reader; then say whether the Arabian Tales seem wonderful! 17

Speaking of “the mundus archetypus”, i.e., “The archetypal, potential world as underlying pattern of the actual world. In the psychological sense, the collective unconscious”, 18 Jung writes to Dr. H. on 30 August 1951: “In consequence of the predominance of the archetype the personality that is ‘gripped’ is in direct contact with the mundus archetypus, and his life or biography is only a brief episode in the eternal course of things or in the eternal revolution of ‘divine’ images. That which is eternally present appears in the temporal order as a succession.” 19

Similarly, for Carlyle, the “eternally present appears in the temporal order as a succession”. Thus, in Past and Present (1843), he says:

Time was, Time is, as Friar Bacon’s Brass Head remarked; and withal Time will be. There are three Tenses, Tempora, or Times; and there is one Eternity; and as for us,

“We are such stuff as Dreams are made of?” 20

The phrase, “We are such stuff / As dreams are made on”, is also quoted by Carlyle in conversations with Allingham in 1871 and 1876. Thus, on 8 November 1871, Allingham records in A Diary:

With Carlyle. . . . Shakespeare: C. said with emphasis, ‘The longer I live, the higher I rate that much-belauded man.’ He thought that Shakespeare was much impressed with Christianity; to which I demurred. He repeated ‘The cloud-capt Towers,’ etc., dwelling solemnly once more on—

We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep—

He quoted Richter—‘These words created whole volumes within me,’ and mused, saying the words again to himself, 'such stuff as dreams are made of.” 21

17. “Corn-Law Rhymes” (1832), E 3: 152–53, par. 27. Cf. Sartor, where the Editor speaks of Teufelsdröckh’s “strange mystic, almost magic diagram of the Universe” (“Pause”: 163, par. 10) or “spiritual Picture of Nature” (“The World out of Clothes”: 40, par. 2). In “Corn-Law Rhymes”, Carlyle goes on to say: “ ‘Rounded with a sleep (mit Schlaf umgeben)’ says Jean Paul; ‘these three words created whole volumes in me.’” For Carlyle’s reference to the impression which these lines from The Tempest made on Jean Paul, cf. also “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again” (1830), E 2: 154, par. 56 and the entry for 8 November 1871 in Allingham: 206, quoted below.

18. C. G. Jung, Letters II: 22, n. 9, referring to “Mysterium, CW 14, par. 761”.

19. C. G. Jung to Dr. H., 30 Aug. 1951 (Letters II: 22, trans.). In a letter of 1947, Jung writes to Anonymous: “Life, so-called, is a short episode between two great mysteries, which yet are one” (ibid., I: 483, trans.). Having quoted Jung as stating in a letter of 5 March 1959: “ . . . darkness covers that which has been before the beginning [of our life] and that which is after its end”, Jaffé goes on to say in C. G. Jung: Word and Image (1979): “Nevertheless it is highly significant that even during his lifetime he [Jung] knows that he is connected—beyond time and space—with the infinite. But this is no longer a question of a life before birth or after death, but rather of a suprapersonal, ethical issue” (Jaffé, ed., C. G. Jung: Word and Image, 1979: 214). Cf. Jung to Anonymous, 5 March 1959 (Letters II: 491).

20. PP (1843), “The Ancient Monk”, V: 63, par. 2. In his edition of Past and Present (Oxford, 1918): 299, Hughes notes: “Roger Bacon (1214?–1294) is said to have made a brass head, believing that if he heard it speak, he would prosper, and if not, would fail. It spoke three times while Bacon was asleep, saying, ‘Time was’, ‘Time is’, and ‘Time’s past’; whereupon it fell to the ground, and was shattered. See Byron, Don Juan, i. 217.”
And on 24 March 1876, Allingham reports Carlyle as saying “emphatically”:

“He [Shakespeare] was above everybody of every time. No such man has been seen in the world.

We are such stuff as dreams are made of—

nothing so profound anywhere out of the Bible, or in it, that I recollect. “Such stuff”—the same kind of thing. I put The Tempest first of all (profound philosophy of life in robes of romance).”

A Copernican Revolution in Man’s Spiritual World

Of “the secret of the spiritual epoch” man is living in, Carlyle writes in his Journal in April 1851:

In the spiritual world, as in the astronomical, it is the earth that turns and produces the phenomena of the heavens. In all manner of senses this is true; we are in the thick of the confusion attendant on learning this; and thus all is at present so chaotic with us. Let this stand as an aphoristic saying? or work it out with some lucidity of detail? Most true it is, and it forms the secret of the spiritual epoch we are in.

In 1852, Carlyle, as Froude observes, attempted to work this out in “two unfinished essays”, which are quoted by Froude as being “the key to Carlyle’s mind” and as containing the thought which, “although nowhere more articulately written out, governed all his judgments of men and things”.

The first passages quoted by Froude, are taken from the unfinished essay commonly called “Spiritual Optics” and written between 9 and 16 November 1852. The essay fragment counts twelve paragraphs, paragraph two to seven inclusive being quoted by Froude. The text of paragraph four to seven as published in Victorian Studies in 1968, may here be looked at first.

Of the “grand centre of the modern revolution of ideas”, Carlyle writes in paragraph four of “Spiritual Optics”:

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23. Carlyle’s Journal, April 1851 (F 4: 77). This entry follows on the passage in which Carlyle is quoted as saying: “Another ‘spiritual world,’ its blaze of splendour as yet all veiled, hangs struggling behind those wrecks and dust-clouds—Hebrew, Greek, &c. When will it be born into clearness?”
25. F 2: 2.
27. First published fully in: Murray Baumgarten, “Carlyle and ‘Spiritual Optics’”, Victorian Studies, 11 (June 1968): 503–22, the essay fragment is quoted by me, from Victorian Studies, as “Spiritual Optics”. It should here be noted, however, that Carlyle left the essay fragment untitled, as did Froude, in my opinion, and that the phrase, Spiritual Optics, is used by Froude as heading for the whole section dealing with “the two fragments on ‘Spiritual Optics’ ” (F 4: 77). Cf. typeface, viz. large capitals (cf. F 2: 8), used elsewhere for the heading of a section (cf. ibid.: 72), but never for titles (cf. F 1: 324; 2: 291), as well as the running head, Spiritual Optics, covering the whole section (cf. F 2: 9–17), without being enclosed in quotation marks as is the running head ‘Signs of the Times’ (ibid.: 59). Cf. also the index, reading: Optics, spiritual (ibid.: 492) instead of: ‘Spiritual Optics’, in line with other titles in the index.
29. Cf. F 2: 8–15. According to Froude, the thought expressed in the passages quoted by him, “was as old as Hoddam Hill when they furnished the armour in which he encountered Apollyon [the Devil]” (ibid.: 8). For Hoddam Hill, see above, Ch. IV.
The primary conception by rude nations, in regard to all great attainments and achievements by man, is that each was a miracle and the gift of the gods. Language was taught man by a Heavenly Power; Minerva gave him the olive, Neptune the Horse, Triptolemus taught him Agriculture, etc. etc. The effects of optics in this strange camera obscura of an existence are most of all singular! The grand centre of the modern revolution of ideas is even this. We begin to have a notion that all this is the effect of optics; and that the intrinsic fact is very different from our old conception of it. Not less “miraculous”, not less divine; but with an altogether (totally) new (or hitherto unconceived) species of divineness, a divineness lying much nearer home than formerly. A divineness that does not come from Judea from Olympus, Asgard, Mt. Meru; but is in man himself, in the heart of every living man. A grand revolution indeed; which is altering our ideas of Heaven and of Earth to an amazing extent in every particular whatsoever.\(^{30}\)

And of man’s “spiritual world” being “gradually turned over”:

From top to bottom our spiritual world, and all that depends on the same, which means nearly everything in the furniture of our life outward as well as inward, is as this idea advances undergoing change of the most essential sort,—is slowly getting “overturned”, as they angrily say; which in the sense of being gradually turned over, and having its vertex set where its base used to be, is indisputably true; and means a “revolution” such as never was before, or at least since letters and recorded history existed among us never was. The great Galileo or numerous small Galileos have appeared in our spiritual world too, and are making known to us that the sun stands still; that as for the sun and stars and eternal immensities they do not move at all, and indeed have something else to do than dance round the likes of us and our paltry little doghutch of a dwelling place continually; that it is we and our doghutch that are moving all this while, giving rise to such phenomena; and that if we would ever be wise about our situation we must now attend to that fact\(^{31}\)

With regard to the matter here discussed by him, Carlyle then notes:

I would fain (sometimes) write a Book about all that, and try to make it plain to everybody: but, alas, I find again there is next to nothing to be said about it in want at present,—and indeed till lately I had vaguely supposed that everybody understood it, or at least understood me to mean it; which, it would appear, they don’t at all. [a word to express that extensive or universal operation of referring the motion from yourself to the object you look at, or vice versâ? Is there none?]—[a considerable quantity of thoughts (really) which I can get no tolerable method of expressing, on this subject!]—15 November 1852.]\(^{32}\)

After drawing attention, in the fifth paragraph, to “A notable tendency of the human being in case of mutual motions on the part of himself and another object, to misinterpret the said motion, and impute it to the wrong party”, a tendency which “would be insupportable, did not the experience of each man incessantly correct it for him in the common businesses and locomotions of this world”, Carlyle goes on to say: “In the uncommon locomotions again, it is not so capable of correction: during how many ages and aeons, for example, did not the sun and the moon and stars go all swashing round in their tremendously rapid revolution every twenty-four hours round this little indolent Earth of ours, and were evidently seen to do it by all creatures,—till at length the Galileo appeared, and the Newton in the rear of him!”\(^{33}\)

\(^{30}\) “Spiritual Optics”, *VS*, 11 (June 1968): 513–14, par. 4. For “Olympus, Asgard, Mt. Meru”, cf. Greek, Teutonic and Indian mythology respectively. For “the divineness that . . . is in man himself”, cf. the Divine Idea of the World being referred to as the “very Soul’s Soul” or “the spiritual, eternal Essence of Man, and of Mankind” (*SR*, “Circumspective”: 213, par. 1). See also above.

\(^{31}\) “Spiritual Optics”, *VS*, 11 (June 1968): 514, par. 4. With the “great Galileo . . . in our spiritual world”, Carlyle must have had Goethe in mind (see above, Ch. IV).

\(^{32}\) Ibid.

\(^{33}\) Ibid.: 514–15, par. 5.
Of the “fact, now discovered of the inner eyesight as it was long since of the outer”, Carlyle writes in paragraph six of “Spiritual Optics”:

But now will the favourable reader permit me to suggest to him a fact which though it has been present for some time to the consciousness of here and there a meditative individual, has not perhaps struck the favourable reader hitherto: That with the inward eyesight and the spiritual universe there is always, and has always been, the same game going on. Precisely a similar game, to infer motion of your own when it is the object seen that moves, and rest of your own with menadic storming of all the gods and demons while it is yourself with the devilish and divine impulses you have that are going at express-train speed! I say the Galileo of this, many small Galileos of this have appeared some time ago,—having at length likewise “collected” (with what infinitely greater labour, sorrow and endurance than your material Galileo needed!) “the experience necessary” for correcting such illusions of the inner eyesight in its turn! A crowning discovery, as I sometimes call it; the essence and summary of all the sad struggles and wrestlings of these last three centuries. No man that reflects need be admonished what a pregnant discovery this is; how it is the discovery of discoveries; and will, as men more and more become aware of it, remodel the whole world for us, in most blessed and surprising manner.34

And of the “delirious dancing of the universe” being “stilled”:

Such continents of sordid delirium (for it really is growing now very sordid) will vanish like a foul Walpurgis night at the first streaks of dawn. Do but consider it. The delirious dancing of the universe is stilled; but the universe itself, what scepticism did not suspect, is still all there. God, Heaven, Hell, no more than the material woods and houses, are none of them annihilated for us; nothing that was divine, sublime, demonic, beautiful, or terrible is in the least abolished for us (as the poor Pre-Galileo fancied it might be) only their mad dancing has ceased, and they are all reduced to dignified composure, any madness that was in it being recognised as our own henceforth. What continents of foul error, world-devouring armies of illusions, and of foul realities that have their too true habitation and too sad function among such, will disappear, at last wholly, from our field of vision; and leave a serener veritable world for us. Scavengerism, which under Chadwick makes such progress on the material streets and beneath them, will alarmingly but beneficently reign in the spiritual fields and thoroughfares, and deluges of spiritual water (which is light, which is clear pious vision and conviction) will have washed our inner world clean too, with truly celestial results for us. O my friend I advise thee awake to that fact, now discovered of the inner eyesight as it was long since of the outer, that not the sun and the stars are so rapidly dashing round, nor the woods and distant steeples and country-mansions are deliriously dancing and walzing round accidental centres; that it is thyself and thy little doghole of a planet or dwelling place that are doing it merely.35

Of the Jewish “misconceptions of a Godhood, Providence”,36 however, Carlyle says in the next paragraph:

And now if . . . the Jew People did in the course of long ages work out for themselves a set of convictions about this universe which were undeniable to them . . . were not the Jew People bound at their peril (temporal and eternal) to cherish such convictions . . . And if now they pleased to call all this by the Highest Names in their vocabulary and silently think and reverently speak of it as promulgated by their Great Jehovah and Creator for them, where was the harm for the time being? Was it not intrinsically true that their and our unnameable Creator had revealed it to them, having given them the outfit of faculties, character and situation for discerning owning and believing the same? Poor souls, they fancied their railway-carriage (going really at a great rate, I think, and with a terrible noise through the country) was perfectly motionless and that all the landscape was dancing and

34. Ibid.: 515–16, par. 6.
The second fragment quoted by Froude, is found on “another loose sheet of rejected MS”. The opening statements of this fragment read:

Singular what difficulty I have in getting my poor message delivered to the world in this epoch: things I imperatively need still to say.

1. That all history is a Bible—a thing stated in words by me more than once, and adopted in a sentimental way; but nobody can I bring fairly into it, nobody persuade to take it up practically as a fact.

2. Part of the ‘grand Unintelligible,’ that we are now learning spiritually too—that the earth turns, not the sun and heavenly spheres. One day the spiritual astronomers will find that this is the infinitely greater miracle. . . As Humboldt’s ‘Cosmos’ to a fable of children, so will the new world be in comparison with what the old one was, &c.

We shall now concern ourselves with the question how Carlyle’s remarks on a Copernican Revolution in man’s spiritual world have to be understood.

1. Criticism
   a. Froude

By way of introduction to his analysis of Carlyle’s remarks on a Copernican Revolution in man’s spiritual world, Froude says of the empirical nature of Carlyle’s religious belief:

He [Carlyle] was a Calvinist without the theology. . . . On the broad facts of the Divine government of the universe he was as well assured as Calvin himself; but he based his faith, not on a supposed revelation, or on fallible human authority. He had sought the evidence for it . . . in the experienced facts of things interpreted by the intelligence of man. Experienced fact was to him revelation, and the only true revelation. . . . In revelation, technically so called, revelation confirmed by historical miracles, he was unable to believe—he felt himself forbidden to believe—by the light that was in him. . . while he rejected the literal narrative of the sacred writers, he believed as strongly as any Jewish prophet or Catholic saint in the spiritual truths of religion. The effort of his life was to rescue and reassert those truths which were being dragged down by the weight with which they were encumbered. He explained his meaning by a remarkable illustration. He had not come (so far as he knew his own purpose) to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, to expand the conception of religion with something wider, grander, and more glorious than the wildest enthusiasm had imagined.

Of the Copernican Revolution, as the final triumph, with Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), of the heliocentric theory is commonly called, Froude then says:

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37. Ibid.
38. F 2: 15
41. Defying the church doctrine of the time, Copernicus (1473–1543) worked for 30 years “on the hypothesis that the rotation and the orbital motion of Earth were responsible for the apparent movement of the heavenly bodies” (WE, s.v. Copernicus).
42. “Galileo’s observations and arguments . . . made plausible for the first time the heliocentric (Sun-centred) theory of Copernicus. Galileo’s persuasive Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the World [, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican] 1632 was banned by the church authorities in Rome; he was made to recant [in 1633] by the Inquisition and put under house arrest for his last years” (ibid., s.v. Galileo).
The old world had believed that the earth was stationary, and that sun and stars moved round it as its guardian attendants. Science had discovered that sun and stars, if they had proper motion of their own, yet in respect of the earth were motionless, and that the varying aspect of the sky was due to the movements of the earth itself. The change was humbling to superficial vanity. ‘The stars in their courses’ could no longer be supposed to fight against earthly warriors, or comets to foretell the havoc on fields of slaughter, or the fate and character of a prince to be affected by the constellation under which he was born. But if the conceit of the relative importance of man was diminished, his conception of the system of which he was a part had become immeasurably more magnificent; while every phenomenon which had been actually and faithfully observed remained unaffected. Sun and moon were still the earthly time-keepers; and the mariner still could guide his course across the ocean by the rising and setting of the same stars which Ulysses had watched upon his raft.

And of Carlyle’s conception of a Copernican Revolution in man’s spiritual world:

Carlyle conceived that a revolution precisely analogous to that which Galileo had wrought in our apprehension of the material heaven was silently in progress in our attitude towards spiritual phenomena.

The spiritual universe, like the visible, was the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and legends and theologies were, like the astronomical theories of the Babylonians, Egyptians, or Greeks, true so far as they were based on facts, which entered largely into the composition of the worst of them—true so far as they were the honest efforts of man’s intellect and conscience and imagination to interpret the laws under which he was living, and regulate his life by them. But underneath or beyond all these speculations lay the facts of spiritual life, the moral and intellectual constitution of things as it actually was in eternal consistence. . . . God to him was the fact of facts. He looked on this whole system of visible or spiritual phenomena as a manifestation of the will of God in constant forces, forces not mechanical but dynamic, interpenetrating and controlling all existing things, from the utmost bounds of space to the smallest granule on the earth’s surface, from the making of the world to the lightest action of a man.

b. Baumgarten

In “Carlyle and ‘Spiritual Optics’” (1968), Baumgarten notes: “Men still live in a Ptolemaic universe, Carlyle insists, thinking that they are fixed points in a moving world. . . . The effect of this Ptolemaic cosmogony is to make men despair, for they mistakenly perceive God, and His supposedly eternal and absolute Law, to be in constant flux. A new Galileo is needed to correct men’s inward vision . . .”. According to Baumgarten, the “central assertion of the essay” is “that this spiritual refraction reasserts the divineness of the universe and in doing so, proves the existence of God”.

c. Moore

Commenting on Carlyle’s “scientific analogy”, Moore, in “Carlyle and Goethe as Scientist” (1976), writes: “Following Galileo, Newton had described the laws of the new, Copernican, heliocentric universe, and thus exposed the falsity of the old geocentric one, in which man thought himself at the center, with the stars and the planets (and God too) moving about him for his pleasure. Carlyle notes that there are still Ptolemaists living in the mid-nineteenth century who, optically deceived, judge by appearances and fancy themselves still at the center, sufficient unto themselves. If there were but a modern Galileo to correct their sight! Carlyle thus employs a scientific analogy to argue for our perceiving that it is God who is at the center

43. F 2: 4–5.
44. Ibid.: 5–6. See also above, Introduction.
46. Ibid.
and not ourselves, who are moving at His divine behest, in obedience to His laws, in His divine universe.\textsuperscript{47}

2. My Interpretation: Theism Being Superseded by Natural Supernaturalism

In “Spiritual Optics”, Carlyle speaks of “an altogether (totally) new (or hitherto unconceived) species of divineness, a divineness lying much nearer home than formerly. A divineness that does not come from Judea from Olympus, Asgard, Mt. Meru; but is in man himself, in the heart of every living man”.\textsuperscript{48} Carlyle is evidently speaking here of theism and Natural Supernaturalism,\textsuperscript{49} theism being understood as the “belief in the existence of gods, but more specifically in that of a single personal God, at once immanent (active) in the created world and transcendent (separate) from it”,\textsuperscript{50} and Natural Supernaturalism as the belief in an invisible, timeless, omnipresent ordering power—called the Divine Idea of the World—in the Unknown Deep of nature.\textsuperscript{51}

Theism is compared by Carlyle to the Ptolemaic system, i.e., the God of Hebrew and Christian tradition, believed to be governing the world of man, is likened to the sun, thought to be orbiting the earth.

Natural Supernaturalism, on the other hand, is compared to the Copernican system, i.e., the Unknown Deep of nature and its hidden force, the Divine Idea of the World, are compared to the earth, which “turns”,\textsuperscript{52} whilst the God of Hebrew and Christian tradition—no longer believed to be “immanent (active) in the created world”—is likened to the sun, which “stands still”.\textsuperscript{53}

In “Spiritual Optics”, therefore, Carlyle means to say that, just as the Ptolemaic has been superseded by the Copernican system, so theism is being superseded by Natural Supernaturalism, which “means a ‘revolution’ [in ‘our spiritual world’] such as never was before, or at least since letters and recorded history existed among us never was”.\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{48} “Spiritual Optics”, \textit{VS}, 11 (June 1968): 514, par. 4. See above.
\textsuperscript{49} Froude recalls that, when he told Carlyle he “had found and read” the fragment, Carlyle “said that it contained his real conviction that lay at the bottom of all his thoughts about man and man’s doing in this world. A sense lay upon him that this particular truth was one which he was specially called on to insist upon, yet he could never get it completely accomplished” (F 2: 15). Cf. Carlyle’s Journal entry for 13 February 1833, in which he states that “the gist” of his “whole way of thought” is to raise “the Natural to the Supernatural” (\textit{CL} 6: 328, n. 11 and F 2: 330). Cf. also the Journal entry for 31 March 1833, in which he speaks of his anxiety to get his “great Message (of the Natural \textit{being} the Supernatural)” uttered (\textit{CL} 6: 367, n. 28 and F 2: 345). See above, Ch. IV.
\textsuperscript{50} WE, s.v. theism.
\textsuperscript{51} See above, Ch. IV.
\textsuperscript{52} Cf. Carlyle’s Journal, April 1851, F 4: 77 (“In the spiritual world, as in the astronomical, it is the earth that turns”). Cf. also “Spiritual Optics”, \textit{VS}, 11 (June 1968): 514, par. 4, and On ‘Spiritual Optics’: Fragment Two, F 2: 16, quoted above.
\textsuperscript{53} “Spiritual Optics”, \textit{VS}, 11 (June 1968): 514, par. 4.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid. Cf. also On ‘Spiritual Optics’: Fragment Two, reading: “As Humboldt’s ‘Cosmos’ to a fable of children, so will the new world be in comparison with what the old one was . . .” (F 2: 16). See also above, Ch. XIII.
\end{flushleft}
APPENDIX I
CORRIGENDA IN COLLECTED LETTERS

1. DATES, 1813–1834

Dates of the letters from 24 June 1813, which is the date of the “earliest known letter of Carlyle”, to 10 June 1834, when the Carlyles moved into their new home at 5 (now 24) Cheyne Row, Chelsea, London. AC = Alexander Carlyle; JAC = John A. Carlyle; JC = Jean Carlyle, later JC Aitken; JC Sr = James Carlyle Senior; MAC = Margaret A. Carlyle.

Dates and names supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks. Dates within single quotation marks are mine.

In cases like TC/MAC, “18 Dec. 1829” (5: 41) ‘25 Dec. 1829’ (5: 52), the second page number indicates the page in CL to which the letter should be transferred.

Line numbers are given without space after the page numbers, as in 5: 41,5.

General Summary

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* = Additional Letters. For special cases, see below, nos. 61, 62 and 145. For entries to be deleted, see below, nos. 6 and 32.

(1) CL 1, 1813–1821

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For entry to be deleted, see below, no. 6.
(b) Corrections

1. JBW/Mary Welsh, 19 Nov. “1812” (1: 3] 19 Nov. ‘?1814’ (1: 35).

For correspondent, cf. Waverley (35,3; 35,26–27 and 29,24–26). For date, cf. lapse of three months (35,28–29), Carlyle’s reading (35,15–17; see also 29,13–15) and his trial sermon in Edinburgh (36,1–7 and R: 182).—In the next year, 1815, Carlyle travelled from Ecclefechan to Edinburgh on 19–21 December (69,13 – 71,18) and read his discourse on 22 December (71,19–20).

Cf. day of the week (37,9).

For date and correspondent, cf. account of reading up to 25 March (42,29 – 43,12), to which this excerpt appears to be a follow-up report, and the fact that Carlyle answered Mitchell’s letters of 12 April, 20 April and “ca. 1 May” on 24 May (45–49 and nn. 5, 11–12), but did not reply to Murray’s letters of 25 March, 4 April and 10 April until 21 June (52–56 and nn. 3, 7, 10, 14–18).

Cf. day of the week, a Monday (138,4–5 and 14–18; 139,6 and 140,21–24).

6. TC/[“]R. Mitchell or T. Murray [”] , [“]7 Jan. 1819[”] (1: 155)] delete.
For this excerpt, cf. TC/R. Mitchell, 14 July 1819 (188,28 – 189,3).

Cf. day of the week (199,13) and travelling schedule (199,26–27 and 201,30–31).

Cf. day of the week, a Monday (203,12–13) and attendance at church (200,5–9; 203,12–13).

Cf. death of father on 19 September 1819 (199, n. 1) and considerable lapse of time suggested by reference to JBW’s studies (219,20–21; 220,14–17; 221,6–7 and 9–11), social engagements (220,33 – 221,6), private tutoring (219,22–23; 220,19–20), passage of time (220,22) and early and later time of the year (220,24; 221,4).

For Carlyle’s dates, cf. carrier’s indecision (264,1–3 and 257,27–28). For my date, cf. day of the week, a Sunday (264,1–6).
Cf. day of the week (332,15), dispatch of Virgil (324,19), presence in Kirkcaldy and Edinburgh (328,15; 329,32 and 332,15), recommendation of the *Aeneid* (332,22–25; 332,31–33) and enquiry about appreciation of Virgil (340,2).

Cf. similarity between this letter and TC/AC, 14 March 1821, with respect to day of the week (334,2; 341,2), time of day (334,2; 341,5–12), health (334,8–9; 341,17–19), lack of time (334,13; 341,11–13), ignorance about Mainhill (334,33; 342,22–23) and occupations (334,36–37; 341,23–24). Cf. also letters from AC and MAC asked for and sent (334,23–24 and 32; 342,26–28; xlix) and box (334,26–31; 346,12–13). This letter follows TC/AC, 14 March 1821 (cf. order of events: 341,4–12; 334,13–15).

Cf. day of the week (356,14) and bathing conditions (357,17–18; 358,32–33; 362,7–9). Cf. also time needed to prepare box (358,15–25) going with MAC’s reply (356, n.; 358,7 and n. 1).

14. TC/MAC, “? June 1821” (1: 358] ‘12 May 1821’.
Cf. day of the week (358,2), speedy acknowledgment of letter and box (358 and n. 1) and bathing conditions (358,32–33; 362,7–9).

15. JBW/TC, “Late June 1821” (1: 366] ‘ca. 11 June 1821’ (1: 363).
Cf. return of books (360,13–17; 361,21; 367,9) and the forwarding of the “Milton . . . from Irving” on 12 June (361,21; 363,25; 367,35). Cf. also the equally speedy return of next set of books (367,15–16; 368,4–5).

Cf. day of the week (374,6), letter from AC asked for and sent (373,23–24; xlix), Carlyle’s (now missing) reply (375,8–9), his imminent departure (374,13; 376,18–19; 377,25) and box (373,29–30; 374,9–10).

Cf. JBW’s travelling schedule (370,16–17; 375,18–19 and n.).

Cf. the fact that this letter was written on the same day as TC/MAC, “16 November” (395,7–11; 392,23–25), i.e., on a “Friday” (392,20).

Cf. day of the week (400,15), Carlyle’s address, from which he moved on 10 November (400, n.; 391,20–21; 393,10–17), JBW’s return to Haddington on “?17 November” (400,10), transmission of the Alfieri volume through Irving circa 13 December (404,16–17; 411,9–14; 413,19–22) and long delay in returning the other books (404,13–15).
Cf. Jamaica Street period (400,23), disappointments “in regard to lodgings” and “final arrangement” on 4 December (400,28–30; 402,30 – 403,10) as well as “period of comparative idleness” (401,1; 402,30–31). For D.E.’s “9 Jamaica Street” (400,17) read ‘Edinburgh’ (cf. order of events: 403,8–17; 400,22–24 and 28). For sequence, cf. reference to AC (400,28–31; 402,30 – 403,9).

Cf. similarity between this letter and TC/AC, 19 December, with regard to day of the week (401,16; 414,3), crowded working schedule (401,33; 415,1–30) and “silent correspondents” (402,13–15; 416,6–7; 2: vii). Cf. also imminent journey to Kirkaldy (402,8–9; 419,3–6) and the “standing invitation” from Mrs Welsh, which was probably transmitted through Irving circa 13 December (402,10–11; 411,9–14; 413,19–22). For sequence, cf. time available for writing (414,6–8; 401,19) and reference to AC (401,34; 415,1–30).

Cf. JBW’s return to Haddington on ‘?17 November’ (400,10), day of the week (404,11), transmission of the Alfieri volume through Irving (404,16–17), for whom Carlyle was “the last friend he [Irving] had to take farewell of” (R: 231) circa 13 December (411,9–14; 413,19–22), the long delay in returning the other books (404,13–15) and the exclusion of 28 December (420,2; 421,16).

Cf. watermark (419, n.), new lodgings in Moray Street (419,21; 416,35–37; 417,33–34), day of the week (419,21), Dr Brewster (419,7; 419,24) and the article “Perspective” (419,24–25; 2:193–94).

(2) \textit{CL} 2, 1822–1823

(a) Summary

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For special cases, see below, nos. 61 and 62. For entry to be deleted, see below, no. 32.

(b) Corrections

Cf. day of the week (14,3), day on which “Faust” finished, viz. 19 Jan. (9,2–5; 10,15–16; 14,6 and 11) and dispatch of the article to JBW (14,7–9).

Cf. time needed to read Byron’s “Tragedies” (19,12–13; 15,33–34 and n. 7) and Carlyle’s article on Goethe’s *Faust* (19,13–14; 14,6–9), which was sent on 21 January, and see date of Carlyle’s reply (26,14).

Cf. exclusion of 1822 because of JAC’s residence in Annan in January 1822 (10, n.) instead of in Moray Street (262,3–5) from where the book was sent (22,10; *LL* 2: 352, st. 5), new year wishes (22,8), other letters for Mainhill written on 4 January (255–58; 260–262; 262,3), and “file of Epistle’s [sic]” sent in reply (309,1; viii,8–11), including JC’s “poetical letter” (cf. *LL* 2: 352–53) of 15 February 1823 (22,3–4 and st. 3; 22,9–10 and st. 8,1–2; 22,10 and st. 6; 22,10–12 and st. 4,1–2).

Cf. delivery of “a letter for Home” to the carrier on 30 January (23,13–14; 22,24–25), Carlyle thanking MAC again (23,21; 22,26–27) and AC’s knowledge “about the Tutorship” (23,1; 24,13–19). Cf. also promise to “write to some of you by the post—before the carrier comes back” (23,2–4; 23–26; 31,11–13).

Cf. the fact that this letter was written on the same day as the letter to Carlyle mistakenly dated 3 March by JBW (51, n.; 52,12–14).

Cf. day on which letter was received (57,16) and the fact that 24 February, like 3 March, falls on a Sunday.

31. TC/“[Mr. Hodgkin[”], “March 1822” (2: 58) TC/’Dr. Poole’, ‘ca. 23 March 1822’ (2: 68).
Cf. similarity between excerpt and summary in catalogue with regard to Byron’s *Don Juan* (58,27 – 59,2; 76,22) and Lesage’s *Le Diable boiteux* (59,3–4; 76,23) as well as transmission of Mr. Hodgkin’s remarks through the editor (58,37–38; 76,19 and 23–25). For a summary and the addressee of this letter, therefore, cf. catalogue (76,19–25). For date, cf. proof sheets (61,35–36; 68,8–10; 76,5–6) and Carlyle’s unwillingness to make any changes (76,23–25). For the heading, “Edinburgh”, see 2: 76. For “ca. 1 May 1822” (2: 58, n.), read “ca. 1 April 1822” (2: 76).

32. TC/Dr. Poole, “ca. 1 Apr. 1822” (2: 76) delete.
See above, no. 31.

Cf. date of previous letter from Carlyle (107,24–25; 105,5–6) and of Carlyle’s reply (108,26; 109,23–24), time needed to read the books sent (107,24 – 108,2) and day of the week (107,22).
Cf. Carlyle’s reference to their first meeting (109,25–26), which took place on a Saturday evening (R: 223,31–32) “during the General Assembly time” (1: 363,3; 2: 109,23–24 and 113, n.), though the actual date in 1821 was 26 May (1: 363,8).

Cf. date of Carlyle’s reply (115,9–11; 113,4–7) and JBW’s account of how she spent her time on day after her return, i.e., Thursday, 23 May, and on “the following ones” (113,29 – 114,15).

36. TC/AC, 2 June 1822 (2: 122)] ‘3’ June 1822.
Cf. day of the week (127,11–12). Cf. also 127,12–24, and 140,33–141,2.

37. TC/MAC, 2 June 1822 (2: 125)] ‘3’ June 1822.
Cf. day of the week (127,11–12) and interval of 48 hours (127,11–17).

Cf. date of previous and following letter by Carlyle (115,6; 131,6–7), delay in reading Sismondi (115,15–17; 130,1–5) and in Carlyle’s reply (131,9–11).

Cf. day of the week (131,6), date of previous letter from JBW, viz. ‘ca. 12 June 1822’ (129), Bracebridge Hall (134,8; 137,3–4; 142,33 – 143,2) and Carlyle’s health (134,6–7; 137,17–18).

40. JBW/TC, “ca. 11 July 1822” (2: 147)] ‘ca. 5 July 1822’.
Cf. Irving’s visit to Haddington on 5 July (145,22–25), verses sent through him (149,11–12) and his “setting off towards London” on 10 July (145,24–25).

Cf. day of the week (154,6) and interval of “three weeks” (155,10–12).

Cf. day of the week (155,26), dispatch of JBW’s “verses” (156,6–7; 155,10–12) and his urgent request to see her (156,17–18 and 28–35).

Cf. day of the week (156,24), Carlyle’s “long silence” “during these six weeks”, i.e., actually, from 5 August to 11 September (160,30–33 and n. 2) and his absence from Edinburgh “for at least one month”, i.e., from 7 August to 7 September (156,28–29; 157,1–3 and 160,33; 160,24; 161,33–34; R: 222–23). Cf. also JBW’s arrival in Edinburgh on 14 August (167,22–23; 181,2–4; 280,7–8, where “six months” should read “five months”).

Cf. day of the week (176,2) and dispatch of spectacles (176,25–26; 173,18; 175,24–26).
Cf. day of the week (178,13), date of previous letter from Carlyle (177,6–7), which is an established date (177,18–20; 165, n.; 168,18–19) and date of Carlyle’s reply (183,6–7; 190,1–2), an established date also (197,19–20; 193,14–15).

Cf. date of previous letter from Carlyle (183,6–7; 190,1–2), which is an established date (193,14–15; 197,19–20) and date of subsequent letter from JBW (196,13).

Cf. the fact that, between this letter and JBW/TC (220), as well as between JBW/TC (220) and TC/JBW (226), there lies more than a week (222,17–18 and 226,10 respectively), JBW’s account of her reading (221,8–11; 222,2–4), date of previous letter by Carlyle (204,17) and lapse of a week (212,24–25).

Cf. day of the week (214,5), impatience with lack of news from Mainhill (220,4–5; 214,8–10) and request to draw money out (215,25–28; 216,17–18; 232,20–21).

Cf. day of the week (277,32) and lapse of “six [actually five] months to day” since arrival in Edinburgh on 14 August to see the king (167,22–23; 181,2–4; 280,7–8 and n. 10).

Cf. Carlyle’s presence in Haddington (290,17–18; 287,13) and receipt, on his return, of letter from Irving (288,16–17; 292,29).

Cf. day of the week (296,26) and similarity between this letter and TC/AC, 8 March, with regard to health (297,2; 302,2–3), dinners and balls (297,39–40; 302,37; 303,1), and Carlyle’s reflections (297,41; 303,3). Cf. also Carlyle’s reading after 4 March (300,21–23 and TN: 33,9–17; 296,10–12 and TN: 33,17 – 36,8). For sequence, cf. time available for writing (301,4–6; 296,29–36).

52. JBW/E. Stodart, 8 March “1823” (2: 303) 8 March ‘1824’ (3: 45).

Cf. date of previous letter from Carlyle (298,16), exclusion of Monday, 10 March (309,13–16), date of Carlyle’s reply, viz. ‘19 March’ (312,3; 315,18–19 and 22) and day of the week (309,11).
Cf. day of the week (312,20) and visit of the Welsches to Edinburgh (312,3; 315,18–19 and 22).

Cf. visit of the Welsches to Edinburgh (335,6–8; 339,2; 343,8–9 and n.). Cf. also exclusion of 16 April because of the Robinson affair (333,18–21 and n. 5; 334,9–22) and delay in answering previous letter from Carlyle (331,8–12; 329,18).

Cf. day of the week (335,19), MAC/TC, 13 April (viii; 335,22), lease of Kinnaird House (336,25–26; 329,26–28) and “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part I (337,24; 338,26–27).

Cf. day of the week (338,15) and visit of the Welsches to Edinburgh (335,6–8; 339,2; 343,8–9 and n.).

Cf. arrival of David Hope (339,23–24; 340,1–2; 339,10).

Cf. postmark (343, n.), local delivery (343,18–19) and time of day when received (344,15 and 21).

60. JBW/TC, [“]21 July[“]” 1823” (2: 402) ‘23 July 1823’ (2: 408).  
Cf. postmark of previous letter from Carlyle (398, n.), its arrival on the day JBW was writing (404,5–10), postmark of this letter (402, n.) and date of Carlyle’s reply (408,2–6).

Cf. the date, 31 Aug., in the general note to this letter (419). For 31 Aug. being the correct date, cf. JBW having lost patience with Templand (420,20–24; 417,15–26). — The date, 25th Novr, 1823 (419,10), has evidently been misplaced (see below, no. 62).

Cf. the date, 25 Nov., in the general note to this letter (479). For 25 Nov. being the correct date, cf. AC having been commissioned “to come up for the pony” (479,19; 476,20–23). — The date, 31st August, 1823 (479,2), has evidently been misplaced (see above, no. 61).

(3) CL 3, 1824–1825

(a) Summary

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(b) Corrections

Cf. residence (28,2), travelling schedule (30,9–14; 28,21–22), sealing up of “Schiller” (29,25–29; 30,4–5), time of writing (28,10–11) and the fact that Carlyle is out by two days in his earlier calculation (17,8–10) and in dating his next letter to AC (29–33).

Cf. the fact that Carlyle found lodgings on Saturday, 7 February (30,27 – 31,11; 28,20–21; 18,14–16), wrote this letter on the following day (30,34–35) and that he was out by two days in his earlier calculation (17,8–10) and in dating his letter to J. Taylor (28). Cf. also receipt of AC/TC, 2 February (vii; 29,22). For sequence, cf. time of day (31,9–10; 29,8).

65. JBW/TC, “10 June 1824” (3: 79) ‘ca. 8 June 1824’.
Cf. time between date of letters and of London postmarks (202,22 and n.; 227,9 and n.; 249,2 and n.; 254,19). Cf. also the urgency of JBW’s reply (79,18–19).

66. TC/JBW, 23 June “1824” (3: 82) ‘22’ June “1824”.
Cf. residence (82,16), departure from Pentonville on 22 June (84,10–11) and time of writing (82,17–18).

Cf. residence (86,24), departure from Pentonville on 22 June (84,10–11) and dispatch of letter to Goethe on the same day (92,8–10).

Cf. residence (100,7), day of the week (ibid.) and exclusion of 2 July because of letter from Mrs Buller (104,15–22) after “a week spent at Kew” (104,15 and see 105,17–18) and subsequent events (104,22–38). Cf. also the frank, obtained on 24 June (96,34; 88,16–17), for letters to JAC, AC and JC Sr (96,34 – 97,2). For sequence, cf. time available for writing (100,9).

Cf. time between date of letters and of London postmarks (202,22 and n.; 227,9 and n.; 249,2 and n.; 254,19).

70. TC/JBW, “ca. 7 Apr. 1825” (3: 312) “ca. 13 Apr. 1825” (3: 315).
Cf. exclusion (1) of Wednesday, 6 April, because of visit from Bell during the first part of his stay (313,13–15; 311,29); (2) of Thursday, 7 April, because of unacceptability of a one day visit after absence of 10 months (311,19–28; 75,21–22), ground covered (315,35 – 316,3) and request to find “employments” for him next time (312,5–6); and (3) of the end of the week because of tasks set for JBW until Tuesday (312,7–12) and extent of business in Edinburgh (315,5–20; 317,1–5).
Cf. date of previous letter from Carlyle (312), intention to return on Tuesday (312,12–13), failure to do so (315,2–5) and exclusion of Tuesday, 26 April (316,7–9, 19–21 and 26).

Cf. preceding Saturday (316,7–9 and 20–21) and presence in Haddington on Friday next (316,26).

Cf. residence and day of the week (413,18), return to Haddington on 19 November (416,4–5 and 31–33) and Carlyle’s reply of 28 November on behalf of JC (417,27–28).

Cf. date of Carlyle’s reply (426,19) and day of the week on which he received this letter, viz. “Monday”, 5 December (426,21). The postmark, therefore, should no doubt be interpreted as reading “DEC 3” instead of “DEC 8” (424, n.).

Cf. day on which Johnston’s letter was received (433,27) and answered (435,20).

(4) **CL 4, 1826–1828**

(a) Summary

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(b) Corrections

Cf. time of writing, viz. the day following on letters to MAC and JC (24,14; 25,12; 26,28–29), Johnston’s election (24,16–23; 26,15–18) and “packing up” of MAC’s “caps” (25,2 and 18–20; 26,30–35; 36,21–25).

Cf. day of the week (44,2), “calling” for parcel throughout preceding week (44,6–8), date of next letter to JAC (7: 374) and progress made with Scotsbrig (44,25–32; 7: 375,8–9; 50,13–17).
78. TC/JAC, “ca. 7 March 1826” (4: 49) ’7 March 1826’. Cf. day of the week (49, 10), “five sheets” (49, 13; 52, 31) and Scotsbrig decision (50, 28–30; 53, 27–28).

79. TC/JBW, 2 Apr. 1826 (4: 66) ’1’ Apr. 1826. Cf. completion of “Goethe” (65, 11–12; 66, 23–24) and journey to Annan (65, 11; 66, 11; 67, 19–20).

80. TC/JAC, “16? May 1826” (4: 94) ’16 May 1826’ Cf. day of the week (94, 23) and arrival of books on preceding Saturday, 13 May (96, 9–11 and 26–27; 88, 3–5).

81. JBW/TC, “23 May 1826” (4: 97) ’6 June 1826’ (4: 100). Cf. day of the week (97, 10), Carlyle’s new residence (97, n.; 95, 3–7; 99, 23), “notule” to JBW (100, 11–12; 97, 10) and her speedy reply (97, 13–14, 21 and 28–29).

82. TC/JBW, “31? May 1826” (4: 100) ’7 June 1826’. Cf. day of the week (100, 17), date of previous letter from JBW with important news about a house (97, 31–33) and Carlyle’s enthusiastic and hurried reply (100, 20–29; 101, 5). “6 A.M.” (100, 17) should no doubt read “6 P.M.” (cf. 97, 10 and 101, 5).

83. JBW/TC, “1 Aug. 1826” (4: 121) ’ca. 31 July 1826’. Cf. time of writing (121, 25–26) and postmark (121, n.).

84. TC/JBW, Saturday “12 Aug. 1826” (4: 124) ’Friday’ ’11 Aug. 1826’. Cf. postmark (124, n.), dispatch of “sheets” on Tuesday (12: 381, 7 and 4: 124, 31), and work on “Title-page and Preface” just before writing to Jane Welsh (122, 35; 124, 15–17 and 31–36).


86. TC/Hunt & Clarke, “16 March 1827” (4: 193) ’ca. 18 March 1827’. Cf. date of previous letter from Hunt and Clarke (193, n.1) and three days for London-Edinburgh mail (cf. postmarks, 6: 300, 359, 384).

87. TC/Hunt & Clarke, “26 March 1827” (4: 194) ’ca. 28 March 1827’. Cf. date of previous letter from Hunt and Clarke (194, n.) and three days for London-Edinburgh mail.

88. TC/JC Sr, “late March 1827” (4: 195) ’20 March 1827’ (1: 194). Cf. day of the week (195, 23), favourable letter from Hunt and Clarke (196, 18–20 and 23–25; 193, n.1) and letter from JAC asked for and sent (197, 3–4; 200, 21–22).
89. JWC/A. D. B. Montagu, “7 May 1827” (4: 219)] ‘ca. 3 May 1827’.
Cf. arrival of Mrs. Montagu’s letter of 30 April at time of writing (219,6–11) and London postmark (219, n. and see 279,19 and n.).

For year date, cf. Wilson’s promise to visit Carlyle (236,21–22; 271,14–15). For date of month, cf. “Night with Wilson” during “summer” (236,3–9; 239,4–12), hurry to leave for Dumfriesshire after finishing “J. P. F. Richter” (233,7–15; 234,4–11), absence from Edinburgh in July (234,8–11; 244,10–17), return to Comely Bank on 7 August (244,10–17), promise to have a letter for JAC waiting for him in Dumfries on Wednesday, 15 August (245,24–25 and see 249,23–24) and postponement of “settling to any regular occupation” (243,9–10; 244,24–25; 245,33–35).

91. JWC/A. D. B. Montagu, “2 Sept. 1827” (4: 250)] ‘ca. 1 Sept. 1827’.
Cf. postmark (250, n. and see 300,3 and n.; 303,26–27 and n.). Cf. also receipt of Irving’s letter circa 30 August (250, n. 2) and Carlyle’s decision not to answer “instantly” (253,1–3).

Cf. day of the week (285,26) and Carlyle’s throat infection (285,29; 287,11–13; cf. also 285, n.; 294,10–11; 297,7–14).

93. TC/A. N. Macleod, “Nov. 1827” (4: 286)] ‘ca. 23 Nov. 1827’ (4: 284).
Cf. absence of reference to Mrs. Graham in letter to Scotsbrig of 13 November (275–78 and cf. 299,29–36; 321,16–21; 327,22–24), time available to Carlyle to deal with this matter during his “vacation days” after finishing “Werner” (278,33–34; 280,16), his serious indisposition by 27 November (285,29) and account of the Graham business in his letter to JAC of 29 November (289,37 – 290,6).

Cf. exclusion of 3 December, because, by 22 December, “no prize” has yet been offered (299,29–36; 293,25 – 294,1), and subsequent order of events: news of prize of five pounds (321,16–21), Mrs. Graham’s reply (293,25–26), Carlyle on his way “to call for her money” (293,26 – 294,1), his intention “to send her the money” on 20 February (326,5) and actual dispatch on that day (327,22–24). Cf. also forwarding to MAC “the other week” of newspaper with “Outer-house triviality”, i.e., with an article by “one Brown[e], an Advocate and Loggerhead” (293,16–24; 327,32 – 328,1).

Cf. day of the week (321,13) and dispatch of certificates (321,23; 317,13–15).

Cf. day of the week (328,34, where “19th Febr” should read “20th Febr”), reference to TC/AC, 19 February (328,20; 323,6; 329,28) and to frank for Mrs. Graham (327,22–23; 326,5).
Cf. day of the week (344,29), departure from Edinburgh on Monday, 17 March (349,9–10 and n. 1), intention “to be back in a fortnight” (349,9), receipt of proof-sheets “on two successive Wednesdays” (345,3–5; 348,29–30; 329,11–13), decision, after receipt of proof-sheets, to go to Scotsbrig (345,5; 344,29) and enquiry about the way he “should proceed” (344,33–34; 345,5–8).

Cf. exclusion of August because of presence of JC at Craigenputtock in August (see below: replacement), the Carlyles taking up residence at Craigenputtock “after Whitsuntide (the 26th of May)” (367,20–21), replacement of Mary by Jean Carlyle by 10 June (381,28–33 and see 384,6–7; 397,30–31; 399,10) and first eggs (395,20–21; 381,39–41).

Cf. weather conditions (424,27 – 425,2; 5: 7,9–11).

Cf. postmark (435, n. and see 384,18 and n.; 416,19 and n.).

(5) CL 4*: 439–42
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(6) CL 5, Jan. 1829–Sept. 1831
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(b) Corrections

Cf. birthday arrangements (18,10–11; 19,1–3).

Cf. JC’s return home (38,23–24; 41,15–16 and 56,15–16), Carlyle “writing letters to all the four winds” (39,9–10; 48,5–7 and 51,4–6) and dispatch of box for Goethe (39,10 and 48,9).
Cf. the “new-year’s gift” from Mrs. Welsh (41,5 and 54,33–34), JC’s return home (41,17–18 and 56,15–16) and period Carlyle has been waiting for books (41,27 and 56,27–29).

104. TC/An Editor, “Jan. 1830” (5: 52)] ‘?ca. 26 Nov. 1833’ (7: 48).
Cf. date supplied by Wilson (W 2: 351), time of the year (5: 52,28), frost (5: 53,6–7; 7: 47,14), plan “tried but not perfected” (5: 52, n.), change of weather (7: 48,19–20; 60,28–30; 75,35–39) and absence of reference to his invention in subsequent letters from Craigenputtock, which he left in May 1834.

Cf. day of the week, a Tuesday (100,24–27; 111,5–7 and 112,12–14), the London postmark (100, n.) and the five days needed for delivery (100,14; 95,16 and n.), as well as Carlyle’s intention to start with the next volume of his History of German Literature (101,3–4; 110,21; 112,24–25 and TN: 156).

106. TC/MAC, “4 or 11 June 1830” (5: 111)] ‘4 June 1830’.
Cf. day of the week (111,2) and day chosen to start with the second volume of History of German Literature (110,21 and 112,24–25).

107. TC/MAC, “?9 June 1830” (5: 112)] ‘8 June 1830’.
Cf. day of the week, a Tuesday (112,31–32; 113,4–6 and 113,9) and statement that he has begun with volume two of History of German Literature (113,6–7 and TN: 156).

Cf. day of the week (139,16), reference to previous letter as having been written “last week” (140,13 and 123,9), information about his father (123,20 – 124,8; 139,23–25; 130,23–25) and parcel from Paris (140,13–15; 133,19–30).

Cf. date and postmark of letter to Inglis (204,16 and n.), to which this letter of introduction was subsequently added (204,24–26; 205,15–16 and 205,32–33; 206,3–5), and time of day (206,9).

110. JWC/E. Stodart, “late Dec. 1830” (5: 206)] ‘?ca. 7 Dec. 1830’ (5: 197).
Cf. ‘new administration’ (206,23; 203, n. 17), visit to Templeton on 15 Dec. (207,17–19; 201,9–10) and interval between this letter and the next (207,32–35 and see 206,17–21; 207,23–25).

111. TC/JAC, 4 March 1831 (5: 240)] ‘5’ March 1831.
Cf. day of the week, a “Saturday” (240,22–23). Cf. also previous letter to JAC (240,23–24 and 232,24) and Alick’s negotiations (241,15–19).

112. TC/JAC, 17 March 1831 (5: 248)] ‘18’ March 1831.
Cf. day of the week, a Friday (249,11 – 250,5 and 252,14).
113. TC et al., Proposal for a Tribute to Götthe, “early Apr. 1831” (5: 259) ‘ca. 8 Apr. 1831’. Cf. dispatch to Fraser (264,6–8 and 259, n.). For “two posts before this” (264,7), cf. 269,9–10 and 270,30.

114. TC/MAC, “5 or 12 Apr. 1831” (5: 260) ‘12 Apr. 1831’. Cf. day of the week (260,2), news of the Annan Mill (260,5–7 and 264,13) and JAC’s letter of 6 April (261,26; 262,11–12 and n. 2).


117. TC/W. Graham, “Early May 1831” (5: 267) ‘ca. 5 May 1831’. Cf. date set by JAC for Carlyle’s letter of introduction (268,7–8 and 31–33) and day on which Carlyle replies (269,9–10 and 270,30).


120. TC/J. Murray, “19 Aug. 1831” (5: 348) ‘9 Sept. 1831’ (5: 409). Cf. day of the week, a Friday (348,8) and exclusion of other Fridays because of appointments made (315,17 and 341,14–15), Jeffrey’s negotiations (355,29–32; 381,30–31 and 399,8–13), agreement reached on 14 September (429,10–15 and 440,1–3), consultation with Jeffrey (444,2–11; 445,12; 446,6–19) and subsequent letters to Murray (446,6–19 and 6: 4–5). Cf. also “attempt for an interview” on 6 September (404,23–26; 403,23–33) and failure of next attempt (404,26–28 and 415,34–38).

121. JWC/MAC, “Ca. 10 Sept. 1831” (5: 409) ‘10 Sept. 1831’. Cf. visit to Templand (410,7; 422,12–18 and 404, n.).

(7) CL 6, Oct. 1831–Sept. 1833.

(a) Summary

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(b) Corrections

Cf. Ampton Street period (5,24), Glen’s absence and return (32,32 and 49,19), his change of residence (53,17; 5, n. and 163,12) and frequent visits to Carlyle in December (72,20). Cf. also evidence of an actual meeting on a “Saturday” (5,24) in December (77,18).

Cf. visit to Jeffrey (14,3–5; 11,13–15) and debate in the Lords (14,6–7; 11,9–10 and n. 14).

Cf. day of the week (14,17) and letter from JAC (17,20–22; 20,7–8; 22,18; 15,4).

Cf. Ampton Street period (36,23 and n.), appointment on Sunday morning (36,24–26; 48,4–5) and solitude (36,31–32; 45,11) because of JWC’s illness (39,8–15; 45,11; 53,20–21).

Cf. Carlyle’s “prospects of employment” (44,17–18; 79,2–13), Jeffrey’s recovery (44,22–23; 64,22; 73,11–12), Mrs. Austin’s first visit to the Carlyles (44,25–26; 73,5–6), relationship with the Montagues (45,3; 79,36–38), opportunity given to JWC to use the “frank” obtained on 24 December (77,27; 76,5–7) and its postmark (76, n.).

Cf. day of the week (80,25) and the “bearer” of the letter, Dr. Arbuckle (80, n.; 81,38–41; 88,3–8 and 89,22–23).

Cf. visit of Mill, Detroser and Duveyrier (94,16–19; 101,7–12) and reference to day of writing (102,18). For “Gustave d'Eichthal” (94, n. 3) read “Charles Duveyrier” (see App. I, 6).

Cf. visitors on the day of writing (101,7–8; 94,16–19). For “23–4 Jan.” (117, n. 4), therefore, read “23 Jan.”.
Cf. “scenario” for 13 Aug. 1832 (201,9–10 and 26–28; 202,4–6; 205,1–2; 217,19–21) and actual departure of maid about to take place (202,34).

Cf. day of the week (231,14) and Rood-fair at “Dumfries on Wednesday” (228,22; 230,12–16).

Cf. travelling schedule (236,31) and postmark (234, n.).

134. JWC/E. Stodart, “ca. 22 Oct. 1832” (6: 252)] ‘5 Nov. 1832’.
Cf. day of the week (252,7) and travelling schedule: “first to Templand” (252,14; 236,31), “thence to Scotsbrig” (252,14; 250,9–13), “back to Templand again” (252,14–15), “and home the night before last” (252,15), “and now before setting out again” (252,15–16 and 256,18–19).

135. JWC/S. Hunter, “?Late March 1833” (6: 358)] ‘?30 March 1833’ (6: 367).
Cf. presence of Mrs. Welsh and niece (347,13–15; 359,10–12; 358,14 and 20), previous visit of S. Hunter (358,7–11; 358,21–22; 351,7–8), absence on Friday (353,13–14) and call from S. Hunter (358,6), Saturday (?) dance (358,17; 358,20–21) and invitation for Sunday (?) (358,12–13).

136. TC/W. Graham, “ca. 1 Apr. 1833” (6: 367)] ‘?1 Apr. 1833’.
Cf. day of the week (367,12) and probable departure of guests (347,13–15; 359,10–12; 367,16–17 and n.).

(8) CL 7, Oct. 1833–10 June 1834
(a) Summary

\[
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\text{Corrected} & \text{Corrected} & \text{Transferred} & \\
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Total & 57 & 10 & 5 & 1 & 3 \\
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(b) Corrections

137. JWC/E. Stodart, “9 Nov. 1833” (7: 31)] ‘ca. 8 Nov. 1833’.
Cf. travelling schedule (37,5–6) and Dumfries postmark (31, n.).

138. JWC/JC Aitken, “Ca. 18 Nov. 1833” (7: 35)] ‘ca. 22 Nov. 1833’ (7: 43).
Cf. departure of Alick on 19 November (41,25–27), commission for him (35,4–5) and concern about its execution (35,5–6).

139. TC/JAC, 18 Nov. 1833 (7: 36)] ‘19’ Nov. 1833.
Cf. day of the week (41,25–27). Cf. also reference to JC’s wedding day (36,21; 37,13–17 and n. 2).
Cf. pony for MAC (68,10–12; 118,9; 112,39–40).

Cf. return from Templand (93,13 and n.; 95,15–17), commission for JC Aitken (93,19–20) and her reply (94, n. 2).

142. TC/L. Hunt, “ca. 22 May 1834” (7: 190] ‘29 May 1834’ (7: 194).
Cf. day of the week (190,2), the Ampton Street period (ibid.), and the exclusion of other Thursdays because of Carlyle’s first inspection of 5. Cheyne Row on Monday, 19 May (171,26–31; 190,8–10) and appointment with the Bullers on Thursday, 22 May, “at six” (176,7; 190,13–14).

(9) CL 7*: 359–79

(a) Summary

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For special case, see below, no. 145. For “JWC” (372,1), read ‘JBW’.

(b) Corrections

143. TC/[JBW]: A List of German Books, “? June 1821” (7: 370] ‘ca. 18 July 1821’ (1: 370).

Cf. day of the week (374,15) and JBW’s stay in Edinburgh (375,3–5), where she had arrived after 21 February (4: 36,31) and which she was to leave before 4 March (4: 46,4).

145. JBW/TC, “May 1826” (7: 375] “17 April 1826” (4: 75).
Cf. the date, “17 April [1826]”, in the general note to this letter (375). For “17 April 1826” being the correct date, cf. day of the week (375,14) and Mrs. Welsh’s offer “to furnish” them “a house” in Edinburgh (376,14–21; 4: 76,8–14).
(10) **CL 9**: 387–400

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(11) **CL 12**: 381–91

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(b) Corrections


Cf. day of the week (12: 381,4), receipt of Tait’s request on Monday, 7 August (4: 124,31–33), Carlyle’s inability to “think of any better” title (12: 381,14–16), his announcement on Thursday, 10 August, not to come to Edinburgh after all (4: 122,27–29 and see 4: 121,11–12) and to have worked out a new title after “hammering over the matter for eight-and-forty hours” (4: 122,35–36), i.e., ever since the letter of Tuesday (12: 381,4) expressing his inability to “think of any better” title. For “German Romance [i.e., the title “German Romance”]” (4: 128, n. 2), therefore, read “German Novellists” (4: 120,2). See also App. I, 6.


Cf. time of day (387,13 and see n.), two sleepless nights in succession (386,6; 387,6) and inability to take sleeping powder (387,8–9 and 20–25).
Sequence of the letters from 24 June 1813 to 10 June 1834. AC = Alexander Carlyle; JAC = John A. Carlyle; JC = Jean Carlyle; MAC = Margaret A. Carlyle. Dates supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks, as in TC/MAC, “16 Nov. 1821” (1: 392).

In these cases, as in TC/AC, 30 Jan. 1821 (1: 317) 1: 322, the second page number indicates the page in CL to which the letter should be transferred.

Line numbers are given without space after the page numbers, as in 1: 392,23–25.

1. TC/AC, 30 Jan. 1821 (1: 317) 1: 322. 
Cf. order of events (319,29 – 320,4; 323,29–30).

2. TC/MAC, “16 Nov. 1821” (1: 392) 1: 397. 
Cf. time of day (392,23–25) and reference to “Father’s letter” (394,4–5).

Cf. mention of letters to Johnston (410,3–6) and Graham (410,11 and see 413,18).

Cf. single (26,14; 27,37) and multiple dates (23,11; 24,20–21; 25,34).

Cf. time of day (106,23–24; 104,25–27) and single (105,8) and multiple dates (101,2; 105,1).

Cf. reference to this letter in TC/MAC, 4 January (260,34 – 261,2; 256,13–21).

Cf. time of day (417,33; 419,4).

Cf. “manuscript of Meister” (15,19–20; 18,21–23) and “proof-sheets of Paul” (15,25–26; 19,1–2).

9. TC/J. Hessey, 6 Aug. 1824 (3: 118) 3: 120. 
Cf. reference to TC/Messrs. Taylor & Hessey (118,19–21).

10. TC/JAC, 30 Nov. 1824 (3: 208) 3: 212. 
Cf. packet “for Haddington” (208,25; 212,5–8).
Cf. reference to TC/De Quincey (430,7–9 and see 434,37 – 435,4; 430,9–11).

Cf. alteration in conveyance of letter to JAC (132,14–15 and 23–24; 128,2–5).

Cf. reference to TC/MAC (223,5–6 and see 225,21–24).

Cf. time of day (274,21 and 276–80).

Cf. single (372,26) and multiple dates (370,20; 371,24).

Cf. single (422,12) and multiple dates (410,20; 418,25).

Cf. change of address (439, n. and 435,18–19).

Cf. frank for JC (77,27; 76,5–6 and n.).

Cf. reference to TC/AC (179,25 and see 181,16).

Cf. reference to TC/AC and JAC/TC (352,4–5 and see 354,23–25; 356,29–30).

The letters of 13 June 1833 were written in the following order: (a) TC/J. S. Mill (6: 400–05).
Cf. time of day (6: 400,27; 6: 399,31), the “unfortunate Frank . . . bursting” already with the letters to Mill and Austin (6: 398,20; 9: 396,6), and reference to Inglis (6: 399,15–17).

See above, no. 21.
Incidental corrections of the dates of the letters from 10 June 1834 to 1853 inclusive. These corrections are accounted for in Appendix III, to which the reader has here been referred.

Dates supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks. Dates within single quotation marks are mine.

In cases like JWC/JAC, “28 April 1850” (25: 73) ‘19 May 1850’ (25: 82), the second page number indicates the page in CL to which the letter should be transferred.

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APPENDIX I
CORRIGENDA IN COLLECTED LETTERS

4. THE REFERENCES TO CARLYLE’S JOURNAL

We shall here deal with the references to Carlyle’s Journal in Reminiscences and Collected Letters, vols. 6–28, respectively.

The References in Reminiscences

In Reminiscences, ed. C. E. Norton (1887; rpt., slightly rev. and enl., 1972), Campbell notes: “For autobiography, the Reminiscences have been used, cautiously, in conjunction with Carlyle’s diaries, in so far as these are available in passages quoted in Froude’s life and in the Two Note Books [of Thomas Carlyle: From 23d March 1822 to 16th May 1832] published by Charles Eliot Norton” (R: xiv). With respect to Campbell’s quotations from Carlyle’s Journal, however, the following may be noted.

In Reminiscences, the Journal entry for 12 August 1834 reads:

Mill, I discern, has given Fox the editorship of that Molesworth Periodical; seems rather ashamed of it. A la bonne heure: is it not probably better so? Trust in God and in thyself! O could I but; all else were so light, so trivial. (R: 78, n. 1)

In Froude’s biography of Carlyle, however, this entry runs as follows:

Mill, I discern, has given Fox the editorship of that new Molesworth periodical; seems rather ashamed of it—à la bonne heure; is it not probably better so? Trust in God and in thyself! Oh, could I but! all else were so light, so trivial! (F 2: 445)

In Reminiscences, there are thus eleven quotations from Carlyle’s Journal which, partly or fully, also occur in Froude, but in a different form, whilst the remaining fourteen quotations do not occur in Froude at all. The Journal entries in Reminiscences, therefore, have evidently been quoted from Carlyle’s unpublished Journal.

It may also be noted that, in Reminiscences, the Journal entry for 13 April 1838 reads:

Saw Southey, once here, another time at Miss Fenwick’s; very kind to me; and fond of talking, especially about French Revolution, book and thing. The excitablest man I ever saw. Very strange that I should be a toleratus, a laudatus with him. (R: 353, n. 1)

In Collected Letters, however, this entry from Carlyle’s unpublished Journal runs as follows:

Saw Southey, once here, another time at Miss Fenwick’s: very kind to me; and fond of talking, especially about the French Revolution, book and thing. The excitablest man I ever saw. Very strange I should be toleratus and laudatus with him. (CL 10: 60, n. 7)

Such differences also occur in R: 21, n. 1 and CL 7: 120, n. 4; R: 67–68, n. 1 and CL 7: 146, n. 1; R: 77, n. 1 and CL 11: 16, n. 6, as well as in R: 348, n. 1 and CL 8: 63, n. 14.
From the above, it may probably be inferred that the Journal entries in *Reminiscences* have been quoted from the typescript, and those in *Collected Letters* from the manuscript of Carlyle’s Journal. The reference, “Carlyle’s *Journal*”, therefore, used throughout *Reminiscences*, should probably be taken to mean: Carlyle’s Journal, TS.

**The references in *Collected Letters*, vols. 6–28**

In *Collected Letters*, the Journal entry for 1 February 1833 reads:

> Have been exploring on all hands the foolish history of the quack Cagliostro: have read several Books about him; searching far and wide after him; learned, I ought to admit, almost nothing. Shall I *study* this enigma; then write my solution or no-solution? (*CL* 6: 316, n. 5)

In Froude’s biography of Carlyle, however, this entry runs as follows:

> Have been exploring on all hands the foolish history of the Quack Cagliostro. Have read several books about him, searching far and wide after him; learned, I ought to admit, almost nothing. Shall I study this enigma, then write my solution or no-solution. (*F 2*: 329)

In *Collected Letters*, vol. 6 (1977) through vol. 28 (2000), there are thus circa 65 quotations from Carlyle’s Journal which, partly or fully, also occur in Froude, but in different form, whilst about 185 quotations do not occur in Froude at all. In these volumes, therefore, the Journal entries have evidently been quoted from Carlyle’s unpublished Journal. Accordingly, the reference to Carlyle’s “*Journal*”, as in vols. 6–9, or “Journal”, as in vols. 10–28, should probably be taken to mean: Carlyle’s Journal, MS.

On 22 May 1838, Carlyle writes to his mother: “I believe, in spite of all mismanagements (which have been manifold, but shall be avoided on another occasion), the thing [i.e., the Lectures “On the History of Literature”] will turn out quite handsomely well” (10: 84). D.E. here notes: “On 15 May, TC had written in his Journal: ‘A curious audience, a curious business. It has been all mismanaged; yet it prospers better than I expected once. The *conditions* of the thing, ah, the *conditions*! It is like a man singing thro’ a fleece of wool. One must submit; one must struggle, and sing even so, since not otherwise’ (Froude, *Carlyle* 3: 136)” (10: 84, n. 5).

Such a parenthetical reference to Froude also occurs in *CL* 6: 173, n. 1; 10: 82, n. 3; 10: 84, n. 6; 10: 94–95, nn. 5–6, and 10: 107, n. 4. In these cases too, however, the quotation is not from Froude’s biography of Carlyle, as the parenthetical reference would make us believe, but from Carlyle’s unpublished Journal.

For the sake of completeness, the following also may here be noted. In *Collected Letters*, the Journal entry for 29 December 1848 reads:

> Darwin said to Jane, the other day, in his quizzing-serious manner, ‘Who will write Carlyle’s *Life*?’— The word, reported to me, set me thinking how impossible it was, and would forever remain, for any creature to write my ‘Life’; the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view of surmise, and never will or can be known to any Son of Adam. I would say to my Biographer, if any fool undertook such a task, ‘Forbear, poor fool; let no *Life of me* be written; let me and my bewildered wrestlings be buried here, and be forgotten swiftly of all the world. If thou write, it will be mere delusions and hallucinations. The confused world never understood, nor will understand, me and my poor affairs; not even the persons nearest me could guess at them;—nor was it found indispensable; nor is it now, for any but an idle purpose, profitable, were it even possible. Silence,—and go thy ways elsewhither!’” (*23*: 187, n. 3)
D.E. here notes that “Froude did not include this passage” (ibid.). The whole passage, however, is included by Froude in his Introduction to Carlyle’s Life in London (see F 3: 1–2).

For the order in which the quotations from Carlyle’s unpublished Journal in Froude’s biography of Carlyle, Reminiscences and Collected Letters, vols. 6–28, should be arranged, see below, App. III.
APPENDIX I
CORRIGENDA IN COLLECTED LETTERS

5. D.E.’S BORROWINGS FROM MARRS

Whenever D.E. refers to a letter having been published earlier in Marrs, as in the case of TC/AC, 9 Nov. 1821, “Pbd: Marrs, pp. 89–91” (1: 390, n.), the footnotes in Collected Letters (as in 1: 390–92) should be compared to the endnotes in Marrs (as in M: 92), which are nowhere referred to by D.E. From that comparison, it is clear that, in Collected Letters, vols. 1–4 (1970), many notes are practically identical to those in Marrs, The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to His Brother Alexander: With Related Family Letters (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), as in the following example, in which the notes to TC/AC, 10 Jan. 1821 (1: 305–08) are compared to those in Marrs:

(1) “The Waffler [George Farries, the carrier] is a waffler still [i.e., always]” (1: 306).


“A minister in the Middlebie pulpit was attempting to preach upon these words: ‘He that is unholy, let him be unholy still.’ The poor man as you know perhaps could do nothing but repeat and repeat the verse, He that is unholy, &c, having totally forgotten the beginning of his sermon. An upland Proprietor listened to him with increasing impatience, reiterating the words; till at length another he that is unholy drove the worthy Laird out of all composure; he started up, squeezed on his hat, and stalked gruffly along the passage muttering: ‘He that is a confounded Jackass, let him be a Jackass still[!]’” (TC to JJ [James Johnston], 20 Dec. 1823 [2: 488]).

Marrs (1968): 60, n. 2.

Cf. a story he told James Johnstone: [from Norton, “EL, p. 298”, Marrs quotes the passage given above].

(2) “. . . the place [Robertson’s Lodgings, 16 Carnegie Street, Edinburgh] is cold, visited too freely by the breath of Heaven, and other ‘skiey influences’ . . .” (1: 306).


See Measure for Measure, III, i. For “the breath of Heaven,” see William Cowper’s “Human Frailty,” l. 23.

Marrs (1968): 60, n. 3.

William Cowper, “Human Frailty,” line 23. For “skiey influences” see Measure for Measure III.i.9.

(3) “Brewster . . . professes great readiness to furnish me with a letter of introduction to Thomas Campbell, who has lately been appointed Editor of a Magazine in London . . .” (1: 306).


The New Monthly Magazine.

Marrs (1968): 60, n. 4.

The New Monthly Magazine, which Campbell edited from 1820 to 1830. None of Carlyle’s writings appear in it.
(4) “I was at dinner with him [Brewster] the other day; and there were Professor Wallis, Telford the engineer, [James] Jardine another of the same, and one Wright a very ugly loud-speaking man” (1: 306–07).

Almost certainly William Wallace (1768–1843), professor of mathematics since 1819 at Edinburgh and a contributor to Brewster’s *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*. Carlyle was familiar with Wallace . . . , had spoken of him in earlier letters, and had spelled his name correctly each time. Thomas Telford (1757–1834), the civil engineer, born in Dumfriesshire, is mainly remembered for the Menai Straits Suspension Bridge and the Caledonian Canal, although also a minor poet.

Marrs (1968): 60–61, n. 5.
Almost certainly William Wallace (1768–1843), professor of mathematics at Edinburgh from 1819 to 1838 and a contributor to Brewster’s *Encyclopaedia*. Carlyle was familiar with Wallace, had written of him in four earlier letters (*EL*, pp. 57, 62, 68, 120), and spelled his name correctly each time. . . . Thomas Telford (1757–1834) was a civil engineer from Eskdale, Dumfriesshire, constructor of the Ellesmere Canal, friend of Campbell and Southey, and minor poet.

(5) “I left the party without regret to sup with little Murray (you recollect about him), where was to appear M’Diarmid of Dumfries and M’Culloch, the great M’Culloch better known to you as the ‘Scotsman’ ” (1: 307).

John M’Diarmid (1790–1852), editor (in 1837 owner) of the Dumfries and Galloway *Courier*. He also edited Cowper’s *Poems* (1817) and Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1823). John Ramsay McCulloch (1789–1864), the political economist, edited the *Scotsman* from 1818 to 1820.

John M’Diarmid (1790–1852), editor and in 1837 owner of the Dumfries and Galloway *Courier*. He also edited Cowper’s *Poems* (1817) and Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1823). John Ramsay McCulloch (1789–1864), the political economist, edited the *Scotsman* from 1818 to 1820.

(6) “M’Culloch fell sick, and we had to content ourselves with one of his coadjutors—a broad-faced, jolly, speculating, muddleheaded person called Ritchie” (1: 307).

John Ritchie (1778–1870), one of the founders of the *Scotsman*. He became its owner shortly after 1831.

There were two Ritchies associated with the *Scotsman*: John (1778–1870), one of its founders and its sole proprietor after 1831; and William (1781–1831), his brother, another of its founders and joint editor with Charles Maclaren until his death.
(7) “M’Diarmid is not ‘an elegant gentleman’; his look recalled to me the Yorkshire Mooncalf . . .” (1: 307).

An allusion to the young man offered to Carlyle as a private pupil by Dr. Allen.
Marrs (1968): 61, n. 7.
Possibly an allusion to the young man of the York Lunatic Asylum that Matthew Allen had offered to Carlyle as a private pupil.

(8) “As to M’Nay, I cannot recollect among all the ‘lives of the Poets’ that I have perused, a single instance of a child of song, consuming his gains in [the rest of the letter missing.]” (1: 308. D.E.’s brackets).

Andrew M’Nay, an Annandale man and, according to Alick’s letters of 19 Dec. 1820 and 4 Jan. 1821, a producer of “tasteless doggerel,” who claimed to have been robbed when called to account for the loss of his “ill-wrought for profits” which he in fact had squandered on “sweeties and gingerbread.”
Andrew M’Nay, an Annandale man, was, according to Alexander’s letters of December 19, 1820, and January 4, 1821 (MSS: NLS #s 1763.35–36 and .37), a producer of “tasteless doggerel,”[“] who claimed to have been robbed when called to account for the loss of his “ill-wrought profits” that he had squandered on “sweeties and gingerbread.” He in fact had a book published (see Letter 259 [TC to AC, 12 Jan. 1870]), but I have not been able to find a listing of it. [ Cf. also App. VIII, 2, March 1823.]

For D.E. borrowing phraseology and detail from the Introduction and Intermediary Sections in Marrs, cf. such instances as CL 1: 4, n. (see Marrs: 9) and 274, n. (see Marrs: 43).

The Table of reference to the relevant pages in Collected Letters, vols. 1–4, and endnotes in Marrs borrowed by D.E., reads as follows:

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It goes without saying that, in cases like the following, as in many other instances, the original source should have been referred to:

1. TC/AC, 1 March 1820: “The Life of Montesquieu was delivered to Brewster Saturday gone-a-week . . .” (1: 229).


Having recently lost the services of the poet Thomas Campbell (1777–1844), Dr. Brewster had offered Campbell’s work of writing articles for the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* to Carlyle. In spite of the “frugal terms,” he accepted it as his literary apprenticeship and as a means of support which would serve him until 1823. In 1897 S. R. Crockett collected and published in his *Montaigne and Other Essays Chiefly Biographical* seventeen articles from the *Encyclopaedia* which he attributed to Carlyle. . . . In 1909 A. Carlyle in *LL* (I, 268) credited Carlyle with an eighteenth, “Pascal,” on the basis of evidence in those letters. G. B. Tennyson in his “Unnoted Encyclopaedia Articles by Carlyle,” *ELN*, I (Dec. 1963), 108–112, has set forth a convincing case for the attribution of two more . . .

Marrs (1968): 38, n. 5.

Having recently lost the services of the poet Thomas Campbell, Brewster had offered Campbell’s work of writing articles for the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* to Carlyle. In spite of the “frugal terms” he accepted the work as his literary apprenticeship and remained at it until 1823. S. R. Crockett collected and published in *Montaigne and Other Essays Chiefly Biographical* (London, 1897) seventeen of Carlyle’s contributions to the *Encyclopaedia*. In 1909 Alexander Carlyle (*LL*, I, 268) credited him with an eighteenth on the basis of evidence in those letters. G. B. Tennyson in his “Unnoted Encyclopaedia Articles by Carlyle,” *English Language Notes*, 1 (December 1963), 108–112, makes a case for the ascription of two more.
2. TC/AC, 2 Jan. “1821”: “Last night, I was listening to music and the voice of song amid dandy clerks and sparkling females—laughing at times even to soreness at the marvellous Dr John Scott (see Blackwood’s Magazine) . . .” (I: 302).

Carlyle had been enjoying the sharp criticism Dr. John Scott (1783–1821), editor of the London Magazine, had leveled at John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), at this time a contributor to Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine, in the article “Blackwood’s Magazine,” which appeared in the London Magazine, XI (Nov. 1820), 509–21. Scott’s attacks continued for two more issues—“The Mohock Magazine,” XII (Dec. 1820), 666–85, and “The Mohock’s,” XIII (Jan. 1821), 76–77—and culminated in a duel between Scott and Jonathan Henry Christie, an intimate of Lockhart’s, on 16 Feb. Scott was hit, and eleven days later died from a wound he was thought to be recovering from.

Marrs (1968): 58, n. 9.


The Christian Repository and Religious Register, the organ of the Burghers. In January of this year it united with the Christian Magazine, the organ of the Antiburghers, and was published (in Edinburgh, not Glasgow) “by Ministers of the United Secession Church” under the title of the Christian Monitor and Religious Register. Its name was changed in 1825 to the Edinburgh Theological Magazine, and frequently changed thereafter until it ceased publication in 1904.

Marrs (1968): 63, n. 4.

4. TC/AC, 9 Aug. 1821: “Within the last three weeks, I have written almost as much as I had ever written before in the whole course of my natural life. Not only my own two stipulated Articles, but another, which the very shifty Editor called upon me not to write only but to manufacture, the proper Author, one Erskine, a Laird, having fallen sick,—or gone stupid (I should say stupider), and not being able to finish what he had already begun and even got printed” (I: 376–77).
Could this be Thomas Erskine (1788–1870), advocate, theologian, and laird of Linlathen (near Dundee)? If so, Carlyle’s opinion of him was to change radically shortly after their first meeting in 1838. For then he came to like him “as one would do a draught of sweet rustic mead, served in cut glass and [on] a silver tray” (Froude, *Carlyle*, III, 127). Thenceforth a mutual respect and admiration developed between them, and they came to be the best of friends.

Erskine may have been Thomas Erskine (1788–1870), advocate, theologian, and laird of Linlathen, near Dundee. If so, Carlyle’s opinion of him changed radically. For shortly after their first meeting in 1838 Carlyle wrote of liking him “as one would do a draught of sweet rustic mead, served in cut glasses and [on] a silver tray” (Froude, III, 127). Thenceforth a mutual respect and admiration developed between them and they came to be the best of friends.

5. TC/AC, 21 Nov. 1821: “...I am to write a book for my own convenience I am! depend on it” (1: 399).

A “kind of Essay on the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth of England...” See TC to AC, 27 April 1822, and Carlyle, *Two Note Books*, pp. 1–31. The plan did not immediately materialize, but was of course approximated in 1845 with his work on Cromwell. Although the wish... to do ... a book on Milton, or a novel in concert with Miss Welsh—was not realized at this time, he did complete, in Dec. 1822, “Cruthers and Jonson or the Outskirts of Life. A True Story”... [first periods are D.E.’s.]

Marrs (1968): 95, n. 7.
A “kind of Essay on the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth of England” (Letter 32 [TC to AC, 27 Apr. 1822]). See also *Two Note Books*... pp. 1–31. He did not execute his plan at this time but approached it in 1845 with *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches*. Nor did he realize his wish to do a book on Milton or a novel in concert with Miss Welsh. But he did complete in December 1822 “Cruthers and Jonson or the Outskirts of Life. A True Story”...

6. TC/AC, “12 Jan. 1822”: “Mr Martin the minister offered me the Editorship of a Dundee Newspaper...” (2: 8).

In 1822 there were two newspapers being published in Dundee, the Liberal *Advertiser*, and the Tory *Courier*. The former, founded in 1801, was printed, edited, and in part owned from 1809 to 1825 by Robert Stephen Rintoul (1787–1858), who in 1828 would found the *Spectator*. A most competent journalist, it would seem unlikely that his position as editor of the *Advertiser* would have been offered to anyone else. The *Courier*, on the other hand, founded by Thomas Colvill and believed to have been edited by him until his death in 1819, went bankrupt in 1823. That the paper may have been without an able editor in the interim suggests that it was the one to which Carlyle refers.
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7. TC/JC Sr, 12 Jan. “1822”: “There is a place . . . about which Irving wrote to me the other day, that promises exceedingly well. It is a Tutorship in a London family who have two sons intended to reside with their parents at Edinr, till their education is completed” (2: 4).  

On 24 Dec. 1821 Irving had accepted an invitation to preach on trial before the directors of the Caledonian Chapel, Hatton Garden, London. Present among many distinguished persons who had come to hear “the new man of genius” had been the wives of two retired Anglo-Indian judges, Edward Strachey (1774–1832) and Charles Buller (1774–1848). . . . Mrs. Buller, who had somewhat indifferently accompanied her sister to hear Irving preach, had been greatly impressed. Concerned at this time about the education of her two older sons—Charles (1806–48), who would gain distinction in Parliament, and Arthur William (1808–69), who would become Sir Arthur and like his father a judge in India—she had the next day sought Irving’s advice. . . . Sight unseen, Carlyle must have been the subject of Irving’s most generous praise to have thus impressed the Bullers. The salary eventually agreed upon was £200 a year.

Marrs (1968): 105, n. 4.
On December 24 Irving had accepted an invitation to preach on trial before the directors of the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden. Present among the many distinguished persons who had come to hear him had been the wives of two retired Anglo-Indian judges, Edward Strachey (1774–1832) and Charles Buller (1774–1848). Mrs. Buller (d. 1849), who had indifferently accompanied her sister to the affair, had found herself greatly impressed with Irving. Concerned about the education of her two older sons—Charles (1806–1848), who would distinguish himself in Parliament, and Arthur William (1808–1869), to become Sir Arthur and like his father a judge in India—she sought his advice the next day. Irving recommended Carlyle as tutor and for £200 annually Carlyle agreed to try.

8. TC/AC, 22 Feb. 1822: “. . . there is a little round fat man (Galloway the Philomath) beside me, whom I am too happy to have got fixed for a while to a mathematical problem, which has quenched his chattering somewhat” (2: 52–53).

Thomas Galloway (1796–1851). From the parish of Symington, Lanarkshire, he had graduated M.A. from Edinburgh University, and now, through the influence of Professor Wallace (whose daughter Galloway married in 1831), was able to obtain a living in the city by private teaching. At the end of this year he obtained appointment as mathematics teacher at
the Royal Military College, Standhurst, and at about the same time invited Carlyle to become a candidate for another such opening, for “about £200 a year with house and garden” (EL, p. 238). Carlyle wrote to inquire further, but the matter ended there. Galloway left Sandhurst in 1827, and in 1833 was offered a professorship in astronomy at Edinburgh, but chose instead to become actuary with the Amicable Life Assurance Co., London. He was a contributor to the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, the Encyclopaedia Britannica (7th ed.), and to the Edinburgh Review.

Thomas Galloway (1796–1851) of Symington, Lanarkshire. He was graduated M.A. from Edinburgh and through the influence of Professor Wallace, whose daughter he married in 1831, Galloway was at this time making a living in the city by private teaching. The records of the tenure of office of the civilian staff at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, are incomplete, but it would appear that it was later this year . . . that Galloway was appointed mathematics teacher at that school. For on December 4, 1822, Carlyle wrote his father that Galloway had invited him to become a candidate for a similar post, worth “about £200 a year with house and garden” (EL, p. 238). Carlyle inquired, but the matter ended there. By November 1827 Galloway had left the academy and was floundering in Edinburgh. In 1833 he was offered a professorship in astronomy at Edinburgh, but accepted an appointment as an actuary with the Amicable Life Assurance Company, London, where he remained until his death. He was a contributor to the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, the Encyclopaedia Britannica (7th ed.), and the Edinburgh Review.

9. TC/AC, 27 April 1822: “Bad luck to the low hound of Supplebank! he was always ‘a Turk in grain.’ Why do they not send him to the Poyais Country, for which his brother here is crimping so valiantly? He is the very man to split logwood & be eaten by Mosquitoes” (2: 95).

The allusion is to one Robert Irving (“Bob o’ the Bank”), who, according to Alick’s letter of 21 April, and James Johnston’s letter of 27 April, was trying to “whiddle” his aunt’s farm from her . . . In a letter to his father (25 June 1824), Carlyle speaks of the man’s brother Edward, the “Poyais Emigrator,” who by that time had been to and returned from an expedition to the Poyais country (a mosquito-ridden territory on the east coast of New Honduras named for the Poyais Indians) with Sir Gregor Macgregor (fl. 1817), an adventurer who was attempting to establish a Scottish settlement there . . . A third brother, Thomas, is also mentioned. The Supplebank Irvings seem to have been related to Edward Irving.

Carlyle alludes to Robert Irving, who, Alexander wrote in his letter of April 21, was trying to “whiddle” his aunt’s farm from her. In an unpublished letter to his father dated June 25, 1824 (MS: NLS #519.38), Carlyle wrote of the man’s brother Edward, the “Poyais Emigrator,” who by that time had been to and returned from an expedition to the Poyais territory, New Honduras, with Sir Gregor Macgregor (fl. 1817), a South American adventurer who was attempting to establish a Scots settlement there. There was a third brother, Thomas. That Carlyle also mentioned to his father that “the Poyais Emigrator . . . came in to call on Irving a night or two ago” suggests a relationship between the two families. [Periods Marrs.]
There had appeared in the first number (6 Jan. 1821) of the Edinburgh Beacon, a fervently Tory newspaper, an unwarranted and particularly scurrilous attack against James Stuart (1775–1849), a Writer to the Signet and a keenly loyal Whig. Because of this and other political excesses, the Beacon was ordered into extinction in Aug. 1821, but it was in effect replaced on 10 Oct. by the Glasgow Sentinel. The first number of the Sentinel also carried a personal attack against Stuart, and similar articles followed. Whereas Stuart previously had but demanded an apology from the printer of the Beacon, he this time brought action for libel against Messrs. Borthwick and Alexander, publishers of the Sentinel. The proceedings were stayed because of an argument between the two publishers, whose views on the issue were divergent, and the upshot was that Borthwick turned over to Stuart the MSS of the obnoxious articles. Discovering that the author of some of the most violent of them was Sir Alexander Boswell (1775–1822), . . . the eldest son of Dr. Johnson’s biographer, Stuart, on 25 March, challenged him to a duel. They met the following morning near Auchtertool, Fifeshire; Boswell was hit, and the next day died. On the advice of friends Stuart left for Paris and there surrendered to the British ambassador. On June 10 he was indicted and tried for murder before the high court of justiciary, Edinburgh, and the next morning was found not guilty. In 1828 he sailed for the United States, and returned three years later to write his Three Years in North America (1833). He edited the London Courier until 1836, and thereafter served as inspector of factories.
11. TC/AC, 11 Aug. 1824: “. . . to-day I am to go with one Crosbie (from Dumfries, a Scotch minister here) to dine at a Mr Lawrence’s . . .” (3: 125).


John Geddes Crosbie (d. 1838), eldest son of Andrew Crosbie, Dumfries. He was educated at Glasgow, on Irving’s recommendation called to Scots Church, Birmingham, Nov. 1824, and ordained by the Glasgow presbytery in June of the following year. He served as minister of Fenwick from 1829 to 1836, when he resigned on conscientious grounds.

Marrs (1968): 180, n. 2.

John Geddes Crosbie (d. 1838), eldest son of Andrew Crosbie of Dumfries. He was educated at Glasgow, on Irving’s recommendation called to the Scots Church, Birmingham, November 1824, and ordained by the Glasgow presbytery in June of the following year. He was minister of Fenwick from 1829 to 1836, when he resigned on conscientious grounds and left his profession.


The unfinished Wotton Reinfred, that “wretched ‘Didactic Novel’; which, in spite of all my obstinacy, declared itself desperate soon after this; and was shoved aside for other tasks,—and at last bodily into the fire” (A. Carlyle, NLM, I, 17–18). It was not burned. Carlyle later transferred many of its passages, word for word, into Sartor Resartus, then apparently simply locked it away. In 1856 Frederick Martin, an exiled Berliner whom Carlyle befriended and hired as a copyist, stole it (along with other MSS) and presumably sold it. It turned up after Carlyle’s death, was first published in the New Review, VI (Jan.–March 1892), 1–30, 141–65, 285–313, and then republished as a part of Last Words. See Wilson, Carlyle, V, 249–51.


Wotton Reinfred, that “wretched ‘Didactic Novel’; which, in spite of all my obstinacy, declared itself desperate soon after this; and was shoved aside for other tasks,—and at last bodily into the fire” (NLM, I, 17–18). Carlyle did not burn it. He later incorporated some of its material into Sartor Resartus, then simply locked it away. In 1856 Frederick Martin, an exiled Berliner whom Carlyle befriended and hired as a copyist, stole it (and other MSS) and presumably sold it. It turned up after Carlyle’s death, was first published in the New Review, 6 (January, February, March 1892), 1–30, 141–165, 285–313, and then republished in Last Words of Thomas Carlyle (London and New York, 1892), pp. 1–148. See Wilson, V, 249–251 . . .

13. JWC/JAC, “13 Sept. 1827”: “. . . he [Carlyle] received your letter on the way, showing that Dr Chalmer’s appointment to the moral philosophy chair was at least no such sure matter as Edward Irving said. And then the mention of David Welsh!” (4: 259–60).


Chalmers, at this time professor of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, was not appointed to any chair at London. He turned to Edinburgh, and in December of this year accepted appointment there as professor of divinity. He remained until 1843, when he became professor of divinity and principal at the newly founded Free Church College, Edinburgh. David Welsh (1793–1845), minister in Glasgow, also failed at London, also received appointment (in 1831, as professor of church history) at Edinburgh, and also went in 1843 to Free Church College.
5. D.E.’S BORROWINGS FROM MARRS

Marrs (1968): 244, n. 4.
Chalmers, at this time professor of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, was not appointed to a chair at London. He turned to Edinburgh, and in December of this year accepted appointment there as professor of divinity. He remained until 1843, when he became professor of divinity and principal at the newly-formed Free Church College, Edinburgh. David Welsh (1793–1845), minister in Glasgow, also failed at London, also received appointment at Edinburgh, in 1831 as professor of church history in his case, and also went in 1843 to Free Church College.

14. TC/AC, “26 Feb. 1828”: “By the bye! I had all but forgot to tell you to send the Minister to Mrs Welsh, who is ready and willing to settle with him, or ‘meet him in any court in Britain’ ” (4: 331).

The “Minister” is the Rev. Robert Bryden (1792–1860), son of William Bryden, a gunsmith of Edinburgh. He was educated at George Heriot’s school, from there won a bursary to Edinburgh University, was licensed by the presbytery of Stirling 4 Oct. 1820, and ordained at Dunscore on 25 April 1822. Because of the active part he played in the Disruption, he was on 24 May 1843 declared no longer a minister of the Church of Scotland, and became minister of the Dunscore Free Church. In 1853 he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Dartmouth College. (Records also show that he made a monetary contribution to the college library from Scotland in 1860.) Concerning his trouble with Mrs. Welsh (which is clarified in Alick’s letter of 20 Feb.), there was a question whether she or the Carlyles were to pay the tithes due him from the heritors of Craigenputtoch, and the minister had become impatient. Despite this altercation, the Carlyles and Bryden became friends during the Craigenputtoch residency.

Marrs (1968): 263, n. 5.
The minister was the Reverend Mr. Robert Brydon (or Bryden, 1792–1860), son of William Brydon, a gunsmith of Edinburgh. He was raised at George Heriot’s Hospital, from there won a bursary to Edinburgh University, was licensed by the presbytery of Stirling on October 4, 1820, presented there by George IV on September 17, 1821, and ordained at Dunscore on April 25, 1822. Because of the active part he played in the Disruption, he was on May 24, 1843, declared no longer a minister of the Church of Scotland. That same year he became minister of the Dunscore Free Church. In 1853 he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Dartmouth College. (Their records also show that he made a monetary contribution to the college library from Scotland in 1860.) Concerning his trouble with Mrs. Welsh, which Alexander clarified in his letter of February 20, 1828, there was a question whether she or the Carlyles were to pay the tithes due him from the inheritors of Craigenputtoch, and while they were working it out the man had become impatient. Despite this altercation, the Carlyles and Brydon became friends during the Craigenputtoch residency.

15. TC/AC, 10 Jan. 1838: “There are to be Lectures; but Heaven as yet knows on what” (10: 6).
“On the History of Literature,” twelve lectures, beginning 30 April, delivered at 17 Edward St., Portman Sq. Thomas Chisholm Anstey (1816–73), lawyer, politician, Roman Catholic convert and later an active supporter of O’Connell and M.P. for Youghal, 1847–52, took
notes on them (all except the ninth lecture), on which Greene largely and Karkaria entirely based their edns. Anstey wrongly dated TC’s first lecture 27 April. They were pbd. as Lectures on the History of Literature or the Successive Periods of European Culture . . . , ed. R. P. Karkaria (London and Bombay, 1892), and Lectures on the History of Literature . . . , ed. J. Reay Green (London, 1892). See also On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, ed. A. MacMechan (Boston, 1901) xx–xxvi. [Periods as in CL.]


“On the History of Literature,” a series of twelve lectures he delivered at 17 Edward Street, Portman Square. Thomas Chisholm Anstey (1816–1873), a lawyer and later an active supporter of O’Connell and M.P. for Youghal, took the notes on all except one of Carlyle’s lectures in this series on which Greene largely and Karkaria entirely based their editions of the printed lectures. Anstey dated Carlyle’s first lecture April 27. But Carlyle’s letter (NL, I, 121) to his sister Jean and the report (republished in Shepherd, I, esp. 176) in the Examiner of May 6 date it April 30. Carlyle concluded the series June 11. The series was published as Carlyle’s Unpublished Lectures. Lectures on the History of Literature or the Successive Periods of European Culture . . . , ed. R. P. Karkaria (London and Bombay, 1892), and Lectures on the History of Literature . . . , ed. J. Reay Greene (London, 1892). See also On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, ed. MacMechan, pp. xx–xxvi. [Periods Marrs.]
APPENDIX I
CORRIGENDA IN COLLECTED LETTERS

6. D.E.’S EXPLANATORY NOTES

The following incidental corrections of D.E.’s explanatory Notes may be added to those occurring elsewhere in this book.

1. JBW/Mary Welsh, 19 Nov. “1812” (1: 3)] 19 Nov. ‘?1814’ (1: 35). See App. I, 1.
   J BW: “I . . . go to Mr Browns school for writing” (1: 3).
   D.E.: “When Edward Irving left the Mathematical School at Haddington in Aug. 1812, Brown took his place. In 1813 the Mathematical School and the English School there were combined with Brown as headmaster, and the school came to be called James Brown’s Public School” (1: 3, n. 3).
   Corr.: For “Aug. 1812”, read “ca. 29 Sept. 1812”, and for “1813”, read “1814”. Cf. W. F. Gray, A Short History of Haddington (1944; facsim. rpt. Stevenage: SPA Books, 1988): 134–35, reading: “In 1812 Irving was offered a scholastic post in Kirkcaldy at a higher salary. . . . on 29th September Irving intimated his acceptance of the Kirkcaldy appointment. . . . Irving’s successor was James Brown. Soon after he had taken up his duties it became clear that the Mathematical school could not support a master unless he taught other subjects as well. This led, in 1814, to the Mathematical department being affiliated with the English school under Brown’s supervision. He resigned in the following year . . .”

2. TC/T. Murray, 18 “June” 1814 (1: 12).
   TC: “On Friday afternoon, I made bold to call upon Mr. White . . . and was very cordially invited to break-fast, next morning. I went, and . . . staied with him till eleven this morning . . .” (1: 13).
   D.E.: “. . . TC’s calendar reads as follows: Wed. 15th, left TM; Fri. 17th, interview; Sat. 18th, wrote letter . . .” (1: 12, n. 1). For the interview, cf. also 1: 13, n. 7.
   Corr.: The breakfast with Mr. White, the interview with “Mr Dalgliesh, the rector, Mr Waugh, Mr. Hurst &c” and the “comparative trial” at “the Globe inn” all took place on Saturday, 18 June. For the breakfast with Mr. White, cf. 1: 13, 22–33 and 27,31 – 28,10; for the “comparative trial”, cf. 1: 13,34 – 14,13 and 26,6–11. For “Thomas White, rector of Annan Academy” (1: 26, n. 4), read “Thomas White, rector of Dumfries Academy”. Cf. Wilson 1: 96 (referred to in this note) and D.E.’s earlier note (1: 13, n. 4).

   TC: “. . . seven of Toby Smollett’s eight chaotic volumes are before me. To say nothing of Gibbon (of whom I have only read a volume) . . .” (1: 112–13. D.E.’s brackets).
   Corr.: In Irving’s library at Kirkcaldy, Carlyle had at his disposal the 12-volume edition of Gibbon’s Decline and Fall, which he recollects “to have read at the rate of a volume a day
(twelve volumes in all)” (R: 187). By 16 Feb. 1818, he had toiled through the “massy tomes with exemplary patience” (1: 120). See also above, Ch. I.

4. TC/AC, 23 Feb. 1819 (1: 166).

TC: “A man in the New town applied to one Nicol public teacher of Mathematics here, for a person to give instructions in Arithmetic or some thing of that sort. Nicol spoke of me, and I was in consequence directed to call upon the man next morning” (1: 168).

D.E.: “Possibly the Nichol whom Carlyle met in John Waugh’s rooms in 1815 and described in the Reminiscences (II, 22) as a ‘shrewd, merry, and very social kind of person’ and ‘a sharp man, with lips rather quizzically close.’ By 1820 this Nichol had moved to Airdrie” (1: 168, n. 4).

Corr.: D.E.’s statement that Nichol, the “Mathematical Teacher in Edinburgh” (R: 183), “had moved to Airdrie” by 1820, is evidently incorrect, as Carlyle’s letters show. Thus, on 9 August 1821, Carlyle tells Alexander Carlyle that he has “been dining and gaffaaing [guffawing] with one Nichol, a Mathematical Teacher here” (1: 376), and on 12 January 1823, he writes to Jane Welsh: “Little Nichol has not seen me . . . We speak for ten minutes twice in the six months and that is quite enough. I find no pleasure in these people; they are of the Earth, earthy; I would not have them hate me, but our paths lie differently, we have shaken hands and parted long ago” (2: 268–69).

D.E.’s statement is no doubt based on the fact that, in April 1820, Carlyle spent a day and a night “with Nicol at Airdrie” (1: 241). Nicol of Airdrie, however, should not be confused with “the Nichol whom Carlyle met in John Waugh’s rooms”, as is clear from the following. On 20 June 1823, JAC writes to Carlyle: “You may have heard that Nicol of Airdrey died a few days ago of a consumption, I suppose you knew him at Glen’s . . .” (2: 386, n. 7). As “Teacher of Mathematics” at Annan Academy, Carlyle lodged at Glen’s during his “second year there”, 1815–1816 (1: 68 and R: 314). The Nichol, however, whom Carlyle met at “Waugh junior’s” about “Christmas time, 1815”, he “did not then know, except by name” (R: 182–83).

From the above, it is clear that, by April 1820, it was not Nichol met by Carlyle at Waugh’s, but Nicol known by Carlyle at Glen’s, who had moved to Airdrie.

5. TC/JBW, 4 June 1821 (1: 359).

TC: “I hope you will like Mad. de Staël. . . . Professors of Divinity and other old women think poor Wilhelmina crazy,—which is all very just and natural” (1: 360).

D.E.: “Carlyle may have given Mme de Staël the wrong name” (1: 360, n. 8).

Corr.: De l’Allemagne by “Mme la baronne de Staël Holstein” (b. Anne Louise Germaine Necker) was published in London in 1813, a year after the publication in Brunswick, Paris and London of Mémoires de Prusse, Margrave de Bareith, sœur de Frédéric le Grand, depuis l’année 1706 jusqu’à 1742. The name “Wilhelmina”, therefore, used in this letter, is no doubt a nickname given to Mme de Staël (1766–1817) because of the fact that, like Wilhelmina of Prussia (1709–1758)—whose Mémoires had just been published—she was a woman of rank writing in French about matters related to Germany. Cf. also CJP: 54–55. For Mme de Staël having been nicknamed “Corinne” after the publication of Corinne in 1807, cf. Renee Winegarten, Mme de Staël, Berg Women’s Series (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985): 65.
TC: “. . . I did not yet trouble . . . Brewster for a considerable sum which he will owe me very soon” (2: 74).
D.E.: “The article on Pascal was written during this spring for Brewster’s Edinburgh Encyclopaedia” (2: 74, n. 2).
Corr.: “Pascal” had been written by 19 July 1821 and would not be published until April 1823. Carlyle, therefore, is no doubt referring here to the articles “Norfolk”, “Northamptonshire” and “Northumberland”, which had been finished by 20 Feb. 1822 and were to be published in July 1822. For “Pascal” and the other articles, see above, Ch. II and III respectively. Cf. also App. VIII, 2.

7. JBW/TC, “1 July 1822” (2: 142).
JBW: “. . . I have really lost my temper with an admirer of my darling Willemina [sic]” (2: 143), i.e., with a “most prosaic” lawyer, who tried to persuade Jane Welsh into marriage, “because ‘the greatest woman the world ever produced (Madame de Stael) was twice married’ ” (ibid.).
D.E.: “A name given by Jane to Mme de Staël” (2: 143, n. 3).
Corr.: The name “Wilhelmina” first occurs in Carlyle’s letter to JBW of 4 June 1821 (see above) and is subsequently used in JBW’s letter of “1 July 1822” and in Carlyle’s letters to her of 13 July 1822 and ‘19 March 1823’ (2: 150, 13 and 314, 27). In the correspondence between Carlyle and Jane Welsh, therefore, the name was not “given by Jane to Mme de Staël”, but was first used by Carlyle. See also below.

TC: “Do not neglect to send me your verses: but for your concurrence I am almost ready to abandon that enterprise forever. Witness those truly Della-cruscan lines from the ‘German of Goethe’ ” (2: 177).
Corr.: The “Della-cruscan lines from the ‘German of Goethe’ ” cannot be identified as “The Fisher”, which, with Carlyle’s “alterations”, had been returned to Jane Welsh on 28 May 1822 (see App. V, 2). Carlyle calls Jane Welsh’s translation of “Der Fischer” “a very happy and ingenious translation, in many places; tolerable in all” (2: 120). For Jane Welsh’s translation and Carlyle’s “alterations”, see 2: 121–22. It may here be noted that Carlyle, like Mme de Staël in “Corinne—& Germany” (2: 120), erroneously thinks “the scene of the poem . . . to be not a river but the Sea” (ibid.). See App. V, 2.

The “Della-cruscan lines from the ‘German of Goethe’ ” must evidently be identified as “Faust’s Curse”, i.e., as Carlyle’s translation of Faust’s “wild curse” in Faust I, ll. 1583–1606. See App. V, 1 and 2. Compared to Carlyle’s translation in blank verse in “Goethe’s Faust” (1822)—see above, Ch. I—this new translation appears to be artificial enough to be called “Della-cruscan”.

In Chaos, “Faust’s Curse” is dated “Edinburgh, 1823” (see App. V, 4), just as, in Chaos, the “Night-moth” is signed “Edinb. 1813 [1823]” though it was actually written circa 18 Oct. 1822.
(see App. I, 2). AC’s date of “1822”, therefore, which Tennyson calls “an extremely early date”, is evidently correct. Cf. LL 2: 352 and Tennyson: 39, n. 5.

   JBW: “Have you seen little Nicol? What a selfish narrow soul it is!” (2: 265).
   D.E.: “Possibly either Nicol of Airdrie mentioned in TC to AC, 23 Feb. 1819, or Nichol the teacher of mathematics at whose lodgings Carlyle first met Irving (see Reminiscences, II, 22)” (2: 265, n. 11).
   Corr.: (1) In his letter of 23 February 1819, Carlyle is not referring to Nicol of Airdrie, but to Nichol the “public teacher of Mathematics”, erroneously said, in D.E.’s note to the letter, to have moved to Airdrie by 1820 (see above). — (2) In Jane Welsh’s letter of 8 January “1823”, “little Nicol” also refers to Nichol the Edinburgh teacher (cf. 2: 268–69). — (3) Carlyle first met Irving not at Nichol’s, but at Waugh’s (cf. R: 183–84 and see D.E.’s earlier note, 1: 168).

   TC: “Alas for Mlle. Curchod! Alas for her daughter Wilhelmina Necker who wished to marry him [Gibbon], when she was thirteen—not out of love to him but to her Mother!” (2: 314).
   D.E.: “Carlyle seems to have adopted Jane’s whim of calling her, incorrectly, Wilhelmina” (2: 314, n. 6).
   Corr.: In the correspondence between Carlyle and Jane Welsh, the name “Wilhelmina”—for which, see above—was first used by Carlyle (cf. 1: 360).

   TC: “Permit me, Sir, in soliciting your acceptance of this Translation [Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship] to return you my sincere thanks for the profit which, in common with many millions, I have derived from the Original” (3: 86. Opening sentence of Carlyle’s first letter to Goethe).
   D.E.: “Goethe had already received a copy of Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship from Dr. Noehden” (3: 87, n. 1).
   Corr.: This is incorrect. Cf. TC/JAC, 24 June 1824: “I sent a copy off to Goethe with a little letter the day before yesterday—tho’ the hands of old Dr Noehden” (3: 92, 8–10). Writing to Boyd on 5 July 1824, Carlyle recalls the difficulties to get a copy of Apprenticeship transmitted to Goethe through Whittaker’s office, adding: “I got the book sent off by another hand [i.e., ‘tho’ the hands of old Dr Noehden’] . . .” (102, 6).

   TC: “As to the Life [i.e., as to translating Goethe’s Dichtung und Wahrheit (1811 ff.)] I confess my feeling that were it shorter it might please me (as well as the public) very much. I could also command notes to it from Coleridge if necessary; and from another gentleman personally known to Goethe, and familiar with all the late literary history of Germany as of England. This I think would be a[n] advantage” (3: 103. Final brackets D.E.’s).
   D.E.: “Carlyle may have been a trifle optimistic in assuming that he could ‘command’ notes on a biography of Goethe from Coleridge, who did not respond very well to commands from the high or the low” (3: 103, n. 4).
Corr.: In this letter, Carlyle does not appear to use the verb “command” in the obsolete sense of “to order to be given” (OED, s.v. command 7), but in the sense of “to have at disposal” (ibid., s.v. command 11). In his letter to Boyd, therefore, Carlyle is saying that he “could also command”, i.e., have the disposal of or avail himself of, “notes to it from Coleridge if necessary; and from another gentleman personally known to Goethe”, i.e., from Henry Crabb Robinson, whom Carlyle had met at Irving’s on 22 June 1824 (see below). Robinson “had met both Goethe and Schiller while traveling in Germany in 1801–1802” (Marrs: 187, n. 7).


TC: “I have thoughts of publishing that Life of Schiller augmented with notes extracts &c in a separate shape; and being badly in want of materials for illustrating my subject, I make bold to apply to you for aid in the affair” (3: 108).

D.E.: “Henry Crabb Robinson (1775–1867) . . . met Carlyle at Charles Lamb’s, 5 July 1824, where Carlyle had been taken by Edward Irving” (3: 108, n. 1).


On ‘22’ June 1824, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh: “. . . I am just about setting off for Kew” (2: 82). This explains why, on the next day, Carlyle was unable to keep his appointment with Robinson, who notes in his diary on 23 June: “I was all this morning at home waiting for Mr. Carlyle, who promised to breakfast with me, till near twelve” (Robinson 1: 309). For Robinson’s next meetings with Carlyle, cf. ibid.: 310 (5 July 1824); 315 (23 and 26 Nov.); 315–16 (10 Dec.) and 318 (18 and 25 Feb. 1825).

Of his “recollections of Schiller”, Robinson writes in his diary on 10 Dec. 1824: “Took tea at home, Mr. Carlyle with me. He presses me to write an account of my recollections of Schiller for his book. I was amused by looking over my manuscripts, autographs, etc., but it has since given me pain to observe the weakness and incorrectness of my memory. I find I recollected nothing of Schiller worth recording” (Robinson 1: 315–16).

Robinson first met Irving at Naylor’s on 21 May 1823 (cf. ibid.: 294–95). For Irving and Robinson, cf. also ibid.: 295 (25 May and 8 June 1823); 304 (19 Apr. 1824); 307–08 (10 June 1824); 312 (18 Aug. 1824) and 318 (25 Feb. 1825).


In this letter of 29 April 1825, Carlyle writes to Robinson: “I have engaged with an Edinburgh Bookseller to prepare three or four volumes of Translations from the German intended as Specimens of their chief novel-writers . . . and being naturally anxious to effect this as perfectly as possible, I have determined on soliciting the benefit of your knowledge and taste to aid me in my choice” (3: 317). On 8 May 1825, Robinson notes in his diary: “I called on Sieveking and stayed late with him, making inquiries about German novels for Mr. Carlyle” (Robinson 1: 319). And on 19 May 1825: “Wrote a letter to Carlyle in Scotland giving him advice about the selection of German novels for translation” (ibid.). For this advice, cf. Robinson’s Notes “on one sheet of Carlyle’s letter” of 29 April 1825 (Carré: 42–43; Robinson 3: 825–26 and CL 3: 319). For “weh.” (CL 3: 319,41), read “wch.” (Robinson 3: 826).


TC: “. . . I have got the Picnic and Dejeuner dansant zu Kuhschnappel of Richter here; and if no better might be, with this I could serve my turn” (4: 80).


Corr.: The “Picnic and Dejeuner dansant zu Kuhschnappel of Richter” should be identified as the picnic episode in 16 chapters in the sixth letter of Jean Pauls Briefe und bevorstehender Lebenslauf (1799). See CJP: 58–59.


On 25 April 1826, Carlyle writes to Robinson: “I will tell you again sämtlich what I want: 1. Hoffman’s (C. [E.] T. A.) Leben und Nachlass, or any account of his life, even the date of his decease. 2. Richter’s Schmelzle and Quintius Fixlein, and the same thing about his life. 3. Maler Müller’s Werke; with if possible the like appendage” (4: 81, with items on separate lines. D.E.’s brackets). Referring to the bookseller Charles Tait (Fleet Street), Robinson notes in his diary on 15 May 1826: “Wrote to Carlyle about German books on which he gave me a commission. I spoke with Tait on the business, and wrote at length translating extracts from Konversations Lexikon” (Robinson 1: 335).
6. D.E.’S EXPLANATORY NOTES

   TC: “. . . do not think that I like this title; on the contrary I rather dislike it, and have chosen
   it only as the bad best . . .” (4: 128). Cf. 12: 381.
   D.E.: “German Romance [i.e., the title “German Romance”], which he had proposed as a
   substitute for German Novelists (used by Roscoe) in his letter to Tait of [10 Aug.]” (4: 128, n. 2.
   Final brackets D.E.’s).
   Corr.: The title “German Novellists”. Cf. TC/W. Tait, 31 July 1826: “I think the title should
   run thus: ‘German Novellists [not The] . . .’ ” (4: 120. Carlyle’s brackets; cf. ibid., n. 2).

   TC: “If Otto’s Life of Richter have a good reputation, and be already published, I could wish
   Mr Perthes would take the first opportunity of sending it to me . . .” (4: 162).
   D.E.: “Probably Richard Otto Spazier’s Jean Paul Friedrich Richter in seinen letzten Tagen
   und im Tode (Breslau, 1826)” (4: 162, n. 9).
   Corr.: Carlyle is referring here to “Wahrheit aus Jean Paul’s Leben (Biography of Jean
   Paul)” (E 2: 96, n. 1), the first three volumes of which were edited by Christian Otto, “Breslau,
   1826, ’27, ’28” (ibid.). Cf. Schweikert: 3. For Carlyle’s frequent references to “Herr Otto” in
   “J. P. F. Richter Again” (1830), see E 2: 102–04, pars. 8, 10, et passim.
   D.E. nowhere mentions Wahrheit aus Jean Paul’s Leben. Carlyle must have received some
   early part of Wahrheit by 29 November 1827, when he writes to JAC: “I lent him [De Quincey]
   Jean Paul’s Autobiography which I got lately from Hamburg, and advised him to translate it
   for Blackwood, that so he might raise a few pounds and ‘fence off’ the Genius of Hunger yet a
   little while” (4: 291). See CJP: 63.

   D.E.: Letter first “Pbd: Morley, CHCR [i.e., “Carlyle in the Diary, Reminiscences, and
   Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson”, London Mercury, 6 (Oct. 1922)], pp. 616–17”
   (4: 223, n.).
   Corr.: Letter first pbd: Jean-Marie Carré, “Quelques lettres inédites de William Taylor,
   Coleridge et Carlyle à Henry Crabb Robinson sur la littérature allemande”, Revue Germanique,
   Carlyle opens his letter of 14 May 1827 by saying: “May I beg of you to accept this copy
   of my late Compilation [German Romance], in the furtherance of which you more than once
   showed yourself so ready to assist with Rath und That [Rat und Tat (in ‘word and deed’)] . . .”
   (4: 223–24). On 30 June 1827, Robinson notes in his diary: “Read this afternoon Carlyle’s
   prefaces about Tieck, Hoffmann, Musaeus, and Fouqué. He had in the first article availed
   himself of hints from me, and his other prefaces read more like translations than compositions.
   Carlyle sent me his four volumes of German Romance—a present I did not want and do not
   much value, but I respect him and am pleased with his attention” (Robinson 1: 347).

   TC: “I give you many thanks for your ‘full-length’ by that ‘mystic black-guard’ . . .” (4: 293).
   D.E.: “De Quincey’s comments on ‘State of German Literature’ in the Saturday Post”
   (4: 293, n. 1).
Corr.: A newspaper article by “one Brown[e], an Advocate and Loggerhead” (4: 327. D.E.’s brackets).

21. TC/Goethe, 23 May 1830 (5: 103).

TC: “She [JWC] spends many an evening with you . . . One of her last performances was the Deutschen Ausgewanderten, and that glorious Mährchen a True Universe of Imagination . . .” (5: 104).


Corr.: JWC must have read Unterhaltungen as it occurs in Goethe’s Werke, Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand, ‘Taschenausgabe’, vol. 15 (1828), which had been received by Carlyle on 24 Sept. 1828 (cf. DGW: 52 and App. V, 3).


22. TC/Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830 (5: 151).

TC: “That projected Series of Literary Histories has fallen to the ground . . . I have succeeded in extricating my own poor Manuscript [on the History of German Literature] . . . for my own part, as my Name was to have stood on the Title-page, I cannot but rejoice, so far as that goes, that my first professed appearance in Literature may now take place under some less questionable character than that of a Compiler; being ambitious, one day, of far higher honours. It is true, as you say somewhere, and it ought ever to be borne in mind, that ‘an Artist in doing Anything does All’: nevertheless how few are Artists in this sense; and till one knows that he cannot be a Mason, why should he publickly hire himself as Hodman!” (5: 152). For Carlyle’s work on the History of German Literature, see App. VIII, 2.

D.E.: “Carlyle . . . alludes here, for the first time in his letters, to Goethe’s poem ‘Symbolum’ (‘Des Maurers Wandeln’ or ‘The Mason’s ways’) . . . He recalled in later life that it was his brother John who introduced him to the poem (A. Carlyle, NL, II, 284). . . . see . . . [Harrold’s] Carlyle and German Thought: 1819–1834 . . . 323–24 . . . ” (5: 152, n. 8).

Corr.: In “Symbolum” (1816), the “Mason’s”, or Freemason’s, “ways” are characterized as a “symbolum” of man’s life on earth, i.e., of what man’s attitude should be towards life and death and “what might lie beyond” (F 3: 86). Cf. HA 1: 557. D.E.’s statement, therefore, that Carlyle here “alludes . . . to Goethe’s poem ‘Symbolum’ ”, is evidently incorrect. The first “reference” to Goethe’s “Symbolum” occurs in Carlyle’s letter to Sterling of “26 March 1836” (8: 324). See App. V, 5.
Quoting, in German, the last lines of stanza three, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 2 December 1836: “I march inwardly humming often these words you taught me of Goethe’s: Stille / Ruhn oben die Sterne / Und unten die Gräber [Stars silent rest o’er us, / Graves under us silent!]: they are more like a Psalm than any I have” (9: 103). For Carlyle and Goethe’s “Symbolum”, see App. V, 5.

In Carlyle and German Thought (1934): 323–24, the German text of “Symbolum” is partly based on that in Gesänge für Freimaurer, zum Gebrauche aller Deutschen Logen [Songs for Freemasons, for the Use in All German Lodges], and is not the text used by Carlyle. Cf. App. V, 5; WA 3a: 392 and CL 9: 117.


TC: “. . . streams of visitors and other interruptions come upon one: for example, since I wrote the first sentence of this . . . John Mill with Detrosier . . . and, much stranger, an actual Saint-Simonian Frenchman . . .” (6: 94).


TC: In this letter, Carlyle quotes Goethe’s “Symbolum”, st. 2–3 and 5–6, commenting: “Is it not a piece of Psalmody that? It seems to me like a piece of marching-music of the great brave Teutonic Kindred as they march thro’ the waste of time,—thro’ that section of Eternity they were appointed for; oben die Sterne and unten die Gräber, with the Stimmen der Geister, the Stimmen der Meister! Let us all sing it, and march on cheerful of heart. “we bid you hope”; so say the voices. Do they not?” (9: 117).

D.E.: “ ‘The voices of the Spirit’ and ‘the voices of the Master’ ” (9: 117, n. 8).

Corr.: “. . . the Stimmen der Geister [the ‘voices of the spirits’], the Stimmen der Meister [the ‘voices of the Masters’]!”

According to D.E., Carlyle’s quotation of stanza 2 and 6 reads as follows:

Die Zukunft decket Hier winden sich Kronen
Schmerzen und Glücke, In ewiger stille,
Schmittwas’ dem Blicke, Die sollen mit Fülle
Doch ungeschichtet Die Mätigen Colinen:
Dringen wir vorwärts. Wir heissen euch hoffen.
D.E.’s reading of the MS of this letter is obviously mistaken and should be corrected as follows (corrections are marked by me with an asterisk):

Die Zukunft deckt   Hier winden sich Kronen
Schmerzen und Glücke,* In ewiger Stille,*
Schrittweis* dem Blicke,  Die sollen mit Fülle
Doch ungeschrecket  Die Thätigen* lohnen:*
Dringen wir vorwärts. Wir heissen euch hoffen.

D.E.’s reading of the MS may need further correction (see App. V, 5).

25. TC/AC, 5 Feb. 1842 (14: 35).
   TC: “You are right in supposing that I am and have been very busy. I have begun a kind of Book on Oliver Cromwell, and know not how in the world I shall get it written” (14: 36).
   D.E.: “The MS of the Historical Sketches (Strouse), on the last unnumbered page of a section on ‘Laud’s Life by Heylin,’ has the dated comment: ‘ ‘I threw myself at the footstool of his throne’—O God! that came into my head this morning, 5 feby. 1842 . . . ’ It is the only date of the kind in the whole MS (ignored by Alexander Carlyle in his edn. [1898]), most of which was probably written Sept.–Oct. 1843. But it does date the rest of this disjointed sequence of notes, including: ‘Life of Oliver: O Heaven there is no Life of him extant or now possible! . . . ’ ” (14: 36, n. 3).
   Corr.: The statement that most of the MS of Historical Sketches “was probably written Sept.–Oct. 1843”, is incorrect: (1) As D.E. points out elsewhere, Alexander Carlyle is responsible for “changing the date of one of TC’s notes that clearly says that a certain sketch was written in ‘1842’ to ‘1843’ (Hist. Sketches 339)” (17: 209). As emended by D.E., therefore, HS should read: “London city of 3rd November, 1640, was it not, and now in 1843 [1842] is it?” (HS, “In the Reign of Charles I”, XXVIII: 339, par. 4). — (2) From ca. 13 Nov. 1842 to ca. 19 Oct. 1843, Carlyle did not work on the Puritan Revolution (see App. III, 92–96); whilst, on 9 Nov. 1843, he writes to J. S. Mill: “. . . up to this hour I but write and burn” (17: 166), and, on 20 Dec. 1843, to W. Graham: “. . . the day before yesterday I, after deliberation, committed the scribbling of six weeks, at one fell swoop to the fire!” (17: 206). See also below.
   From the above, it is clear that, by 13 Nov. 1842, when Carlyle began to write Past and Present, the MS of Historical Sketches that has been preserved, had been ‘completed’.
   For the phrase, “I threw myself at the footstool of his throne”, cf. OC 1, Letter 2: 103, final par. (“casting yourself at the footstool of God’s throne”).

   TC: “I here am in a terrible hurry; writing daily: I hope before long to have something ready for printing,—tho’ not the thing I was chiefly meaning” (15: 252).
   Corr.: As seen above, D.E.’s statement that, in his letter to Goethe of 31 Aug. 1830, Carlyle “alludes . . . for the first time in his letters, to Goethe’s poem ‘Symbolum’ ” (5: 152, n. 8), is


JWC: “He [Carlyle] came into this room the other morning . . . and laid a great bundle of papers on my fire . . . it was all his labour since he returned from Scotland [on 15 Sept. 1843] that had been there sent up the vent, in smoke!— ‘He had discovered over night’ he said ‘that he must take up the damnable thing on quite a new tact’!” (17: 209, where “tact” may be a misreading). Cf. also JWC/M. Russell, 30 Dec. 1843 (17: 225–26).

D.E.: “Earlier in 1843 he had been writing, rewriting, and fair copying a series of sketches, either for the biography or history, which was preserved” (17: 209, n. 3).


On 9 Nov. 1843, Carlyle writes to J. S. Mill: “I have already tried it [to ‘write something on Cromwell and Puritanism’] successively on ten or twenty different tacks, and been everywhere repelled; and up to this hour I but write and burn, and then write again, very miserably” (17: 166). And on 20 Dec. 1843 to W. Graham: “. . . the day before yesterday I, after deliberation, committed the scribbling of six weeks, at one fell swoop to the fire! I have taken to read the Jacobite Scotch songs since; and mean, were the tumult settled a little, to try my problem on another side” (17: 206). Cf. also 17: 216 (“I am now trying the thing on another tack”); 218 (“. . . again I am at the thing on another side”) and 233.

28. TC/MAC, 10 Nov. 1845 (20: 49).

TC: “. . . we are to go at the end of this week for the long visit . . . to Lady Ashburton’s son and daughter-in-law . . . they call the Place Bay House; it is near Portsmouth . . . one of the dryest climates and pleasantest places, I hear . . . certainly one of the likeliest places for hourying, if one had a turn that way!” (20: 50).

D.E.: “Either ‘hourying’ or ‘lourying’: meaning uncertain. See also TC to JCA, 26 Nov.” (20: 50, n. 4). On 26 Nov. 1845, Carlyle writes to Jean Carlyle Aitken: “. . . our whole life here might be defined as one continual course of Handsomely doing nothing . . . This is a beautiful fantastic new Mansion, close by the shore of a beautiful narrow arm of the Sea, looking over to the towns and hills of the Isle of Wight . . . there are horses, carriages, all manner of conveniences:—and . . . we contrive to do very well; and shall be able, I think, to do the hourying function with tolerable effect till the time for handsomely ending it arrive” (20: 62).

Corr.: Carlyle here speaks of himself and his wife as “hourying” in the sense of keeping the rich company on their estate, just as hours bear the blessed company in Paradise, and in the sense of living in “the most perfect state of Donothingism” and always being “quite beautiful” (see below), like hours in Paradise. For the hours, cf. Robert Caratini, Le génie de l’Islamisme (n.p.: Lafon, 1992): 280.

In a letter to Forster dated “Bay House, 7 Decr, 1845”, Carlyle’s comment on his doing “the hourying function” reads: “We are leading a peculiar life here on these mild coasts: kind elegant people; the beautifullest December wheather I ever saw; a beautiful House, beautiful sea, and Isle of Wight with its ships and towns: all very ‘beautiful’; but amounting to the most
perfect state of Donothingism the mind of man could well conceive! That is the drawback of it: alas, you cannot do hard work and be quite beautiful; labour, says the Apostle, is not joyous, it is grievous! On the whole, I suppose one’s conscience, if nothing else, will send one home, with the tear in one’s eye, before long” (20: 75).

Because of its connection with the word “houri”, which appears to have been quite current at the time, the term “hourying”, no doubt a coinage of Carlyle’s, would probably have been readily understood. Cf. OED, s.v. houri, quot. 1737 (Johnson); 1745 (Walpole); 1816 (Byron); 1820 (Scott) and 1827 (Bulwer-Lytton). Cf. also William Beckford, Vathek, 1786/1816 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970): 3, reading: “The fifth palace . . . was frequented by troops of young females beautiful as the Houris . . .”

“Addiscombe Farm, in the Croydon suburbs of London, and Bay House, at Alverstoke on the South shore of Hampshire, were residences of the first Lord Ashburton’s Son, the Hon. H. B. Baring. The Grange, near Alresford, in central Hampshire, and Bath House in London, were Lord Ashburton’s residences. In May, 1848, Lord Ashburton died and Mr. Baring succeeded to the title,—the Grange and Bath House becoming his property” (Alexander Carlyle in NLM 1, 1903: 184).
### APPENDIX II
CARLYLE'S RESIDENCES, 1795–1834

<table>
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<th>DATE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
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<td>Dec. 4</td>
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<td>Ecclefechan</td>
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<td>Early (prob.)</td>
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<td>Larger house nearby</td>
<td>Allingham: 257</td>
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<td>Annan</td>
<td>High St (Waugh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 9</td>
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<td>Edinburgh</td>
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<td>June 20</td>
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<td>Kirkcaldy</td>
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<td>5 Richmond St (Davie)</td>
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<td>15 Carnegie St (Scott)</td>
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<td>May early</td>
<td>Ecclefechan (nr)</td>
<td>Mainhill</td>
<td>1: 182</td>
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<td>Nov. 10</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>35 Bristo St (Duff)</td>
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<td>8 Richmond Place (Thomson)</td>
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<td>Airdrie</td>
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<td>— (Irving)</td>
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<td>Mainhill</td>
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<td>16 Carnegie St (Robertson)</td>
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Here, as elsewhere, Appendix I, 1—Corrigenda in Collected Letters: Dates, 1813–1834—should always be taken into account.

Dates supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks. Dates within single quotation marks are mine.

Letters to persons belonging to Carlyle’s London circle, are placed under the heading “London” even if no address is given in D.E.’s general note to these letters.

In the Journal, dates supplied by Froude, Norton, or D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks. Dates within single quotation marks are mine.

References to R or CL quoting Carlyle’s Journal, have sometimes been supplied by me with an asterisk, as in 6: 229* (Entry for 12 Jan. 1833), indicating that there is a corresponding and, editorially speaking, now superseded passage from the Journal in Froude, as in F 2: 324–25 (Entry for 12 Jan. 1833).

IC = Isabella Carlyle, b. Calvert (d. 1859), wife of James Carlyle Jr.
JAC = John Aitken Carlyle (1801–1879), m. Phoebe Watts (1814?–1854).
JBW = Jane Baillie Welsh (1801–1866), m. Carlyle on 17 October 1826.
JC = Jean Carlyle (1810–1888), m. James Aitken (not related to Margaret Aitken).
JC Jr = James Carlyle Junior (1805–1890), m. Isabella Calvert (d. 1859).
JC Sr = James Carlyle Senior (1758–1832), m. (2) Margaret Aitken (1771–1853).
JtC = Janet Carlyle (1813–1897), m. Robert Hanning (d. 1878).
MAC = Margaret Aitken Carlyle (1771–1853), Carlyle’s mother.
MC = Mary Carlyle (1808–1888), m. James Austin.

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36. Getting Ready for The French Revolution  
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For this MS being accidentally burnt in 1835, see below.
<p>| 38. | Interval I | 8: 16–43 | America | 1 | Emerson | 1 |
|     |           |          | London | 1 | Mill | 1 |
|     |           |          | Family | 4 | AC | 1 |
|     |           |          |        |   | MAC | 1 |
|     |           |          |        |   | JC Aitken | 2 |
|     | ca. 17 Jan.– | 44 |     |   |     |   |
|     | ca. 10 Feb. 1835 | 44, 48 |     |   |     |   |
|     | Cf. Journal |          |        |   |     |   |
|     | 7 Feb. 1835 | R: 72* |     |   |     |   |
|     | 7 Feb. | 8: 44* |     |   |     |   |
|     | 7 Feb. | F 3: 18 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 7 Feb. | 8: 29 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 8 Feb. | F 3: 20 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 8 Feb. | R: 6* |     |   |     |   |
| 39. | FR 2, Bk 1; FR 1, Bks 1–2, | 8: 43–114 | Publisher | 1 | J. Fraser | 1 |
|     | Bk 3 (inc.) |          | London | 10 | Hunt | 2 |
|     | ca. 10 Feb.– | 44, 48 | Mill | 8 |     |   |
|     | 9 May 1835 | 122 | Family | 12 | JC Aitken | 1 |
|     |         |        |        |   | JC Jr | 1 |
|     |         |        |        |   | AC | 3 |
|     |         |        |        |   | JAC | 3 |
|     |         |        |        |   | MAC | 4 |
|     | Cf. Journal |          |        |   |     |   |
|     | 26 Feb. 1835 | 8: 62 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 Feb. | 8: 63* |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 Feb. | F 3: 20 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 Feb. | 8: 69* |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 Feb. | F 3: 21 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 7 March | R: 72* |     |   |     |   |
|     | 7 March | 8: 67* | On 6 March 1835, Mill informed |   |     |   |
|     | ‘ca. 15 March’ | 8: 80* |     |   |     |   |
|     | ‘ca. 15 March’ | F 3: 32 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 17 March | 8: 74 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 10 Apr. | F 3: 34 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 10 Apr. | 8: 93 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 10 Apr. | 8: 92 |     |   |     |   |
|     | ‘?10 Apr.’ | 8: 125 |     |   |     |   |
|     | ‘?8 May’ | 8: 122 |     |   |     |   |
| 40. | Interval II | 8: 114–77 | Edinburgh | 1 | Inglis | 1 |
|     | 9 May– | 122 | Glasgow | 1 | Hope | 1 |
|     | ca. 5 July 1835 | 178 | Minto | 1 | D. Aitken | 1 |
|     |         |        | Sterling | 1 | Sterling | 1 |
|     |         |        | America | 2 | Emerson | 2 |
|     | Cf. Journal |          |        |   |     |   |
|     | 11 May 1835 | 8: 122 | London | 5 | Barnard | 1 |
|     | 26 May | 8: 123 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 May | F 3: 45 |     |   |     |   |
|     | 26 May | 8: 129* | Family | 8 | JtC | 1 |
|     | 26 May | F 3: 46 | AC | 2 |     |   |
|     | 26 May | 8: 124 | JAC | 2 |     |   |</p>
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### 41. *FR 1*, Bk 3 (compl.); Bks 4–7

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### 42. Interval III

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2. **London/Scotsbrig**

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5. **Settling Down**

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### 43. *FR 2*, Bks 2–6

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“ca. 24 Dec.” 8: 278
22 March 1836  F 3: 69
22 March  8: 322
24 March  8: 327

44. Interval IV  **8: 335–65** America 1  Emerson 1
   ca. 25 Apr.–  338 Family 5  AC 1
   ca. 29 June 1836  363  JtC Hanning 1
   MAC 1

   Cf. Journal
   1 June 1836  F 3: 72 London 7  Grant 1
   1 June  8: 350  Hunt 1
   1 June  8: 351  Mill 5
   “early June”  8: 292

45. *FR* 3, Bk 1  **9: 3–16** Carstammon 1  W. Glen 1
   ca. 29 June–  8: 363 Family 2  JAC 1
   23 July 1836  9: 16  JtC Hanning 1
   London 3  Mill 3

46. Interval V  **9: 16–41** Family 1  MAC 1
   23 July–  16  London 1  Mill 1
   ca. 20 Aug. 1836  44  JWC 2  JWC 2
   Cf. Journal
   “late July” 1836  9: 22
   1 Aug.  F 3: 76

47. *FR* 3, Bks 2–7  **9: 41–114** America 1  Emerson 1
   ca. 20 Aug. 1836–  44 JWC 1  JWC 1
   13 Jan. 1837  125  Sterling 2  Sterling 2
   Family 8  JC Aitken 1
   Cf. Journal
   23 Oct. 1836  F 3: 82

48. Expecting the Proofs of *The French Revolution*  **9: 114–23** Family 1  JtC Hanning 1
   14 Jan.–  125  Sterling 1  Sterling 1
   19 Jan. 1837  122  London 1  Wilson 1

49. Proofreading *The French Revolution*  **9: 124–97** America 1  Emerson 1
   19 Jan.–  122  Edinburgh 1  Aird 1
   Family 12  AC 2
27 Apr. 1837 197 JC Aitken 2
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London 12 H. Wedgwood 1
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50. Preparing Lectures I 9: 197–201 Family 1 MAC 1
27 Apr.– 197 London 2 Mill 1
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51. Lectures I: “On German Literature” 9: 201–08 Family 1 MAC 1
1, 8, 12, 15, 19, 201, 205 J. White 1 J. White 1
22 and 26 May 1837 206, 210, 224 London 4 “Bull?” 1
Mill 1
Hunt 2

Corr.: 19 May (205,15)] ’20’ May (cf. 206,8; 207,14 and 213,27).

52. Recuperating

(1) In London 9: 209–33 America 1 Emerson 1
26 May– 206 Sterling 1 Sterling 1
21 June 1837 232 Weimar 1 Eckermann 1
Family 4 JAC 1
JtC Hanning 1
MAC 2

(2) At Scotsbrig

a. London/Scotsbrig 9: 233–34 Liverpool 1 M. Welsh 1
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b. Scotsbrig 9: 234–305 Sterling 1 Sterling 1
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53. Pause I 9: 305–50 London 5 Hunt 1
16 Sept.– 9: 311 Macready 1
15 Nov. 1837 F 3: 120 Wilson 1
Family 6 Mill 2
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JAC 2
MAC 3
| 54. “Sir Walter Scott” | 9: 350–56 | Edinburgh | 1 | Inglis | 1 |
| | | Family | 1 | AC | 1 |
| 15 Nov.– | F 3: 120 | | | | |
| 6 Dec. 1837 | 9: 357 | London | 2 | Hunt | 1 |
| | | | | Wilson | 1 |
| Cf. Journal | | | | | |
| 15 Nov. 1837 | R: 74* | | | | |
| 15 Nov. | F 3: 119 | | | | |
| 15 Nov. | 9: 354 | | | | |
| 55. Pause II | 9: 356–10: 30 | America | 1 | Emerson | 1 |
| | | Berlin | 1 | Varnh. v. E. | 1 |
| 6 Dec. 1837– | 9: 357 | India | 1 | Richardson | 1 |
| 15 Feb. 1838 | 10: 26 | Sterlings | 1 | Sterlings | 1 |
| | | London | 7 | Hunt | 1 |
| Cf. Journal | | | | | |
| 7 Dec. 1837 | 9: 353 | | | Milnes | 1 |
| 7 Dec. | 9: 357 | | | Scott | 1 |
| 7 Dec. | 9: 358 | | | Mill | 2 |
| 7 Dec. | 9: 361 | | | Wilson | 2 |
| 14 Feb. 1838 | 10: 6 | Family | 10 | AC | 1 |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 9 | | | J. Aitken | 1 |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 17 | | | JAC | 2 |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 19 | | | JC Aitken | 2 |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 22 | | | MAC | 4 |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 23 | | | | |
| 14 Feb. | 10: 29 | | | | |
| 56. Preparing Lectures II | 10: 31–69 | America | 1 | Emerson | 1 |
| | | Berlin | 1 | Varnhagen | 1 |
| 15 Feb.– | 26 | Cumberland | 1 | Spedding | 1 |
| 30 Apr. 1838 | 70 | Family | 6 | JAC | 2 |
| | | London | 6 | Horne | 1 |
| | | | | Robinson | 1 |
| | | | | Mrs Scott | 1 |
| | | | | Mill | 3 |
57. Lectures II: “On the History of Literature”

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58. Proofreading *Sartor Resartus*

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60. Scotland

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70. Preparing Lectures IV 12: 100–32
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   23 Apr.    12: 117*

   London     29       Cavagnac  1
                Lockhart  1
                Maurice  1
                Mill     1
                Milman  1
                Rich     1
                Stanley  1
                T. Wilson 1
                Hunt     4
                Forster  5
                Christie 6
                Milnes  6

   Circular 1       Subs. L. Lib. 1
   Lymington 1      Christie 1
   Edinburgh 2      Aird     1
   S. Aitken 1
   Manchester 2     Jewsbury 2
   Sterling 2       Sterling 2
   Family 8        MAC     2
   AC    3          JAC     3
   Christie 1      Cole 1
   T. Erskine 1    Forster 1
   Unidentified 1  Stanley 2
   Wilson 2

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71. Lectures IV: “On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in Human History” (95)
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   MAC     2
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72. Recuperating 12: 150–60
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73. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, I–IV  
   3 June–15 July 1840  
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74. *Excursion*  

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D. Aitken  1  
Dodds (Rev.)  1  
AC  1  
JAC  1  
MAC  1  

London  1  
Manchester  1  
Minto  1  
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77. Puritan Revolution (1)  
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Burton  1  
Circular  1  
Cumberland  1  
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Lübeck  1  
Minto  1  
Wales  1  
Worcesters.  1  
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Edinburgh  3  
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London  31  

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Graham  1  
Burton  1  
Members LL  1  
Spedding  1  
A. Glen  1  
Hare  1  
Ballantyne  1  
Peacock  1  
D. Aitken  1  
Redwood  1  
Ld. Lyttelton  1  
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Longfellow  1  
Emerson  2  
Aird  1  
Murray  2  
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Cole  1  
Dunlop  1  
Elliot  1  
T. Erskine  1  
Gore  1  
Maurice  1  
Mill  1  
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Rich  1  
Sigourney  1  
Tite  1  
Unidentified  1  
Wilson  2  
Lockhart  3  
Christie  6  
Forster  8  

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AC  4

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82. Rustication

(1) London/Newcastle

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(2) Tynemouth Region

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(3) Carlisle

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(4) Scotsbrig

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JWC in Liverpool

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<td>and at Templand</td>
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<td>20–26 July</td>
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(5) Newby (with JWC)

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(6) Templand (with JWC)  
23 Aug.–  
25 Aug. 1841  
(7) Scotsbrig (JWC at Templand) 13: 221–34  
25 Aug.–  
31 Aug. 1841  
(8) Keswick (JWC at Templand) 13: 234–49  
31 Aug.–  
8 Sept. 1841  
(9) Scotsbrig 13: 249–53  
8 Sept.–  
16 Sept. 1841  
With JWC from 13 Sept.  
(10) Tynemouth 13: 254–58  
16 Sept.–  
21 Sept. 1841  
(11) Tynemouth/London — —  
21 Sept.–  
22 Sept. 1841  
(12) Settling Down 13: 258–66  
22 Sept.–  
ca. 29 Sept. 1841  
83. Puritan Revolution (3) 13: 267–95  
ca. 29 Sept.–  
ca. 7 Nov. 1841  
Cf. Journal  
3 Oct. 1841  
3 Oct.  
‘?3 Oct.’  
3 Oct.  
4 Oct.  
84. “Baillie the Covenanter” 13: 295–97  
ca. 7 Nov.–  
ca. 17 Nov. 1841
### 85. Puritan Revolution (4)

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<td>Ballantyne 1</td>
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Cf. Journal

**Cf. MS of HS, Note of Sterling**

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### 86. Scotland

#### (1) London/Liverpool

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<td>(sees JWC in Liverpool)</td>
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<td>Graham 1</td>
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<td>Dickins</td>
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#### (2) Liverpool/Dumfries

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#### (3) Templand

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<td>Dickins</td>
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<td>Herstmonceux</td>
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Thornhill 1 Maxwell 1
Edinburgh 2 Braid 1
Chambers 1
Family 8 JAC 2
JC Aitken 2
JC Jr 2
MAC 2
London 11 Chadwick 1
Mill 1
Milnes 1
H. Sterling 1
Wilson 1
Forster 2
Lockhart 2
Stanley 2

JWC 29 JWC 29

(4) Scotsbrig
14: 147–79 Barjarg 1 Laurie 1
15 Apr.— 147 Manchester 1 Jewsbury 1
4 May 1842 185 Thornhill 1 Maxwell 1
JWC 16 JWC 16

(5) Liverpool
14: 179–80 JWC 1 JWC 1
4 May— 179
6 May 1842 181

(6) Rugby
14: 180–81 Family 1 MAC 1
6 May— 180
7 May 1842 181

(7) Rugby/London
181

(8) Settling Down
14: 181–92 Cumberland 1 Spedding 1
7 May— 181 Liverpool 1 J. Welsh 1
ca. 23 May 1842 191 Manchester 1 Prentice 1
Wales 1 Redwood 1
Family 2 JC Aitken 1
MAC 1
London 4 Stanley 1
Forster 3

ca. 23 May— 14: 194 Alloway 1 Begg 1
5 Aug. 1842 15: 4 America 1 Emerson 1
Corr.: Carlyle’s letters of 5 Aug. (15: 4–6),
in which he speaks of “being off tomorrow”
(15: 4,12–13; 5,19–20), should be dated
Cumberland 2 Spedding 2
Sterling 2 Sterling 2
Edinburgh 3 Ballantine 1
Chambers 2
For ‘August 10’ (F 3: 272), read ‘August 11’
(cf. 15: 7, 13).

Family 12 AC 1
   JC Jr 1
   JtC Hanning 1
   JC Aitken 3
   MAC 6
   London 16 Chadwick 1
   Grant 1
   Ld. Lyttelton 1
   ‘Monteagle’ 1
   Spring Rice 1
   Scott 1
   Shuttleworth 1
   Stanley 1
   Wedgwood 1
   Forster 3
   Milnes 4

88. Excursion
(1) Margate
   5–6 Aug. 1842 F 3: 259–60
(2) Margate/Ostend Harbour
(3) Ostend Harbour
   6–7 Aug. F 3: 261
(4) Ostend and Bruges
(5) Ghent
   7–8 Aug. F 3: 266–71
(6) Ostend/London
   8–10 Aug. F 3: 271–72

89. Puritan Revolution (6) 15: 7–64
   America 1 Emerson 1
   10 Aug.– 13 Baring 1 Lady HB 1
   1 Sept. 1842 63 Sterling 1 Sterling 1
   Family 2 JC Aitken 1
   MAC 1

JWC in Troston
   11 Aug.– 8 London 2 Milnes 1
   15 Sept. 1842 95 Strachey 1
   JWC 16 JWC 16

‘Notes of a Three-Days’
Tour to the Netherlands”
   16 Aug. 1842 21

90. Travelling
(1) Troston (with JWC) 15: 64–67 — —
   1 Sept.– 64
   6 Sept. 1842 67
(2) Ely (JWC at Troston)  **15: 67–72**  
6 Sept.– 67  
7 Sept. 1842 82  

(3) Cambridge (JWC at Troston)  **15: 73–79**  
7 Sept.– 82  
8 Sept. 1842 82  

(4) Troston (with JWC)  **15: 79–87**  
8 Sept.– 82  
15 Sept. 1842 95  

(5) Troston/London — — —  
15 Sept. 1842 95  

(6) Settling Down  **15: 87–100**  
15 Sept.– 95  
ca. 22 Sept. 1842 107  

91. Puritan Revolution (7)  **15: 100–78**  
ca. 22 Sept.– 107  
ca. 13 Nov. 1842 179  
Cf. Journal  
25 Oct. 1842 15: 160*  
‘?25 Oct.’  
‘25 Oct.?’  
‘?25 Oct.’  
By 13 Nov. 1842, ‘completion’ of  

ca. 13 Nov. 1842– 15: 179  
8 March 1843 16: 71  

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Albury 2
Berlin 2
Falmouth 2
Lancashire 3
Publishers 3
Sterling 4
Edinburgh 7
London 7
Family 17

93. Proofreading Past and Present 16: 70–120
Sterling 1
Lancashire 1
Publisher 1
Student 1
Unidentified 1
America 3
Family 4
London 7

94. Pause 16: 120–94
Albury 1
Baring 1
95. “Dr. Francia”
   ca. 10 June–
   24 June 1843

   16: 194–217
   America 1  Greig 1
   Bradford 1  W. E. Forster 1
   Glasgow 1  Baxter 1
   Publisher 1  Chapman & H. 1
   London 3  “Colman” 1
   Family 7  MAC 1
   AC 6

96. Travelling
   (1) Preparations
   25 June–
   3 July 1843

   16: 217–25
   “Reade” 1  “Reade” 1
   Wales 2  Redwood 2
   London 3  “Colman?” 1
   Forster 2

   (2) Clifton
   3 July–
   6 July 1843

   16: 225–34
   Family 1  JC Aitken 1
   Wales 1  Redwood 1
   JWC 2  JWC 2
| (3) Llandough | 16: 235–81 | Bradford | 1 | W. E. Forster | 1 |
| 6 July– | 235 | Carmarthen | 1 | Thirlwall | 1 |
| 17 July 1843 | 284 | London | 1 | Bunsen | 1 |
| | | Family | 3 | JC Aitken | 1 |
| | | | | JAC | 2 |
| | | | | JWC | 8 | JWC | 8 |
| (4) Carmarthen | 16: 281–304 | Family | 3 | MAC | 1 |
| 17 July– | 284 | JWC | 3 | JWC | 3 |
| 21 July 1843 | 303 | JWC | 1 | JWC | 1 |
| (5) Gloucester | 16: 304 | JWC | 1 | JWC | 1 |
| 21 July– | 304 | |
| 22 July 1843 | 307 | |
| (6) Liverpool | 16: 304–16 | Wales | 1 | Redwood | 1 |
| 22 July– | 307 | JWC | 2 | JWC | 2 |
| 26 July 1843 | 317 | |
| (7) North Wales | 16: 316–27 | Liverpool | 1 | J. Welsh | 1 |
| 26 July– | 317 | Family | 2 | MAC | 2 |
| 31 July 1843 | 327 | JWC | 3 | JWC | 3 |
| (8) Liverpool | 16: 327–17: 10 | MAC | 1 | MAC | 1 |
| 31 July– | 327 | JWC | 3 | JWC | 3 |
| 4 Aug. 1843 | 17: 14 | |
| (9) Scotsbrig | 17: 10–106 | Crellin | 1 | Crellin | 1 |
| 4 Aug.– | 11 | Liverpool | 1 | J. Welsh | 1 |
| 1 Sept. 1843 | 107 | America | 2 | Emerson | 1 |
| | | Family | 2 | JAC | 1 |
| | | | | JC Aitken | 1 |
| | | Fitzgerald | 2 | Fitzgerald | 2 |
| | | Cumberland | 3 | Spedding | 3 |
| | | London | 3 | “Forster” | 1 |
| | | | | Macready | 1 |
| | | | | Robertson | 1 |
| | | JWC | 17 | JWC | 17 |
| (10) Edinburgh | 17: 106–08 | JWC | 1 | JWC | 1 |
| 1 Sept.– | 107 | |
| 2 Sept. 1843 | 109 | |
| (11) Haddington | 17: 109–12 | Fitzgerald | 1 | Fitzgerald | 1 |
| 2 Sept.– | 109 | JWC | 1 | JWC | 1 |
| 4 Sept. 1843 | 111 | |
| Dunbar Expedition | |
| 3 Sept. 1843 | 122 | |
| (12) Kirkcaldy | 17: 112–24 | Linlathen | 1 | Erskine | 1 |
| 4 Sept.– | 111 | Portobello | 1 | “Brown” | 1 |
| 9 Sept. 1843 | 124 | Family | 2 | JC Aitken | 1 |
(13) Edinburgh

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(14) Linlathen

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(15) Linlathen/London

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Cf. Journal

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<td>16: 314</td>
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<td>17: 192*</td>
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(16) Settling Down

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Cf. Journal

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97. Puritan Revolution (8)

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   ca. 23 Aug.– by 10 Sept. 1844
   [18: 192–98]

100. Excursion
   (1) The Grange, Hampshire
       10 Sept.– 19 Sept. 1844
       Proofreading “An Election”
       [18: 198–213]

   (2) Settling Down
       19 Sept.– ca. 1 Oct. 1844
       [18: 213–26]

Cf. Carlyle’s Note
   30 Sept. 1844
   [18: 216]

Cf. Journal
   1 Oct. 1844
   [18: 214]
   1 Oct.
   [18: 236]

101. (i) Puritan Revolution (9).
   (ii) First Edition of OC’s Letters and Speeches (2), compl.
   ca. 1 Oct. 1844– 26 Aug. 1845
   [18: 226–19: 171]
| JWC in Liverpool | America | 2 | Emerson | 2 |
| 22 July– | Ashburton | 3 | Lady Ashb. | 3 |
| 1 Aug. 1845 | The Barings | 3 | W. B. Baring | 1 |
| and at Seaforth | Lady HB | 2 |
| 1 Aug.– | Paris | 3 | “K. Erskine?” | 1 |
| 13 Sept. 1845 | “Scheffer” | 1 |
| | Stirling | 1 |
| | Stirling | 1 |
| | Unidentified | 3 |
| | Unidentified | 3 |
| | Fitzgerald | 4 |
| | Fitzgerald | 4 |
| | Germany | 6 |
| | Eckermann | 1 |
| | Varnhagen | 5 |
| | Publishers | 10 |
| | Chapman & H. | 1 |
| | E. Chapman | 1 |
| | “E. Chapman” | 1 |
| | “E. Chapman?” | 1 |
| | “J. Chapman” | 1 |
| | Moxon | 1 |
| | J. Chapman | 2 |
| | W. Tait | 2 |
| | London | 12 |
| | Lockhart | 1 |
| | Mackenzie | 1 |
| | Mill | 1 |
| | Reeve | 1 |
| | Reseigh | 1 |
| | Scott | 1 |
| | Tennyson | 1 |
| | Forster | 2 |
| | Milnes | 3 |
| | JWC | 18 |
| | Research | 26 |
| | Booth | 1 |
| | Chambers | 1 |
| | Craik | 1 |
| | Unidentified | 1 |
| | Browning | 2 |
| | J. Christie | 2 |
| | Redwood | 2 |
| | Christie | 3 |
| | Laing | 3 |
| | Harland | 4 |
| | Fitzgerald | 6 |
| | Family | 28 |
| | JC Jr | 2 |
| | JC Aitken | 3 |
| | JtC Hanning | 3 |
| | AC | 5 |
102. Setting Things in Order  
(JWC at Seaforth)  
27 Aug.–  
3 Sept. 1845

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MAC 7  
JAC 8

103. Rustication in Scotland

(1) Seaforth (with JWC)  
3 Sept.–  
11 Sept. 1845

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JWC returns to London  
13 Sept. 1845

(2) Liverpool/Annan  
11 Sept.–  
12 Sept. 1845

(3) Scotsbrig  
12 Sept.–  
22 Sept. 1845

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Corr.: (a) 25 [26] Sept’r (216) 25 Sept. Cf. JWC 10 JWC 10
(b) Thurs., 26 Sept. (216 n.)] Thurs., 25 Sept.  
And (c) on 25 Sept. (ibid.)] on 24 Sept. (cf. 207,14–15).

(4) Dumfries  
22 Sept.–  
24 Sept. 1845

(5) Scotsbrig  
24 Sept.–  
15 Oct. 1845

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(6) Scotsbrig/Lancaster  
15 Oct.–  
16 Oct. 1845

(7) Seaforth  
16 Oct.–  
18 Oct. 1845

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(8) London  
18 Oct. 1845

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104. Pause  
18 Oct.–  
15 Nov. 1845

| 20: 31–57 | America | 1 | Emerson | 1 |
| 31        | Ashburton | 1 | Lady Ashb. | 1 |
| 62        | Duffy | 1 | Duffy | 1 |
| 62        | Publisher | 1 | Chapman & H. | 1 |
| 57        | Rich | 1 | Rich | 1 |
| 31        | Scotland | 1 | Aird | 1 |
| 31        | Berlin | 2 | Varnhagen | 2 |
| 57        | Baring | 3 | Lady HB | 3 |
| 79        | Family | 4 | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 57        | MAC | 3 |  |
| 57        | London | 5 | Christie | 1 |
| 80        | Forster | 1 |  |
| 80        | Nutt | 1 |  |
| 80        | Laurence | 2 |  |

105. Bay House (with JWC)  
15 Nov.–  
26 Dec. 1845

| 20: 57–79 | Childs | 1 | Childs | 1 |
| 80        | Clough | 1 | Clough | 1 |
| 62        | Paris | 1 | Scott | 1 |
| 62        | Publisher | 1 | “W. Hall?” | 1 |
| 80        | London | 3 | Forster | 1 |
| 80        | Lockhart | 1 |  |
| 80        | Sanford | 1 |  |
| 80        | Family | 7 | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 80        | MAC | 2 |  |
| 80        | JAC | 4 |  |

106. Second Edition, enl., of  
OC’s Letters and Speeches  
26 Dec. 1845–  
28 Apr. 1846

<p>| 20: 80–182 | Childs | 1 | Childs | 1 |
| 80        | Edinburgh | 1 | Murray | 1 |
| 182       | Erskine | 1 | Erskine | 1 |
| 182       | Henton | 1 | Henton | 1 |
| 182       | Lancashire | 1 | Ballantyne | 1 |
| 177       | Lausanne | 1 | Vinet | 1 |
| 177       | Symons | 1 | Symons | 1 |
| 149       | Wales | 1 | Redwood | 1 |
| 149       | Baring | 3 | Lady HB | 3 |
| 177       | America | 5 | Hart | 1 |
| 177       | Unidentified | 6 | Unidentified | 6 |
| 177       | London | 7 | Bunsen | 1 |
| 177       | Craik | 1 |  |
| 177       | Forster | 1 |  |
| 177       | Hawes | 1 |  |
| 177       | Laurence | 1 |  |
| 177       | Milnes | 1 |  |
| 177       | Wedgwood | 1 |  |</p>
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108. Scotland

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109. “Dublin expedition”

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For further details, please refer to the index.
### 113. Bay House

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Family 4: MAC 1
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### 114. Pause III

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### Addiscombe

**117. Addiscombe**

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**118. Pause V**

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### Travelling

**119. Travelling**

1. **Matlock Bath**
   - 6 Aug.– 14 Aug. 1847
   - Location: London, Rawdon, Family

2. **Buxton**
   - 14 Aug.– 15 Aug. 1847

3. **Tideswell**
   - 15 Aug. 1847

4. **Castleton**
   - 15 Aug.– 16 Aug. 1847

5. **Rawdon**
   - 16 Aug.– 24 Aug. 1847

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(7) Rawdon 22: 41–54
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(9) Manchester
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(b) Carlton Terrace: Jewsbury 22: 54–58
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(a) Mirehouse 22: 121–25
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(ii) Articles concerning Ireland
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130. Considering manner of publishing (23: 33, 55) and writing again III (23: 60)
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131. Excursion with Emerson

(1) Amesbury

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132. Pause

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133. The Grange

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134. Sorting old Papers, and “desperate enterprises of writing” IV (23: 208)

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137. Third Edition, enl., of OC (2) and “attempting to write” V

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On 30 December, Chapman carries off “the rough MSS.” of “two ‘Pamphlets’ ”, entitled “Model Prisons” and “the New Era”, later to be called “The Present Time” (cf. 25: 2).
150. *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. 1 (cont.; compl.), No. 2 (cont.; inc.)
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152. *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. 2 (cont.; compl.), No. 3, 4 and 5 (inc.)
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(1) “First draught of *Sterling*” **26: 34–40**
- Scotland 1
- Family 2
- JAC 1
- JC Aitken 1
- Woolner 1

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- 35, 55

5 March 1851
- 42

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- 26: 35

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(2) Work interrupted by **26: 40–44**
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- Forster 1
- Ruskin 1
- Lady Stanley 1

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(3) “First draught of *Sterling*”, **26: 44–53**
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- Hampshire 1
- Kingsley 1
- Duffy 2
- London 2
- Helps 1
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- 45

1 Apr. 1851
- 52

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11 March 1851
- 26: 42

11 March
- 26: 43

11 March
- 26: 45

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(4) “idling” (26: 68), whilst not certain that Chapman would then publish *Sterling* **26: 54–77**
- Ashburton 1
- Duffy 1
- Plattnauer 1
- London 3
- Bunsen 1
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- 68, 78

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- 26: 56

6 Apr.
- 26: 59*

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- F 4: 77

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- 26: 59

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- 26: 62

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(28) Ostend/Chelsea
   12 Oct.– 337
   13 Oct. 1852 337
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171. Chelsea **27: 332–34** London 1 Lenthall 1
   13 Oct.– 337
   Family 2 JAC 1
   15 Oct. 1852 333
   MAC 1
172. The Grange |
| Oct. – | 27: 334–46 | Germany | 1 | Neuberg | 1 |
| | 15 Nov. 1852 | Family | 3 | IC | 1 |
| 1852 | | | | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 27: 337 | | | | MAC | 1 |

JWC returns to Chelsea |
| Oct. – | 27: 347–53 | Germany | 1 | Neuberg | 1 |
| 1852 | 350 | Family | 2 | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 29 | | | | MAC | 1 |

173. Settling Down at Chelsea |
| 27: 347–53 | Germany | 1 | Neuberg | 1 |
| Nov.– | 350 | Family | 2 | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 29Oct. 1852 | 351 | | | MAC | 1 |

Cf. Journal |
| Nov. 1852 | 27: 350 | Family | 3 | IC | 1 |
| 2Nov. 1852 | 351 | | | JC Aitken | 1 |
| 15Oct. 1852 | 351 | | | MAC | 1 |

174. On ‘Spiritual Optics’: |
| 27: 353–62 | Ashburton | 1 | Lady H. Ashb. | 1 |
| Fragment One | Dalston | 1 | Ridsdale | 1 |
| Nov.– | Family | 1 | MAC | 1 |
| 27Nov. 1852 | Stirling | 1 | Stirling | 1 |
| 16Nov. 1852 | Unidentified | 1 | Unidentified | 1 |

Cf. Journal |
| Nov. 1852 | 27: 350 | Family | 2 | MAC | 1 |
| 27: 354–55* | 3 Dec. 1852 | | | MAC | 1 |

175. Frederick the Great (6): |
(1) Reading |
| 27: 362–65 | Unidentified | 1 | Unidentified | 1 |
| Nov.– | Family | 2 | MAC | 2 |
| 27Nov. 1852 | 363, 365 | | | MAC | 2 |
| 13 Dec. 1852 | 366 | | | MAC | 2 |

Journal |
| Nov. 1852 | 27: 362* | Family | 2 | MAC | 2 |
| 27: 362* | 3 Dec. | | | MAC | 2 |
| 19 Dec. 1852 | F 4: 125–26 | | | MAC | 2 |

Cf. 5 Dec. |
| F 4: 126 | | | | MAC | 2 |

(2) Working at “a kind of |
| 27: 366–75 | Ashburton | 1 | Lady H. Ashb. | 1 |
| Translation relating to | Germany | 1 | Decker & D. | 1 |
| Frederic” (368) | Family | 2 | MAC | 2 |
| Nov.– | | | | MAC | 2 |
| 27: 368* | 14 Dec.– | | | MAC | 2 |
| ca. 25 Dec. 1852 | 366 | | | MAC | 2 |

Cf. This is “A Day with Friedrich” by one |
Fromme (366, n. 1)] This is incorrect. Carlyle |
had finished his translation, “A Day with |
Friedrich”, in July 1852. See above, 168 and |
169 (2).
(3) Reading

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(4) Reading and Attempting to Write I (see 68 and 104, n. 2)

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176. The Grange

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177. Fred. the Great (7):

Reading and Attempting to Write II (see 125)

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### GUIDE TO COLLECTED LETTERS, VOLS. 1–28, 1813–1853

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184. Addiscombe/Chelsea/
Addiscombe

| (1) Addiscombe | **28: 268–81** | Allingham 1 | Allingham 1 |
| | | America 1 | Ross 1 |
| | | Family 1 | JAC 1 |
| 13 Sept.– | 268 | J. Glen 1 | J. Glen 1 |
| 1 Oct. 1853 | 280 | London 1 | Forster 1 |
| | | Germany 2 | Marshall 1 |
| | | | Neuberg 1 |
| JWC in Chelsea | | | |
| ca. 16 Sept.– | 268 | JWC 3 | JWC 3 |
| 23 Sept. 1853 | 276 | | |
| JWC to Chelsea again | | | |
| (Carlyle “with her, but returned that same night”) | | | |
| 26 Sept. 1853 | 281 | Corr.: Monday “26 September 1853” (277)] |
| | | ‘Tuesday 27 September 1853’ (cf. 281,20–21 and 34–35; 277,18). |

| (2) Chelsea | **28: 281–82** | Family 1 | JAC 1 |
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| (3) Addiscombe | | | |
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| 3–7 Oct. 1853 | 290 | | |
| JWC in Chelsea | 281, 285 | | |

185. Fred. the Great (13): Reading and Attempting to Write V (see 290, 310)

| 7 Oct.– | 290 | | |
| 5 Dec. 1853 | 332, 337 | | |
186. The Grange.  28: 335–44  D. Bacon 1  D. Bacon 1
Fred. the Great (14): Reading  JWC 1  JWC 1
and Attempting to Write VI  Lattimer 1  Lattimer 1
(see 337)
5 Dec.– 332, 337  Weimar 1  Marshall 1
21 Dec. 1853  London 2  Neuberg 2
Family 3  JAC 1
JAC Aitken 2

187. London/Scotsbrig/London

(1) Chelsea  28: 345–46  Ashburton 1  Lady H. Ashb. 1
21–22 Dec. 1853  345  Family 1  JAC 1

(2) London/Scotsbrig
22–23 Dec. 1853  345, 346  —  —  —

(3) Scotsbrig  28: 346–29: 1  Annandale 1  Johnstone 1
23 Dec.– 28: 346  Linlathen 1  Erskine 1
2 Jan. 1854  29: 1  London 1  Neuberg 1
Ashburton 3  Lady H. Ashb. 3
Family 3  AC 1
JAC 1
JC Hanning 1

(4) Carlyle returns to Chelsea  —  —  —
2–3 Jan. 1854  29: 1
SUPPLEMENT

CHRONOLOGY OF CARLYLE’S JOURNEY TO GERMANY IN 1858

By way of supplement to the above account of Carlyle’s journey to Germany in 1852, the chronology of his journey to Germany in 1858 may here be given too.


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<td>21–24 Aug.</td>
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<td>2. Hamburg</td>
<td>24–25 Aug.</td>
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<td>3. Hamburg/Schwerin</td>
<td>25 Aug.</td>
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<td>4. Schwerin</td>
<td>25–26 Aug.</td>
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<td>5. Schwerin/Rostock/Stralsund/Altetfähre (R)/Carzitz (R)</td>
<td>26 Aug. 17–22</td>
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<td>6. Carzitz (R)</td>
<td>26 Aug.–3 Sept.</td>
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<td>7. Carzitz (R)/Putbus (R)</td>
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<td>12. Cüstrin</td>
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<td>18. Landshut</td>
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APPENDIX IV
THE CARLYLE/JANE WELSH LETTERS, 1821–1826

With the Other Letters by Jane Welsh, 1814–1826

Dates supplied by D.E., are placed by me within double quotation marks. Dates within single quotation marks are mine, and accounted for in Appendix I, 1.

Place names, in square brackets, mark the locality from where the letters were written or where the meeting(s) between Carlyle and Jane Welsh took place.

M = meeting(s) between Carlyle and Jane Welsh.
A = lost, as in JW 17A = letter following JW 17, but now lost.
* = letter elucidated by Carlyle’s Notes, as in CL 3: 375*.

Summary

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Chronological Table of Letters

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**1822**

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| ‘ca. 27’  | F  | 10| 2: 19 |
| “30”      | W  | 6 | 2: 26 |
| Feb. 2–3  | Sa–Su | [M5] | 2: 38 |
| ‘13’      | W  | 7 | 2: 39 |
| ‘24’      | Su  | 11| 2: 51 |
| “26”      | Tu  | 8 | 2: 56 |
| Apr. 19   | F  | 9 | 2: 88 |
| “27”      | Sa  | 12| 2: 91 |
| 30        | Tu  | 10| 2: 101|
| May ‘14’  | Tu  | 13| 2: 107|
| ‘18’      | Sa  | 11| 2: 108|
| ‘ca. 26’  | Su  | 14| 2: 113|
| 27        | M  | 12| 2: 115|
| June ‘ca. 12’ | W | 15| 2: 129|
| ‘17’      | M  | 13| 2: 131|
| July “1”  | M  | 16| 2: 142|
| ‘ca. 5’   | F  | 17| 2: 147|
| 13        | Sa  | 14| 2: 147|
| ‘25’      | Th  | 15| 2: 154|
| Aug. ‘2’  | F  | 16| 2: 155|
| ‘5’       | M  | 17| 2: 156|
| ‘6’       | Tu  | 17A| 2: 160|
| 7        | W  | [Annandale]| 2: 161|
| 14        | W  | [Edinburgh]| 2: 280|
| ca. 27    | Tu  | [Fort Augustus]| 2: 166|
| Sept. 7   | Sa  | [Edinburgh]| 2: 157|
| 11        | W  | 18| 2: 160|
| 24        | Tu  | 18| 2: 165|
| Oct. ca. 17 | Th | [Haddington]| 2: 179|
| “18”      | F  | 19| 2: 177|
| ‘24’      | Th  | 19| 2: 178|
| “28”      | M  | 20| 2: 183|
| Nov. ‘ca. 1’ | F  | 20| 2: 193|
| 11        | M  | 21| 2: 196|
| 18        | M  | 21| 2: 204|
| ‘ca. 25’  | M  | 22| 2: 212|</p>
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### THE OTHER LETTERS BY JANE WELSH, 1814–1826

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1. CARLYLE AND GOETHE, 1821–1826

*Faustus* (1821) Sent to Carlyle ‘for criticism’.
Sept. 1821
At the end of September 1821, Carlyle receives “a copy of somebody’s translation of Faustus by Goethe—‘for criticism’ ”, i.e., a copy of *Faustus, from the German of Goethe* (London: Boosey and Sons, 1821). Cf. TC to T. Murray, 2 Oct. 1821 (1: 385). See above, Chapter II.

**On Looking at Goethe’s Portrait.**
Oct. 1821
Of the feelings aroused by Goethe’s portrait, Carlyle tells Fergusson on 4 October 1821: “I got Goethe’s head—I mean his portrait—the other night, and looked at it for many hours. I have an immense love for the man, you know: if skilled in metrical composition I would have indited some sonnet on [the occasion—but having no turn that way the] sonnet must lie drowned in the abysses of the brain—with many as worthless things. I would travel above fifty miles on foot to see Goethe. *Ach! Sie finden sich nicht, die Seele* [Alas! Kindred minds do not meet]—” (1: 389. D.E.’s brackets; final brackets mine). For “kindred minds”, cf. TC/JAC, 19 July 1821: “I have very seldom been . . . more solitary (if kindred minds form society) . . .” (3: 371).

**Writing “Goethe’s Faust”.**
Jan. 1822
From ca. 5 to 19 January 1822 (2: 9, 14), Carlyle writes “Goethe’s Faust”, which would be published in the *New Edinburgh Review* of April 1822.

**Contrasting “Mephistopheles and Byron’s Don Juan”.**
March 1822
Contrasting “Mephistopheles and Byron’s Don Juan” (2: 76), Carlyle, ‘ca. 23 March 1822’, writes to ‘Dr. Poole’, editor of the *New Edinburgh Review*: “I do not say that Byron took the idea (of the wicked and clever remarks in ‘Don Juan’) from Mephistopheles; it is unhappily easy for many a one to find such ideas nearer home if he is blackguard enough to indulge in them. I only meant to say that Byron might have found his fundamental conception realized already in Goethe’s play” (2: 58–59). Cf. “Goethe’s Faust” (1822): 31–32, par. 31.

According to the sale catalogue of this letter, Carlyle “comments at length on Goethe and on his own studies of German literature” (2: 76).

**Trans., “Faust’s Curse”.**
Oct. 1822
For Carlyle seeing, on 6 Jan. 1832, his “name in large letters at the Athenæum Office in Catherine street Strand” and “Faust’s Curse”, which he had given to Dilke, hanging “printed there”, cf. TN: 232–33. See ibid.: 208–09. For Carlyle’s translation in blank verse, cf. “Goethe’s Faust” (1822): 20, par. 17, n. (see above, Ch. I).

Goethe a Man of “universal genius”.
March 1823
Of Goethe’s “true culture and universal genius”, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 4 March 1823: “This Goethe has as much in him as any ten of them: he is not a mere bacchanalian rhymester, cursing and foaming and laying about him as if he had breathed a gallon of nitrous oxide, or pouring forth his most inane philosophy and most maudlin sorrow in strains that ‘split the ears of the groundlings’; but a man of true culture and universal genius, not less distinguished for the extent of his knowledge and the profoundness of his ideas and the variety of his feelings, than for the vivid and graceful energy, the inventive and deeply meditative sagacity, the skill to temper enthusiasm with judgement, which he shews in exhibiting them. Wordsworth and Byron! They are as the Christian Ensign and Captain Bobadil before the Duke of Marlboro!” (2: 299–300).

A Goethe Dictum.
March 1823
Asking himself in his Journal, on 4 March 1823, “what” he has been doing since “August 1822”, Carlyle goes on to say: “Fearful question! I will think no more of it. Goethe says it is always wrong to spend time in looking back at the road we have travelled over; it either disheartens us vainly, or puffs us up with a conceit as vain: the best plan is whatever our hand findeth to do, to do it quickly. So be it then!—But alas! alas!—” (TN: 31).

On Goethe and Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre.
March 1823
Of Goethe and Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, Carlyle writes in his Journal ca. 4 March 1823: “What should I think of Goethe? His Wilhelm Meister instructed, disgusted, moved and charmed me. The man seems to understand many of my own aberrations, ‘the nature and causes’ of which still remain mysterious to myself. I do feel that he is a wise and great man. The last volume of his Life is good also—gossiping, but full of intellect and entertainment” (TN: 32). Cf. TC to Goethe, ‘22’ June 1824 (3: 87).

On Goethe’s Concern with “the aesthetic”.
March 1823
Of Goethe’s concern with “the aesthetic” Carlyle says in his Journal, March 1823: “One is tired to death with his [Schiller’s] and Goethe’s palabra about the nature of the fine arts. Did Shakespeare know aught of the aesthetic? Did Homer?” (TN: 41).
Goethe and “the new philosophy”.
March 1823
Speaking of Herder’s, Wieland’s and Goethe’s reaction to “the new philosophy”, Carlyle notes in his Journal in March 1823: “Herder hated the new philosophy and wrote against it bitterly. Wieland did the same, for it shattered into powder the gim-crack palace of French rationality which he had been chopping and putting together all his life for Teutschland. Goethe was wiser than either; he was clear for ‘letting it have its time as everything has.’ This was right, old Goethe, and I respect thee for the solid judgement of this saying” (TN: 45–46).

Working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 1.
March–April 1823
From ca. 17 March to 24 April 1823, Carlyle is working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 1. Cf. TC to JBW, ‘19 March 1823’ (2: 312, 316) and ‘24 April 1823’ (2: 338). Cf. also TC to JBW, “14 April 1823” (2: 330); TR: 52, and R: 240–41.

Goethe “the only living model of a great writer”.
April 1823
Of Goethe being “the only living model of a great writer”, Carlyle says to Jane Welsh on 6 April 1823: “His [Goethe’s] feelings are various as the hues of Earth and sky, but his intellect is the Sun which illuminates and overrules them all. He does not yield himself to his emotions, but uses them rather as things for his judgement to scrutinize and apply to purpose. I think Goethe the only living model of a great writer. The Germans say there have been three geniuses in the world since it began—Homer, Shakespear and Goethe! This of course is shooting on the wing: but after all abatements, their countryman is a glorious fellow. It is one of my finest day-dreams to see him ere I die” (2: 326).

Trans. (inc.), Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship.
June–Oct. 1823
From 3 June to ca. 4 October 1823, Carlyle translates part of Goethe’s Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, “Ein Roman [A Novel]” first published in 4 volumes in 1795–96. Cf. also Goethe’s neue Schriften (1792–1800), vols. 3–6 (1795–96). Cf. DGW: 20–23, 144. For Carlyle reading Lehrjahre fully after 21 Nov. 1820, see above, Ch. I. For Carlyle on translating Lehrjahre, cf. TC to JBW, ‘19 March 1823’ (2: 316); TC to J. Johnston, 3 June 1823 (2: 368); TC to JBW, 31 Aug. 1823 (2: 421–22); TC to JAC, 17 Sept. 1823 (2: 430), and TC to JBW, 12 Oct. 1823 (2: 449). See below, 1824.

Of his work on this translation, he writes to Jane Welsh on 18 September 1823: “Meanwhile I go on with Goethe’s Wilhelm Meister; a book which I love not, which I am sure will never sell, but which I am determined to print and finish. There are touches of the very highest most ethereal genius in it; but diluted with floods of insipidity, which even I would not have written for the world. I sit down to it every night at six, with the ferocity of a hyaena; and in spite of all obstructions my keep-lesson is more than half thro’ the first volume, and travelling over poetry and prose, slowly but surely to the end. Some of the poetry is very bad, some of it rather good. The following is mediocre—the worst kind. [For the stanzas which here follow, cf. WM I: 167–68, Apprenticeship, Bk 2, XIII, par. 1]” (2: 434–35).
And to Johnston, on 21 September 1823: “In the meantime I am busily engaged every night in translating Goethe’s Wilhelm Meister; a task which I have undertaken formally and must proceed with, tho’ it suits me little. There is poetry in the book, and prose, prose forever. When I read of players and libidinous actresses and their sorry pasteboard apparatus for beautifying and enlivening the ‘moral world,’ I render it into grammatical English—with a feeling mild and charitable as that of a starving hyaena. The Book is to be printed in winter or spring. No mortal will ever buy a copy of it. *N’importe* [No matter! I have engaged with it to keep the fiend from preying on my vitals,] and [with that sole view I go along with it. Goethe is the greatest genius that has lived for a century, and the greatest ass that has lived for three. I could sometimes fall down and worship him; at other times I could kick him out of the room” (2: 437. D.E.’s brackets).

**Working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 2.**

Oct.–Nov. 1823
From 21 October to 24 November 1823, Carlyle is working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 2. Cf. TC to JBW, 12 Oct. 1823 (2: 449) and 22 Oct. 1823 (2: 457), and TC to AC, 25 Nov. 1823 (2: 478).

**On Johnson, Goethe, and Coleridge.**

Jan. 1824
Speaking of Johnson, Goethe, and Coleridge, Carlyle notes in his Journal ca. 3 January 1824: “I have sometimes been reading Boswell’s Life of Johnson lately: Johnson talked well but not more wisely than a common man; at least very little more. Also his conversation is only intellectually felicitous; he has no strange ideas to shew, no curious modes of feelings; he only does well what every one can do in some way. I figure Goethe or even Coleridge to be more curious persons” (*TN*: 60).

**Working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3.**

Jan.–Feb. 1824
From ca. 5 January to ca. 6 February 1824, Carlyle is working on “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3. Cf. TC to JAC, 1 Jan. 1824 (3: 5); TC to JBW, 8 Jan. 1824 (3: 8), and TC to AC, ‘8 Feb. 1824’ (3: 28–29).

In the meantime, on 21 January 1824, he sends to Boyd “all the MS. of *Meister* that is ready except a few sheets. These I have retained to enable you to judge better of the extent of the whole: you have here precisely one third part of the book, so that you can easily calculate its size and make arrangements accordingly” (3: 18).

**Trans. (compl.), Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship.**

Feb.–May 1824
From ca. 14 February to 8 May 1824, Carlyle completes his translation *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*. Cf. TC to AC, “21 Feb. 1824” (3: 34), and TC to G. Boyd, 8 May 1824 (3: 65).

Of his interest in *Meister*, he writes to Jane Welsh on 8 March, 1824: “I am going to write a fierce preface, disdaining all concern with the literary or the moral merit of the work [*Meister*]; grounding my claims to recompense or toleration on the fact that I have accurately copied a
striking portrait of Goethe’s mind, the strangest and in many points the greatest now extant. What a work! Bushels of dust and straws and feathers, with here and there a diamond of the purest water!” (3: 43). And on 15 April 1824 to the same: “But for its wisdom, its eloquence, its wit; and even for its folly, and its dullness, it [Meister] interests me much; far more the second time than it did the first. I have not got as many ideas from any book for six years” (3: 59).

Circa 20 May 1824, Carlyle writes his Preface and, by 3 June 1824, Meister’s Apprenticeship is published by Oliver & Boyd (Edinburgh) and G. & W. B. Whittaker (London). Cf. TC to JBW, 19 May 1824 (3: 66), and TC to Oliver & Boyd, 3 June 1824 (7: 371).

**Carlyle’s First Letter to Goethe.**

**June 1824**

On 22 June 1824, Carlyle sends a copy of Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship to Goethe with a covering letter reading: “Permit me, Sir, in soliciting your acceptance of this Translation to return you my sincere thanks for the profit which, in common with many millions, I have derived from the Original. That you will honour this imperfect copy of your work with a perusal I do not hope: but the thought that some portion of my existence has been connected with that of the Man whose intellect and mind I most admire is pleasing to my imagination . . .” (3: 86–87).

Of his hope to meet Goethe some day, he says in his letter of ‘22’ June 1824: “Four years ago when I read you Faust among the mountains of my native Scotland, I could not but fancy I might one day see you, and pour out before you, as before a father, the woes and wanderings of a heart whose mysteries you seemed so thoroughly to comprehend and could so beautifully represent. The hope of meeting you is still among my dreams. Many Saints have been expunged from my literary Calendar, since I first knew you; but your name still stands there, in characters more bright than ever. That your life may be long, long spared, for the solace and instruction of this and future generations . . .” (3: 87).

**Meisters Wanderjahre To Be Translated?**

**July–Aug. 1824**

Considering himself bound to take Boyd’s “advice at least in a part” of his project to translate more “German works”, Carlyle writes to him on 5 July 1824: “The part I allude to is an idea I have long had of translating a Continuation of our present work by Goethe, entitled Meisters Wanderjahre, Meister’s Travels (Tramps as we should call it in Scotland), a book I think about half as large as the Apprenticeship, and likely to be even more interesting, as it was written only two years ago, and after much controversy on the subject in Germany. What do you think of this? . . . In regard to Meisters Wanderjahre I shall treat with no one till I have heard from you: it properly forms part of the former work, and were much better to go along with it” (3: 102).

Boyd having offered “terms for the Travels” which were “hardly” acceptable to him (cf. TC to MAC, 20 July 1824, 3: 110), Carlyle writes to Taylor (London) on 29 July 1824: “This morning I received a copy of Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre (Travels), a sort of sequel to Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship, which is at present stealing into what notice it can attain among you. The Travels was written two years ago by Goethe, and promises so far as I can yet judge to be a very special work. I am not without some serious thoughts of putting it into an
English dress to follow its elder brother. I expect very shortly to hear of a second edition of the *Apprenticeship*, and the Edinburgh Bookseller offers me terms for the *Travels*; but for several reasons I had rather publish in London. Does this sort of ware suit you at all? I wish you would consider of it, and let me know” (3: 117–18). On 6 August 1824, however, he writes to Hessey, of Taylor & Hessey: “Make my compliments to Mr Taylor, and be so good as inform him, if you can recollect, that *Wilhelm Meisters Travels* will not do. It is full of genius: but in the state of a fragment, and unfit for the English market” (3: 119).

And on 14 August 1824, he writes to Boyd: “I . . . wished to read Goethe’s Book, before determining on your proposal with regard to it. This I have at length done: I find it will not answer. The work is incomplete, the first volume only having yet appeared; and it consists of a series of fragments, individually beautiful, but quite disjointed, and in their present state scarcely intelligible. I have my eye upon another book of his; but as yet it is very dubious” (3: 136).


**On the Reception and Criticism of Meister’s Apprenticeship.**

July 1824–Feb. 1825


Of the reception and criticism of *Meister’s Apprenticeship*, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 18 September 1824: “Of Meister I hear little: Boyd has got it stuck into the front of his catalogue (with various eulogies) in the Edinr and Quarterly Reviews; . . . The *Opium Eater* and various small deer are carping at the work; but on the whole the reception has been very far beyond what I anticipated” (3: 156–57).

Of the “effect” the reviews had on him, he tells John Carlyle on 22 January 1825: “The ‘reviews’ of that book Meister must not go without their effect on me: I know it and believe it and feel it to be a book containing traces of a higher far higher spirit, altogether more genius than any book published in my day: and yet to see the Cockney animalcules rendering an account of it! praising it, or blaming it! sitting in judgement on Goethe with the light tolerance of a country Justice towards a suspected Poacher! As the child says: ‘It was grend!’ ” (3: 260).

And comparing Goethe’s critics to dogs barking at the moon, he writes to Jane Welsh on 28 February 1825: “Goethe is the Moon and these [his critics] are penny-dogs; their barking pro or con is chiefly their own concern” (3: 288).

Preparing “Schiller’s Life and Writings” for Publication in Bookform.
Oct.–Dec. 1824
From ca. 4 October to ca. 7 December 1824, Carlyle is preparing “Schiller’s Life and Writings” for publication in book form. Cf. TC to MAC, 20 July 1824 (3: 110–11); TC to J. Hessey, and to Messrs. Taylor & Hessey, 6 Aug. 1824 (3: 118–20); TC to JC Sr, 4 Oct. 1824 (3: 169), and TC to AC, 14 Dec. 1824 (3: 218).


Receiving a “packet from Weimar”.
Dec. 1824
Circa 15 December 1824, Carlyle receives “two small pamphlets” as well as “a short Letter from Goethe in Weimar . . . in answer to the copy of Wilhelm Meister”. Cf. TC to JAC, 18 Dec. 1824 (3: 325–26 and n. 9); TC to JBW, 20 Dec. 1824 (3: 235–36); TC to G. Boyd, 1 Jan. 1825 (4: 439), and R: 275–76.

Cf. Goethe to TC, 30 Oct. 1824: “. . . I do not delay to express my sincere thanks for your hearty sympathy in my literary work, as well as in the incidents of my life, and to beg earnestly for a continuance of it in the future. Perhaps I shall hereafter come to know much of you” (N: 5). And TC to Goethe, 15 Apr. 1827: “It is now above two years since Lord Bentinck’s Servant delivered me at London the packet from Weimar, containing your kind letter and present; of both which, to say that they were heartily gratifying to me would be saying little; for I received them and keep them with a regard which can belong to nothing else. To me they are memorials of one whom I never saw, yet whose voice came to me from afar, with counsel and help, in my utmost need. For if I have been delivered from Darkness into any measure of Light, if I know aught of myself and my duties and destination, it is to the study of your writings more than to any other circumstance that I owe this; it is you more than any other man that I should always thank and reverence with the feeling of a Disciple to his Master, nay of a Son to his spiritual Father. This is no idle Compliment, but a heartfelt truth; and humble as it is, I feel that the knowledge of such truths must be more pleasing to you than all other glory” (4: 209).

Of what Goethe’s letter meant to him, he says to Jane Welsh on 20 December 1824: “. . . it [Goethe’s letter] was almost like a message from Fairy Land; I could scarcely think that this was the real hand and signature of that mysterious personage, whose name had floated thro’ my fancy, like a sort of spell, since boyhood; whose thoughts had come to me in maturer years with almost the impressiveness of revelations” (3: 235–36).

Trans., “The Tale”, by Goethe
1. Translating “Das Märchen” (1795).
Oct.–Nov. 1825
From ca. 29 October to ca. 8 November 1825, Carlyle is working at the translation “The Tale”, by Goethe. Cf. TC to W. Tait, 3 Nov. 1825 (3: 402); TC to JBW, 4 Nov. 1825 (3: 406–07) and 28 Nov. 1825 (3: 419).
Annotated and slightly revised between 26 July and 12 August 1832, this translation was first published in *Fraser’s Magazine* in October 1832. Cf. TC to JAC, 31 July 1832 (6: 194–95); TC to AC, 12 Aug. 1832 (6: 200), and E 2: 454–79.

2. Promising to “write a Commentary”.

1830

On 23 May 1830, Carlyle writes to Goethe: “She [JWC] spends many an evening with you, and has done all winter, greatly to her satisfaction. One of her last performances was the *Deutschen Ausgewanderten*, and that glorious *Märchen* a True Universe of Imagination; in regard to the manifold, inexhaustible significance of which, for the female eye guessed a significance under it, I was oftener applied to for exposition than I could give it; and at last, to quiet importunities, was obliged to promise that I would some day write a Commentary on it, as on one of the deepest most poetical things even Goethe had ever written” (5: 104). For “Das Märchen” in *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (1795), see App. I, 6.

Cf. Goethe to TC, 6 June 1830: “To your dear wife my most friendly greetings. . . . I am glad that famous *Märchen*, there also, does not fail in its effect. It is a piece of legerdemain which would hardly succeed a second time. A normal imagination irresistibly demands that reason should extract from it something logical and consistent, which reason never succeeds in doing. However, I possess two interpretations, which I will seek out, and if possible send in the little box” (5: 158). And TC to Goethe, 31 Aug. 1830: “I am here requested to remind you, if possible without importunity, of that promised Interpretation of the *Märchen*, which is still earnestly wanted by the female intellect” (5: 156).

3. Writing a “Commentary”.

1832

On 27 July 1832, Carlyle writes to Eckermann: “During these present days I have been revising an old Translation of *Das Märchen*, and attempting to comment on it a little; with intent to send it forth to our World. The number of minds to whom it will have some significance in this country is constantly and rapidly increasing. To me it seems one of the noblest Poems or Prophecies produced for many ages; inexhaustible in meaning, deeper every new time I look into it. If you know any Commentary in German worth looking at, neglect not to point it out to me. The kind Author once promised my Wife such a one: but now from his hand it can never come” (6: 190).

Cf. TC to J. S. Mill, 16 Oct. 1832: “. . . in the last Number of *Fraser* there is a Prophecy called *The Tale by Goethe*: if you know the original, and have guessed at it, the Commentary (which is mine, as well as the Translation) will interest you a little. I am all wonder at it” (6: 242). And TC to JAC, 17 Oct. 1832: “On that same Jury-day [15 Sept. 1832] . . . I got the Proofsheets of that *Fraser* concern *The Tale by Goethe,* which is his leading item for this Month, but has not got hither yet. It is not a bad th[is]n[g]; the Commentary cost me but a day, and does well enough” (6: 246–47. D.E.’s brackets).

4. Carlyle’s Introduction and Notes to “The Tale”

In the Introduction, signed “O. Y.”, to the translation of Goethe’s “Märchen”, quotations from “The poor Translator, who signs himself ‘D. T.’ “, are placed within single quotation marks. In
my quotations from the Introduction, no other quotation marks have then been added. In my references, paragraph numbers are used for the Introduction only.

a. Importance of Goethe’s “Märchen”

O. Y.: “The poor Translator, who signs himself ‘D. T.,’ . . . has . . . appended numerous Notes; wherein he will convince himself that more meaning lies in his Märchen ‘than in all the Literature of our century’ . . .” (“The Tale”, E 2: 448, par. 5).

O. Y.: “. . . let one of the notablest Performances produced for the last thousand years be now, through his [D. T.’s] organs (since no other, in this elapsed half-century, have offered themselves), set before an undiscerning public” (ibid.).

O. Y.: “We too will premise our conviction that this Märchen presents a phantasmagoric Adumbration, pregnant with deepest significance . . .” (ibid., par. 6).

D. T.: ‘. . . here is a wonderful Emblem of Universal History set forth; more especially a wonderful Emblem of this our wonderful and woful “Age of Transition”; what men have been and done, what they are to be and do, is, in this Tale of Tales, poetico-prophetically typified, in such a style of grandeur and celestial brilliancy and life, as the Western Imagination has not elsewhere reached; as only the Oriental Imagination, and in the primeval ages, was wont to attempt’ (ibid.: 449, par. 9).

D. T.: “. . . may I take leave to consider this Märchen as the deepest Poem of its sort in existence, as the only true Prophecy emitted for who knows how many centuries?” (ibid.: 479, n. 2).

b. “the open secret [das offenbare Geheimnis]”

“The Tale”: “Meanwhile the gold King was asking of the Man, ‘How many secrets knowest thou?’—‘Three,’ replied the Man.—‘Which is the most important?’ said the silver King.—‘The open one,’ replied the other” (ibid.: 460).

D. T.: “Reader, hast thou any glimpse of the ‘open secret’? I fear, not” (ibid., n. 1).

c. Natural Supernaturalism

D. T.: ‘. . . might it not be presumed that the River were Time; and that it flowed (as Time does) between two worlds? Call the world; or country on this side, where the fair Lily dwells, the world of Supernaturalism; the country on that side, Naturalism, the working week-day world where we all dwell and toil . . .’ (ibid.: 449, par. 11).

D. T.: ‘To get a free solid communication established over this same wondrous River of Time, so that the Natural and Supernatural may stand in friendliest neighbourhood and union, forms the grand action of this Phantasmagoric Poem . . .’ (ibid.: 449–50, par. 12).

D. T.: “. . . the Natural and Supernatural shall henceforth . . . be one” (ibid.: 477, n. 1).

For Carlyle prophesying ‘a New Era’, as Goethe, according to Carlyle, does in “Das Märchen” (cf. ibid., n. 2), see above, Ch. XIII.

5. Carlyle’s Use of the Phrase “the ‘open secret’”

“Goethe” (1828): “. . . the ‘open secret’ is no longer a secret to him [the poet], and he knows that the Universe is full of goodness; that whatever has being has beauty” (E 1: 225, par. 31).
TC to Goethe, 13 Aug. 1831: “Endless gratitude I owe you; for it is by you that I have learned . . . how the ‘open secret,’ tho’ the most are blind to it, is still open for whoso has an eye” (\textit{CL} 5: 325–26).

“The Death of Goethe” (1832): “The true Poet is ever, as of old, the Seer; whose eye has been gifted to discern the godlike Mystery of God’s Universe, and decipher some new lines of its celestial writing; we can still call him a \textit{Vates} and Seer; for he \textit{sees} into this greatest of secrets, ‘the open secret’ . . .” (\textit{E} 2: 377, par. 6).


\textit{HH} (1841): “. . . they [Prophet and Poet] have penetrated both of them into the sacred mystery of the Universe; what Goethe calls ‘the open secret.’ ‘Which is the great secret?’ asks one.—‘The open secret,’—open to all, seen by almost none!” (\textit{HH}, “The Hero as Poet”: 80, par. 4).

\textit{HH} (1841): “He [the Priest] presides over the worship of the people; is the Uniter of them with the Unseen Holy. . . . The ideal of him is, that he too be what we can call a voice from the unseen Heaven; interpreting, even as the Prophet did, and in a more familiar manner unfolding the same to men. The unseen Heaven,—the ‘open secret of the Universe,’—which so few have an eye for!” (\textit{HH}, “The Hero as Priest”: 115, par. 1).

\textbf{Trans., \textit{Wilhelm Meister’s Travels}.}

Feb.–April 1826

From ca. 20 February to ca. 16 April 1826, Carlyle translates \textit{Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre oder Die Entsagenden}, which, as he puts it in a letter to Tait of 3 November 1825, “on the whole has the breath of eternal life within it; and will be read and re-read when millions of others that are making such a stir beside it now are quiet as the last year’s Almanack” (3: 402). Cf. TC to JAC, ‘20 Feb. 1826’ (4: 45) and “14 April 1826” (4: 73).

From ca. 22 to 31 March 1826, he writes a Biographical and Critical Notice, entitled “Goethe”, for \textit{Wilhelm Meister’s Travels or The Renunciants}, which would be published by William Tait, Edinburgh, and Charles Tait, London, in January 1827 as part of \textit{German Romance}.
APPENDIX V
GOETHE

2. CARLYLE, GOETHE, AND JANE WELSH, 1821–1826

“The Germany” by Mme de Staël sent by Carlyle to Jane Welsh.

June 1821

On 4 June 1821, Carlyle sends the first books to Jane Welsh, one of these being the first volume of “The Germany” by Mme de Staël (1: 360). ‘Circa 11 June’, Jane Welsh returns the books as well as “The Milton” from Irving with a Note reading: “To Mr Carslile, with Miss Welsh’s compliments and very best thanks” (1: 366).

On 28 June 1821, Carlyle sends the second and third volume “of the Allemagne” to Jane Welsh (1: 367), who returns the books on 6 July, thanking him heartily “for the pleasure they have afforded” her (1: 368).

Carlyle Advising Her in Her Study of German.

July 1821

Of her “German Master”, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle on 6 July “1821”: “I have dismissed my German Master (for the enormous offence of asserting all words beginning with capitals to be the names of towns) and I think I get on faster without him” (1: 368).

‘Circa 18 July 1821’, Carlyle sends Noehden’s German Grammar to her with a covering letter containing “A List of German Books” with titles from the works of Lessing, Archenholz, Schiller, Gessner and Wieland (7: 370–71), and the advice: “Best to begin reading forthwith, after you have mastered the declensions, and verbs . . .” (7: 371).

Of his expecting her “to read Schiller and Goethe” with him, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 1 Sept. 1821: “I still entertain a firm trust that you are to read Schiller and Goethe with me in October, I never yet met with any to relish their beauties; and sympathy is the very soul of life” (1: 383).

Receiving from Carlyle the Transcripts of Texts from Goethe and Schiller.

July 1821

In the early stages of her German studies, Jane Welsh had at her disposal the transcripts, “in Carlyle’s hand”, of Goethe’s “Der Fischer”, Schiller’s ‘An der Quelle sass der Knabe’, and Goethe’s Faust I, 3348–61 (2: 118–20 and 118, n. 4). D.E. has appended these transcripts to Carlyle’s letter to Jane Welsh of 27 May 1822, noting that they “were presumably sent to Jane in an earlier letter” (2: 118, n. 4). These transcripts, however, were no doubt given to Jane Welsh during her second meeting with Carlyle ca. 23 July 1821 (see App. IV), as is clear from the following:

(1) Absence of reference to the transcripts in Carlyle’s study advice to Jane Welsh ‘ca. 18 July 1821’ (7: 370–71).

(2) Translation of the “first lines” and “last four lines” of “Der Fischer” in JBW/TC, 7 August 1821, with the promise: “. . . I may . . . give you the rest when I see you” (1: 376).
(3) In the transcripts, the 4 eight-line stanzas of “Der Fischer” and ‘An der Quelle sass der Knabe’, have been replaced by Carlyle by 8 four-line stanzas, which is the stanza form used by Jane Welsh in her letter to Carlyle of 7 August 1821 (cf. 1: 375–76 and 2: 118–19, 121–22).

(4) Lapse of time between transmission of transcript of “Der Fischer” and integral translation by Jane Welsh. Cf. JBW to TC, ‘ca. 26 May 1822’, 2: 114 (“I send you a little silly translation of the verses you gave me long ago”); TC to JBW, 27 May 1822, 1: 117 (“I am already too late for the Coach; so I shall take time enough with your translation of ‘The Fisher’”), and see below.


In Faust: Part One, trans. Philip Wayne (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949): 149, the translation of Faust I, 3348–61, with extra lines placed by me within square brackets, reads:

[What means that ecstasy upon her breast?
What though her bosom lulls my heart to rest—]
Do I not know myself to be her doom?
I, the uprooted, I the homeless jade,
The monster I, whose only aim is this:
To scour the rocks like any blind cascade
Racing and eager for the dark abyss.
While she from passion sweetly lived aloof,
With senses of a scarcely wakened child,
The alpine paddock and the cottage roof
Her busy tender world and undefiled.
And I, the curse of God upon my brow,
I, not content
To grip the rocks and make them bow
And leave them rent,
Must undermine her innocence as well,
[And make of her a sacrifice for Hell.]
Carlyle Sending Her His “review of Faustus”.

Jan 1822

During their fourth meeting, 10–17 November 1821 (see App. IV), Carlyle must have spoken about his having received “a copy of somebody’s translation of Faustus by Goethe—for criticism” (TC to T. Murray, 2 Oct. 1821, 1: 385), since, on “29 December 1821”, Jane Welsh writes to him: “When you have finished your review of Faustus send it to me . . .” (1: 421). On 21 January 1822, Carlyle sends the manuscript of “Goethe’s Faust” to her with the comment: “It is so ambitious, so bombastic, so jejune. Do not look at it, till you feel in very good humour with me, and then banish it from your memory altogether” (2: 14). Thanking him, ‘ca. 27 January 1822’, for his “eloquent history of Faust”—which was to be published in the New Edinburgh Review of April 1822—Jane Welsh goes on to say: “It has fewer faults and greater merits than its Author led me to expect” (2: 19).

Jane Welsh having written to him on 11 November “1822”: “Is your history of Faust printed yet? if it is I wish you would procure me a reading of it” (2: 199), Carlyle replied on 18 November 1822: “Is it not very wrong in you to disturb the repose of Faust? Was he not ‘quietly inurn’d’ many months ago, beneath a load of rubbish huge as the ruins of Nineveh, and of the same material—solid clay? Yet I have sent him; for it is written: Women will have their way. I read it over with much astonishment yesterday. Much good may it do you!” (2: 209). Cf. also 2: 204 (14 Nov. 1822).

Jane Welsh Sending Complete Translation of “Der Fischer” to Carlyle.

May 1822

‘Circa 26 May 1822’, Jane Welsh sends the integral translation of “Der Fischer” to Carlyle, and writes: “I send you a little silly translation of the verses you gave me long ago—Don’t laugh excessively at it. But write me a better that I may profit by discovering its defects” (2: 114).

On 28 May 1822, Carlyle returns her translation of “Der Fischer” with comments and “Variations by Hypercriticus Minimus” (2: 120–22). In LL 2: 342–43, Carlyle’s “Variations” have not been fully adhered to. For the stanza form, see above.

It may here be noted that Carlyle, like Mme de Staël in “Corinne—& Germany” (2: 120), erroneously thinks “the scene of the poem . . . to be not a river but the Sea” (ibid.).


Thanking him for “the trouble” he took with her translation of “Der Fischer”, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle ‘ca. 12 June 1822’: “I thank you for the trouble you took with my unfortunate fisher—You have improved him greatly” (2: 130).
Carlyle Sending Her His Translation, “Faust’s Curse”.
Oct. 1822

On 18 October 1822, Carlyle sends to Jane Welsh what he calls “those truly Della-cruscan lines from the ‘German of Goethe’ ” (2: 177), i.e., his translation of Faust’s “wild curse” in Faust I, ll. 1583–1606. See App. I, 6.

Carlyle appears to have appended the following Note to the translation sent to Jane Welsh:

“(‘Our armies swore terribly in Flanders, but—it was nothing to this’, says the Corporal)—T. C.” (LL 2: 351). In Tristram Shandy (Vol. 3, Ch. XI), however, these words are spoken not by Corporal Trim, but by Uncle Toby, in an “aside” during the reading out of Ernulphus’s “curse” or “anathema”: “[Our armies swore terribly in Flanders, cried my uncle Toby,—but nothing to this.—For my own part I could not have a heart to curse my dog so.]”.

For “Faust’s Curse” and The Athenaeum, see App. V, 1. For Carlyle’s translation in blank verse, cf. “Goethe’s Faust” (1822): 20, par. 17, n. (see above, Ch. I).

Carlyle’s Poem, “Tragedy of the Night-moth”, Also Sent to Jane Welsh.
Oct. 1822

On 18 October 1822, Carlyle also sends “Tragedy of the Night-moth” (cf. 2: 181), which, in stanza two, refers to “Goethe’s mystic page” (E 1: 469).

Speaking of his “verses”, Jane Welsh asks Carlyle on ‘24 October 1822’ whether “those on the night moth” are “a translation” (2: 181). On “28 October 1822”, “lest Posterity should mistake the thing [i.e., the ‘Night-moth’]”, Carlyle replies: “What put it into your imagination that our unhappy Night-moth was translated? Alas! the poor animal actually perished before my eyes one summer midnight in the Burgh of Kirkcaldy; and like Jerry of the Carlisle newspaper, I pat eet aw into langish meesel’ ” (2: 189).

In Dec. 1829, a copy of “Tragedy of the Night-moth”, in Jane Welsh Carlyle’s handwriting (cf. LL 1: 95, n. 1), was sent to Goethe in Weimar (cf. App. V, 3). The “Night-moth” appeared in print in Ottile von Goethe’s Chaos in April 1830 (cf. App. V, 4) and in Fraser’s Magazine in August 1831.

In the first collected edition of Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, i.e., in the American Edition of 1838, the “Night-moth” is placed between “Taylor’s Historic Survey of German Poetry” and “Characteristics”, according to the order of publication of these works (cf. Dyer: 187–88). “The seven other ‘Fractions’ which follow the ‘Tragedy of the Night-moth’ were included for the first time” in the “Second” English Edition of 1840 (cf. ibid.: 188–89).

Maintaining that Carlyle, in his letter of “28 October 1822”, in the passage quoted above, “very clearly dates the work”, and suggesting that “the Goethe reference could have been a later addition”, Tennyson places the “Night-moth” in the summer of 1818 (cf. Tennyson: 332 and n. 1). From the fact, however, that, in Chaos 1, 32 [18 April 1830], the “Night-moth” is signed “Edinb. 1813 [1823]” (see App. V, 4), and that, in Essays, the “Fractions”, starting with the “Night-moth”, are dated “1823–1833” (E 1: 469), it is clear that the “Night-moth” was not written in Kirkcaldy in 1817 or 1818, but in Edinburgh ca. 18 October 1822.
Jane Welsh Wishing To Read Goethe’s Faust.
Dec. 1822
Of her wish to read Goethe’s Faust, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle on “6 December 1822”: “i think i will read Faust when i have finished Wal[l]enstein if you think me fit for it— i am very desirous to be acquainted with what you so much admire, i expect to like it better than any think [thing] i ever read (not even the review of it excepted)” (2: 222. D.E.’s brackets. “Jane appears to be affecting the lower case i as a literary device”, 2: 220, n. 1).

On 16 December 1822, Carlyle replies: “What are you doing with [Schiller’s] Wallenstein? I will send you Faust whenever you have finished: I fear you will not like it so well as you expect—or will think I have misled you: but you shall try” (2: 228). Jane Welsh, however, does not appear to have read Faust until May 1823. Cf. JBW to TC, 24 Dec. “1822” (2: 248); TC to JBW, 25 Dec. 1822 (2: 249) and 3 Jan. 1823 (2: 258), and JBW to TC, 8 Jan. 1823 (2: 265), and see below.

Jane Welsh Reading Goethe’s Götz, Stella, Clavigo, Egmont and Faust.
Feb.–May 1823
Of her “staggering through Goethe”, Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle on “28 February 1823”: “i am staggering through Goethe as fast as I can—that is very slowly— Schiller was nothing to this— Gö[e]tz puzzled me so excessively that I thought it adviseable to let it alone for a little and try something else—I chose Stella as I had read it in french—and with great difficulty I have got through it and part of Clavigo—I do not think I shall like Goethe much unless he improves greatly—he has fire enough but it is not the celestial fire of Schiller” (2: 294).

And on ‘17 March 1823’: “Goethe gets no easier. I am near the end of Egmont . . . At last I am beginning to recognise the Goethe you admire— . . . I began writing all the passages I could not find out; but they came so thick I thought it better to wait till we meet for their explanation” (2: 311).

Of her wish to come to a better understanding of Götz and Egmont, she says on “1 April 1823”: “I have finished Gö[e]tz at last but there are still a great many passages I cannot make out—I must read the whole volume to you when I have an opportunity— Egmont in particular I wish to understand thoroughly, as I should like a translation of it for my album— Goethe does not make me cry like Schiller, but I like him abundantly nevertheless” (2: 320). On 6 April 1823, Carlyle replies: “You make a right distinction about Goethe: he is a great genius and does not make you cry” (2: 326). Cf. also TC to Goethe, 15 April 1827 (4: 210).

With regard to Egmont, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on “14 April 1823”: “You must translate Egmont, during summer, in proper style: we will print it, if we please! . . . I have to hear you read Egmont . . . ” (2: 330). And on “11 May 1823”, he urges her to “go on with Egmont and Faust” (2: 355). Cf. also TC to JBW, 25 May 1823 (2: 363).

Jane Welsh Reading the Proof Sheets of Meister’s Apprenticeship.
Feb.–March 1824
In February and March 1824, Jane Welsh is reading the first proof sheets of Meister’s Apprenticeship. Cf. JBW to TC, “24 Feb. 1824” (3: 39); TC to JBW, 7 March 1824 (3: 43); JBW to TC, “14 March 1824” (3: 48), and TC to JBW, “22 March 1824” (3: 53).
Of his “expending so much time and trouble” on Meister’s Apprenticeship, she writes to Carlyle on “4 April 1824”: “I devoutly wish that you were done with this Meister. I like ill to see your fine genius engaged in such a service—one might as well set a mettled racer to draw in a dust cart. Do not think me an ass because I cannot swear allegiance to your ‘thrice illustrious Goethe’: by and by, when my understanding gets more enlarged, it is to be hoped I shall admire him to your heart’s content and think Wilhelm Meister worthy of such a translator—but in the mean time, I confess, the only thing that reconciles me to your expending so much time and trouble on it, is the money which it will bring you in” (3: 55).

On 15 April 1824, Carlyle replies: “You will like Goethe better ten years hence than you do at present. It is pity the man were not known among us. The English have begun to speak about him of late years; but no light has yet been thrown upon him, ‘no light but only darkness visible.’ The syllables Goethe excite an idea as vague and monstrous as the word Gorgon or Chimaera” (3: 59).

**Carlyle Sending Autographs of Goethe and Byron to Jane Welsh.**

Jan. 1825

Referring to Goethe’s letter to him of 30 October 1824, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh on 20 December 1824: “I will copy it, for it is in a character that you cannot read; and send it to you with the original, which you are to keep as the most precious of your literary relics. Only the last line and the signature are in Goethe’s hand . . .” (3: 236).

Having received from Carlyle “a collection of Autographs” amongst which were Goethe’s first letter to Carlyle of 30 October 1824 and “a fragment of a letter from Byron” (cf. JBW to E. Stodart, 18 Jan. “1825”, 3: 252), Jane Welsh writes to Carlyle on 3 January 1825: “The Autographs, you have sent me, have all of them a value in my curiosity-loving eyes; but Byron’s handwriting—my own Byron’s—I esteem, not as a curiosity merely, but rather as a relic of an honoured and beloved Friend. Will you believe it? it is more precious to me than even Goethe’s letter; flattering tho’ it is for you to have received, and for me to be made the Depositary of such a letter from so illustrious a Personage. How could you part with it? Mercy if the object of my adoration had written a letter to me, I would not have given it away for a charter of nobility” (3: 237).

And to Eliza Stodart, on 18 January “1825”: “Goethe’s [letter] was written to Mr Carlyle himself—it is highly complimentary; and coming from the man whom he honours, almost to idolatry, must have gratified him beyond measure—I question if a charter of nobility could have gratified him as much. The other [i.e., the ‘fragment of a letter from Byron’] was given him by Proctor (Barry Cornwall[Il]). You cannot think how it affected me! This, then, was his handwriting! his whose image had haunted my imagination, for years and years; whose wild, glorious Spirit had tinctured all the poetry of my Being! he, then, had seen and touched this very paper,—I could almost fancy that his look and touch were visible on it, And he—where was he now? All the sentiment in me was screwed up to the highest pitch; I could hardly help crying like a child . . . and I kissed the seal with a fervour which would would [sic] have graced the most passionate Lover” (3: 252. Last two brackets D.E.’s).
Carlyle Translating Goethe’s “Märchen” (1795), Originally Meant for Jane Welsh.
Oct.–Nov. 1825
On 4 November 1825, Carlyle writes to Jane Welsh: “I finished Tieck ten days ago; and then rested for half a week, till I grew so savage that I was forced to begin one of Goethe’s Mährchen, with which I am more than half done” (3: 406–07). And on 28 November 1825: “I . . . am already done with Goethe’s Mährchen, and Musäus’ Stumme Liebe and Libussa. The former was meant for you, but for want of other work, I took it up myself” (3: 419). See also above, Ch. IV.

Of the “produce” of the publication of “The Tale” belonging to his wife, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 17 October 1832: “The produce [of the publication of “The Tale” in Fraser’s Magazine] belongs to my little Dame, to buy pins for her: she got it as present long ago, at the Hill: and reckoned it unavailable” (6: 247). For “The Tale”, see App. V, 1.
### 3. THE CARLYLE/GOETHE LETTERS, 1824–1832

With the Carlyle/Eckermann Letters, 1828–1837

Carlyle’s letters to Goethe are referred to as C 1, C 2, etc., and Goethe’s letters to Carlyle as G 1, G 2, etc. Parcels sent to Goethe, are referred to as C I, C II, etc., and those sent to Carlyle, as G I, G II, etc. A = lost, as in C 15A = letter following C 15, but now lost.


Carlyle’s letters to Eckermann are referred to as C/E 1, C/E 2, etc., and Eckermann’s letters to Carlyle as E 1, E 2, etc. The parcels sent to Eckermann, are referred to as C/E I and C/E II, and the parcels Eckermann sent to Carlyle, as E I and E II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CARLYLE</th>
<th>GOETHE</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>1824</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>June ‘22’</td>
<td>C 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3: 86.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C II</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cont.: <em>The Life of Friedrich Schiller</em> (1825); <em>German Romance</em> (including <em>Wilhelm Meister’s Travels</em>), 4 vols. (1827), and a purse from JWC (4: 209, n. 2; 210,20). — A.: G 2, G 3.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 20</td>
<td>C 3</td>
<td>4: 246. With postscript by JWC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828</td>
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**1829**

**June 25 (by)**

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**July 2**

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**Nov. 3**

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**Dec. 22**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 8</td>
<td>5: 48. — Red “about the middle of March” 1830 (N: 179).</td>
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**1830**

**March 20**

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**Apr. 13**

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**May 23**

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**June 6/7**

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**June 14**

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G 14</td>
<td>N: 326 and see 5: 151, n. — Red ca. 23 July 1830 (5: 133).</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<td>1831</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 22</td>
<td>C 13  5: 218.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 10</td>
<td>C 14  5: 286.</td>
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GOETHE

G VIII


June 16 (ca.) C IV


Aug. 13 C 15

5: 325.

Aug. 19 G 19


1832

March ‘20’ (ca.) C 15A


March 22

Death of Goethe.

July 27 C/E 3


Oct. 20 E 4


E I

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 29 (ca.)</td>
<td>C/E 3A</td>
<td>7: 141. — Cf. E 5.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1833</strong></td>
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<td><strong>1834</strong></td>
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<td>May 6/14</td>
<td>C/E 4</td>
<td>7: 141.</td>
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<td><strong>1835</strong></td>
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<td><strong>1837</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>June 9</td>
<td>C/E 5</td>
<td>9: 221.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
4. CARLYLE IN OTTILIE VON GOETHE’S *CHAOS*, 1830

[For Ottilie von Goethe’s *Chaos*, cf. Ottilie von Goethe, ed., *Chaos* (1829–1832; facsim. rpt. Bern: Lang, 1968), with reprint of Reinhard Fink’s, “Das ‘Chaos’ und seine Mitarbeiter” (1936). The poems dealt with below were no doubt sent from Craigenputtock on 22 December 1829 and received at Weimar “about the middle of March” 1830 (see App. V, 3). For dates of “The Night-moth” and “Faust’s Curse”, see App. V, 2 (18 Oct. 1822).]

a. Variants

(1) “Cui Bono” (comp. 1826).

*Ch* 1, 28 [21 Mar. 1830]: 110.

—

1. A golden rainbow
10. Fighting fierce for hollow nuts

E 1: 470–71.

“Cui Bono”

A smiling rainbow
Vainly strives, and fights, and frets

sig. 1826.

J. C.

LL 2: 351.

(2) “Faust’s Curse” (tr. 1822).

*Ch* 1, 30 [4 Apr. 1830]: 120.

6. shows
7. hearts [sic] allurements
17. mammon
18. deeds,
20. drowsy

shews
heart’s allurements
Mammon
deeds;
drowsy

sub. Goethe

I. C. Edinburgh, 1823.

(3) “Tragedy of the Night-moth” (comp. 1822).

*Ch* 1, 32 [18 Apr. 1830]: 126–27.

E 1: 469–70.

’Tis
for knowledge seeking
light
Thy slender life
Thy little life
with common lot contented
with common hap contented
And with’ring thought [sic]
And thoughts like these
are—death more slow!

I. C.

Edinb. 1813 [1823].
‘The Sower’s Song’ (comp. 1826).

Ch 1, 37 [23 May 1830]: 145–46.

1. Now yarely and soft, my boys,
   Now hands to seedsheet, boys,
2. Come step we, and cast
   We step and we cast
3. And wouldst thou partake
   old Time’s on wing
9–10. Old Earth has put on, you see,
    / Old Earth is a pleasure to see / In
    Her sunshiny cloak
17. Now lightly and soft again
   Now steady and sure again
18. let’s keep
   we keep

sig. J. Ce.

March 1826.

b. Signature

In Chaos, “The Night-moth” is signed “I. C.”. This is no doubt due to the fact that the copy which was sent to Weimar, was in Jane Welsh Carlyle’s handwriting (cf. LL 1: 95, n. 1), whose capital “T”, for a German reader unacquainted with British handwriting, looks like capital “I” (see Hecht, Pl. IV; cf. App. V, 3, 22 Dec. 1829). The copy of “Faust’s Curse”, which, in Chaos, is also signed “I. C.”, may have been in Jane Welsh Carlyle’s handwriting too. In Chaos, “Cui Bono” and “The Sower’s Song”, on the other hand, are signed “J. C.” and “J. Ce” respectively. From this different signature in Chaos, it may perhaps be inferred that the copies of “Cui Bono” and “The Sower’s Song” were in Carlyle’s handwriting, whose capital “T”, ending in a vertical stroke (see TN, front.), would be read by a continental reader as capital “J”.

In Chaos, “The Night-moth” is signed “I. C.”. This is no doubt due to the fact that the copy which was sent to Weimar, was in Jane Welsh Carlyle’s handwriting (cf. LL 1: 95, n. 1), whose capital “T”, for a German reader unacquainted with British handwriting, looks like capital “I” (see Hecht, Pl. IV; cf. App. V, 3, 22 Dec. 1829). The copy of “Faust’s Curse”, which, in Chaos, is also signed “I. C.”, may have been in Jane Welsh Carlyle’s handwriting too. In Chaos, “Cui Bono” and “The Sower’s Song”, on the other hand, are signed “J. C.” and “J. Ce” respectively. From this different signature in Chaos, it may perhaps be inferred that the copies of “Cui Bono” and “The Sower’s Song” were in Carlyle’s handwriting, whose capital “T”, ending in a vertical stroke (see TN, front.), would be read by a continental reader as capital “J”.
Goethe’s “Symbolum” was “written in December 1815 on the occasion of August Goethe’s reception into the Amalia Lodge of Freemasons in Weimar” (Hughes, ed., PP: 316). Signed “Goethe”, the poem was first published, without title, in 1816, in Gesänge für Freimaurer, zum Gebrauche aller Deutschen Logen [Songs for Freemasons, for the Use in All German Lodges], Weimar, 1813; enl. ed., 1816. Cf. WA 3a: 392; HA 1: 557, and DGW: 313.

Entitled “Symbolum”, it was published next, together with five other poems related to Freemasonry, in the “Taschenausgabe” of GW 3 (1827) under the collective title “Loge [Lodge]”. In the manuscript prepared for the printer of GW, the collective title (“Loge”) and the title proper (“Symbolum”) are in Eckermann’s, the text itself in Goethe’s hand. Cf. WA 3a: 375, 392.


Goethe’s “Symbolum” as published in the “Taschenausgabe” of GW 3 (1827; rpt. 1828): 69–70, and Carlyle’s translation in PP, “The Modern Worker”, XV: 237–38, par. 19, read as follows:

Goethe's "Symbolum"

Des Maurers Wandeln
Es gleicht dem Leben,
Und sein Bestreben
Es gleicht dem Handeln
Der Menschen auf Erden.

Die Zukunft decket
Schmerzen und Glücke.
Schrittweis' dem Blicke,
Doch ungeschreckt
Dringen wir vorwärts,

Und schwer und schwerer
Hängt eine Hülle
Mit Ehrfurcht. Stille
Ruhn oben die Sterne
Und unten die Gräber.

Betracht’ sie genauer
Und siehe, so melden
Im Busen der Helden
Sich wandelnde Schauer
Und ernste Gefühle.
Doch rufen von drüben
But heard are the Voices,—
Die Stimmen der Geister
Heard are the Sages,
Die Stimmen der Meister:
The Worlds and the Ages:
Versäumt nicht zu üben
‘Choose well; your choice is
Die Kräfte des Guten.
Brief and yet endless:
Hier winden sich Kronen
Here eyes do regard you,
In ewiger Stille,
In Eternity’s stillness;
Die sollen mit Fülle
Here is all fulness,
Die Thätigen lohnen!
Ye brave, to reward you;
Wir heißen euch hoffen.
Work, and despair not.’

In the Weimar Edition, where the text of “Symbolum” is based on the “Octavausgabe” of GW, the following variants occur: (a) omission of indentation, (b) “Schrittweis” for “Schrittweis’” (st. 2), and (c) “Geister,” for “Geister” (st. 5). Cf. WA 3a: 61–62, 375.

In choral singing, as is clear from Gesänge für Freimaurer [Songs for Freemasons], enl. ed. 1816, the last line of each stanza is to be repeated. Cf. WA 3a: 392.

It may here be noted that in Carlyle’s translation of 25 December 1842, the title reads “MASON’S LODGE” (15: 252, n. 2), whilst in the introduction to his translation in Past and Present (1843), Carlyle says: “He [Goethe] calls it Mason-Lodge,—not Psalm or Hymn: . . .” (PP 237, par. 19). Cf. OED, s.v. mason 2, quot. “1772 Wesley Jrnl. 22 Apr. (1827) III. 446, I preached . . . in the Masons’ Lodge”, and mason 3 (“attrib. and Comb. as mason-craft; mason-like . . . also in a number of obs. compounds where the attrib. use takes the place of the possessive mason’s, as mason-axe, -chip, -device, -line, -lodge, -rule”), quot. “1797 Monthly Mag. III 215/1 In some Mason Lodges in his neighbourhood, Burns had soon the fortune . . . to gain the notice of several gentlemen [etc.]” (OED’s periods and brackets).

“Symbolum” as Quoted by Carlyle
In the writings of Carlyle, Goethe’s “Symbolum” first occurs in Carlyle’s letter to Sterling of “26 March 1836” by way of a quotation, in German, of stanza two: “Die Zukunft decket / Schmerzen und Glücke [The Future hides in it / Gladness and sorrow]”, etc. Cf. 8: 324.

Quoting, in German, the last lines of stanza three, Carlyle writes to John Carlyle on 2 December 1836: “I march inwardly humming often these words you taught me of Goethe’s: Stille / Ruhn oben die Sterne / Und unten die Gräber [Stars silent rest o’er us, / Graves under us silent!]: they are more like a Psalm than any I have” (9: 103).

In the following account of “Symbolum” as quoted by Carlyle, references to quotations accompanied by comment on the part of Carlyle, are marked by me with an asterisk. Carlyle’s quotations are in English, unless otherwise stated.

1. The Text as a Whole
The complete or nearly complete text of Goethe’s “Symbolum” is quoted in:
2. Stanza Two
Stanza two is quoted in:
— TC/J. Sterling, “26 March 1836” (8: 324). German original of stanza 2.

3. Stanza Three
Stanza three is quoted in:
— TC/JAC, 2 Dec. 1836 (9: 103*). German original of final lines: “Stille / Ruhn oben die Sterne / Und unten die Gräber [Stars silent rest o’er us, / Graves under us silent!]”.
— TC/R. W. Emerson, 19 Nov. 1841 (13: 301*). Final two lines.
— TC/JWC, 31 March 1842 (14: 107). Last two lines.
— TC/J. C. Hare, 4 Apr. 1842 (14: 119*). German original of stanza 3.
— TC/R. M. Milnes, 10 Apr. 1842 (14: 139*). Final two lines.
— PP (1843), “The Modern Worker”, XV: 233, par. 12*. Final two lines. See also ibid.: 235, par. 16*.
— TC/J. Sterling, 5 May 1843 (16: 157*). German original of final lines.

4. Stanza Five
Stanza five is quoted in:
— TC/J. Sterling, 11 Sept. 1836 (9: 53*). German original, “Doch rufen von drüben / Die Stimmen der Geister / Die Stimmen der Meister”, quoted as: “Uns rufen die Geister, die Stimmen der Meister [The spirits call to us, the voices of the Masters]”.

5. Stanzas Five and Six
Stanzas five and six are quoted together in:

6. Stanza Six (Last Line)
The last line of stanza six, “Work, and despair not: Wir heissen euch hoffen, ‘We bid you be of hope!’ ” (“Inaugural Address”, E 4: 482, par. 50), is quoted in:
— TC/J. Sterling, 11 Sept. 1836 (9: 53). German original, “Wir heissen euch hoffen”, quoted as: “Sie [die Geister, die Stimmen der Meister] heissen uns hoffen! [They (the spirits, the voices of the Masters) bid us TO HOPE!]”.
— TC/J. Sterling, 9 June 1844 (18: 62). German original with the addition, “Auf ewig”: “Wir heissen euch hoffen! / Auf ewig [We bid you TO HOPE! / Forever]”.
— TC/JWC, “8” July 1844 (18: 114*). German original: “Wir heissen euch hoffen”.
— TC/JAC, 1 Jan. 1851 (26: 3*). German original: “Wir heissen euch hoffen”, and Carlyle’s version: “Work, and despair not”.
— “Inaugural Address at Edinburgh: 2nd April 1866” (E 4: 482, par. 50). German original: “Wir heissen euch hoffen”, with Carlyle’s translation: “We bid you be of hope!”.
— Journal entry, ca. 1877–78 (Seigel: 520). Carlyle’s version: “Hope, despair not”.
— Conversation with Froude “very near the end” of his life. Carlyle’s translation: ‘We bid you to hope’. Froude writes: “This poem of Goethe’s was on Carlyle’s lips to the last days of his life. When very near the end he quoted the last lines of it to me when speaking of what might lie beyond. ‘We bid you to hope’ ” (F 3: 86).

Significance
What Goethe’s “Symbolum” meant to him, is made clear by Carlyle at the end of Book Three of Past and Present (1843), where he addresses his readers thus: “My ingenuous readers, we will march out of this Third Book with a rhythmic word of Goethe’s on our lips; a word which perhaps has already sung itself, in dark hours and in bright, through many a heart. To me, finding it devout yet wholly credible and veritable, full of piety yet free of cant; to me, joyfully finding much in it, and joyfully missing so much in it, this little snatch of music, by the greatest German Man, sounds like a stanza in the grand Road-Song and Marching-Song of our great Teutonic Kindred, wending, wending, valiant and victorious, through the undiscovered Deeps of Time!” (PP, “The Modern Worker”, XV: 237, par. 19).

In “Symbolum”, the “Mason’s”, or Freemason’s, “ways” are characterized as a “symbolum” of man’s life on earth, i.e., of what man’s attitude should be towards life and death and “what might lie beyond” (F 3: 86). Cf. HA 1: 557.

In connection with the last line of the poem, “Wir heissen euch hoffen, ‘We bid you be of hope’ ” (“Inaugural Address”, E 4: 482, par. 49), it may be noted that, with regard to the question of life after death, Carlyle writes to G. E. Jewsbury on 21 Oct. 1840: “All prophecy about our future destiny seems to me, by the nature of it, futile, and at this epoch of the world, worthless: but an indestructible boundless hope about it seems permitted and sanctioned” (12: 296). See also above, Ch. V.
APPENDIX VI
RECONSTRUCTIONS

1. Illness and Death of Margaret Carlyle, June 1830

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 3 Th</td>
<td>Carlyle leaves Scotsbrig (5: 111,28–29), collecting drugs in Dumfries (5: 111,6–7; 112,12–14) on his way back to Craigenputtock (5: 111,29).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'4' F</td>
<td>TC/MAC (5: 111–12).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sa</td>
<td>Carlyle sends drugs to Scotsbrig through Elliott (5: 111,5–7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'8' Tu</td>
<td>TC/MAC (5: 112–13).</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Tu</td>
<td>Margaret Carlyle brought to Dumfries (TN: 156).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 (ca.) Sa</td>
<td>Margaret Carlyle taken to “garden-lodging” (5: 120,10–13; R: 291).</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 Tu</td>
<td>ca. 20.00, John Currie is sent to Craigenputtock to call Carlyle and his brother Alexander (5: 117,3–4). [For “June 21” (5: 120,13), read “June 22”]. ca. 22.00, Margaret Carlyle dies (5: 117,18–25). ca. 24.00, Currie arrives at Craigenputtock (5: 117,5). [For “June 21–22” (R: 291), read “June 22–23”].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Th</td>
<td>Carlyle returns to Dumfries (5: 118,36–37) and accompanies coffin to Scotsbrig (5: 118,37–119,2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Sa</td>
<td>Margaret Carlyle buried in Ecclefechan (5: 119,6–15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 M</td>
<td>Carlyle returns to Craigenputtock (5: 119,18–23).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VI
RECONSTRUCTIONS

2. “The first genesis of Sartor”, Sept. 1830

Sept. 11 Sa TC, JC Jr and MC to Scotsbrig (5: 161,1–4).
13 M Carlyle goes to Grange and returns to Scotsbrig (5: 162,36–163,4).
The Jeffreys arrive at Craigenputtock (5: 163,5–6).
14 Tu Carlyle returns to Craigenputtock with JC (5: 166,21–22).
17 F The Jeffreys leave Craigenputtock (5: 163,15).
18 Sa TC/JAC: “I am going to write something of my own; I have sworn it” (5: 164,13–14).
21 Tu Carlyle and JWC attend cattle show in Dumfries (5: 166,5).
They then go to Templand (5: 166,28 – 167,7).
22 W “I well remember, where and how (at Templand one morning) the germ
or 23 Th of it [Sartor] rose above ground” (R: 63).
“The first genesis of Sartor I remember well enough, and the very spot
(at Templand) where the notion of astonishment at Clothes first struck
me . . .” (R: 289).
23 Th The Carlyles leave Templand and
return to Craigenputtock (5: 167,7–11).
28 (ca.) Tu “I am going to write—Nonsense. It is on ‘Clothes’. Heaven be my

Oct. 19 Tu TC/JAC: “What I am writing at is the strangest of all things: begun as
an Article for Fraser; then found to be too long (except it were divided
into two); now sometimes looking almost, as if it would swell into a
Book. A very singular piece, I assure you! It glances from Heaven to
Earth & back again in a strange satirical frenzy whether fine or not
remains to be seen. . . . Teufelsdreck (that is the title of my present
Schrift) will be done (so far—50 pages) tomorrow” (5: 175–76).
28 Th “Written a strange piece ‘On clothes’: know not what will come of it”
(TN: 177).
1. ‘The Taylor’s a Man, come deny it who dare’ (1687)


Sir John Hawkwood, the famous condottiere, who died in 1394, “is said to have started life as a tailor’s apprentice” (*OCEL*, s.v. Hawkwood).

The song, ‘The Taylor’s a Man, come deny it who dare’, was “to be sung by the Merchant-Taylors” (see below), a merchant-tailor being “a custom tailor who owns his business and supplies the fabrics he uses” (Webster).

The song text reads as follows, square brackets marking an indistinct area in the microfilm of the text of 1687:

A SONG, to be sung by the Merchant-Taylors on St. William’s Day. To the Tune of, *Now, now the Fight’s done.*

(1)
The *Taylor’s* a Man, come deny it who dare,  
He’as Wit, Wealth, and Courage enough, and to spare;  
He’l shew those dull Noddys that scoff at his Trade,  
That to him’s beholden both Fool, Spark, and Blade.  
Each Lady that’s gallant depends on his Skill;  
The Peasant and Prince do both come in his Bill:  
Warm he does keep one, and make t’other shine;  
Without him all Pomp and all Grandeur decline.

(2)
As his Trade was the first, and in *Paradise* found,  
So since with Esteem e’ry Age has it crown’d;  
Kings and great Potentates daigning to be  
Members of us, as in Records we see.  
The coyest bright Beauties, for whom Gallants mourn,  
And sigh all in vain, still requited with scorn;  
Freely their Bodies commit to our hands,  
And readily yield to our modest Demands.

(3)
Whilst we the soft Charm[ers] do clasp in our Arms,  
They strive not, nor blu[sh] not, fearing no harms;  
Our Virtue they trust, wh[ile] from others they fly,
Who languish and sigh for a glance of the Eye.
Then a Health to our Trade, Boys, and let it encrease,
Whilst we prove good Soldiers, in War and in Peace,
Live merry and jolly, work, drink, love, and sing,
Cloath well our Country and fight for our King.
FINIS

‘The Taylor’s a Man’ was sung, as seen above, to the tune of “Now, now the fight’s done”. Of this song and its tune, Simpson says: “‘Now, now the fight’s done’ was a song sung after the first act of Nathaniel Lee’s *Theodosius*, 1680. It was included, with Purcell’s tune, in a musical supplement published with the play in the year of its production (reprinted in *Works*, Purcell Society edition, XXI, 127) and in 1681 was included in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, Third Book, p. 41. (Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1966: 523).

Used as it was for ‘The Taylor’s a Man’, Purcell’s tune, in Simpson’s notation (cf. ibid.: 524), may here be given too (Courtesy of Rutgers University Press):

A manuscript version of the song with music has been preserved in Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. G.640 (99). The stage song was lengthened from three to twelve stanzas in its broadside form, issued as “Love’s Conquest,” to the tune of “Now, now the Fight’s done, Or, Digbyes Farewell” (Pepys III, 105). The tune was a great success with the ballad audience, for during the next decade some two dozen ballads were written for it.

Two ballads are written in stanzas of eight instead of the usual six lines.... Both can be sung to “Now, now the fight’s done” with a repetition of the last eight bars, a contingency indicated on the original *Theodosius*.... Perhaps the last ballad calling for the tune is an encomium to William III, after the discovery of an assassination plot in 1696: “The Royal Character,” beginning “Long Live our Great Caesar, and long be his Reign”....
APPENDIX VII
SONGS

2. “The Taylor Done Over” (ca. 1785)

Speaking of the “single-sheet song”, Simpson, in The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (1966): xv, notes: “... around the end of the seventeenth century the broadside ballad as a vehicle for singing began to face competition from the single-sheet song. Typically the engraved sheet contained an air with bass, plus another version of the tune in a key suitable for recorder or transverse flute, and a much reduced song text. Here was born the direct ancestor of modern popular sheet music.”


1. English Prototype of “The Taylor Done Over” (ca. 1785)
Facsimile reprint, on a reduced scale, of “A Taylor I once was. The Taylor done over. [Song] Sung . . . in several convivial societies. The words by M’ Harriss. Printed for J. Bland: London, [c. 1785.] fol. Followed by an arrangement for the German flute. G. 426. ww. (37.)” (Catalogue’s brackets and periods). — Courtesy of the British Library.
THE TAYLOR DONE OVER

Sung with universal Applause in several Convivial Societies.
The Words by Mr. HARRISS.

LONDON. Printed for J. BLAND, No. 45, Holborn.

A TAYLOR I once was as blithe as e'er need be un-

till Love a has a Devil sure made me I that once was fo

lusty was call'd WILL THE ROVER Am now a poor Skeleton

Oh! I'm done o-ver o-ver o-ver o-

ver Oh!

How many a Day have I stood with great Pleasure,
And cut out my Cloth, to my Customers Measure;
With a full Yard for Cabbage - I liv'd then in clover;
But SUES cruel frowns has me almost done over.
When first I beheld her, in silks dress'd so gayly,
I fell into fits, and they trouble me daily:
O how cruel must she be, the sight could not move her;
I fear that these fits will one day do me over.

Next time that I saw her pass by my shop window,
My goose (being hot) burnt a sleeve to a cinder:
The girls do so jeer me, that I can go no where;
Was ever poor Taylor so badly done over.

The last time I saw her was with a bold sailor,
She said and she said "there's thedone over Taylor;
"Good-bye!" (said she), "I am going to Dover!"
So there is an end for the Taylor's done over.

For the German Flute
2. “THE TAYLOR DONE OVER” (CA. 1785)

3. **Reprint in *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine* (Feb. 1789)**

The publication of “The Tailor Done Over” described, in *The Catalogue of Printed Music*, as “A Tailor I once was. *The Tailor done over*. A favourite New Comic Song. [Dublin, 1789.] s. sh. 4°. *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine, Feb.*, 1789. P. P. 6154. k.” (*Catalogue’s* brackets), is a reprint of the version published by Lee. This reprint covers two pages, the page numbered “[2]” starting with the second stanza and ending with the publishing information: “Printed for *W a l k e r ’ s* Hibernian Magazine.”
APPENDIX VIII
CARLYLE’S WORKS

1. ABBREVIATIONS

Carlyle
1. Works


CTC Collectanea Thomas Carlyle. Ed. S. A. Jones. 1903.


FG History of Friedrich II. of Prussia Called Frederick the Great. C.E. 8 vols. 1897–98.


FS The Life of Friedrich Schiller. C.E. 1897.

“GF” “Goethe’s Faust”. Ed. R. Schröder. 1896

GR German Romance. C.E. 2 vols. 1898.

HH On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History. C.E. 1897.


JS The Life of John Sterling. C.E. 1897.

LP Latter-Day Pamphlets. C.E. 1898.


LW Last Words of Thomas Carlyle. London, 1892.

LWT Last Words of Thomas Carlyle on Trades-Unions, Promoterism and the Signs of the Times. Edinburgh, 1882.

MOS Montaigne and Other Essays. Ed. S. R. Crockett. 1897.

OC Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches. C.E. 4 vols. 1897.

PP Past and Present. C.E. 1897.

R Reminiscences. Everyman’s University Library. 1972.


SR Sartor Resartus. C.E. 1896.


WR Wotton Reinfred. In LW. London, 1892.

2. Letters

CEC The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle. Ed. J. Slater. 1964


Others
F 1–2  Froude, J. A. Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life. 2 vols. 1882.
GW  Goethe’s Werke. Ausgabe letzter Hand. ‘Taschenausgabe’.
HA  Goethes Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe.
Legende  Legendre, A. M. Elements of Geometry and Trigenometry. 1824.
WA  Goethes Werke. Weimarer Ausgabe.

Periodicals
Ath  Athenaeum (London)
CeM  Century Magazine
Ch  Chaos (Weimar)
CM  Cornhill Magazine (London)
DC  Dumfries Courier
DMM  The Dumfries Monthly Magazine and Literary Compendium
EPJ  Edinburgh Philosophical Journal
ER  Edinburgh Review
Exa  Examiner (London)
FM  Fraser’s Magazine (London)
FoR  Foreign Review (London)
FQR  Foreign Quarterly Review (London)
LHLJ  Leigh Hunt’s London Journal
LMa  London Magazine
LWR  The London and Westminster Review
MacM  Macmillan’s Magazine
MLR  Modern Language Review
MM  The Monthly Magazine or British Register, NS
Abbreviations of Names

AC  Alexander Carlyle (1797–1876), m. Janet Clow (1809–1891)
IC  Isabella Carlyle, b. Calvert (d. 1859), wife of James Carlyle Jr.
JAC  John Aitken Carlyle (1801–1879), m. Phoebe Watts (1814?–1854)
JBJW  Jane Baillie Welsh (1801–1866), m. Carlyle on 17 October 1826
JF  Jean Carlyle (1810–1888), m. James Aitken (not related to Margaret Aitken)
JC Jr  James Carlyle Junior (1805–1890), m. Isabella Calvert (d. 1859)
JCSr  James Carlyle Senior (1758–1832), m. (2) Margaret Aitken (1771–1853)
JtC  Janet Carlyle (1813–1897), m. Robert Hanning (d. 1878)
MAC  Margaret Aitken Carlyle (1771–1853), Carlyle’s mother
MC  Mary Carlyle (1808–1888), m. James Austin
Lady HB  Lady Harriet Baring, later Lady H. Ashburton (1805–1857)
## APPENDIX VIII
### CARLYLE'S WORKS

## 2. CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION, 1818–1853

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>WORK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1818</strong></td>
<td><strong>WORK</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. (ca.)</td>
<td>Article “of descriptive Tourist kind, after a real Tour by Yarrow Country into Annandale” (<em>R</em>: 316)</td>
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<td><em>Notes</em></td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>1819</strong></th>
<th><strong>WORK</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 17 (ca.)– Mar. 29 (by)</td>
<td>Trans. from the French, “Examination of Some Compounds Which Depend upon Very Weak Affinities”, by Jacob Berzelius</td>
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<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>1</em>: 168. 172. Pbd: <em>EPJ</em> 1, 1 (June 1819); 1, 2 (Oct. 1819).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Explanatory footnotes to the article signed by the translator, Thomas Carlyle” (Dyer: 30).</td>
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<th><strong>1819–20</strong></th>
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<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>1820</strong></th>
<th><strong>WORK</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 19 (by)</td>
<td>“Montesquieu” (enc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 1 (by)</td>
<td>“Lady M. W. Montagu” (enc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 29 (by)</td>
<td>“Montaigne” (enc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 30 (by)</td>
<td>“Dr. John Moore” (enc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 30 (by)</td>
<td>“Sir John Moore” (enc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 7 (ca.)– Mar. 18</td>
<td>“Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth” (1st half). Rev. of P. T. Hanson, trans., <em>Untersuchungen über den Magnetismus der Erde</em> (1819), by Christopher Hansteen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 18– June 3 (by)</td>
<td>Trans. from the German, “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy” (secs. 1–2)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
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<td>— <em>E</em>: 5: 78–86.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— <em>MOS</em>: 39–44.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— <em>MOS</em>: 45–49.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7: 368 and <em>1</em>: 253, 254. Pbd: <em>EPJ</em> 3, 5 (July 1820); 3, 6 (Oct. 1820). Cf. <em>1</em>: 240 and see below. For “secs. 1–2”, cf. <em>1</em>: 254, the four</td>
</tr>
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</table>


Dec. 5 (by) “Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth” (2nd half) 1: 291. Pbd: \textit{EPJ} 4, 7 (Jan. 1821). See above.

\textbf{1821}

Jan. (by) Trans. from the German, “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy” (sec. 3) Pbd: \textit{EPJ} 4, 7 (Jan 1821). See above.


July 19 (by) “Pascal” (enc.) 1: 373. Pbd: Apr. 1823 (\textit{EE} 16, 1).


Dec. 11— Dec. 27 (ca.) Trans. (inc.) from the French, Elements of Geometry and Trigonomety, by A. M. Legendre Trans. of “about four or five sheets” (2: 80).

\textbf{1822}


July 17 (by)  Lines on the Bass


Aug. 2 (by?)  “The Wish” (verse): ‘How oft the gen’rous with the selfish mated’

Aug. 2 (ca.)  “With the Bramah’s Pen” (verse): ‘If pens could feel like men, few men I ween’

Sept. 7 (by)  ‘Proud Hapsburgh came forth in the gloom of his wrath’ (verse; inc.). Also referred to as “The Battle of Morgarten”.
   2: 161. See below.

Sept. 7 (by)  An “address to the Kirk of Durisdeer” (verse; inc.)

Oct. 18 (ca.)  “Tragedy of the Night-moth” (verse): ‘ ’Tis placid midnight, stars are keeping’


Dec. 4 (by)  ‘Proud Habsburgh’ (verse; compl.)

Dec. 8 (ca.)– Dec. 16 (ca.)  “Cruthers and Jonson; or, The Outskirts of Life: A True Story”

1823

Jan. 19 (by?)  “Mungo Park” (enc.)

Jan. 19 (by?)  “Persia” (enc.)

Jan. 19 (by?)  “William Pitt, Earl of Chatham” (enc.)
### 2. CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION, 1818–1853

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Page(s) Ref.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 19 (by?)</td>
<td>“Quakers” (enc.)</td>
<td>2: 268, 269</td>
<td>EE 17, 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr. 24</td>
<td>Trans. (inc.), Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship, by Goethe</td>
<td>2: 368, 449</td>
<td>See below.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 22 (by?)</td>
<td>‘Now fare thee well old twenty-three!’ (verse)</td>
<td></td>
<td>LL 2: 354–55</td>
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<td>Dec. 31</td>
<td></td>
<td>Res. 22</td>
<td>CP: 22.</td>
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### 1824

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<tr>
<td>Jan. 5 (ca.)</td>
<td>“Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3</td>
<td>3: 8, 28, 30</td>
<td>LMa 10 (July 1824); 10 (Aug. 1824); 10 (Sept. 1824).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 6 (ca.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cf. also TN: 60.</td>
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### 1825

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<tr>
<td>Jan. 28 (by)</td>
<td>Trans. from the French, “Political Economy”, by J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi (enc.)</td>
<td>1: 259</td>
<td>EE 17, 1</td>
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</table>
Nov. 10 (ca.)— Dec. 10  
Trans. from Musaeus’s *Volksmärchen*: “Dumb Love”, “Libussa” and “Melechsala”  

Dec. (by)  
“Thunder-Storm” I (verse)  

Dec. 20 (ca.)  
“Johann August Musaeus” (*GR*)  

1826

Jan. 29 (ca.)  
“Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué” (*GR*)  

Feb. (by)  
“Thunder Storm” II (verse)  

Feb. 1 (ca.)— Feb. 20 (by)  
Trans., “Aslauga’s Knight”, by La Motte Fouqué  

Feb. 20 (by)  
“Ludwig Tieck” (*GR*)  

Feb. 20 (ca.)— Apr. 16 (ca.)  
Trans., *Wilhelm Meister’s Travels*, by Goethe  

Mar. 15 (ca.)  
“The Sower’s Song” (verse): ‘Now hands to seedsheet, boys’  

Mar. 21 (ca.)— Mar. 31  
“Goethe” (*GR*)  

May 28 (ca.)  
“E. T. W. Hoffmann” (*GR*)  

May 29 (ca.)— June 13 (ca.)  
Trans., “The Golden Pot”, by Hoffmann  

June 13 (ca.)— July 31 (by)  
Trans., *Army-chaplain Schmelzle’s Journey to Flaetz and Life of Quintus Fixlein*, by Jean Paul  

July 18 (ca.)  
“Jean Paul Friedrich Richter” (*GR*)  

Aug. 10 (by)  
Preface to *German Romance*  

Dec. 25 (by?)  
“Iludo Chartis” (inc.)  

1826  
“Cui Bono” (verse): ‘What is hope? A smiling rainbow’  
### 1827

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. (by)</td>
<td>“Four Fables, II”</td>
<td>93, 94. Pbd: FM 2, 8 (Sept. 1830).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 16 (by)</td>
<td>“Four Fables, III”</td>
<td>101, 102. Pbd: FM 2, 8 (Sept. 1830).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 25 (ca.)</td>
<td><em>Wotton Reinfred</em> (inc.)</td>
<td>184, 228. Pbd: NR 6, 32 (Jan. 1892); 6, 33 (Feb. 1892); 6, 34 (Mar. 1892).</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 10 (ca.)</td>
<td>“Jean Paul Friedrich Richter”</td>
<td>233, 234. Pbd: ER 46, 91 (June 1827).</td>
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### 1828

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<td>Apr. 21 (ca.)</td>
<td>“Goethe”</td>
<td>368, 356. Pbd: FoR 2, 3 (July 1828).</td>
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### 1829

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>TN/Pbd</th>
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1830

Jan. 29

“The Sigh” (verse): ‘Oh! sigh not so, my fond and faithful wife’

Feb. (by)

Trans. (with introd.), “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter’s Review of Mme de Staël’s ‘Allemagne’”

Feb. 16 (by)

History of German Literature, I

Mar. 18 (ca.)

‘O Time, how thou fliest’ (verse)

Apr. 12 (by)

History of German Literature, Introd.

Jun. 8 (ca.)–

History of German Literature, II (inc.)

Aug. 21 (by)

“Peter Nimmo” (verse): ‘Old Boece, in jail, did with a certain pathos’

Jun. 15 (by)

“My Own Four Walls” (verse): ‘The storm and night are on the waste’

Jun. 30

‘Thy quiet goodness, spirit pure & brave’ (verse)

Aug. 12 (by)

“On History”

Sept. 6 (by?)

“Adieu” (verse): ‘Let time and chance combine, combine’

Sept. 6

“The Wandering Spirits” (verse): ‘Hail, pilgrim! In space’s Infinitude’

Sept. 7 (ca.)

“The Beetle” (verse): ‘Poor hobbling Beetle, needst not haste’

Sept. 28 (ca.)– Oct. 28 (by)

First stage of composition of Sartor Resartus. MS first entitled “Teufelsdreck”, then “Thoughts on Clothes” (hereafter referred to as MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I).
### 2. Chronology of Composition, 1818–1853

**Oct. 19:** “Teufelsdreck (that is the title of my present Schrift will be done (so far—50 pages) tomorrow”

**Nov. 2 (after)**
- Trans. (with comment), “Goethe’s Visit to Beireis”

**Nov. 2 (after)**
- “Schiller, Goethe and Madame de Staël”

**Nov. 12 (by)**
- Preface to “Peter Nimmo”

**Nov. 24 (ca.)**
- MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I sent to Fraser for publication in *Fraser’s Magazine*

**Dec. 19 (by)**
- Trans. (with “a very short introduction”) of *Nouveau Christianisme*, by C.-H. Saint-Simon

**1831**

**Jan. (by)**
- “Luther’s Psalm”

**Jan. 1 (ca.)—Jan. 20 (ca.)**
- “Taylor’s Historic Survey of German Poetry”

**Jan. 21**
- Carlyle asks his brother John to get from Fraser the “long Paper entitled *Thoughts on Clothes* . . . unless it is absolutely printed”

**Feb. (by)**
- Trans. from the German, “The Osculation of the Stars” (verse)

**Feb. 21—Feb. 26**
- “The Nibelungen Lied”

**Feb. 23**
- Carlyle in possession again of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I

**Mar. 2 (ca.)—July 28 (ca.)**
- Second stage of composition of *Sartor Resartus*. MS entitled “Thoughts on Clothes” (hereafter referred to as MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II). Mar. 17: Has “the First & Second Chapters down perfect”

**Nov. 2 (after)**

**Nov. 2 (after)**

**Nov. 24 (ca.)**
- MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I sent to Fraser for publication in *Fraser’s Magazine*

**Dec. 19 (by)**
- Trans. (with “a very short introduction”) of *Nouveau Christianisme*, by C.-H. Saint-Simon

**1831**

**Jan. (by)**

**Jan. 1 (ca.)—Jan. 20 (ca.)**

**Jan. 21**
- Carlyle asks his brother John to get from Fraser the “long Paper entitled *Thoughts on Clothes* . . . unless it is absolutely printed” 5: 215. See below, 23 Feb. 1831.

**Feb. (by)**

**Feb. 21—Feb. 26**
- “The Nibelungen Lied” 5: 236. Pbd: *WeR* 15, 29 (July 1831). — *E* 2: 216–73. See also above, Feb. 1830, History of German Literature, I.

**Feb. 23**
- Carlyle in possession again of MS “Thoughts on Clothes” I TC to JAC (5: 232).

**Mar. 2 (ca.)—July 28 (ca.)**
- Second stage of composition of *Sartor Resartus*. MS entitled “Thoughts on Clothes” (hereafter referred to as MS “Thoughts on Clothes” II).

**Mar. 17:** Has “the First & Second Chapters down perfect” TC to JAC (5: 250).
Mar. 27: “Chapter 4th is about concluded”

Apr. 11: “the third part of him [Teufelsdreck] is finally on paper”

July 7: “122 solid pages lie written off, and some forty, above half ready are to follow”

July 12: “I am so far back with my ‘Chapter on Symbols.’ I am at the 132nd page: there may be some 170; but much of it is half-written”

Aug. 1 (by) “German Literature of the XIV and XV Centuries”

Oct. 9— Essay on A. Müllner
Oct. 21
Oct. 28 (ca.) ‘Priest-ridden, wife-ridden, plague-ridden’ (verse)
Nov. 2 (ca.)— “Characteristics”
Dec. 17

1832
Jan. 19 (ca.)— Essay on Johnson, soon after split into (1) “Biography”
Mar. 5 (ca.) (2) “Boswell’s Life of Johnson”
Jan. 25— “James Carlyle”
Jan. 29
Feb. 19 (ca.) “Goethe’s Portrait”

Apr. 9 (ca.)— “Corn-Law Rhymes”
May 4 (ca.)
Apr. 19 (ca.)— “Death of Goethe”
Apr. 26
June 12— “Goethe’s Works”
July 7
July 26— Trans., “Novelle”, by Goethe
July 31 (by)
July 26— Ed. and rev. trans., “The Tale”, by Goethe
Aug. 12 (by)
Aug. 11 (ca.) ‘Oh! life turmoil—to-day—to-morrow’ (verse)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1833</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 10 (by)</td>
<td>“Teufelsdreck” to be called “Teufelsdröckh”</td>
<td>6: 317.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 18 (by)</td>
<td>Title “Thoughts on Clothes” replaced by title “Sartor Resartus”</td>
<td>6: 414.</td>
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<td><strong>1833–34</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bk 1, V–XI (“Prospective”)</td>
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<td>Bk 2, I–IV (“Getting under Way”)</td>
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<td>Bk 2, VIII–X (“Pause”)</td>
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<td>Bk 3, I–V (“The Phoenix”)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bk 3, VI–VIII (“Natural Supernaturalism”)</td>
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<td><strong>1834</strong></td>
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</table>
Apr. 25 (ca.) “To a Swallow Building under Our Eaves” (verse): ‘Thou too hast travelled, little fluttering thing’

May 8 (by) “Absent” (verse): ‘Far in desert’s depths, what Rose is flowering!’

May 8 (by?) ‘Where shall I find thee, O sweet Peace’ (verse)

1834–35
Jan. 17 Accidentally burnt (see below, March 1835).

1834

1835
Mar. 12
Mar. 6 (by) FR 1 (MS 1834–35) accidentally burnt 8: 67; R: 72.
Mar. 24
Apr. 20 (by)
Apr. 20 (by)– FR 1, Bk 3, “The Parlament of Paris” (inc.) 8: 96, 122. See below.
May 9
July 13
Aug. 10 (ca.)– FR 1, Bk 6, “Consolidation” and Sept. 21 Bk 7, “The Insurrection of Women” 8: 208. Pbd: May 1837. — FR 1: 211–38 and 239–89 respectively.

1835–36

1836
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>English publication of <em>Sartor Resartus</em> in bookform.</td>
<td>10: 135.</td>
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**1840**

July 29  |  | 
Sept. 3  |  | 

**1840–41**

Jan. 23 (ca.) |  | 

**1840**


**1841**

Apr. (by?) |  | 

Sept. 29 (ca.)– Nov. 7 (ca.) | Puritan Revolution (3) | 13: 268, 296.

**1841–42**

Nov. 17 (ca.)– Mar. 3 | Puritan Revolution (4) | 13: 306; 14: 57.

**1842**

May 23 (ca.)– Aug. 5 |  | 
Aug. 10– | Puritan Revolution (6) | 15: 13, 63.
Sept. 1 |  | 
Sept. 22 (ca.)– Nov. 13 (ca.) | Puritan Revolution (7) | 15: 107, 179.
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<th>Year(s)</th>
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<td>Aug. 23 (ca.)</td>
<td>First Edition of <em>Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches</em> (inc.) 17: 206; 18: 188. See below.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Aug. 26 (by?)</td>
<td>On the Historical Fate of the Jewish People <em>LP</em> (G): lxxvi, 575. Not pbd. MS: Santa Cruz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>“Scavenger Age: Education” <em>LP</em> (G): 547 (n. 75), 575. Not pbd. MS: NLS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
March 2  
March 5 Describing another subject, Democracy, under 6 “headings”, for a new book

| April 4 | Writing again II |
| April 28 (by) | Two Papers on Ireland: |
| (a) “Repeal of the Union” |
| (b) A Second Paper, which had to be divided into 3 articles: |
| (1) “Legislation for Ireland” |
| (2) “Ireland and the British Chief Governor” |
| (3) “Irish Regiments (of the New Era)” |

| June 16 (ca.)– |
| July 6 |
| 1848–49 |
| October 20 (ca.)– |
| January 25 (ca.) |

| 1848 |
| December 1 |

| 1849 |
| January 25 (ca.)– |
| February 13 |
| Evidence before Royal Commission: |
| On the British Museum |

| February 19– |
| April 4 |
| “attempting to write” V |
| April 12 (ca.)– |
| May 4 (ca.) |
| April 13 (by) |

1848 On Phallus Worship  
February 13  
February 8 Evidence before Royal Commission: On the British Museum  
April 4 “attempting to write” V  
April 5  
April 12 (ca.)– Writing again VI  
May 4 (ca.)  
April 13 (by) “Ireland and Sir Robert Peel”  
April 4 Writing again II  
April 28 (by) Two Papers on Ireland:  
(a) “Repeal of the Union”  
(b) A Second Paper, which had to be divided into 3 articles:  
(1) “Legislation for Ireland”  
(2) “Ireland and the British Chief Governor”  
(3) “Irish Regiments (of the New Era)”  
June 16 (ca.)– Writing again III  
July 6  
1848–49  
October 20 (ca.)– “desperate enterprises of writing” IV  
January 25 (ca.)  
1848 “Death of Charles Buller”  
1848 On Phallus Worship  
February 13 Evidence before Royal Commission: On the British Museum  
April 4 “attempting to write” V  
April 5  
April 12 (ca.)– Writing again VI  
May 4 (ca.)  
April 13 (by) “Ireland and Sir Robert Peel”
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 2–</td>
<td>“Reminiscences of My Irish Journey”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 5 (ca.)</td>
<td>Writing again VII</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 16 (ca.)</td>
<td>“I struggle daily to get into some</td>
<td><em>CTC</em> Pbd: <em>JC Aitken</em> (24: 296).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 21</td>
<td>“Trees of Liberty”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 7</td>
<td>TC to E. Chapman: “I wish to Heaven you could deliver me of these Paper Bundles, now hung round my neck . . . a word from you might help to throw light on the affair”</td>
<td>24: 306.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 23</td>
<td>Carlyle wonders whether “certain masses of Paper-rubbish”, if printed, ought to be published “as a Book or as a Series of Pamphlets”</td>
<td><em>TC</em> to <em>C. Redwood</em> (24: 313).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1849–50**

| Dec. 25–   | Carlyle working on the pamphlet called “the New Era” (later to be entitled “The Present Time”) | *TC* to JAC, 9 Jan. 1850 (25: 2). |
1849

Dec. 30 Chapman carries off “the rough MSS.” of “two ‘Pamphlets’ ”, entitled “Model Prisons” and “the New Era” (later to be called “The Present Time”), “to make the Printer set them up &c”

1850

Jan. 9 “Chapman is for a ‘Series of Pamphlets’—kind of Carlylese ‘Tracts for the Times’;—and really I begin to entertain the proposn, as one method of getting my ‘pack’ made lighter”

Jan. 18 “it seems now to be actually settled that these Pamphlets are to go forth . . . the thing is now no secret”

Jan. 20 (by) The Pamphlets to be called “Latter-Day Pamphlets”

Jan. 20 _LP_, No. 1, _The Present Time_, “now quite” out of Carlyle’s hands. “This _First No_ is on ‘The Present Time’, or _New Era_ so-called” (25: 6), “about what they call the ‘New Era’ (the absurd blockheads)” (25: 11).

Jan. 25 Carlyle refers to “Latter-Day Pamphlets” as “a set of Reform Discourses”

Jan. 26 Carlyle has chosen the title “Latter-Day Pamphlets” “as significant of the ruinous overwhelmed and almost dying condition in which the world paints itself” to him. In _OED_, quot. “1850 CARLYLE (title) Latter-day Pamphlets”, s.v. latter-day (“modern”), should no doubt be placed s.v. latter 3 (“Pertaining to the end . . . of a period”). Cf. quot. “a 1547 SURREY _Aeneid_ II.414 The later day and fate of Troy is come” (ibid., s.v. latter 3).

Jan. 26 “I think there will be perhaps a Dozen Pamphlets in all,—two Volumes when completed”


TC to JAC (25: 2).

TC to Lady H. Ashburton (25: 4).


TC to JC Aitken (25: 11). In the title “Latter-Day Pamphlets”, i.e., pamphlets belonging to the latter or last days, “Latter-Day” evidently refers to the last days of the period of “unideal practices” (25: 89) starting with the Restoration of 1660 and ending, as Carlyle thinks in 1850, “before many years” (25: 88). See also below (23 and 31 May 1850). Cf. _LP_, “Stump-Orator”: 191, par. 31 (“‘the Last of the Days is about to dawn’”).

Feb. 7 (by)  

*LP*, No. 2, *Model Prisons*, “is done”  


Feb. 7  

Carlyle busy with Pamphlet ‘No. 3’. See below.  

TC to JAC (25: 18).

Feb. “18”  

“I have not the smallest thought of quitting these *Pamphlets* . . . till I have about *twelve* cannon-salvos (redhot balls occasionally) thro’ the infinite Dungheap which the English Universe seems to me to consist of at present”  

TC to J. Forster (25: 29). For “the English Universe” as “the Devil’s Dung-heap”, cf. also TC to C. Kingsley, “ca. 1 March 1850” (25: 36) and TC to T. S. Spedding, 23 and 31 May 1850 (25: 87–88).

Mar. 5  

‘No. 3’ “has now fallen fairly into two; and there will be a No 4 called ‘New Downing Street’ or some such thing”  

TC to JAC (25: 38).

Mar. 7  

*LP*, No. 3, *Downing Street*, “just ended”  


Apr. 3  

*LP*, No. 4, *The New Downing Street*, “gone to press”  


Apr. 19  

*LP*, No. 5, *Stump-Orator*, “a command to all men to hold their tongues more” (25: 72), “done, or as good as done, with”  


May 10  

*LP*, No. 6, *Parliaments*, “now done”  


May 23  

“These latter seem to me very peculiar, and also very alarming times . . . unexampled under the Sun, except in England since ‘Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith’ made out his ‘glorious Restoration’ to these parts”  

Note of 23 May 1850 (25: 88) for T. S. Spedding. For Charles II, see also *LP*, No. 4, “The New Downing Street”: 162, par. 55 and No. 8, “Jesuitism”: 293, par. 2. Cf. also *PP*, Bk 3, VI, “Two Centuries”: 66–69, pars. 1–6.

May 31  

“I see it [‘this Zion of ours’] shaking towards rapid destruction now, and believe the *Abyss* will get it in one form or other before many years”  

June 10  
*LP*, No. 7, *Hudson’s Statue*, “finished”  

June 25  
“Jesuitism (No 8) is on the stocks, and, what is still more interesting, with that I am to end the sad operation!”  

July 17  
“My last Pamphlet is now happily all in the Printer’s hands; what I call done”  
TC to MAC (25: 118).

July 21  
*LP*, No. 8, *Jesuitism*, “quite done with”  

July 21 (by?)  

1851

Feb. 18 (ca.)–March 5  
“First draught of Sterling”, inc.  
26: 35, 55, 42.

March 10–Apr. 1  
“First draught of Sterling”, compl.  
26: 45, 52.

Apr.  
Carlyle compares the spiritual to the astronomical world. Cf. “the two fragments on ‘Spiritual Optics’ ” (*F 4*: 77) of 1852.  
F 4: 77 (Journal).

May 1 (ca.)–July 4  
“revisal of Sterling’s Life”  

Oct. 4–Oct. 7  
“Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris; Autumn 1851”  
26: 229, 268.

Nov. 8 (ca.)–Dec. 13  
Fred. the Great (1): Reading  
27: 1, 119.

1852

Jan. 2–May 19  
Fred. the Great (2): Reading  

May 25–July 21  
Fred. the Great (3): Reading and Translating  
27: 183, 173 and Carlyle’s Notes (27: 367, n. 1 and 166, n. 2).

July 18 (ca.)–July 21  
Trans. (inc.), “A Day with Friedrich”, by Fromme
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>July 23</td>
<td>[Linlathen.] Fred. the Great (4): Reading and Translating</td>
<td>27: 175, 212.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 16</td>
<td>Translating and Attempting to Write I (see 28: 68, 104 n.)</td>
<td>27: 363, 365; 28: 89.</td>
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<td>Oct. 6</td>
<td>Working at “a kind of Translation relating to Frederic”</td>
<td>27: 366, 368, 370.</td>
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<td>Mar. 10</td>
<td>Begins “to try more seriously to get something gradually brought to paper”</td>
<td>28: 68.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apr. 5</td>
<td>Fred. the Great (7): Reading and</td>
<td>28: 101, 152.</td>
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<td>June 3</td>
<td>Fred. the Great (8)–(14)</td>
<td>See App. III, 179–86.</td>
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### APPENDIX VIII
#### CARLYLE’S WORKS

#### 3. CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLICATION, 1819–1881

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<tr>
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<td>1819</td>
<td><strong>June</strong> Trans. from the French, “Examination of Some Compounds Which Depend upon Very Weak Affinities” (1st half), by Jacob Berzelius</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> Idem (2nd half)</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td><strong>July</strong> “Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth” (1st half). Cf. below, Jan. 1821.</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>July</strong> Trans. from the German, “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy” (sec. 1)</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Oct.</strong> Idem (sec. 2). Cf. below, Jan. 1821.</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Lady Mary Wortley Montagu” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Montaigne” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Montesquieu” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Montfaucon” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Montucla” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Dr. John Moore” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Sir John Moore” (enc.)</td>
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<td>1821</td>
<td><strong>Jan.</strong> Trans. from the German, “Outlines of Professor Mohs’s New System of Crystallography and Mineralogy” (sec. 3). Cf. above, Oct. 1820.</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Jan.</strong> “Remarks upon Professor Hansteen’s Inquiries concerning the Magnetism of the Earth” (2nd half). Cf. above, July 1820.</td>
<td><strong>EPJ</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sept.</strong> “Necker” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Sept.</strong> “Nelson” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Sept.</strong> “The Netherlands” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Sept.</strong> “Newfoundland” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Baillie’s Metrical Legends”</td>
<td><strong>NER</strong></td>
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<td>1822</td>
<td><strong>Apr.</strong> “Goethe’s Faust”</td>
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<td><strong>July</strong> “Norfolk” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>July</strong> “Northamptonshire” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>July</strong> “Northumberland” (enc.)</td>
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<td>1823</td>
<td><strong>Apr.</strong> “Mungo Park” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Apr.</strong> “Pascal” (enc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Oct.</strong> “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 1</td>
<td><strong>LMa</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Dec.</strong> “Persia” (enc.)</td>
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3. CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLICATION, 1819–1881

Dec. “William Pitt, Earl of Chatham” (enc.) EE

1824
Jan. “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 2 LMa
June Preface to the First Edition of *Meister’s Apprenticeship* Oliver & Boyd
June Trans., *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*, by Goethe Oliver & Boyd
July “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3 (inst. 1) LMa
Aug. “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3 (inst. 2) LMa
Sept. “Schiller’s Life and Writings”, Part 3 (inst. 3) LMa
trans. Carlyle

1825
Feb. Trans. from the French, “Political Economy”, by Sismondi EE (enc.)
Feb. “Quakers” (enc.) EE
Mar. *The Life of Friedrich Schiller*. See below, 1873 Taylor & Hessey
Mar. Appendix [I] to *The Life of Friedrich Schiller*. See below, 1869. Taylor & Hessey
Oct. Trans., “The Village” (verse), by Bürger DMM
Dec. “Thunder-Storm” I (verse) DMM

1826
Feb. “Thunder Storm” II (verse) DMM

1827
Jan. Preface to *German Romance* Tait
Jan. “Johann August Musaeus” (GR) Tait
“Libussa” and “Melechsalu” (GR)
Jan. “Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué” (GR) Tait
Jan. Trans., “Aslauga’s Knight”, by La Motte Fouqué (GR) Tait
Jan. “Ludwig Tieck” (GR) Tait
“The Trusty Eckart”, “The Runenberg”, “The Elves” and “The Goblet” (GR)
Jan. “E. T. W. Hoffmann” (GR) Tait
Jan. “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter” (GR) Tait
Jan. Trans., *Army-chaplain Schmelze’s Journey to Flaetz*, Tait
by Jean Paul (GR)
Jan. Trans., *Life of Quintus Fixlein*, by Jean Paul (GR) Tait
Jan. “Goethe” (GR) Tait
Jan. Trans., *Wilhelm Meister’s Travels*, by Goethe (GR) Tait
June “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter” ER
Oct. “State of German Literature” ER
1828
Jan.  “Life and Writings of Werner”  FoR
Apr.  “Goethe’s Helena”  FoR
July  “Goethe”  FoR
Dec.  “Burns”  ER

1829
Jan.  “German Playwrights”  FoR
Apr.  “Voltaire”  FoR
July  “Novalis”  FoR
Aug.  (?)  “Signs of the Times”. For date, cf. App. VIII, 2.  ER

1830
Jan.  “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again”  FoR
See below, Sept. 1830, “Cui Bono”.
Pbd Weimar. See below, Jan. 1832.
See below, Aug. 1831.
May  Trans., “Jean Paul Friedrich Richter’s Review of Madame de Staël’s ‘Allemagne’ ” (inst. 2). Cf. above, Feb. 1830.  FM
May  “The Sower’s Song” (verse). Pbd Weimar. See below, April 1831.  Ch
Sept.  “Cui Bono” (verse). See above, March 1830.  FM
Sept.  “Four Fables”  FM
Nov.  “On History”  FM

1831
Jan.  “Cruthers and Jonson; or, The Outskirts of Life: A True Story”  FM
Jan.  “Luther’s Psalm”  FM
Feb.  “Peter Nimmo” (prose preface and verse)  FM
Feb.  Trans. from the German, “The Osculation of the Stars” (verse)  FM
Feb.  “The Beetle” (verse)  FM
Mar.  “Schiller”  FM
Mar.  “Taylor’s Historic Survey of German Poetry”  ER
Apr.  “The Sower's Song” (verse)  FM
July  “The Nibelungen Lied”  WeR
Aug.  “Tragedy of the Night-moth” (verse). See above, April 1830.  FM
Oct.  “German Literature in the XIV and XV Centuries”  FQR
Dec.  “Characteristics”  ER
1832
Jan. Trans. (with commentary), “Goethe’s Visit to Beireis” *MM*
See above, April 1830.
Mar. “Schiller, Goethe and Madame de Staël” *FM*
Mar. “Goethe’s Portrait” *FM*
Apr. “Biography” *FM*
May “Boswell’s Life of Johnson” *FM*
June “Death of Goethe” *NMM*
July “Corn-Law Rhymes” *ER*
Aug. “Goethe’s Works” *FQR*
Nov. Trans., “Novelle”, by Goethe *FM*

1833
Apr. “Diderot” *FQR*
May “On History Again” *FM*
July “Count Cagliostro”, “Flight First” *FM*
Aug. “Count Cagliostro”, “Flight Last” *FM*

1833–34
Nov. *SR*, Bk 1, I–IV (“Characteristics”) *FM*
Dec. *SR*, Bk 1, V–XI (“Prospective”) *FM*
Feb. *SR*, Bk 2, I–IV (“Getting under Way”) *FM*
Mar. *SR*, Bk 2, V–VII (“The Everlasting No”) *FM*
Apr. *SR*, Bk 2, VIII–X (“Pause”) *FM*
June *SR*, Bk 3, I–V (“The Phoenix”) *FM*
July *SR*, Bk 3, VI–VIII (“Natural Supernaturalism”) *FM*
Aug. *SR*, Bk 3, IX–XII (“Farewell”) *FM*

1834
Oct. 22 “Drumwhirn Bridge” (verse) *LHLJ*
Nov. 26 “The Wish” (verse) *LHLJ*

1835
Jan. “Death of Edward Irving” *FM*

1836
Apr. First American publication of *SR* in bookform Boston

1837
Jan. “Mirabeau” *LWR*
Apr. “Parliamentary History of the French Revolution” *LWR*

1838
Jan. “Sir Walter Scott” *LWR*
July First English publication of *SR* in bookform Saunders & Otley
July “Testimonies of Authors” prefixed to *SR*. See below, 1869.
Dec. “Varnhagen von Ense’s Memoirs” *LWR*
1839
Apr. 7 “Petition on the Copyright Bill” Exa
July “On the Sinking of the Vengeur” FM
Sept. *FR* (2nd ed.) 3, Bk 5, Ch. VI, final par., correcting the account of the sinking of the Vengeur given in the first edition Fraser
Dec. *Chartism* Fraser

1840
Apr. “Adieu” (verse) E (Fraser)
Apr. “Today” (verse) E (Fraser)
Apr. “Fortuna” (verse) E (Fraser)
June 28 Speech at the Freemasons’ Tavern, 24 June 1840: On the Founding of the London Library Exa
Sept. 27 Rev. of *Lieder und Balladen des Schotten Robert Burns*, trans. H. J. Heintze (Brunswick, 1840) Exa

1841
Mar. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* Fraser

1842
Jan. “Baillie the Covenanter” WeR

1843
Apr. *Past and Present* Chapman & Hall
July “Dr. Francia” FQR

1844
June 19 Letter to the Editor of *The Times*: On the Opening of Mazzini’s Letters. *The Times*

1845

1846
June Preface to the Second Edition of *OC* Chapman & Hall
1847

Nov. 9  "Dumfries-shire Three Hundred Years Ago"  DC

1848

Mar. 4  "Louis Philippe"  Exa
Apr. 29  "Repeal of the Union"  Exa
May 13  "Legislation for Ireland"  Exa
May 13  "Ireland and the British Chief Governor"  Sp
May 13  "Irish Regiments (of the New Era)"  Sp
Dec. 2  "Death of Charles Buller"  Exa

1849

Apr. 14  "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel"  Sp
May  "Indian Meal"  FM
Dec. 1  "Trees of Liberty"  Na
Dec.  "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question". For new ed., rev. and enl., in pamphlet form, see below, July 1853. FM

1850

— Evidence, 8 Feb. 1849, before Royal Commission: On the British Museum
Mar. 1  LP, No. 2, Model Prisons. Dated "March 1850". Chapman & Hall
Apr. 1  LP, No. 3, Downing Street. Dated "April 1850". Chapman & Hall
Apr. 15  LP, No. 4, The New Downing Street. Dated "April 15, 1850". Chapman & Hall
Apr. 27  LP, No. 5, Stump-Orator. Dated "May 1850". Chapman & Hall
June 1  LP, No. 6, Parliaments. Dated "June 1850". Chapman & Hall
July 1  LP, No. 7, Hudson's Statue. Dated "July 1850". Chapman & Hall
Aug. 1  LP, No. 8, Jesuitism. Dated "August 1850". Chapman & Hall
Dec. 7  "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago: Duelling", No. 1 LHLJ
Dec. 21  "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago: Duelling", No. 2 LHLJ

1851

Jan. 11  "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago: Duelling", No. 3 LHLJ
Oct.  The Life of John Sterling Chapman & Hall
Dec. 25  "The Opera" London
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<td>“Sir William Hamilton” Blackwood &amp; Sons</td>
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<td>Appendix to final vol. of <em>FG</em>: “A Day with Friedrich” Chapman &amp; Hall</td>
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<td>“The Portraits of John Knox” <em>FM</em></td>
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<td>1877</td>
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<td>Letter to the Editor of <em>The Times</em>: On Beaconsfield’s Foreign Policy <em>The Times</em></td>
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### APPENDIX VIII
### CARLYLE'S WORKS

#### 4. CHRONOLOGY OF POSTHUMOUS WORKS, 1881–2001

**POSTHUMOUS WORKS** | **PUBLISHED**
---|---
**1881** |  
“James Carlyle” | R (F)
“Edward Irving” | R (F)
“Lord Jeffrey” | R (F)
“Jane Welsh Carlyle” | R (F)
“Southey” | R (F)
“Wordsworth” | R (F)

**1882** |  
Notes to Althaus as quoted by Froude | F 1
Journal, 1822–35, as quoted by Froude | F 1–2
‘Proud Hapsburgh came forth in the gloom of his wrath’ (verse) | F 1
“To Miss Jane B. Welsh” (verse) | F 1
‘Now fare thee well old twenty-three!’ (verse) | F 1
“My Own Four Walls” (verse) | F 1
On ‘Spiritual Optics’: Fragment One. See below, 1968. | F 2
On ‘Spiritual Optics’: Fragment Two | F 2
“To a Swallow Building under Our Eaves” (verse) | F 2
‘Oh! life turmoil—to-day—to-morrow’ (verse) | F 2
“Crichope Linn” (verse) | F 2
“The Sigh” (verse) | F 2
*Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849* | London
Last Words of Thomas Carlyle on Trades-Unions, Promoterism and the Signs of the Times | Edinburgh

**1883** |  
Notes to JWC’s letters as quoted by Froude | LM 1–3

**1884** |  
Journal, 1835–73, as quoted by Froude | F 3–4

**1892** |  
*Wotton Reinfred* | LW
“Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris; *Autumn, 1851*” | LW

**1898** |  
*Historical Sketches* | Chapman
Journal, 1822–32 | TN
‘Unchanged they shine still young as ever’ (verse trans.), by Herder | TN
‘Farewell my books & pens and papers’ (verse) | TN
‘The Hildebrands, the Philips and the Borgias’ (verse) | TN
‘O Time, how thou fliest’ (verse) | TN
‘Thy quiet goodness, spirit pure & brave’ (verse) | TN
‘Priest-ridden, wife-ridden, plague-ridden’ (verse)  
1903  
Notes to JWC’s letters as quoted by Alexander Carlyle  
1909  
“The Fisher” (verse tr., with JBW), by Goethe  
“To Jane B. Welsh” (verse)  
“Absent” (verse)  
1920  
“Christopher North”  
1922  
“Notes of a Three-Days’ Tour to the Netherlands”  
1939  
Note for Brockhaus’s Conversations Lexicon  
1940  
Journey to Germany: Autumn 1858  
1951  
Carlyle’s Unfinished History of German Literature  
1954  
“Illoido Chartis”  
1963  
“An Hannchen” (verse)  
‘Where shall I find thee, O sweet Peace!’ (verse)  
“The Wandering Spirits” (verse)  
“Song I” (verse)  
“Song II” (verse)  
“Song III” (verse)  
1968  
On ‘Spiritual Optics’: Fragment One. For pars. 2–7, see above, 1882.  
1970—. . .  
Notes to JWC’s letters as quoted by D.E.  
1972  
Journal, 1832–73, as quoted by Campbell  
1974  
Notes to Althaus  
“Adam and Archibald Skirving”  
1977  
Review of Hayward’s translation of Faust I  
1977—. . .  
Journal, 1832–73, as quoted by D.E.  
1981  
“National Education”  
1985  
Petition on Postage  
On the farm-labourers in Dumfriesshire
1986
“With the Bramah’s Pen” (verse)  
‘The lasses of the Canongate’ (verse)  

2001
Draft of “Project of a National Exhibition of Scottish Portraits”  

CP

CL 29
APPENDIX VIII
CARLYLE’S WORKS

5. PUBLISHED WORKS LISTED ALPHABETICALLY, 1819–2001

[Dates of composition, between square brackets, have sometimes been supplied by me with an asterisk, as in: “Today” (verse) [1834*]. This should be taken to mean that the proper information on the date of composition of “Today” can be found in the Chronology of Composition (App. VIII, 2) under the year 1834, where “Today” is said to have been written by January 1834.]

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<td>“Absent” (verse)</td>
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<td>1909</td>
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<td>“Adieu” (verse)</td>
<td>[1830*]</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>CP: 52–53</td>
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<td>“An Hannchen” (verse)</td>
<td>[1833]</td>
<td>1963</td>
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<td>Army-Chaplain Schmelze’s Journey to Flaetz (tr.), by Jean Paul</td>
<td>[1826]</td>
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<td>GR 2: 131–92</td>
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<td>“Aslauga’s Knight” (tr.), by La Motte Fouqué</td>
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<td>“Baillie’s Metrical Legends”</td>
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<td>“Baillie the Covenanter”</td>
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<td>1842</td>
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<td>“Biography”</td>
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<td>“Burns”</td>
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<td><em>Carlyle’s Unfinished History of German Literature</em></td>
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<td>“Christopher North”</td>
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<td>“Cruthers and Jonson; or, The Outskirts of Life: A True Story”</td>
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<td>[1832]</td>
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“Drumwhirn Bridge” (verse) [1832] 1834 CP: 47–48
“Dumb Love” (tr.), by Musaeus [1825] 1827 GR: 1: 19–85
“Dumfries-shire Three Hundred Years Ago” [1847*] 1847 CL 22: 147–51

“Early Kings of Norway” 1875 E 5: 201–310

Elements of Geometry and Trigonometry (tr.), by A. M. Legendre [1821–22] 1824 Legendre

“E. T. W. Hoffmann” [1826] 1827 GR 2: 3–21
“Examination of Some Compounds Which Depend upon Very Weak Affinities” (tr.), by J. Berzelius [1819] 1819 EPJ 1, 1–2

“Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris; Autumn, 1851” [1851] 1892 LW: 149–91

“Faust’s Curse” (verse tr.), by Goethe [1822] 1832 CP: 80
“Fortuna” (verse) [1834*] 1840 CP: 55
“Four Fables” [1827] 1830 E 1: 471–72
“Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué” [1826] 1827 GR 1: 207–14

“German Literature in the XIV and XV Centuries” [1830–31] 1831 E 2: 274–332
“German Playwrights” [1828] 1829 E 1: 355–95
“Goethe” (GR) [1826] 1827 WM 1: 12–33
“Goethe” [1828] 1828 E 1: 198–257
“Goethe’s Faust” [1822] 1822 “GF”
“Goethe’s Helena” [1828] 1828 E 1: 146–97
“Goethe’s Portrait” [1832] 1832 E 2: 371–73
“Goethe’s Visit to Beireis” (tr.) [1830*] 1832 MM, NS 13: 57–67
“Goethe’s Works” [1832] 1832 E 2: 385–443

Historical Sketches [1842*] 1898 HS
History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, Called Frederick the Great [1852–65] 1858–65 FG 1–8

“Ilias (Americana) in Nuce” [1863] 1863 E 5: 6
“Iludo Chartis” (inc.) [1826*] 1954 MLR 49: 164–68
“Inaugural Address at Edinburgh: 2nd April 1866” — 1866 E 4: 449–82

“Indian Meal” [1849] 1849 CTC: 109–16
“Ireland and Sir Robert Peel” [1849] 1849 Spectator
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