

From Industrie to the 'Gospel of Work'

I'm currently working on a PhD thesis on the role of Saint-Simonism in the social and political thought of Thomas Carlyle. Each chapter of my thesis deals with a particular Saint-Simonian concept, looking at its development in the French context, and then its 'transfer', that is, the various ways in which it was interpreted and appropriated by Carlyle in response to peculiarly British problems. As things stand, I envisage six chapters on the concepts of: first *industrie*; second of history as an alternating series of 'organic' and 'critical' eras; third of revolution, democracy and laissez-faire; fourth of *association* and the 'Organisation of Labour'; fifth of a *Nouveau christianisme*; and sixth of *association universelle* and empire. I make use of those Saint-Simonian texts that Carlyle is known to have possessed (many of which are in the Gimon collection), Carlyle's *oeuvre*, including those texts that he published during his lifetime, posthumously published manuscripts, and his 40-volume *Collected Letters*, and I also try to bring in interlocutors such as John Stuart Mill. Today, I want to present the first chapter of my thesis, on the Saint-Simonian concept of *industrie* and its relation to Carlyle's 'Gospel of Work'.

It might be helpful to first very briefly define some terms. I'm particularly interested in three, what we might call, 'languages' or discourses'. The first is that of 'republicanism' or 'civic humanism', which has its origins in the ancient world. This hinges on the notion of 'virtue', that is, qualities such as self-discipline, a spirit of independence, a willingness to sacrifice one's own individual interests for the common good, and active participation in public or political life. 'Virtue' is opposed to 'corruption', that is, things such as selfishness, sensuality, luxuriousness, dependence, and passivity. In this discourse, virtue is attained through participation in politics, and successful political institutions in turn depend upon a spirit of virtue existing amongst citizens, whereas commerce is often identified as a corrupting influence. The second 'language' or discourse' is that of 'commercial society', developed largely during the 18th century, according to which, while commerce did indeed undermine antique virtue, it more than compensated for this, by furnishing material comfort, encouraging peaceful activity instead of war, by softening the passions, polishing manners, promoting sociability, and so on¹. The third 'language' or 'discourse' is that of Benthamism or 'Utilitarianism'. According to Bentham, all acts, institutions and beliefs were to be judged against the criterion of 'utility', that is whether, they promoted pleasure or pain, and the extent to which they contributed to the 'greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number'.

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1 POCOCK, J. G. A., *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, op. cit., ch. 2, ch. 3.

Raymond Williams has credited Carlyle with having introduced the term 'industrialism' into English, in order to “indicate a new order of society based on organizing mechanical production”². For Williams, Carlyle was an opponent of this new order, making 'culture' the “ground of his attack on Industrialism”³. Remarkably, other commentators have labelled Carlyle a champion of the 'industrialist'⁴, or even an apologist for “factory and machine work”⁵. For all their differences, these various readings have one thing in common, namely anachronism. They all project the late nineteenth-century understanding of 'Industry' as large-scale factory production, and a corresponding social superstructure, back onto the early nineteenth-century, and thus ascribe to Carlyle intentions that he never in fact held.

Whilst Carlyle and his contemporaries were no doubt aware of the momentous changes brought about by the growth of the 'manufacturing system', we ought to bear in mind John Pocock's statement that language “supplies the categories, grammar and mentality through which experience has to be recognised and articulated”⁶. This will seek to situate the Saint-Simonian concept of *industrie*, and its Carlylean counterpart, the 'Gospel of Work', within their wider intellectual context. Over the course of the period between the mid eighteenth- and the mid nineteenth-centuries, the concept of 'Industry' lost its original meaning of a personal trait of character, and came to acquire its modern meaning of factory or mechanical production⁷. However, it will be argued that the Saint-Simonian and Carlylean versions of the concept occupied a transitional stage in this process, in the sense that they continued to include all forms of creative, useful labour. Moreover, rather than treating the concept as a simple reflex of technological change, the presentation will consider it as part of a wider *political* project, one that sought to reinvigorate the classical republican or 'civic-humanist' tradition in response to rival notions of 'commercial society'. Whereas in older civic-humanist thought, to use John Burrow's words, “industry stood under the classical stigma of servile activity, narrowing the faculties of man while participation in the public life of the *polis* fulfilled them”⁸, both the Saint-Simonians and Carlyle sought to relocate the republican virtues in the world of work. In doing so, they were able to formulate a vision of virtuous, useful labour striving to free itself from the bondage of a corrupt commercial society, and endeavouring to establish a new kind of political community.

- 2 WILLIAMS, Raymond, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* [1976], new ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 166-7.
- 3 WILLIAMS, Raymond, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* [1958], new ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 95-7.
- 4 WIENER, Martin J., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 157.
- 5 BRETON, Rob, *Gospels and Grit: Work and Labour in Carlyle, Conrad, and Orwell* (Toronto and Buffalo NY: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 40-2, 47-8.
- 6 POCOCK, J. G. A., *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 28-9.
- 7 HILGER, Dietrich, and HÖLSCHER, Lucian, 'Industrie, Gewerbe', in BRUNNER, Otto, CONZE, Werner, and KOSELLECK, Reinhart (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Vol. III (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), p. 245-9, 264-7, 275-8, 286-9.
- 8 BURROW, John, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 65-7

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The boundary between civic-humanism and understandings of commercial society became increasingly blurred in the years leading up to the French Revolution, with thinkers such as Sieyès arguing that the performance of useful labour ought to be made the basis of all citizenship⁹. This analysis was later adapted in order to account for the Terror. Sieyès, Roederer and Condorcet all claimed that the revolutionaries had been mistaken in their attempt to impose a republican constitution on a people corrupted by centuries of absolutism and priest-craft, and that it was rather necessary to first reform the manners of the people, in order to render them virtuous and capable of responsible citizenship¹⁰. Around the turn of the century, the *Idéologues* began to identify *industrie* as the most effective means of promoting virtuous habits, thus shifting the emphasis from republican virtues in politics to republican virtues in production¹¹. This served to identify the republic with those engaged in useful work, and to stigmatise aristocratic idlers¹².

Jean-Baptiste Say brought this line of analysis to its logical conclusion in his *Traité d'économie politique* (1803), which dismissed constitutional questions altogether, and detached the new science of political economy from the wider republican political project¹³. Say argued that in the modern world anyone engaged in *industrie* could become independent by dint of hard work alone, regardless of the political regime in existence¹⁴. From 1814 onwards, Say also drew on the work of Jeremy Bentham, emphasising that *industrie* was not to be understood as production of material goods alone, but rather production of 'utility', whether material or immaterial¹⁵. For Say, as for Bentham, every act was to be

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- 9 WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution: An Intellectual History of Jean-Baptiste Say's Political Economy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 68-73. Voltaire had already sought to defend *industrie*, understood not as mechanisation, but rather as a general disposition towards productive, peaceful activity, against critics such as Saint-Pierre, who, in keeping with an older civic-humanist tradition, continued to stigmatise it as a source of social division and moral corruption. See SCHUI, Florian, *Early Debates About Industry: Voltaire and His Contemporaries* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), ch. 4, also p. 9-10, 174-6.
- 10 WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution*, op. cit., p. 95-8.
- 11 ROMANI, Roberto, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 110-11.
- 12 STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, 'Saint-Simon and the Liberal Origins of the Socialist Critique of Political Economy', in APRILE, Sylvie, and BENSIMON, Fabrice (eds.), *La France et l'Angleterre au XIXe siècle: échanges, représentations, comparaisons* (Paris: Créaphis, 2006), p. 30-33.
- 13 KAISER, Thomas E., 'Politics and political economy in the thought of the Ideologues', in *History of Political Economy*, no. 2 (1980), p. 150-1; WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution*, op. cit., p. 150-1.
- 14 ALLIX, Edgard, 'J.-B. Say et les origines de l'industrialisme', in *Revue d'économie politique*, no. 24 (1910), p. 312-3; WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution*, op. cit., p. 163-5.
- 15 ALLIX, Edgard, 'J.-B. Say et les origines de l'industrialisme', op. cit., p. 341-3. This can be seen as a sharp reaction against the Physiocratic doctrine that only agriculture was productive, which had clear political implications in *ancien régime* and revolutionary France. See JAMES, Michael, 'Pierre-Louis Roederer, Jean-Baptiste Say, and the concept of *industrie*', in *History of Political Economy*, no. 4 (1977), p. 465-71. On Say and Bentham, see ZAGAR, Janko, 'Bentham et la France', thèse pour le doctorat d'université présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'université de Paris (1958), p. 212-6, 241-3. For this reason, his *Catéchisme d'économie politique* (1815) identified the *industriels* as "intellectual, industrial entrepreneur, agriculturalist, farmer, manufacturer, merchant, retailer, labourer, capitalist, landed proprietor". Cited in WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution*, op. cit., p. 192.

judged against the criterion of 'utility', that is, its contribution to the 'greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number', which as Richard Whatmore has pointed out, can be seen as an attempt to redefine virtue in terms of useful production¹⁶. For Say, anyone not engaged in the latter was a *oisif*, and thus an enemy of the public good.

Say's work was widely influential during the Restoration, to the extent that, according to David Hart, it would be appropriate to speak of a “moment Say”¹⁷. Despite his insistent claims to originality, Saint-Simon's earlier writings were very much of a piece with this wider Restoration context¹⁸. From around 1816 onwards, he drew on both Say and Bentham, making utility the unifying principle of his thought, and presenting *industrie* as its present and final historical incarnation¹⁹. Moreover, as Charles Dunoyer later recalled in his ‘Esquisse historique des doctrines auxquelles on a donné le nom d'Industrialisme’, Saint-Simon initially “se bornait à dire, avec le *Censeur*, que l'ordre de choses que réclamait l'industrie, c'était où le gouvernement, au lieu d'intervenir comme régulateur des travaux, se bornerait à les préserver de tout trouble”²⁰. This was readily apparent in Saint-Simon's *L'Industrie, où Discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques, dans l'intérêt des hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et indépendans*, tome quatrième, premier cahier (1818), which the Saint-Simonians sent to Carlyle. In the introduction, Saint-Simon set out the following hypotheses:

1. Que la classe industrielle est la seule classe utile. 2. Que cette classe devient continuellement plus

16 WHATMORE, Richard, *Republicanism and the French Revolution*, op. cit., p. 207-10.

17 HART, David, ‘Class, slavery and the industrialist theory of history in French Liberal Thought, 1814-1830: the contribution of Charles Comte and Charles Dunoyer’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University (1994), p. 19. For instance, Charles Comte, Charles Dunoyer and the group of intellectuals gathered round the *Censeur européen* shared Say's emphasis on “l'activité humaine considérée dans toutes ses applications utiles, comme l'objet fondamental de la société”. DUNOYER, Charles, ‘Esquisse historique des doctrines auxquelles on a donné le nom d'Industrialisme, c'est-à-dire, des doctrines qui fondent la société sur l'Industrie’ [1827], reprinted in *Oeuvres de Charles Dunoyer*, Vol. 3, ‘Notices d'économie sociale’ (Paris: Guillaumin et Cie., 1886), p. 175-8. However, Comte and Dunoyer distinguished themselves from Say in one crucial respect. Whereas Say had sought to make the republican political economy of *industrie* independent of the state, Comte and Dunoyer in their turn argued that the state itself ought to become a simple auxiliary of *industrie*. Ibid, p. 178-81. See also ALLIX, Edgard, ‘J.-B. Say et les origines de l'industrialisme’, op. cit., p. 348-56, and HART, David, ‘Class, slavery and the industrialist theory of history’, op. cit. p. 62-5.

18 DUNOYER, Charles, ‘Esquisse historique’, op. cit., p. 183-4, 193. For instance, in 1817 he wrote that Say's *Traité* “renferme tout ce que l'économie politique a découvert et démontré jusqu'ici”. *Industrie*, Vol. 2 (1817), cited in PÉTRÉ-GRENOUILLEAU, Olivier, *Saint-Simon: L'utopie ou la raison en actes* (Paris: Payot & Rouages, 2001), p. 296. John Stuart Mill later recalled first meeting Saint-Simon at Say's home. MILL, John Stuart, *Autobiography* [1873], Oxford World's Classics edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 50-1.

19 See further SPÜHLER, Willy, *Der Saint-Simonismus: Lehre und Leben von Saint-Amand Bazard* (Zurich: Girsberger & Co., 1926), p. 46-7, MUSSO, Pierre, *Saint-Simon, l'industrialisme contre l'Etat*, op. cit., p. 62-9, and BELLET, Michel, ‘Saint-simonisme et utilitarisme: Saint-Simon lecteur de Bentham’, in DE CHAMPS, Emmanuelle, and CLÉRO, Jean-Pierre (eds.), *Bentham et la France: fortune et infortunes de l'utilitarisme* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009), p. 184-8.

20 DUNOYER, Charles, ‘Esquisse historique’, op. cit., p. 186-7. This was later obscured by subsequent commentators, who tended to take the Saint-Simonians' presentation of Saint-Simon at face value. See IONESCU, Ghita, ‘Introduction’, in IONESCU, Ghita (ed.), *The Political Thought of Saint-Simon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 29-40, and MUSSO, Pierre, *Saint-Simon, l'industrialisme contre l'Etat* (La Tour d'Aigues: Editions de l'Aube, 2010), p. 10-11, 84-9, 116-7.

nombreuse, et que s'accroissant toujours aux dépens des autres, elle doit finir par devenir la *classe unique*. 3. Que toutes les lois ainsi que tous les mesures administratives pouvaient être bien jugées en les considérant sous cet unique rapport: *sont-elles utiles ou nuisibles à l'industrie?*²¹

Reiterating Say's argument that utility was to be defined in terms both material and immaterial, Saint-Simon explained that he sought to “prouver à l'*industrie pratique*, que l'*industrie théorique* peut la servir utilement; d'où cette conséquence naturelle, qu'il est de son intérêt de se coaliser avec elle”²². Moreover, he argued that “nous attachons trop d'importance à la *forme des gouvernemens*”²³, and that useful *industrie* was “la seule base qu'il soit possible de donner à une *société politique*”²⁴. In this scheme, the legislator was to make all decisions through reference to “l'utilité commune et générale”²⁵. This would serve to realise the “*régime industriel*”, operating on the maxim of “*tout par l'industrie, tout pour elle*”²⁶. Moreover, towards the end of this work, Saint-Simon set out a short history of political economy. While Adam Smith had seen political economy as a subsidiary branch of a much wider science of the legislator, “une auxilliare, une dépendence de la politique”, Say had “fait un pas de plus que Smith”, arguing that “l'*économie politique* est distincte et indépendante de la politique”. Saint-Simon himself sought to go a step further than Say, reconnecting political economy and politics, but with the latter now dependent upon the former, to “trouver un moyen légal pour que le grand *pouvoir politique* passe entre les mains de l'*industrie*”²⁷.

However, his thought seems to have taken a different direction following the publication of Sismondi's *Nouveaux principes d'économie politique* in 1819. In this work, Sismondi questioned whether *industrie* would in fact develop harmoniously, stressing instead the increasing polarisation of wealth and the recurrence of crises of overproduction, and proposing state intervention in *industrie* as a solution²⁸. Saint-Simon's response, as Dunoyer put it, was to abandon his earlier opinion that the state ought to limit itself to “préserver les travailleurs de toute violence”, and to instead present it as “le chef naturel de la société, chargé de réunir en faisceau et de diriger vers un but commun toutes les activités

21 SAINT-SIMON, Claude-Henri de, *L'Industrie, où Discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques, dans l'intérêt des hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et indépendans*, tome quatrième, premier cahier (Paris: Chez Verdière, 1818), p. 1.

Also, “l'industrie française, c'est-à-dire la nation française”, p. 52.

22 Ibid., p. 3. Also, “l'action physiquement et moralement utile”, p. 68.

23 Ibid., p. 6-14.

24 Ibid., p. 23.

25 Ibid., p. 23-5.

26 Ibid., p. 30-6.

27 Ibid., p. 130-7.

28 See GRUNER, Shirley M., *Economic Materialism and Social Moralism: A Study in the History of Ideas in France from the latter part of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), p. 131-6, STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, ‘*Industrie, Pauperism and the Hanoverian State: The Genesis and Political Context of the Original Debate About the ‘Industrial Revolution’ in England and France, 1815-1840*’, Working Papers, Centre for History and Economics, Cambridge (1997), p. 15-20, and idem, *An End to Poverty? A Historical Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 145-55.

individuelles”, namely, the improvement of the condition of the proletariat²⁹, an idea particularly evident in the *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825), a work that Carlyle was later to translate into English. However, in this work Saint-Simon also stressed that the industrial state was to consist of all the “capacités pacifiques”, namely “les beaux-arts”, “les sciences d'observation”, “ainsi que l'industrie”³⁰, so that, as Dunoyer pointed out, Saint-Simon's goal was not so much a “système industriel” as a “système scientifico-artistico-industriel”³¹.

Various criticisms of Saint-Simon's proposals were soon forthcoming³². Some writers reiterated traditional civic-humanist anxieties about the corrupting power of commerce, and defended the need for active participation in representative political institutions. For instance, Benjamin Constant feared that 'industrialism' would create a selfish, materialistic populace that would readily submit to despotism³³, whilst Filippo Buonarroti wrote that: “Vouloir que des hommes sans cesse occupés de manufactures, de commerce et d'argent, que des hommes qui courent après la toilette, la bonne chère, les modes et le luxe soient amis de la vertu et se dévouent pour la Patrie, c'est vouloir que les fleuves remontent vers leur source, c'est vouloir que le feu ne fonde pas cire, que l'arsenic n'empoisonne pas”³⁴. Others argued that participation in *industrie* did not necessarily equip an individual for participation in politics. For example, Stendhal argued that the *industriels* were fundamentally selfish, and suggested that, in desiring political recognition, they were comparable to a man who expected public acclaim for making himself dinner. Horrified by the idea of entrusting the direction of society to “cobblers” and “bankers”, he instead defended the ancient idea of *otium*: “la classe chargée en France de la fabrication de l'opinion... sera toujours celle des gens à 6 000 lv. de rente, ces gens-là seul ont le loisir de se former une opinion qui soit à eux, et non pas celle de leur journal”³⁵. However, the July Revolution of 1830, which put an end to aristocratic privilege without solving the economic problems of the country, seemed to lend weight to Saint-Simon's call for state organisation of industry, and brought his disciples to public

29 DUNOYER, Charles, 'Esquisse historique', op. cit., p. 186-7.

30 SAINT-SIMON, Claude-Henri de, *Nouveau Christianisme, dialogues entre un conservateur et un novateur* (Paris: Bossange Père and A. Sautelet et Cie., 1825), p. 43-4, 78-9. In the famous *Parabole*, Saint-Simon had numbered amongst the industriels chemists, painters, men of letters, engineers, doctors, bankers, tanners, cotton manufacturers, printers, carpenters, as well as “les cent autres personnes de divers états non désignés, les plus capables dans les sciences, dans les beaux-arts et dans les arts et métiers”, without whom “la nation deviendrait un corps sans âme”. See SAINT-SIMON, Claude-Henri de, 'Parabole de Saint-Simon' [1819], in *Saint-Simon. Son Premier Ecrit... Publiés par Olinde Rodrigues* (Paris: Librairie Saint-simonienne, 1832), pp. 71-80.

31 DUNOYER, Charles, 'Esquisse historique', op. cit., p. 193.

32 Dunoyer accused Saint-Simon of having betrayed industrialism, arguing that his plans would result in a despotic government that stifled rather than promoted *industrie*. DUNOYER, Charles, 'Esquisse historique', op. cit., p. 194-6.

33 ROSENBLATT, Helena, 'Re-evaluating Benjamin Constant's Liberalism: Industrialism, Saint-Simonianism and the Restoration years', in *History of European Ideas*, no. 1 (2004), pp. 23-37. See also LITTO, Victor del, 'Stendhal, Constant et l'industrialisme', in *Benjamin Constant: Actes du Congrès de Lausanne* (octobre 1967) (Geneva: Droz, 1968), pp. 65-7, and LEROY, Marie-Laure, 'Constant lecteur de Bentham: egoïsme, droit, utilité', in DE CHAMPS and CLÉRO (eds.), *Bentham et la France*, op. cit., pp. 153-63.

34 Filippo Buonarroti to Charles Teste, 26th July 1830, cited in GALANTE GARRONE, Alessandro, *Filippo Buonarroti e i rivoluzionari dell'ottocento (1828-1837)* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1951), p. 64-75.

35 STENDHAL, *D'un Nouveau Complot contre les industriels* (Paris: Sautelet, 1825), p. 3-5, 11-13.

attention³⁶.

The Saint-Simonians responded to accusations of materialism by reiterating that *industrie* was both material and immaterial, by emphasising the religious themes of Saint-Simon's *Nouveau Christianisme*, bolstered by notions drawn from the so-called 'Counter-Enlightenment', and by appropriating various theories about creative subjectivity from German literature and philosophy. According to Enfantin: “nous mériterons presque les accusations, si nous réduisons le temple nouveau aux mesquines proportions d'une caserne ou plutôt d'un hospice. Ce ne sont point des *secours* que la classe la plus pauvre et la plus nombreuse attend des fils de Saint-Simon; elle veut une VIE NOUVELLE TOUTE ENTIÈRE, une vie de religion et de poésie... l'*utile* ne nous suffit pas, nous voulons du beau”³⁷. “*Industrie*”, understood as “*la culture dans le sens le plus général du globe*”, thus became the realisation of God in the world, “la forme humaine du culte”³⁸. According to Eugène Rodrigues:

depuis le jour où, suivant la *Genèse*, Dieu *se reposa*, l'heure du TRAVAIL a sonné pour l'homme; l'homme fut, et fut CRÉATEUR... La capacité *industrielle* de l'homme est l'image imparfaite de la puissance créatrice de Dieu... ces mains qui dirigent les vaisseaux, qui jettent les ponts sur les fleuves, qui tissent ces étoffes merveilleuses, qui bâtissent ces demeures, qui élèvent ces palais et ces temples, qui creusent ces canaux et construisent ces digues, qui forment les gerbes dans ces vallées et cueillent la vigne sur ces côteaues, ces mains sont LES MAINS DU SEIGNEUR!”³⁹

As this demonstrates, for the Saint-Simonians, *industrie* did not refer to a 'factory system' or the level of technology, but rather all forms of creative, useful labour, in the broadest possible sense. The *Doctrine de Saint-Simon* explained that: “toutes les manifestations de l'existence humaine sont susceptibles de rentrer dans ces trois grands ordres de faits principaux, les *BEAUX-ARTS*, les *SCIENCES* et l'*INDUSTRIE*”⁴⁰. Since these were but different manifestations of the same divine essence, “toute *profession* est une *fonction* religieuse”⁴¹. The stated intention of Saint-Simonism was to “donner aux trois grandes facultés humaines un but commun, une direction harmonique”⁴².

36 See STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, ‘*Industrie*, Pauperism and the Hanoverian State’, op. cit., p. 37-8, and idem, *An End to Poverty?*, op. cit., p. 171-87.

37 ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, *Religion Saint-Simonienne. Réunion Générale de la Famille. Séances des 19. et 21. Novembre 1831. Enseignemens Faits par le Père Suprême* (Paris: Bureau du Globe, 1832), p. 112-3.

38 RODRIGUES, Eugène, *Lettres sur la Religion et la Politique, 1829; suivies de l'Education du Genre humain, traduit de l'allemand, de Lessing* (Paris: Bureau de l'Organisateur and A. Mesnier, 1831), p. 30-1.

39 RODRIGUES, Eugène, *Lettres sur la Religion et la Politique*, op. cit., p. 129. Also cited in ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, *Religion Saint-Simonienne. Réunion Générale de la Famille. Séances des 19. et 21. Novembre 1831. Enseignemens Faits par le Père Suprême*, op. cit., p. 97-8.

40 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année. 1829. Seconde Édition* (Paris: Bureau de l'Organisateur and A. Mesnier, 1830), p. 292.

41 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit., p. 70.

42 *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 104.

In these texts, the Saint-Simonians also confronted those critics who had sought to depict *industrie* as corrupt and selfish, and to defend traditional political participation as the realm of virtue and public spirit. The Saint-Simonians did this by turning the arguments of their opponents upside-down. *Industrie* was the true realm of virtue, and everything outside of it was *oisiveté*, that is, corruption. For instance, they condemned landowners “qui vivent dans une complète oisiveté”⁴³, characterised the bourgeoisie as a “féodalité de richesses qui pèse sur les classes laborieuses”⁴⁴, and lamented the fact that: “la masse oisive consomme tranquillement les fruits des labeurs d'une immense population de prolétaires, les vrais serviteurs de Dieu”⁴⁵. Moreover, the Saint-Simonians also condemned traditional political participation as a form of *oisiveté*, and branded the “spéculateurs politiques” who had criticised them as “egoïstes privilégiés” living parasitically upon the *industriels*⁴⁶. For example, Bazard ridiculed “Le monde... des salons... où l'on joue à la doctrine comme on jouerait à écarté”, and declared that “ce n'est point pour les salons, pour les oisifs, qui doivent prêcher les apôtres de doctrine; c'est pour les classes actives”⁴⁷. The *vita activa* was to be lived not in the *polis*, but rather in *industrie*: “Pour nous, la *politique* n'est pas cette sphère étroite dans laquelle s'agitent quelques petites personnalités d'un jour, la politique sans l'industrie est un mot vide de sens”⁴⁸.

Like Saint-Simon, the Saint-Simonians were well acquainted with the works of Bentham⁴⁹. In the

43 Ibid., op. cit., p. 221-4.

44 BARRAULT, Emile, *Aux Artistes. Du Passé et de l'Avenir des Beaux-Arts. (Doctrine de Saint-Simon)* (Paris: Alexandre Mesnier, 1830), p. 80. Also: “Aujourd'hui la masse entière des travailleurs est exploitée par les hommes dont elle utilise la propriété”. *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit., p. 176. The 1830 revolution had brought to power the 'bourgeois monarchy' of Louis-Philippe. The Saint-Simonians sought to draw on and expand older republican and revolutionary discourse, in characterising the bourgeoisie as a new aristocracy of privileged exploiters. See GRUNER, Shirley M., *Economic Materialism and Social Moralism*, op. cit., p. 149-54.

45 RODRIGUES, Eugène, *Lettres sur la Religion et la Politique*, op. cit. p. 90-1.

46 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit., p. 178. As they remarked mockingly, “nos publicistes paraissent en conclure que c'est parmi ces oisifs que doivent se trouver nécessairement les hommes qui connaissent le mieux les intérêts d'une société que *le travail seul fait vivre*”. Ibid., p. 323.

47 BAZARD, S.-A., ‘De quelques-uns des obstacles qui s'opposent à la production d'une nouvelle doctrine générale’, in *Le Producteur*, tome cinquième, op. cit., p. 92-3.

48 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit., p. 204.

49 Infantin had read Bentham during his sojourn in St. Petersburg, before returning to France in 1822. BOOTH, Arthur John, *Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism: A Chapter in the History of Socialism in France* [1871] (Amsterdam: Liberac N.V. Publishers, 1970), p. 100-1. Paul-Mathieu Laurent had praised Bentham in his *Résumé de l'histoire de la philosophie* (1826). ZAGAR, Janko, 'Bentham et la France', op. cit., p. 260-2. Bazard had translated Bentham's *Defence of Usury* into French in 1828. SPÜHLER, Willy, *Der Saint-Simonismus: Lehre und Leben von Saint-Amand Bazard*, op. cit., p. 57-60. In his introduction, Bazard praised Bentham for recognising that utility, not liberty, was the true basis of the science of the legislator. He then explained how Say had rejected Smith's labour theory of value in favour of utility. However, he challenged Say's belief that interest, profit and rent were useful / productive: “ nous demandons ce que c'est qu'une *valeur productive* distincte, indépendante du travail de l'homme”. For Bazard, labour was the source of all utility, whilst interest, profit and rent were a form of exploitation facilitated by the private ownership of the means of production, “au fond une question politique”. [BAZARD, Saint-Amand], 'Introduction' to BENTHAM, Jeremy, *Défense de l'usure, ou Lettres sur les inconvénients des lois, qui fixent le taux de l'intérêt de l'argent*, [trans. BAZARD, Saint-

Doctrine de Saint-Simon, they wrote that the latter “a bien vu que c’était seulement par *leur utilité* qu'on pouvait légitimer les institutions”. However, Bentham erred in his abstract, individualistic and unhistorical understanding of utility: “il faut encore définir ce qu'on doit entendre par l'*utilité sociale*”⁵⁰. Instead, the Saint-Simonians proposed a teleological understanding of utility, as anything that furthered the progress of *industrie* and *association universelle*. In doing so, they significantly modified Bentham's original conception, shifting the emphasis away from passive sensations of pleasure and pain, towards activity and work.

Like Saint-Simon, the Saint-Simonians rejected Say's separation of political economy and politics, and sought to reconnect the two. According to Enfantin, political economy was originally “conçue... comme étant la science générale, comprenant l'ensemble de tous les faits sociaux”. The turning point was Quesnay's *Tableau économique*, after which economic questions were increasingly dealt with in abstraction⁵¹. Enfantin praised Sismondi for having accepted the necessity of some state intervention in economic life⁵², but argued it was necessary to proceed to a far more systematic organisation of *industrie*, thus reintegrating political economy and politics:

M. Sismondi ... n'a pas aperçu le lien qui unit la science des richesses à celle de l'organisation sociale... ne pourrait-on pas désirer que la société fut organisée de manière que les travaux intellectuels et industriels fussent éclairés et dirigés par le pouvoir social?... la science de l'économie politique est tellement dépendante de la science sociale ou de la politique... que le même principe d'ordre doit nécessairement se trouver dans l'une et dans l'autre⁵³

In other words, the *industriels* were to assume political power. The means to this was “l'organisation du parti politique des travailleurs”⁵⁴. As the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon* put it, “l'industrie prend, dans l'avenir, une importance politique”⁵⁵.

Amand] (Paris: Malher & Compagnie, 1828).

50 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit., p. 240.

51 “l'économie politique, n'étant plus envisagée du point de vue élevé où s'était placé son fondateur, a été renfermée par ses successeurs dans un cadre étroit”. In addition to dealing with economics in abstraction from politics, they also dealt with it in abstraction from history, “un code naturel, qui, en tous les lieux, en tout temps, devait et aurait dû servir de base aux relations des hommes entre eux”. ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, ‘Considérations sur les progrès de l'économie politique, dans ses rapports avec l'organisation sociale’, op. cit., p. 17, 22-5.

52 “une disposition bien plus élevée... bien plus conforme au besoin d'organisation réclamé par notre époque”. ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, review of the new edition of Sismondi's *Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique*, in *Le Producteur; journal philosophique de l'industrie, des sciences et des beaux-arts*, tome cinquième, op. cit., p. 94-98.

53 ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, review of the new edition of Sismondi', op. cit., p. 94-98.

54 ENFANTIN, Barthélemy Prosper, *Religion Saint-Simonienne. Réunion Générale de la Famille. Séances des 19. et 21. Novembre 1831. Suivis par Note sur le Mariage et le Divorce; Lue au Collège de la Religion Saint-Simonienne, le 17. octobre, par le Père Rodriguès* (Paris: Éverat, 1831), p. 4.

55 *Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année*, op. cit. p. 210.

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In Britain, the French Revolution was interpreted as confirmation of the futility of attempting to impose an ancient republican constitution upon a modern commercial society⁵⁶. As Gareth Stedman Jones has pointed out, it is possible to observe a “recasting of political economy in the light of the frightened reaction to the republican radicalism of the French Revolution”⁵⁷. According to this position, it was basically impossible to break with the assumptions and imperatives of commercial society. Confidence in commerce was also reflected in the arguments of most Whigs, Radicals, Utilitarians, and even Chartists, who attributed economic problems to political causes, i.e. aristocratic privilege, and made the struggle for political reform of the Hanoverian state their priority⁵⁸. According to a certain triumphalist narrative, the only possible response to the continuing development of commerce was gradual extension of the franchise to the commercial classes, which would keep civil society and polity in balance, thus guaranteeing prosperity and stability. However, this vision was at least partially realised by the 1832 Reform Bill, without putting an end to economic problems. This, combined with the ineffectual performance in Parliament of the utilitarian 'Philosophical Radicals' (or, as Carlyle called them, 'paralytic radicals') and the faltering of Chartism during the 1830s, opened the way to new critiques of commercial society, perhaps most notably that of Carlyle⁵⁹.

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Previous commentators have often attributed Carlyle's 'Gospel of Work' to his humble, plebeian origins, and to his strict Calvinist upbringing⁶⁰. However, his early writings reveal that he sought to make sense of and to articulate this experience through classical notions of virtue, eudaimonia and the *vita activa*. Particularly evident is a Stoic emphasis on self-control, the overcoming of the passions, acceptance of pain and suffering, contempt for material things, and an active striving after virtue as an end in itself. This implied vehement hostility towards idleness, luxury and passivity, as exemplified, for instance, by the landowning aristocracy⁶¹. As Carlyle wrote to his brother Alexander in 1823:

56 See BURROW, John, *Whigs and Liberals: Continuity and Change in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 29.

57 STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, *An End to Poverty?*, op. cit., p. 3, 89-109.

58 STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, 'Industrie, Pauperism and the Hanoverian State', op. cit., p. 6-7, 35-6.

59 STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, *An End to Poverty?*, op. cit., p. 188-92. See also See STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 102-5, 118-25, 153-8.

60 HARROLD, Charles F., 'The Nature of Carlyle's Calvinism', in *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 33, no. 3 (July 1936), pp. 475-86. For instance, the protagonist of Carlyle's unpublished, autobiographical novel 'Illudo Chartis' is described thus: "His parentage was of the lowest sort". The character's father, like that of Carlyle, is a stone-mason, "picking for himself, as he used to say, a painful living". CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Illudo Chartis' [unpublished manuscript c. 1825-6], in Marjorie P. King, 'Illudo Chartis: An Initial Study in Carlyle's Mode of Composition', in *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 49, no. 2 (Apr. 1954), p. 164.

61 "A man with £200,000 a year eats the *whole* fruit of 6,666 men's labour thro' a year... what do these highly beneficial individuals do to society for their wages? *Kill Partridges*. CAN this last. No, by the soul that is in man, it cannot and

I often think of our hard and laborious but hearty upbringing under our parental roof, and I feel a pride in reflecting how mind can conquer matter, how the true spirit of virtue and manly worth can illuminate the humblest destiny, and bring forth from the smoky walls of a cottage men that are void of *fear* and of *reproach*, men that are more to be prized in the eye of reason than most that stand on the high places of the Earth. Often when I see the Bullers [an aristocratic family] straining in strenuous idleness to compass their tinselly enjoyments, conversant alone with the most shallow feelings, aiming at little higher than dining or being dined,—when I see their sons bred up in ignorance of all that is truly majestic in human nature, envying those that are richer, paying tribute to those that are more powerful, looking forward only to balls and fêtes and outward shews, the mere chaff of existence, which tho' served up in gilded covers is chaff not the less ... [I] rejoice that we are our Father's sons, not those of some squirelet or Lording, that might have given us money, but could not give us that which money will not buy.⁶²

Similarly, Carlyle wrote to Jane Baillie Welsh in 1823 that “Virtue... is nothing but the victory, often fiercely struggled for, of free-will over fate”⁶³, and again, in 1826, that “in labour lies health, of body and of mind; in suffering and difficulty is the soil of all virtue and all wisdom”⁶⁴. It followed that “idleness is no propitious soil for virtue”⁶⁵, and that “Nine-tenths of the miseries and vices of mankind proceed from idleness”⁶⁶. In *Wotton Reinfred*, an unpublished novel written between 1826 and 1827, Carlyle wrote: “*The end of man is an action, not a thought*, says Aristotle; the wisest thing he ever said”⁶⁷, and claimed that “for creatures formed as we are, all permanent enjoyment must be active, not passive”⁶⁸. Moreover, a character is praised for his self-sacrifice, “charity and active public spirit”, and is described as “a sort of Stoic”⁶⁹.

It has been claimed that Carlyle derived his “practical ethics” from various German authors

shall not”. CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, dated Aug. 1830, in *Two Notebooks*, ed. C. E. Norton (New York: Grolier Club, 1898), p. 159-60.

62 TC TO AC; 8 March 1823; *CL* 2:301-303. On the French: “Eating, everlasting eating from the hands of patisseries, restaurateurs, traiteurs and cooks of every size and shape; with gambling ad infinitum, and looking glasses to the same extent seem to form the great staple of their enjoyments. They cannot live without artificial excitements, without *sensations agréables* ... The people's character seems like their shops and faces; gilding and rouge without; hollowness and rottenness within”. TC TO JBW; 28 October 1824; *CL* 3:180-181.

63 TC TO JBW; 26 March 1823; *CL* 2:313-314.

64 TC TO JBW; 18 June 1826; *CL* 4:102

65 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred: A Romance' [unpublished manuscript 1826-7], in *The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle* (Boston MA: Dana Estates & Company, 1892), p. 81.

66 CARLYLE, Thomas, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller* [1825], People's edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), p. 40-1.

67 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred', op. cit., p. 9-10. Also cited in idem., 'Characteristics' [Dec. 1831], in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, People's edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), Vol. IV, p. 22-5 (henceforth *CME*), and idem., *Sartor Resartus* [1833-1834], Oxford World's Classics edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 120.

68 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred', op. cit., p. 68.

69 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred', op. cit., p. 78-9.

during the 1820s⁷⁰. However, many of these ideas were reformulations of the classical notions outlined above. For instance, in Carlyle's translations of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels, we read that “a man's highest merit always is, as much as possible, to rule external circumstances, and as little as possible to let himself be ruled by them”⁷¹, are enjoined “to learn to live for the sake of others, and to forget [ourselves] in an activity prescribed by duty”⁷², and learn that the precept “Let each endeavour every where to be of use to himself and others”, is “the utterance of life itself”⁷³. Similarly, in Schiller, Carlyle found an updated eudaimonia stressing the cultivation of the faculties. For example, Carlyle wrote that Schiller strove to realise the “Ideal Man that lay within him, the image of himself as he *should* be”⁷⁴, and explained that “with the world, in fact, he had not much to do... its prizes were not the wealth which could enrich him. His great, almost his single aim, was to unfold his spiritual faculties”⁷⁵. The Germans thus stood in contrast to the contemplative passivity of the English Romantics, particularly that of Coleridge, whose “cardinal sin is that he wants *will*; he has no resolution, he shrinks from pain or labour in any of its shapes”⁷⁶.

The young Carlyle was well aware of Benthamite Utilitarianism, claiming in 1824 to have “believed in it for three months”⁷⁷, and writing to Goethe in 1829 that “the whole bent of British endeavour, both intellectual and practical, at this time, is towards Utility”⁷⁸. However, what Carlyle found objectionable about Utilitarianism was not its emphasis on utility *per se*, but rather its tendency to define utility in terms of 'pleasure', 'pain', and individual 'happiness'. For Carlyle, such a definition carried with it dangerous implications of selfishness and sensuality, inimical to his own sense of Stoic virtue. As he wrote in 1825, “The *happy* man was never yet created; the *virtuous* man, tho' clothed in rags and sinking under pain, *is* the jewel of the Earth!”⁷⁹. Just like the “Epicureans”, the “Utilitarians” had failed to grasp

70 HARROLD, Charles F., *Carlyle and German Thought, 1819-1834* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 71, 197.

71 GOETHE, J. W. von, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* [1795], trans. Thomas Carlyle [1824] (London: Ægypan Press, 2009), Book VI, p. 347.

72 Ibid., Book VII, Ch. IX, p. 417.

73 GOETHE, J. W. von, *Wilhelm Meister's Travels; or, The Renunciants, A Novel*, trans. Thomas Carlyle [1827] (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1991), p. 343.

74 CARLYLE, Thomas, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller*, op. cit., p. 40-1

75 Ibid., p. 171-2. See also “the great law of culture is: Let each become all that he was created capable of being”, CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Jean Paul Freidrich Richter' [Jun. 1827], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 16.

76 TC TO JOHN A. CARLYLE; 24 June 1824; *CL* 3:90-91. Carlyle later recalled Coleridge as “a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle... flabby and irresolute... weak laxity of character... sought refuge in vague daydreams, hollow compromises, in opium, in theosophic metaphysics”. CARLYLE, Thomas, *The Life of John Sterling* [1851], Oxford World's Classics edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), ch. VIII, 'Coleridge'. The stress of the German authors on activity provided an alternative to the passivity of the English Romantics, for whom the poet was supposed to perceive and to then embody some transcendent neo-Platonic Idea, rather than to create it. See DALE, Peter Alan, *The Victorian Critic and the Idea of History: Carlyle, Arnold, Pater* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 17-42.

77 TC TO JAC; 10 August 1824; *CL* 3:120-4.

78 TC TO GOETHE; 22 December 1829; *CL* 5:50.

79 TC TO JBW; 29 July 1825; *CL* 3:358. Also: “Happiness is not our final aim in this world... It is the complete development of our faculties”. TC TO JBW; 1 September 1821; *CL* 1:382. Also: “I do and must call Marcus Brutus a

the Stoic paradox that 'pleasure' and 'happiness' would forever elude those who pursued them as ends in themselves. Their recommendations were thus a recipe for misery and moral corruption:

We would have a paradise of spontaneous pleasures; forgetting that in such a paradise the dullest spirit would grow wearied, nay, in time unspeakably wretched⁸⁰.

It is not Nature that made men unhappy; but their own despicable perversities... They want to be happy, and by *happiness* they mean *pleasure*, a series of *passive* enjoyments... [there cannot] be such a thing in God's creation⁸¹.

Anyone who adopted Bentham's principles would bid "farewell to all religion, all true virtue, all true feeling of the beautiful and good, all dignity of life, all grandeur beyond it!"⁸². In sum, no man would ever grind "out Virtue from the husks of Pleasure"⁸³.

Carlyle's early critique of political economy followed similar outlines. Although he has on occasion been seen as an ignorant and bigoted opponent of the science, this is far from true. In 1815, he read Adam Smith's "wealth of nations" with "much pleasure"⁸⁴, and, in 1817, praised Smith as "one of the most honest & ingenious men of his age"⁸⁵. In 1819, he urged a friend to read Macculloch's "articles on Ricardo" in the *Edinburgh Review*⁸⁶, and, perhaps most importantly, in 1824 he translated the long article entitled 'Political Economy' that Sismondi had written for Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*⁸⁷. Carlyle thus did not reject political economy out of hand. However, he did consider it to be narrowly fixated on self-interest and material gain, and incapable of responding to more important questions of virtue and public spirit:

The question of money-making, even of National Money-Making, is not a high but a low one... Political Philosophy... should be a scientific revelation of the whole secret mechanism whereby men cohere in society; should tell us what is meant by country (*Patria*), by what causes men are happy, moral, religious or the contrary: instead of which, it tells us how 'flannel jackets' are exchanged for 'pork hams'⁸⁸.

more virtuous man than James Watt ... yet for its utility the steam-engine was worth five hundred deaths of Caesar". TC TO JAC; 10 August 1824; *CL* 3:120-4.

80 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred', op. cit., p. 68-71.

81 TC TO JANE BAILLIE WELSH; 19 July 1826; *CL* 4:116-7.

82 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Wotton Reinfred', op. cit., p. 68-71.

83 CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 124-5.

84 TC TO THOMAS MURRAY; 22 August 1815; *CL* 1:59.

85 TC TO ROBERT MITCHELL; 31 March 1817; *CL* 1:97-100

86 TC TO THOMAS MURRAY; 19 February 1819; *CL* 1:164.

87 This was published in the December 1824 instalment of the *Encyclopedia*. See the note by the editors of the *Collected Letters* to TC TO MATTHEW ALLEN; 7 June 1820; *CL* 1:259. Carlyle had been aware of Sismondi from 1819. TC TO ROBERT MITCHELL; 15 February 1819; *CL* 1:162. Sismondi's criticisms of laissez-faire were reiterated in 'Signs of the Times' (1829), as a "question" to "Political Economists", "a much much more complex and important one than they have yet engaged with". CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Signs of the Times' [Jun. 1829], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 233-4.

88 CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, [Aug. 1829?], in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 143-5. More colourfully: "Is not

For Carlyle, the shortcomings of political economy were in fact similar to those of utilitarianism. While the latter attempted to reduce “Virtue” to “Pleasure”, the former attempted to reduce it to “Profit”, failing to understand that “self-denial” was “the parent of all virtue, in any true sense of the word”⁸⁹, and that “Virtue is its own reward because it needs no reward”⁹⁰.

Utilitarian and political-economical proposals for political reform would thus amount to very little, since they did nothing to promote the virtuous public spirit upon which political institutions ultimately relied. As Carlyle noted in 'Signs of the Times', it was “the noble People that makes the Government; rather than conversely”⁹¹. Or, as he wrote in his journal shortly thereafter, “Politics are not our Life (which is the practice and contemplation of Goodness), but only the *house* wherein that Life is led”⁹². Interestingly, Carlyle made a similar point in his response to Dunoyer's above-mentioned “Historical Sketch of Industrialism”:

According to the *Industrialists* ... the proper subject of legislation is not this or that form of political government, but the *means* of forwarding *useful activity* which is or ought to be the ultimate aim of all existing nations. - God help us! Has this not been understood and admitted in all systems of political philosophy for the last century?⁹³

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The Saint-Simonians' concept of *industrie* is evident in the articles that Carlyle wrote immediately after his encounter with them. In a radical reworking of the classical notions outlined above, the performance of useful labour, rather than participation in the *polis*, is now identified as the realm of virtue, public spirit and the *vita activa*. For instance, in *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle transformed Aristotle's *zoon politikon*, declaring that “Man is a Tool-using Animal”⁹⁴. Similarly, in his review of the 'working-

Political Economy useful... ? My cow is useful, and I keep her in the stall, and feed her with oil-cake and 'dreff-and-drag', and esteem her truly: but shall she live in my parlour? No, by the Fates, she shall live in the stall!”. CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, dated 7th Jan. 1827, in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 100-1. Also “[a] Nation of Steam-Engines could manufacture market-goods... but only a nation of Men can produce Tells and Luthers, Iliads and Hamlets, Bibles and Divinities”. CARLYLE, Thomas, *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature* [mid-1830], ed. SHINE, Hill (Lexington KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), p. 14-15.

89 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Signs of the Times' [Jun. 1829], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 249.

90 CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, 16th Jan. 1827, in *Two Notebooks*, ed. C. E. Norton (New York: Grolier Club, 1898), p. 102-3.

91 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Signs of the Times' [Jun. 1829], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 243. Also: “Vain hope to make mankind happy by Politics! You cannot drill a regiment of knaves into a regiment of honest men, enregiment and organise them as cunningly as you will – Give use the honest men, and the well-ordered regiment comes of itself”. CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, dated 11th Oct. 1831, in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 205-6.

92 CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, [Aug. 1829?], in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 141. Repeated almost word-for-word in TC TO JOHANN PETER ECKERMANN; 9 December 1828; *CL* 4:426.

93 CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, [March 1827?], in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 113.

94 CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 32.

class' poet Ebenezer Elliott, Carlyle claimed to detect “something of the antique spirit; a spirit which had long become invisible among our working as among other classes; which here, perhaps almost for the first time, reveals itself in an altogether modern political vesture”⁹⁵. *Sartor Resartus* refers to “a world existing by Industry”⁹⁶, “Productive Industry”⁹⁷, while the article 'Characteristics' celebrates “Labour's thousand arms, of sinew and of metal, all-conquering everywhere”, arguing that “Industry” must shake off “the rule, *Sic vos non vobis*”⁹⁸, and “burst asunder the bonds of ancient Political Systems”⁹⁹. In other words, as *Sartor Resartus* puts it, “Feudalism and Preservation of the Game” must give way to “Industrialism and Government of the Wisest”¹⁰⁰.

Other commentators, such as Mazzini and Southey, were quick to point out the affinities that existed between Benthamism and Saint-Simonism, particularly their common emphasis on utility¹⁰¹. However, unlike Benthamism, Saint-Simonism succeeded in rendering utility compatible with virtue, through the concept of *industrie*. As Carlyle wrote to his brother Alexander: “Not the quantity of Pleasure we have had, but the quantity of Victory we have gained, of Labour we have overcome: that is the happiness of Life”¹⁰². Similarly, Saint-Simonism transcended the self-interest and materialism of political economy, through its emphasis on creative labour, understood in the broadest possible sense. As Carlyle wrote to Goethe: “[the] Saint-Simonian affair, which long turned on Political Economy, [has] lately become artistic and religious”¹⁰³

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Carlyle continued to make use of the concept of *industrie* throughout his life. According to the 'Gospel of Work', man was created in the image of God, was thus a divine creator himself. For instance, in 'Chartism', Carlyle declared that “Work is the mission of man in this Earth”¹⁰⁴, while in *Past and Present* he wrote: “Labour is Life: from the inmost heart of the Worker rises his god-given FORCE, the celestial Life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God”¹⁰⁵. Moreover, *industrie* underpinned Carlyle's concept of liberty, understood as the triumph of free will over necessity, the shaping of disorder into order, and the subduing of chaos into use. As he wrote in *Sartor Resartus*, “Our Life is

95 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Corn-Law Rhymes' [July 1832], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 205.

96 CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 35.

97 CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 86.

98 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Characteristics' [Dec. 1831], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 18-19.

99 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Characteristics' [Dec. 1831], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 34.

100 CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 92.

101 SOUTHEY, Robert, 'New Distribution of Property', in *Quarterly Review* (July 1831), pp. 407-50. GENTILE,

Francesco, 'Emotions et résonances saint-simoniennes en Italie au XIXe siècle', in *Economies et sociétés. Cahiers de l'INSEA*, no. 10 (1970), pp. 1821-84.

102 TC TO AC; 4 December 1831; *CL* 6:62.

103 TC TO GOETHE; 31 August 1830; *CL* 5:156.

104 CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Chartism' [1839], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 122.

105 *Past and Present* [1843], Everyman edition (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1912), p. 190.

compassed round with Necessity; yet is the meaning of Life itself no other than Freedom, than Voluntary Force". In this sense, the "God-given mandate, *Work thou in Welldoing*", was no less than the "acted Gospel of Freedom"¹⁰⁶. Or, as he wrote in 1841, "we are all born enemies of Disorder," and "all work of man in this world [is] a *making of Order*", a constraining "into square fitness, into purpose and use."¹⁰⁷ If, therefore, "the meaning of life here on earth" was to "unfold your *self*, to work what thing you have the faculty for"¹⁰⁸, then, as Carlyle wrote in *Past and Present*, "Liberty requires new definitions":

The true liberty of a man, you would say, consisted in 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 compulsions, to set about doing of the same!¹⁰⁹

Carlyle was no doubt aware of the momentous technological changes that were then taking place. However, his use of the term 'Industry' did not refer merely to the level of technology. This would have made no sense given his idealistic, subjective understanding of labour. As for the Saint-Simonians, all forms of useful work whatsoever, material or immaterial, manual or mechanical, were so many expressions of the same human creativity¹¹⁰. As Carlyle declared in a lecture given in 1841, "man's spiritual nature, the vital Force which dwells in him, is essentially one and indivisible"¹¹¹, continuing:

All that he does, and brings to pass, is the vesture of a Thought. This London city, with all its houses, palaces, steamengines, cathedrals, and huge immeasurable traffic and tumult, what is it but a Thought, but millions of Thoughts, made into One; - a huge immeasurable Spirit of a THOUGHT, embodied in brick, in iron, smoke, dust, Palaces, Parliaments, Hackney Coaches, Katherine Docks, and the rest of it!... The thing which we called 'bits of paper with traces of black ink', is the *purest* embodiment a Thought of man can have. No wonder it is, in all ways,

106CARLYLE, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus*, op. cit., p. 140.

107CARLYLE, Thomas, *On Heroes, Hero Worship, and the Heroic in History* [1841], Oxford World's Classics edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1904), p. 204-5.

108CARLYLE, Thomas, *On Heroes*, op. cit., p. 226.

109CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 204-5.

110In his reminiscence of his father, Carlyle recalled that "Poetry, Fiction in general, he had universally seen treated as not only idle, but false and criminal" CARLYLE, Thomas, 'James Carlyle' [unpublished manuscript Jan. 1832], in Charles Eliot Norton (ed.), *Reminiscences*, Everyman edition (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1932), p. 9. According to Marcus Waithe, Carlyle struggled to reconcile this with his decision to become a man of letters. His solution was to treat literature as a form of 'work', thus hoping to, as Waithe puts it, "regenerate the resources of his 'dilletante' profession". WAITHE, Marcus, 'The Pen and the Hammer: Thomas Carlyle, Ebenezer Elliott, and the 'active poet'', in Kirstie Blair and Mina Gorji (eds.), *Class and the Canon: Constructing Labouring-Class Poetry and Poetics, 1780-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 117. This was already apparent in earlier articles. For instance: "Nürnberg also was the chief seat of the famous *Meistersänger* and their *Sängerzünfte*, or Singer-guilds, in which poetry was taught and practised like any other handicraft, and this by sober and well-meaning men, chiefly artisans, who could not understand why labour, which manufactured so many things, should not also manufacture another". CARLYLE, Thomas, 'State of German Literature' [Oct. 1827], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 27, n. 2. Also: "In this stage of society, the playwright is as essential and acknowledged a character as the millwright, or cartwright, or any wright whatever". CARLYLE, Thomas, 'German Playwrights' [Jan. 1829], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 85.

111CARLYLE, Thomas, *On Heroes*, op. cit., p. 106-7.

the activist and noblest”¹¹².

In the course of a heated polemical debate about slavery that took place between 1849 and 1850, John Stuart Mill launched an attack on Carlyle's 'Gospel of Work'. While admitting that “to work voluntarily for a worthy object is laudable”, Mill argued that “there is nothing laudable in work for work's sake”, and accused Carlyle of having failed to explain what “constitutes a worthy object”. According to Mill, Carlyle thus revolved “in an eternal circle round the idea of work, as if turning up the earth, or driving a shuttle or a quill, were ends in themselves, and the ends of human existence”¹¹³. However, this was disingenuous on Mill's part. Carlyle had never advocated 'work for work's sake', but rather the performance of work that was “useful”¹¹⁴, particularly to others. As has already been noted, this was an adaptation of the Stoic belief in virtuous self-sacrifice for the common good. As Carlyle had written eight years previously:

Virtue, *Vir-tus*, manhood, *hero-hood*, is not fair-spoken immaculate regularity; it is... Courage and the faculty to *do*... true labour of every kind, highest virtue itself, is it not the daughter of Pain? ... In all ways we are 'to become perfect through *suffering*!’¹¹⁵.

Similarly, in *Past and Present*, he had defined “nobleness” as “a valiant suffering for others, not in a slothful making others suffer for us”¹¹⁶. It was in this sense that all those who were engaged in some kind of useful work, no matter how lowly¹¹⁷, were in fact participants in a kind of sacred, virtuous community. As Carlyle wrote to Sir Robert Peel in 1846, “Labour, so far as it is true, and sanctionable by the Supreme Worker and World-Founder, may claim brotherhood with labour”¹¹⁸. For Carlyle, “the industrial class” was in fact “the real backbone” of society¹¹⁹. As a reviewer of *Past and Present* in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* put it: “Let the working man... rejoice... He is the only hero, in Mr. Carlyle's estimation”¹²⁰.

112CARLYLE, Thomas, *On Heroes*, op. cit., p. 166. Also: “All work... is noble”. CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 147.

113MILL, John Stuart, 'The Negro Question', in *Fraser's Magazine*, no. 41 (Jan. 1850), p. 27.

114“all useful labour is worthy of recompense”. CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Petition on the Copyright Bill' [Apr. 1839], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 187. “useful labour”. CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 55.

115CARLYLE, Thomas, *On Heroes*, op. cit., p. 92, 219.

116CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 173.

117“No man has worked, or can work, except religiously; not even the poor day-labourer, the weaver of your coat, the sewer of your shoes”. CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 199.

118TC to Robert Peel; 19 June 1846; *CL* 20: 211-2.

119CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris' [unpublished manuscript Sep.-Oct. 1851], in *The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle* (Boston MA: Dana Estates & Company, 1892), p. 182.

120Anon., 'Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present*', in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* [June 1843], reprinted in D. J. Trela and Rodger L. Tarr (eds.), *The Critical Response to Thomas Carlyle's Major Works* (Westport CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 156.

This of course implied a deep hostility towards “the idle man”, the “one monster there is in the world”¹²¹. This included, for instance, the “play-actorism” of the “politician”¹²², since “what is called ‘Public Business,’ Politics, &c &c” was really “Public Idleness with Noise”¹²³. However, as a remark made by the *Examiner*'s reviewer of *Past and Present*, deploring Carlyle's “perpetual settings forth of class against class”¹²⁴, indicates, other enemies stood ranged against the brotherhood of labour. For example, the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* castigate not only “the multifarious patented anomalies of overgrown worthless Dukes, Bishops of Durham, &c, which poor English Society at present labours under”, but also “Overgrown Monsters of Wealth”¹²⁵, “big Capitalists, Railway Directors, gigantic Hucksters, Kings of Scrip, *without* lordly quality, or other virtue except cash”¹²⁶. This “Aristocracy of the Moneybag”, as Carlyle elsewhere put it¹²⁷, remained trapped within the selfishness, materialism and money-grubbing of a corrupt “Commercial” society¹²⁸, unable or unwilling to raise itself to virtuous Industry. As Carlyle explained in the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*:

The Industrialisms are all of silent nature; and some of them are heroic and eminently human; others again we may call unheroic, not eminently human; *beaverish* rather, but still honest; some are even *vulpine*, altogether inhuman, and dishonest”¹²⁹.

Whereas the 'beaverish' were merely unvirtuous, the 'vulpine' were positively vicious and corrupt. For Carlyle, the theoretical expression of this mentality was political economy¹³⁰, a “Pig Philosophy” that conceived “the Universe” as “an immeasurable Swine's-trough”, and urged the individual to get whatever he “can contrive to get without being hanged”¹³¹. One notable consequence of this insatiable desire for money was that commercial society often failed to provide the “Useful” things that its apologists promised: rather than extend the “utility” of an object, it was often more profitable to simply

121CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 195. See further KOSELLECK, Reinhart, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* [1979] (Cambridge MA: M.I.T. Press, 1985), ch. 10, 'The Historical-Political Semantics of Assymetric Counterconcepts'.

122CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris', op. cit., p. 182.

123TC TO JEAN CARLYLE AITKEN; 5 February 1836; *CL* 8:295.

124FORSTER, John, review of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, in *The Examiner* [Apr. 1843], reprinted in *The Critical Response to Thomas Carlyle's Major Works*, op. cit., p. 148.

125CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. VII: Hudson's Statue' [July 1850], in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, Copyright edition (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897), p. 230-1.

126CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. I: The Present Time' [Feb. 1850], in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, op. cit., p. 49-52.

127CARLYLE, Thomas, *The French Revolution*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 383.

128“I should rather fancy America mainly a new Commercial England... The same unquenchable, almost frightfully unresting spirit of endeavour, directed (woe is me!) to the making of money... *gagnez de l'argent, et ne vous faites pas pendre*, this is very nearly the whole Law, first Table and Second”. TC TO RALPH WALDO EMERSON; 3 February 1835; *CL* 8:41-2.

129CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. V: Stump-Orator' [May 1850], in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, op. cit., p. 168.

130Southey had already made a similar move in an article published in the *Quarterly Review* in 1818, entitled 'On the State of the Poor', in which he treated political economy as an expression of the 'manufacturing system'. See WINCH, Donald, *Riches and Poverty*, op. cit., p. 323-4.

131CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. VIII: Jesuitism' [Aug. 1850], in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, op. cit., p. 266.

manufacture something “cheaper and showier than [one's] neighbour”¹³². Carlyle's favourite example of this was the “Hatter in the Strand of London” who, “instead of making better felt-hats than another, mounts a huge lath-and-plaster Hat, seven-feet high, upon wheels”, and “sends a man to drive it through the streets”¹³³. As such, rather than an uncritical glorification of 'work for work's sake', Carlyle's 'Gospel of Work' is better understood as a vision of virtuous Industry striving to free itself from the bondage of a corrupt commercial society, of “Industrial work... writhing unconsciously to escape out of Mammonism”¹³⁴. As Carlyle wrote in 'Chartism':

Manchester, with its cotton fuzz, its smoke and dust, its tumult and contentious squalor, is hideous to thee? Think not so: its precious substance, beautiful as magic dreams, and yet no dream but a reality, lies hidden in that noisome wrappage; - a wrappage struggling indeed (look at Chartisms and suchlike) to cast itself off, and leave the beauty free and visible there¹³⁵.

If “noble LABOUR” were to be “King of this Earth”, then it had to become “a seeing rational giant”, and take its “place on the throne of things”¹³⁶, that is, to assume political power. As Carlyle explained in *Past and Present*, “governing”, when “done well”, was “man's highest work”¹³⁷, and, for this reason, in the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* he called for a true “Statesman” to arise, that is, a “Chief of *Workers*”¹³⁸. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle envisaged such a government instituting a “minimum of cotton-prices”, so as to put an end to break-neck competition: “we will cease to *undersell* them; we will be content to *equal-sell* them”¹³⁹. Work would then become what it was supposed to be, a dutiful production of useful things for the benefit of others: “Shirts are useful for covering human backs; useless otherwise, an unbearable mockery”¹⁴⁰. As *Past and Present* concluded:

Competition, at railway-speed, in all branches of commerce and work will then abate: - good felt-hats for the head, in every sense, instead of seven-feet lath-and-plaster hats on wheels, will then be discoverable! Bubble-periods, with their panics and commercial crises, will again become infrequent; steady modest industry will take the place of gambling speculation... instead of Mammon-Feudalism with unsold cotton-shirts and Preservation of the Game, noble just Industrialism and Government by the Wisest!¹⁴¹.

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132CARLYLE, Thomas, entry in journal, dated 22nd Oct. 1831, in *Two Notebooks*, op. cit., p. 208-9.

133CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 136.

134CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 199.

135CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Chartism' [1839], in *CME*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 165.

136CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 163-4.

137CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 85-8.

138CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. V: Stump-Orator', op. cit., p. 175.

139CARLYLE, Thomas, *Past and Present*, op. cit., p. 176-7.

140Ibid., p. 21.

141Ibid., p. 260.

However, a note of caution ought to be sounded here. If John Burrow was able to detect a “Harringtonian revival” in Froude's later Jeremiads against irresponsible Plutocracy¹⁴², the likely source was Carlyle¹⁴³. Unlike the Saint-Simonians, who were highly optimistic about the future prospects of *industrie*, Carlyle's later works were marked by anxiety about the deepening corruption and decadence that were likely to occur if Industry failed to rise to its appointed task. For instance, the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* envisaged competition reaching its logical conclusion, that of “Slop-shirts attainable three-halfpence cheaper, by the ruin of living bodies and immortal souls”, and the spectacle of “British industrial existence” becoming “one huge poison-swamp of reeking pestilence physical and moral”¹⁴⁴. As Carlyle predicted in 1872:

Let us expect to see noble commerce then become yearly more and more ignoble, blackguard, and accursed *Rouge et Noir*, played on a scale ever more transcendent and world-wide... What a frightful bend-sinister (or abysmal *gash*-sinister) on our poor Prophecy of Industrialism marching irresistibly towards government by the Noblest!”¹⁴⁵.

*

Donald Coleman has argued that the catastrophist account of the 'Industrial Revolution' was a product of 'German Romanticism', and had little impact in Britain until the late nineteenth century¹⁴⁶. Coleman's thesis has in turn been challenged by Gareth Stedman Jones' work on Jean-Baptiste Say. Stedman Jones concludes that *industrie* was in fact “the unanticipated enlargement of what had originally been designed as the binding ethos of a modern republic”, and was, moreover, intended not as a crisis, but rather as the solution to a crisis¹⁴⁷. This presentation has sought to demonstrate that, via the Saint-Simonians, the concept of *industrie* contributed substantially to Carlyle's 'Gospel of Work'. For Carlyle, 'Industry' did not refer to the 'factory-system', nor did it signify a disaster. Rather, it provided a crucial resource in his attempt to rethink the civic-humanist project within a modern commercial society, around the idea of useful labour, understood in the broadest possible sense, carried out for the benefit of others.

142BURROW, John, *A Liberal Descent*, op. cit., p. 282-3.

143Indeed, the character based on Carlyle in Kingsley's novel *Alton Locke* at one point “buried his nose in Harrington's *Oceana*”. KINGSLEY, Charles, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet* [1850], Everyman edition (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., n.d.), p. 74-5.

144CARLYLE, Thomas, 'Latter-Day Pamphlet No. I: The Present Time' [Feb. 1850], in *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, op. cit., p. 49-52.

145CARLYLE, Thomas, 'On Trades-Unions, Promoterism and the Signs of the Times' [unpublished manuscript 1872], in *The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle. On Trades-Unions, Promoterism and the Signs of the Times* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), p. 31-4, 41-6.

146COLEMAN, Donald Cuthbert, *Myth, History and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Hambledon, 1992), p. 3-12.

147STEDMAN JONES, Gareth, 'National bankruptcy and social revolution: European observers on Britain, 1813-1844', in WINCH, Donald, and O'BRIEN, Patrick (eds.), *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience 1688-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 61-4, and idem, *An End to Poverty?*, op. cit., p. 161.

This might help to explain why, in a review of *Past and Present* published in 1844, Friedrich Engels wrote that of all the books “which have appeared in England in the past year”, “the above work is the only one which is worth reading”, endorsing Carlyle's conclusion that “England's most vital question” was the “final destiny of the working class”¹⁴⁸. It might also shed some light on the fact that, when, in 1906, the *Review of Reviews* asked the first large cohort of Labour MPs to disclose their greatest intellectual influences, Carlyle came in fourth, with his disciples Dickens and Ruskin second and first¹⁴⁹. Finally, it might help to explain the following words of James Thompson Bain, the organising secretary of the South African Industrial Federation, and leader of the 1913 general strike: “To every worker who has not read Carlyle, I would say spend your last shilling in getting acquainted with him”¹⁵⁰.

148ENGELS, Friedrich, ‘The Condition of England: *Past and Present* by Thomas Carlyle, London, 1843’ [1844], in MARX, Karl, and ENGELS, Friedrich, *Collected Works*, Vol. III (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975), p. 444, 450. On the context, CLAEYS, Gregory, ‘The Political Ideas of the Young Engels, 1842-1845’ in *History of Political Thought*, 6 (1985), pp. 455-78.

149ROSE, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* [2001], 2nd ed. (New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 41-6. Moreover, according to Rose, “Autobiographical evidence confirms that [Carlyle] had a huge following among autodidacts”.

150Cited in HYSLOP, Jonathan, 'A Scottish Socialist Reads Carlyle in Johannesburg Prison, June 1900: Reflections on the Literary Culture of the Imperial Working Class', in *Journal of South African Studies*, Vol. 29, no. 3 (Sep. 2003), p. 642-3.