CONTENT, STRUCTURE, AND STYLE
IN THOMAS CARLYLE'S PAST AND PRESENT

by

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Submitted to the Department of English
and the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Kansas in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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CHAPTER I

ART AND DOCTRINE IN PAST AND PRESENT

After witnessing first hand the violent results of
unemployment in England in the 1840's, John Tyndall read
Past and Present and was impressed primarily by its social
vision:

It was far from easy reading; but I found in it
strokes of descriptive power unequalled in my experience,
and thrills of electric splendour, a morality righteous,
a radicalism high, reasonable and humane.

Braver or wiser words were never addressed to the
aristocracy of England than those addressed to them
by Carlyle. Braver or wiser words were never addressed
to the Radicalism of England than those uttered by the
same strenuous spirit. He saw clearly the inequity
of the Corn Laws, and his condemnation fell upon them
like the stone of Scripture, grinding them to powder.

Another early reviewer, Joseph Mazzini, discusses not only
Carlyle's ideas but also the manner in which his personality
contributes to the effect of the work as a whole:

I gladly take the opportunity offered by the publication
of a new work by Mr. Carlyle, to express my opinion of
this remarkable writer. I say my opinion of the writer--
of his genius and tendencies, rather than of his
books--of the idea which inspires him, rather than of
the form with which he chooses to invest it. The latter,
in truth, is of far less importance than the former. . . .
Such are our times: we cannot at the present day merely
amuse ourselves with being artists, playing with sounds
or forms, delighting only our senses instead of pondering
some germ of thought which may serve us. . . . Above
all, I would note the sincerity of the writer. What
he writes, he not only thinks, but feels. He may deceive
himself--he cannot deceive us; for what he says, even
when it is not the truth, is yet true; his individuality,
his errors, his incomplete view of things—realities, and not nonentities—the truth limited, I might say, for error springing from sincerity in a high intellect is no other than such.  

Mazzini's bias, that style and art are only playful or amusing embellishments which are not suitable for a work of high seriousness, is shared by many of Carlyle's readers; Carlyle is himself partly responsible for such a puritan attitude toward art, an attitude that has concealed Carlyle's own constant use of figures of speech, metaphor, symbol, personification, and his own kind of "musical" thought. Taken together, Tyndall's and Mazzini's comments illustrate both the emphasis on the social and political condition of England in the 1840's and the concern for Carlyle's ideas and personality which have remained at the center of Carlyle scholarship for nearly a century. Yet even from the publication of Past and Present, there have been critics who have acknowledged the importance of Carlyle's style. Ralph Waldo Emerson's review of Past and Present sees immediately the energetic style and wit which inform Carlyle's tract for the times on "the condition of England":

Here is Carlyle's new poem, his Iliad of English woes. . . . Here is a book which will be read, no thanks to anybody but itself. What pains, what hopes, what vows, shall come of the reading! Here is a book as full of treason as an egg is full of meat, and every lordship and worship and high form and ceremony of English conservatism tossed like a football into the air, and kept in the air, with merciless kicks and rebounds, and yet not a word is punishable by statute. The wit has eluded all official zeal; and yet these dire jokes, these cunning thrusts, this flaming sword of Cherubim waved high in air, illuminates the whole horizon, and shows to the eyes of the universe every wound it inflicts.
At the outset, Emerson calls *Past and Present* a poem, an "Iliad of English woes"; even ten years later, in fact, Emerson was to conclude that the "best service Carlyle has rendered is to Rhetoric or the art of writing." Even though Tyndall notices Carlyle's "descriptive power unequalled in my experience," and Mazzini sees that what Carlyle "writes, he not only thinks, but feels," both seem instinctively to pass off style and art as matters of no consequence.

Until recent years, the importance of Carlyle's style has been largely ignored, and *Past and Present* has been read primarily for Carlyle's ideas, for the social and political commentary on the condition of England in the 1840's or as "background" material for more overtly imaginative works like Dickens's novels. A. M. D. Hughes' 1918 edition of *Past and Present*, for example, has an eighty-page introduction in which he treats a variety of social topics including the history of the corn laws, the condition of the factories and mines, the state of education and sanitary reform, and the rise of Chartism and utilitarianism. Finally, after a discussion of Carlyle's ethical premises, his doctrine of the hero, and the general plan of the work, Hughes mentions, by way of closing, the art or style of *Past and Present*: "For along with whatever dubious metal there is always the abundance of gold,— the authentic voice of prophecy, the vision of eternal law, the humanity of a great and pious heart, and a language that stirs the pulse like battle-music." Even Richard Altick's introduction to his excellent 1965 edition
of Past and Present gives only about three of its fourteen pages to a discussion of the art of Carlyle's prose, while the rest is devoted to extrinsic matters, to a review of the social, political and historical background. Immediately following the publication of Past and Present it was only natural for readers to be concerned primarily with the ideas and doctrine in a work which was avowedly a tract for the times; with the passage of more than a century, however, the literary and imaginative qualities of the work assume greater importance, and we begin to see that certainly the appeal and perhaps even the "truth" of Carlyle's social and political message in Past and Present is dependent upon and inseparable from his literary manner. G. B. Tennyson, whose excellent study of Sartor Resartus has set an example for further studies of Carlyle's prose, including this one, believes that "Carlyle's ideas commend themselves to the reader not because of their philosophic rigor and clarity, but because of their compelling literary manner. That manner is of the essence. If Carlyle continues to be read because he was a literary artist, it is only because that is why he was read in the first place." That statement is perhaps more true of Sartor Resartus than of Past and Present, but it is probable that even contemporary readers like John Tyndall were captured by Carlyle's forceful and highly figurative style rather than by his unsystematic social philosophy. Because Past and Present is a work of imaginative literature, a prose-poem as well as a factual tract for the times, it is
a major purpose of this study to examine the organic relationship between literary manner and idea, art and doctrine, and style and content.

In the last fifteen years, interest in Carlyle's prose as imaginative literature has grown along with an increased interest in the art of Victorian prose in general. In The Victorian Sage, John Holloway was one of the first to apply some of the tenets of New Criticism to an analysis of prose texts by Carlyle, Newman, and Arnold, and to examine in detail the operation of the imagination and intuition in works where "Exposition, as it develops, actually becomes proof," where inference and assent are part of a simultaneous process. In particular, Holloway noted that for all his sages, including Carlyle, "acquiring wisdom is somehow an opening of the eyes." In stressing perception, the sages adopt the mode of the artist: "when the outlooks of most of these sages appear in the bald epitomes of literary histories, they lose their last vestige of interest. They provoke only bored surprise that anyone could have insisted so eagerly on half-incomprehensible dogmas or trite commonplaces." Holloway's assumption, which certainly holds for Past and Present, is that most Victorian prose which involves the reader's own experience, perception, and belief, makes a "far wider appeal than the exclusively rational appeal."

Such works may be more fully understood, or perhaps can only be understood, by the kind of literary analysis which
has been reserved for more overtly imaginative literature. In response to Holloway's study, A. Dwight Culler defines the nature of "mediatorial prose," in which the writer is "not concerned simply with creating an inner world of value nor simply with ascertaining an external world of fact, but with bringing fact and value into some kind of meaningful relationship." The combination of fact and value, Culler says, describes most Victorian prose works, which were written largely in the Christian-humanist tradition:

The writer of critical prose is characterized by the fact that he believes. The scientist, as C. S. Lewis has recently pointed out, does not properly believe: he knows. And the poet does not necessarily believe: he envisions. But the writer of critical prose stands in just that indirect and probable relation with his object which we call belief. Whether belief is a species of knowledge or a species of desire we do not know. It is an impassioned form of knowledge, and if in our criticism we would both feel the passion and gain the knowledge, we need to avoid both the bald paraphrase of doctrine, which was the older method of criticism, and also the empty analysis of form, which is the newer method.12

In "bringing fact and value into some kind of meaningful relationship," Carlyle's prose utilizes both the scientific and the poetic modes: when he is writing history, for example, he first knows the facts; when writing prophecy, he envisions a situation as a preliminary condition for belief. Thus, belief involves knowledge as well as vision. Culler is arguing for a critical method appropriate to the form of "mediatorial prose" which would maintain a balance between doctrine and art by avoiding the extremes: a "bald paraphrase of doctrine" on the one hand and an empty or
reductive analysis of form on the other. Martin J. Svaglic's reply to Culler's article describes a more general method which would examine the assumptions, the modes of reasoning and the ends and purposes of a given prose work. The method must be open enough, Svaglic suggests, to "encourage the discussion of a work of art from every angle of interest."13 Holloway, however, is more hesitant to prescribe a general method for the study of prose texts principally because many of the important Victorian prose stylists depend largely upon intuitive and imaginative modes:

Logical scrutiny of a writer's work means that we bring to it certain demands of consistency, rigour or completeness from outside, and judge it against an established standard. Here the method is the reverse, and comes much nearer to that of a critic, because the first step must be response, response to what (despite all his faults) the sage is conveying by his whole work; and it is this work itself, not any preconceived theory, which must be left to suggest what elements contribute to the effect. Each writer, even each book, may require a quite fresh start; and nothing can determine whether it does or does not, except what scrutiny proves it to be like.14

Holloway's call for a rigorously inductive method in the study of mediatorial prose is, finally, the only practical "method" useful for analyzing works like Past and Present. In an interesting comment, G. B. Tennyson suggests that "Since the critic is one who follows the same course the artist took, his critical procedure will parallel the artist's creative one."15 That statement, it seems to me, is the definitive one about method in the study of Victorian prose. It demands not only an inductive approach, but
necessitates adopting in the criticism the same artistic and aesthetic assumptions and the same mediation between fact and value which exist in the work itself. After Sartor Resartus, Past and Present is most deserving of a detailed and inductive study which treats it not as background information on social and political conditions or as a source for Carlyle's ideas, but which treats it from the beginning as a piece of literature which has intrinsic worth. Past and Present is not a masterpiece on the order of Newman's Apologia pro Vita Sua, Arnold's Culture and Anarchy, or Carlyle's own Sartor Resartus, but it belongs in the company of the best nineteenth-century prose works. More to the point, it is especially suitable to a literary analysis because its philosophic and aesthetic basis is not a logical but rather a highly intuitive, "unconscious" and imaginative one. Furthermore, Past and Present is the most accessible and immediately captivating of all of Carlyle's works, including even Sartor, even though its art and doctrine may not be so easily understood. John Tyndall wrote that "The first perusal gave me but broken gleams of its scope and aim. I therefore read it a second time, and a third. At each successive reading my grasp of the writer's views became stronger and my vision clearer."16 Past and Present does have this cumulative power, a power to produce additional vision and understanding with each successive reading.

While it is not a seminal work like Sartor, Past and Present is more characteristic of the range of Carlyle's
genius. It not only combines and recreates all of Carlyle's major ideas, but it exhibits the widest scope of genres and styles of any of Carlyle's works. His ideas on the nature of the universe, on heroes and hero-worship, on the writing of history, on the condition of England, and on the necessity for individual and social reform are all present. Similarly, *Past and Present* uses nearly every genre or mode which Carlyle had mastered by 1840: essay, social tract, biography, philosophy, homily and history. Most importantly, the stylistic variety is appropriate to the range of ideas and literary modes. Emerson, who still remains one of Carlyle's most perceptive critics, noticed that Carlyle's style was appropriate to man's understanding of a rapidly expanding world:

> Carlyle is the first domestication of the modern system, with its infinity of details, into style. We have been civilizing very fast, building London and Paris, and now planting New England and India, New Holland and Oregon,—and it has not appeared in literature; there has been no analogous expansion and recomposition in books. Carlyle's style is the first emergence of all this wealth and labour with which the world has gone with child so long. London and Europe, tunnelled, graded, corn-lawed, with trade-nobility, and East and West Indies for dependencies; and America, with the Rocky Hills in the horizon, have never before been conquered in literature. This is the first invasion and conquest.17

In this vein, Browning and perhaps Joyce among English writers, and Whitman, Dos Passos, and Thomas Wolfe among American writers are Carlyle's stylistic offspring, but Carlyle—and especially the Carlyle of *Past and Present*--is the first of the major nineteenth-century writers to create a voice and a style appropriate to man's changing and expanding
perception of the vast multiplicity in the modern world. In such a world, "bringing fact and value into some kind of meaningful relationship" while still showing reality in all its complexity is exceedingly difficult, a seemingly "impossible" task. More than Sartor, The French Revolution or On Heroes and Hero-Worship, certainly more than any other nineteenth-century work, Past and Present manifests in its style the raw energy and moral determination which make and have always made the "impossible" become a thing "doable and done." Carlyle harnesses this energy and vision to the recreation of connections—"organic filaments," as he would call them—between fact and value, man and his fellow man, societies past and present, and between man and the transcendental realities of the universe. In writing that "red-hot indignant thing" which became Past and Present, Carlyle did not, like Newman, rewrite and revise countless times in order to create a beautiful architectural design and structure to his prose, but he did, as Grace Calder shows, revise much more deliberately than might be expected. 18 Perhaps most importantly, then, Past and Present deserves reexamination in order to illuminate the imaginative, dynamic and organic principles behind the work as well as the network of ideas, facts, allusions and images which forms the heart of the work and illustrates its organic nature.

In examining the relationship and interdependence of art and doctrine or of style and content in Past and Present,
the following chapters consider, in the following order, content, structure and style. Because Carlyle's purpose is to produce belief and action and because his structure and style are fundamentally related to his ideas, the first chapter on Carlyle's ideas is not intended as merely background material for more "important" chapters on structure and style. Carlyle's ideas and his beliefs are properly both a starting and a finishing point. Each of the three chapters on content, structure and style is intended to complement the other two chapters. Thus, the function of style, diction and imagery is apparent in a discussion of content and structure and yet Carlyle's ideas and beliefs are not lost sight of in an examination of the style and syntax. What Carlyle has to say is "not a matter just of 'content' or narrow paraphrasable meaning, but is transfused by the whole texture of his writing as it constitutes an experience for the reader."

Because Carlyle's own words and their context are so important in the reader's experience of Past and Present, I have endeavored throughout this study to avoid paraphrasing Carlyle's ideas or unnecessarily abridging his statements. And in order to help maintain in the criticism the same interrelation of thought, structure and style which exists in Carlyle's prose, I have frequently repeated particular quotations in successive sections or chapters. The resulting double or triple exposures of these passages are intended to emphasize how, in fact, "content" is dependent upon texture and syntax, and vice versa.
Past and Present can create an emotional and imaginative experience which differs little from the experience of reading a novel or poem. Critics who have ignored the literary and aesthetic qualities of Past and Present have been misled into thinking, as Carlyle himself frequently thought, that metaphor and symbol, that style itself was only an embellishment which should be avoided as being ostentatious and basically deceptive. But in remarking on the "Prodigious influence of metaphors," Carlyle came to realize that the most important truths and beliefs were often incapable of expression except through imaginative and figurative language.20

Beyond a detailed examination of what Carlyle says in Past and Present and how he says it, the following chapters hope to illustrate the function of imagination and figurative language in the mediation of fact and value, to illuminate the metaphorical basis of his thought, and to demonstrate his dynamic method of association and accumulation, formulated as early as his 1831 essay, "Characteristics." In Past and Present, doctrine and art, content and style, message and medium are organically related in Carlyle's own labor to create and then to make the reader see and experience the web of connections or "filaments" between men and between man and transcendental realities. It is this vision and experience which makes a reform or rebirth of modern England possible.
NOTES

1 Quoted in David Alec Wilson, Carlyle on Cromwell and Others (1837-48) (London, 1925), p. 204.


3 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Past and Present," in Natural History of Intellect and Other Papers (Boston, 1893), pp. 379, 384-85.


9 Holloway, pp. 9, 10.

10 Holloway, p. 10.


12 Culler, p. 4.


14 Holloway, pp. 11-12.

15 Tennyson, p. 167.

16 Quoted in Wilson, p. 204.


19 Holloway, pp. 10-11.

20 Quoted in Tennyson, p. 262.
CHAPTER II
THE CONTENT OF PAST AND PRESENT

i Philosophy

Carlyle's philosophy in Past and Present is interesting in itself and also important for understanding how and why Carlyle organizes and writes the book as he does. As critics like C. F. Harrold have often pointed out, Carlyle's philosophy is really an "eclectic assembling of doctrines" from Goethe, Schelling and Schiller into a "rough unity of thought" which lacks "internal cohesion, symmetry, clarity, and logical structure. Its only philosophical unity rests on the informing conception of Offenbarung, or dynamic revelation."\(^1\) Carlyle's vision of a moral universe is the "open secret": it is "open to all because everyone has the conclusive evidence for it of introspection."\(^2\) In revealing the moral and dynamic principles operating in the universe and in man and society, Carlyle helps man to see and understand himself so that he may better reform himself and society. Hence, moral vision is the first principle, and dynamic; reforming work is the second principle in Carlyle's philosophy. On these two principles hang not only all of Carlyle's philosophy, but much of his literary practice.
Basic to Carlyle's philosophy, then, is his realization of the psychological importance of the unconscious to perception, belief and work. Carlyle states this belief most memorably in the remarkable essay, "Characteristics":

In our inward, as in our outward world, what is mechanical lies open to us: not what is dynamical and has vitality. Of our Thinking, we might say, it is but the mere upper surface that we shape into articulate Thoughts;—underneath the region of argument and conscious discourse, lies the region of meditation; here, in its quiet mysterious depths, dwells what vital force is in us. . . . The healthy Understanding, we should say, is not the Logical, argumentative, but the Intuitive; for the end of Understanding is not to prove and find reasons, but to know and believe.  

In this statement, we should notice particularly the contrast between the appearance, the "mere upper surface," and the reality, the "quiet mysterious depths." "What is mechanical lies open to us"; "what is dynamical and has vitality" lies at the depths. In Past and Present, Carlyle uses emblems and metaphors to suggest the difference between the appearance and the reality which lies at some depth and is visible only to the dynamic and healthy understanding or intuition:

The clothed embodied Justice that sits in Westminster Hall, with penalties, parchments, tipstaves, is very visible. But the unembodied Justice, whereof that other is either an emblem, or else is a fearful indescribability, is not so visible! For the unembodied Justice is of Heaven; a Spirit, and Divinity of Heaven,—invisible to all but the noble and pure of soul.  

Carlyle uses the "open secret" not just to describe the "unembodied Justice" which operates in the universe, but also to help persuade and move his reader. The process is circular: once the reader perceives and believes in the unembodied Justice, his soul becomes able to discern
Nature's other "open secrets." Carlyle's philosophy aims at moral truth: it is designed to reopen man's moral eyes (thus rejuvenating his soul) and to move man to act and work according to his moral vision.

John Holloway, whose discussion in The Victorian Sage provides an excellent starting point for an understanding of the important philosophical aspects of Past and Present, describes Carlyle's whole philosophy as fundamentally "anti-mechanical." All processes which are logical rather than intuitive, static rather than dynamic, or dead and soul-less rather than divine and "celestial-infernal" are merely mechanical. Thus, anti-mechanism implies a dualistic vision, a tension between two concepts of reality or between two ways of perceiving reality. According to Holloway, the basic principles of Carlyle's philosophy are as follows:

(1) the universe is fundamentally not an inert automatism, but the expression or indeed incarnation of a cosmic spiritual life;
(2) every single thing in the universe manifests this life, or at least could do so;
(3) between the things that do and those that do not there is no intermediate position, but a gap that is infinite;
(4) the principle of cosmic life is progressively eliminating from the universe everything alien to it; and man's duty is to further this process, even at the cost of his own happiness.

With only slight modification, these principles are manifested in Past and Present.

By way of illustrating that the "universe is fundamentally not an inert automatism," Carlyle says, in Past and Present, that the "ALMIGHTY MAKER is not like a Clockmaker that once,
in old immemorial ages, having made his Horologe of a Universe, sits ever since and sees it go!" (149). Thus denying the Deist's concept of God, Carlyle further declares that Nature is "everywhere asserting herself to be not dead and brass at all, but alive and miraculous, celestial-infernal" (33). The concept of an "automatism" is closely associated in Past and Present with loss of soul in man and nature: men are "men, not animals of prey" (156); the earth, without soul, is only a "huge-pulsing elephantine mechanic Animalism" (291). Historians are mechanistic when they believe that the past is without soul, that "No God was in the Past Time; nothing but Mechanisms and Chaotic Brute-gods" (239). Machines themselves are not evil, but the belief that an "electoral winnowing-machine" can elect real leaders, the belief that people can live by a "Greatest-Happiness Principle," and the belief that "Morrison's Pills" can solve social problems all stem from a wrong-headed faith in the ability of any "inert automatism" or any mechanistic process to solve human problems and create order. By Carlyle's definition, mechanism can deal only with appearances and behavior, never with the dynamic realities. And the result of social theorists and reformers treating man as though he had no soul is that man's soul becomes ossified or "asphyxiated," resulting in Dead Sea Apes, who "made no use of their souls; and so have lost them" (154).

The second part of the first principle states that "the universe . . . is the expression or indeed incarnation
of a cosmic spiritual life." In *Past and Present*, there are two distinct levels or sources of spiritual life: God, Nature, and Fact on the one hand and the soul of man on the other. In spite of Carlyle's belief that man's soul, his moral nature, does come from God, he often treats man's soul as a source in itself. Because Carlyle's special definitions are so crucial to an understanding of his philosophy as well as his rhetorical method, a brief discussion of these terms and their relationship may be helpful.6

God, Nature, and Fact are distinct but related terms for the idea of Justice or Law in the universe. Significantly, God is not associated with love or beatitude but is the "Great Taskmaster," a "voice from the whirlwind," or the "Most High Judge" in the "awful unerring Court of Review" (223). Nature, following the personification in Book I, is a didactic force for ultimate justice, a devouring "Sphinx," a "dumb lioness," a "heavenly bride" or "destroying fiend," and the "Beautiful and Awful, which we name Nature, Universe and such like" (132). Thus, Carlyle does not conceive of Nature as a passive, created thing but as a force which actively seeks justice. Carlyle's dualism, his idea that "all things have two faces, a light one and a dark" (63), finds expression in his concept of Nature. Nature is on the side of the men or people who work; on the other hand, Nature will drive those men who do not work or who work unjustly into a recognition of eternal law and justice. Only rarely is Nature used to
refer simply to the natural world:

Mountains, old as the Creation, I [says Nature] have permitted to be bored through: bituminous fuel-stores, the wreck of forests that were green a million years ago,—I have opened them from my secret rock-chambers, and they are yours, ye English. (170)

Even in this context, personified Nature serves a moral function through the processes of work.

Fact, in turn, is subordinate to Nature; Fact is Nature's message, her inexorable law: "Nature's Fact" should, but does not, fall to the arrows of logic; likewise, the "Law of Gravitation" is one of Nature's Facts which always operates. Whereas Nature refers primarily to justice and law, Fact is frequently used in the sense of an historical fact. For example, Carlyle describes Dominus Hugo as "wrapt in his warm flannels and delusions; inaccessible to all voice of Fact" (64). Hugo is out of touch with both the Fact of Nature's just laws and the historical, material fact of his deficit budget. Historical fact may be emblematic of the presence or absence of justice in the world; in such cases, the two uses are figuratively related. Milton's wages for his life's work, his "Ten Pounds paid by instalments, and a rather close escape from death on the gallows," were "an authentic, altogether quiet fact,—emblematic, quietly documentary of a whole world of such" (24). The use of fact in the historical sense is especially important in Past and Present because of the didactic nature of history: in past events, the "Bible of Universal History" lies written. Fact
Nature, and God are more accurately forces for eternal justice than they are sources for the "expression . . . of a cosmic spiritual life." In Past and Present the idea of law and justice is the fundamental principle behind the world's spiritual life: "Justice was ordained from the foundations of the world; and will last with the world and longer" (18).

Although man derives his moral nature and soul ultimately from God, Carlyle sees man's soul as a second source of spiritual life in the universe. In order to effect social reform, man's asphyxiated soul must be resuscitated before any real changes are possible; correspondingly, once man's soul is resuscitated, all things are "possible," and reform, like charity, will "radiate outwards . . . kindling ever new light . . . spreading in geometric ratio, far and wide,—doing good only" (39). Even the imagery Carlyle uses reinforces the notion that man's soul, like God Himself, is itself a source for a reforming moral light.

Holloway's second point, that everything in the universe "manifests this life, or at least could do so" recalls the concept of the universe as "open secret." Carlyle uses the emblem to figuratively express this principle. An object or event in the physical world can reveal a higher spiritual force or principle of life in the universe. The idea of "natural supernaturalism" as expressed in Sartor Resartus captures the essential relationship between spirit and matter, but the precise relationship may vary widely in
Past and Present, depending upon the context and the image. In one case there may be a real incarnation; in the next, the physical may be only a superficial appearance disguising the real spiritual qualities. The former is exemplified when Carlyle describes St. Edmund's monastery: "In one word, St. Edmund's Body has raised a Monastery round it. To such length, in such manner, has the Spirit of the Time visibly taken body, and crystallised itself here" (61, italics mine). Much of the clothes symbolism occupies a middle position, signifying little on the surface and, paradoxically, "much" if not "all" at its depths: "the Tailor, as the topmost ultimate froth of Human Society, is indeed swift-passing, evanescent, slippery to decipher; yet significant of much, nay of all" (216). In the most Platonic usage of the emblem, the physical becomes only the shadow of reality. In Past and Present, this usage is frequent, and it often becomes a way of distinguishing appearance from reality:

This Earthly Life, and its riches and possessions, and good and evil hap, are not intrinsically a reality at all, but are a shadow of realities eternal, infinite; that this Time-world, as an air-image, fearfully emblematic, plays and flickers in the grand still mirror of Eternity. . . . (72)

Because Carlyle's images are intended to express a "literal" truth rather than merely add literary embellishment to doctrine, Carlyle's philosophy cannot be paraphrased or divorced from context. Any manifestation of life in the "things" of the universe must assume a figurative expression for an age which does not automatically and unconsciously
presume an underlying spiritual life.

Carlyle's vision of the life principle in all things often brings him close to mysticism. C. F. Harrold indicates that "although Carlyle never developed a complete or entirely self-consistent mysticism, he belongs in the company of the world's great mystical thinkers." Comparing Carlyle with Blake and Marx, Albert J. LaValley is more specific about the nature of Carlyle's mysticism:

He amplifies the historical dimensions of Blake, especially the odd mixture of biblical language and images with British history and place names, into a more realistic and social vision of apocalypse. In a sense, Carlyle takes Blake to the masses.... In method he is more like Blake than Marx; in content more like Marx.8

Carlyle's social vision is of a new Jerusalem based in principle upon eternal concepts of justice. Similarly, Carlyle's symbols and emblems continually attempt to get the reader to see not a vision of what might happen but to see what has happened and what exists. In spite of Book IV, entitled "Horoscope," Carlyle, in Past and Present, is a visionary who stares steadily into the past and present rather than into the future: "The Past is a dim indubitable fact: the Future too is one, only dimmer; nay properly it is the same fact in new dress and development" (42). The utopian element in Carlyle's vision is based not on a mystic faith or hope; instead, it is merely an extension of the doctrine of work: "'Work is Worship: ... He that understands it well, understands the Prophecy of the whole Future" (230-31).
Before examining Holloway's third tenet, we should notice an important relationship between his first two points and Carlyle's concept of "natural supernaturalism" as expressed in *Sartor Resartus*. In *Past and Present*, there is a continual correspondence between man and nature which is both transcendental and descendental. Since the universe and man's soul are an "open secret," man may, in a transcendental act, discover that both he and the universe do, in fact, have a soul; on the other hand, the fact that the universe is alive and "celestial-infernal" and that man does indeed have a soul may be forced upon him, in a descendental manner, only after much suffering and misery. In each case, the revelation can be a two-way process. If a man has true vision and real eyesight, he may penetrate through the appearances to the reality of Nature's justice. However, if mankind persists in its unwisdom, if the English persist in relying on "Morrison's Pills" rather than on an "Aristocracy of Talent," Nature's Fact will soon penetrate the thickest of skulls: "A God's-message never came to thicker-skinned people; never had a God's-message to pierce through thicker integuments, into heavier ears" (34). In a similar fashion, time itself may become a concealing yet revealing medium. Man's moral nature may express itself down through the centuries or it may hide in the "dry rubbish" of history. As a preacher, Carlyle exhorts his reader (in a descendental manner) to resuscitate his soul; as an historian, however, he exhumes, resuscitates or discovers (in a transcendental
act) whatever degree of soul has survived in historical documents. In Book II, for example, Carlyle dramatizes the meeting of Samson's soul (itself a source of light) and the historian's penetrating eyesight. At the climax of Book II, both man and Nature are revealed and are revealing themselves in the act of reverence which the monks perform for St. Edmund:

And the Body of one Dead;--a temple where the Hero-soul once was and now is not: Oh, all mystery, all pity, all mute awe and wonder; Supernaturalism brought home to the very dullest; Eternity laid open, and the nether Darkness and the upper Light-Kingdoms;--do conjoin there, or exist nowhere! (126)

Here is a human event which manifests the principle of an all-pervading cosmic life in the universe, as described by Holloway's first and second principles. Carlyle illuminates in such events the confrontation and the very juncture of life and death, time and eternity, matter and spirit. At such "natural-supernatural" moments, the paradoxical and mysterious quality of life is most evident.

The third of Holloway's tenets, which says that there is an infinite gap between the things which express life and those that do not, leads to Carlyle's dualism. In theory, Carlyle's dualism is relatively simple and depends upon his associating moral qualities with the things, people, and events in the universe. In general, moral good is associated with dynamic, ordered and living things and processes; moral evil is associated with the static and mechanical, the chaotic and dying. Sometimes evil is the result of a temporary absence, "ossification" or
"paralysis" of the pervasive principle of justice; less frequently, evil is represented as an independent force in itself. Most typical, however, is Carlyle's vision of the universe as revealing, sometimes simultaneously, both good and evil. In such cases, the universe is "celestial-infernal," and man lives in an element of wonder and miracle.

In actual practice, Carlyle's dualism is extremely complex for a number of interrelated reasons. First, the notion that "all things have two faces, a light one and a dark" (63) implies a perceiver who may be projecting the dualism of his own moral vision onto reality. In many cases, Carlyle's dualism is a perceptual one which is designed primarily to assist in persuasion. But since the "end of Understanding" is to "know and believe," such perceptual qualities take on a "real" quality. Second, because man's moral belief is not subject to a logical or objective communication, assertion and perception must take the place of logic and reason. A passage from Coleridge's Aids to Reflection illustrates why Carlyle's dualism is often expressed in tautologies or truisms which have no "proof" beyond the assertion and the perception itself:

I assume a something, the proof of which no man can give to another, yet every man can find for himself. If any man assert, that he can not find it, I am bound to disbelieve him! I cannot do otherwise without unsettling the very foundations of my own moral Nature.9

Carlyle's use of perception, his continual personification,
and even his dialectical and argumentative style are designed to help every man find for himself the "proof" which "no man can give to another." Finally, the interrelated analogies and images which Carlyle uses add immensely to the complexity of his dualism. In spite of the logical complexity, however, his dualism is successful precisely because he grounds it in the concrete and real world and expresses it in images and metaphors which have dynamic and often dramatic qualities.

Illustration of Carlyle's dualism in *Past and Present* shows doctrine and art working together to create some of the most important and vivid passages. Man's universe, both inorganic and organic, is miraculous, could he just see: "Wonder, miracle encompass the man; he lives in an element of miracle; Heaven's splendour over his head, Hell's darkness under his feet" (118-19). In the organic world, the image of the Life-tree Igdrasil spans the gap between past and present, between life and death:

The Life-tree Igdrasil, which waves round thee in this hour, whereof thou in this hour art portion, has its roots down deep in the oldest Death-Kingdoms; and grows; the Three Nornas, or Times, Past, Present, Future, watering it from the Sacred Well! (131)

This image of the Life-tree not only incorporates past and present, life and death, but is presented to the reader in a dramatic and dynamic fashion: "The Life-tree Igdrasil, which waves round thee in this hour, whereof thou in this hour art portion. . . ." The tree image can also represent the death principle in nature: "For hereby are fostered . . .
all manner of Unwisdoms, poison-fruits; till, as we say, the life-tree everywhere is made an upas-tree, deadly Unwisdom overshadowing all things" (36). Time, as a medium for organic growth and moral vision, is similarly both "preserver and devourer," is "all-edacious and all-feracious" (265). In Book II, Chapter i, entitled "Jocelin of Brakelond," there is an excellent passage which illustrates Carlyle's dual vision of man and nature in time:

Behold therefore, this England of the Year 1200 was no chimerical vacuity or dreamland . . . but a green solid place, that grew corn and several other things. . . . Day by day all men and cattle rose to labour, and night by night returned home weary to their several lairs. In wondrous Dualism, then as now, lived nations of breathing men; alternating, in all ways, between Light and Dark; between joy and sorrow, between rest and toil,—between hope, hope reaching high as Heaven, and fear deep as very Hell. (50)

Characteristically, Carlyle allows the reader to become the perceiver himself ("Behold . . .") and partake in the dualism of then and now.

Some of the complexity of Carlyle's dualism as well as some of the tensions in his philosophy come from his religious beliefs and especially from his "native" Calvinism. Carlyle's religious beliefs have led critics to say that he is "an English Atheist who makes it a point of honour not to be so," or that he promulgates "a sort of heathen Puritanism: Protestantism purged of its evidences of Christianity."¹⁰ *Past and Present* does not, in fact, have much discussion of the life after death; Heaven and Hell, the celestial and infernal, are used primarily to intensify man's life rather
than to suggest an eschatology. Although Carlyle refers occasionally to a final judgment, to "that awful unerring Court of Review" (223), or to the penalty of "Eternal Death to thy own hapless Self" (229), he is unwilling to let the reader rest in a contemplation of either Heaven or Hell. Carlyle's "heathen Puritanism" perhaps has its source in Calvinist doctrine itself. There may be "two apparently conflicting conceptions," Harrold contends, "of Deus absconditus and Deus revelatus, presenting the alternatives of deism and pantheism."\footnote{11} In the first conception, God is wholly transcendent, an unknowable and mechanical "watchmaker." In the second doctrine of divine immanence, matter manifests spirit and nature provides a direct revelation of the divine. From the period of Sartor Resartus to the Latter-Day Pamphlets, Carlyle leans more and more towards Deus absconditus, Harrold says:

> In Heroes, man is to "conform to Nature's laws and the truth of things"; in Past and Present, God is the "grand unnameable Fact," and "here below, there is nothing else but justice"; in the Latter-Day Pamphlets, God is more and more the "Maker," whose "Eternal Laws" man breaks at his peril. In these social writings, Carlyle sees God no longer as the lovely and elusive spirit calling to man from the beauty of nature, but as a stern, transcendent "Taskmaster."\footnote{12}

Only rarely in Past and Present does Carlyle rhapsodize about the mystic union of man and nature, as he does here in Book III:

> The Hill I first saw the Sun rise over, when the Sun and I and all things were yet in their auroral hour, who can divorce me from it? Mystic, deep as the world's centre, are the roots I have struck into my Native Soil. . . . (176)
Although man's law must correspond with God's eternal law, God's love for man is, in Past and Present, almost totally absent. Carlyle says that "Love of men cannot be bought by cash-payment; and without love, men cannot endure to be together" (269). Beyond this love between men there are examples of man's love and reverence for the divine in man as in the St. Edmundsbury monks' reverence for St. Edmund. Rather than love, Carlyle suggests that man should have faith in an invisible, omnipresent yet unknowable God: "For the faith in an Invisible, Unnameable, Godlike, present everywhere in all that we see and work and suffer, is the essence of all faith whatsoever" (150). Such a religious doctrine places the burden of faith on man: not only is belief "ever a mystic act" but it requires a "leap" of faith or an act of pure will.13 Thus, while the possibility of an immanent God lies in Calvinist doctrine, Carlyle's brand of Scottish Calvinism emphasized the seriousness of life, the notion expressed in the title page quotation for Past and Present: "Ernst is das Leben."

A second and related source of tension in Carlyle's religion may be traced to the Calvinist view of man. On the one hand, man's good works do not necessarily lead to salvation or to his becoming one of the Elect; on the other hand, man's success corresponds with his moral rightness and is a sign of his Elect status. This doctrinal paradox frequently finds expression in Past and Present in the fusion
of the man and the sin. Sometimes Carlyle rails against immoral or unwise conduct; just as often, however, he attacks persons or caricatures such as Sir Jabesh Windbag, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Viscount Mealymouth, and the Earl of Windlestraw. On one page, Carlyle says that all men have the potential for good works, to have their souls "resuscitated"; on the next, the reader is exhorted to "arrest" all knaves and dastards or to "arrest him, in God's name; it is one fewer!" (40). While the split here has a theological basis, Carlyle often chooses to widen the gap by oversimplifying the problem in order to exhort his readers to action and reform. Ultimately, the Calvinist concepts of both God and man create tensions in Carlyle's philosophy which add to the complexity of his dualism.

Finally, the conflict between Carlyle's "native Puritanism and his acquired romanticism" is a major source of the tensions and dualism in Carlyle's philosophy. In psychological terms, the tension centers on Carlyle's doctrine of "unconsciousness." In "Characteristics," Carlyle relates the doctrine to performance: "Always the characteristic of right performance is a certain spontaneity, an unconsciousness; 'the healthy know not of their health, but only the sick'" (XXVIII, 7). Similarly, in Past and Present, the emphasis is on performance and on unselfconscious work. Samson has a "right honest unconscious feeling, without insolence as without fear or flutter, of what he is and what others are" (94). Samson's "comparative silence" regarding his religion which "was like
his daily bread to him;--which he did not take the trouble to talk much about" (119), is also a healthy sign. In spite of the fact that the term "unconscious" implies a division between conscious and unconscious faculties, Carlyle uses "unconsciousness" in the sense of wholeness, unity, and organic health. The unity which Carlyle seeks in both "Characteristics" and Past and Present is sometimes a pralapsarian innocence, the unconsciousness, in the typical romantic image, of the child.

Most of us, looking back on young years, may remember seasons of a light, aerial translucency and elasticity and perfect freedom; the body had not yet become the prison-house of the soul, but was its vehicle and implement. . . . Had Adam remained in Paradise, there had been no Anatomy and no Metaphysics. (XXVIII, 2-3)

In Past and Present, Carlyle nods to Rousseau's primitivism in his praise of the unconscious English, and of Bull in particular. Bull, however, is more like an animal than a child: it is only a short step from the "unconscious" Mr. Bull to the animals he is named after, and then to Carlyle's image of a stupid, self-seeking, and soul-less Democracy. Carlyle's philosophy really hinges on the concept of work rather than on any romantic preferences for the unconscious. The unconscious, because it is not analytical, avoids doubt which paralyzes and inhibits work. The Idle Aristocracy is more childlike and "unconscious" than Carlyle would like to admit: they are, in fact, the lilies of the field that neither toil nor spin. Carlyle's admiration of the unconscious, then, is really a disguised and pragmatic admiration
of anything which causes man to work. He appropriates the
romantic psychology of the unconscious only as a means to
an end rather than as a possible state to be explored for
its own sake. In fact, Carlyle uses his notion of the
unconscious to form the whole aesthetic for works like
Sartor Resartus and Past and Present.

Carlyle's "native Puritanism and his acquired romanticism"
also come into conflict in his views on art and imaginative
literature. A slight alteration of Nietzsche's statement,
that Carlyle is an atheist who makes it a point of honor not
to be so, might apply to Carlyle's position on art: Carlyle
is an artist, even a poet and a dramatist, who makes it a
point of honor not to be one. Only Carlyle would have the
temerity to say that "Coeur-de-Lion was not a theatrical
popinjay with greaves and steel-cap on it, but a man living
upon victuals" (50), and then proceed, on the same page, to
give the imaginative and dramatic vision of John Lackland's
visit to St. Edmundsbury convent. At the end of this highly
imaginative, figurative, and dramatic account, Carlyle injects
a typical statement about the primacy of fact over fiction:

Fiction, 'Imagination,' 'Imaginative Poetry,' &c. &c.,
except as the vehicle for truth, or fact of some sort,--
which surely a man should first try various other ways
of vehiculating, and conveying safe,--what is it? Let
the Minerva and other Presses respond! (51)

Throughout Past and Present, Carlyle uses his "acquired"
romantic aesthetic to give dynamic life and reality to
a world conceived on Calvinist principles.
If the dualistic tendency in Carlyle's philosophy begins with perception, it ends in work and activity. Resolving the tensions and dualisms may be accomplished by an "opening of the eyes" as well as by an "impossible" ordering of chaos. While Carlyle might not agree with the spirit of Blake's "Energy is eternal delight," he would agree that the basis of work is energy channelled by purpose and vision. Because work is transcendental in the sense that it is energy directed by man ultimately toward the revelation of the infinite in the finite and the penetration through appearances to reality, it naturally resolves much of the dualism. In spite of the fact that work may begin as a self-conscious or self-willed effort, it quickly becomes an unconscious process similar to the unconscious operation of the intuition. Work is "impossible" if it is expected to convey the ideal or the "Virtuality" unchanged into the actual or the real. But the key to the doctrine of work is that, once begun, it is self-sustaining and self-generating. Beginning with some "approximation to perfection being actually made and put in practice" (26), work achieves, gradually and in the long run, a true union of spirit in matter, of the ideal in the real. The doctrine of work is exemplified not only by Abbot Samson and his time, in which, to an "astonishing extent," Virtuality was "perfected into an Actuality" (243), but also by the very structure and style of Past and Present. Carlyle typically begins with an approximation of what he wants to say and moves from there, by expansion and accumulation, to reveal the
infinite in the finite. Work, then, is not a logical method or even a "Morrison's Pill," but a self-generating, outward, upward and inward movement whose direction and goal are determined from within by the process itself. In spite of his didacticism, Carlyle, like Abbot Samson, Columbus, and the other heroes in Past and Present, "learns by going" where he has to go.15 The emphasis, both in Carlyle's philosophy and his actual writing, is on the process of work.

This emphasis on process also helps to resolve the dualism associated with Carlyle's Calvinism. As Holloway indicates in his fourth tenet, "the principle of cosmic life is progressively eliminating from the universe everything alien to it; and man's duty is to further this process, even at the cost of his own happiness." Unfortunately, duty is a commanded rather than a spontaneous response, and commands are by nature descendental rather than transcendental. Therefore, Carlyle's compromise with Calvinism is to use man's sense of duty to help overcome inertia, to help him make a beginning. As Carlisle Moore indicates, work may begin as duty, as a response to "Necessity," but it can quickly become active rather than passive:

Toward himself, he [man] must accept the suffering which is every man's lot in a divine but mysterious existence "compassed round by Necessity." This is the passive half of his duty; the active half is expressed in the famous doctrine of Work. . . . It is by work that the discordant and dualistic elements in a man are resolved.16

Typically in Past and Present, work is hardship, sore misery, a fight, duel or wrestle with "Necessity." However, work is
also the process by which hardship and misery are overcome. Notice that Carlyle uses both senses of the word almost interchangeably, as when he asks, "Is there a man who pretends to live luxuriously housed up; screened from all work, from want, danger, hardship, the victory over which is what we name work" (180). Work may be generated by stern duty, by Nature's Fact, by self-will or by Necessity, but it leads to unselfconsciousness and harmony by its very nature:

Consider how, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work! Doubt, Desire, Sorrow, Remorse, Indignation, Despair itself, all these like hell-dogs lie beleaguer ing the soul . . . and all these are stilled, all these shrink murmuring far off into their caves. (196)

Once doubt and despair are removed, man approximates an unconscious state where understanding and knowledge become possible: "Knowledge? The knowledge that will hold good in working, cleave thou to that; for Nature herself accredits that, says Yea to that" (197).

The doctrine of work, then, advocates a process which replaces the specific doctrines of Calvinism with a simple, direct means of uniting the individual with a knowledge and feeling for the order and harmony existing in the universe. This knowledge, in turn, generates a faith, not just in God and Nature, but in the divine potential in man. Work becomes the means by which man may himself assist in the expression of the cosmic principle of life. As LaValley indicates, man, in Carlyle's philosophy, "is his own maker, perfecting himself through work and thereby redeeming
society." 17 Basically, Carlyle thinks of work as being, in a metaphorical sense, a kind of prayer or worship: man's "whole work on Earth is an emblematic spoken or acted prayer, Be the will of God done on Earth" (228). But Carlyle easily converts to the literal equation, "Work is Worship." Work produces order out of chaos, "bodies forth the form of Things Unseen" (205), and reveals the divine: "All true Work is sacred; in all true Work, were it but true hand-labour, there is something of divineness. Labour, wide as the Earth, has its summit in Heaven" (202). Carlyle's optimism becomes most flamboyant and breathless when he contemplates, as he does at the end of Book IV, the possibilities of man's energy:

Sooty Hell of mutiny and savagery and despair can, by man's energy, be made a kind of Heaven; cleared of its soot, of its mutiny, of its need to mutiny; the everlasting arch of Heaven's azure overspanning it too, and its cunning mechanisms and tall chimney-steeples, as a birth of Heaven; God and all men looking on it well pleased. (294)

Such optimism and faith in a new Jerusalem, an Albion reborn, is an important part of Carlyle's philosophy. From his vantage point in time, the historian--and the reader--may see the long-term effect of work as if he were a god ("God and all men looking on it well pleased"), and may become optimistic about man's transcendent efforts in the future as well as in the past. Social reform then seems not only possible, but in Carlyle's word, "inevitable."

The emphasis in Carlyle's philosophy on the "open secret," the dynamic nature of reality, the moral vision, and the resolving and creative power of work all find
expression in the structure and style of *Past* and *Present*. Carlyle's philosophy is never wholly separated from the man who is the believer and perceiver, and it is given form not by logical structures but by the persistent recurrence of visual and organic images. Carlyle's style, especially his use of dynamic and expanding images, itself manifests the principle of work and shows man's--in this case a writer's, a Man of Letters'--efforts to penetrate through appearances to reality, to transcend the barriers of time and ultimately reveal the infinite in the finite.

ii The Art of History

In Carlyle's philosophy, the unconscious is especially important in perception, belief and work. For Carlyle, the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond illustrates an age where people lived more unselfconsciously and presumed an "underlying spiritual life" in the universe. The twelfth-century chronicle offers Carlyle a working example of not a perfect society, but one in which the Virtual was made Actual to "a surprising extent." Since in contrast to the modern age, Jocelin's society is dynamic rather than mechanical, Carlyle's account provides a healthy antidote for the paralysis and sickness of nineteenth-century England. In Book II, Carlyle first tries to get his reader to see the twelfth century and then to believe in its dynamic and moral life so that, finally, he may move his reader to action, work and reform.
Book II is a chapter in the "Bible of Universal History"; once the reader can see and read that bible, he may then believe in the "lessons of history" and may apply those lessons, the belief and the vision, to a rebirth of modern society. While remaining true to the basic historical facts, Carlyle does not write history in any scientific or objective manner; history, as illustrated in Past and Present, is for Carlyle a highly visionary, dramatic and didactic art.

Carlyle's concept of history is directly related to his philosophy: history is the record of the revelation or incarnation of the Divine Will or the "cosmic spiritual life" in man's universe. In her thorough treatment of the subject, Louise M. Young outlines the relationship between Carlyle's religious philosophy and his view of history:

Carlyle's philosophy of history is based on the Transcendental conception of the universe as a revelation of the Divine Idea. This fundamental conception, as old as the Hebrew religion, was rejected by the rationalists, but was reestablished by the revival of idealism. In the view of the Transcendentalists, material creation was merely an appearance, a shadow in which the Deity manifests Himself to men. . . . [Carlyle's] temperamental Calvinism and Transcendental idealism were merged into a single identity.18

The progress of the revelation of the Divine Will through material creation can perhaps best be illustrated in a hierarchical scheme:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{God, Divine Will, Nature, Justice} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Reality, Man, Events, Work} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Historical documents} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Historian}
\end{array}
\]
The process is both "descendental" and "transcendental": God and Nature are revealed in reality, in man and his works. The history of man and his works is recorded as an "open secret" in the historical document. At the same time, the historian must put work and imagination into the historical documents, to see beyond them to the original historical events, and then to the Divine Will or Justice behind those men and events. On the one hand, history may, of itself, reveal the Divine, as Carlyle states in Book IV:

Men believe in Bibles, and disbelieve in them: but of all Bibles the frightfullest to disbelieve in is this 'Bible of Universal History.' This is the Eternal Bible and God's-Book, 'which every born man,' till once the soul and eyesight are distinguished in him, 'can and must, with his own eyes, see the God's-Finger writing!' (240)

On the other hand, the historian, as both actor and relator, must be able to recreate what "is dead now, and dumb; but was alive once, and spake" (54). Knowing that "the Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there," the historian must recreate the Real in order to see "God's-Finger writing." The potential "incarnation of a cosmic spiritual life" in all things is seen literally by the historian and is then resuscitated or imaginatively "reincarnated."

The actual function of perception in Carlyle's art of history may be illustrated by the opening of Chapter I, Book II:

We will, in this Second Portion of our Work, strive to penetrate a little, by means of certain confused Papers, printed and other, into a somewhat remote
Century; and to look face to face on it, in hope of perhaps illustrating our own poor Century thereby. 
(45, italics mine)

Similarly, the beginning of Book IV suggests the same problem of the historian's subjective vision:

For in truth, the eye sees in all things 'what it brought with it the means of seeing.' A godless century, looking back on centuries that were godly, produces portraiture more miraculous than any other. ... How shall the poor 'Philosophic Historian,' to whom his own century is all godless, see any God in other centuries? (239)

Looking "face to face" demands imaginative and dramatic vision; Dryas'dust or the "Philosophic Historian" may see Jocelyn's world, but it is not "alive" and "celestial-infernal" for him. Because history is specific about recorded details and facts but necessarily vague about the "dynamic" qualities of life, Carlyle's perception of the past reality is different from a description of the present. As historian, from his god-like viewpoint, he can better see the scope of man's story and begin to sense the miracle and wonder which did, and still must, surround man even in the light of common day. In contrast to the prosaic present, which is not "edited," the past, as illustrated by Carlyle's comment on Landlord Edmund, becomes poetry and myth:

What Edmund's specific duties were; above all, what his method of discharging them with such results was, would surely be interesting to know; but are not very discoverable now. His Life has become a poetic, nay a religious Mythus; though, undeniably enough, it was once a prose Fact, as our poor lives are. ... (57-58)

The passage suggests that "prose Fact" may become "poetic Mythus" through the perspective of history and the operation
of the imagination. We can only imagine what "Edmund's specific duties" were, and that act of imagination gives an aesthetic dimension and a dramatic quality denied to our own "poor lives."

Inevitably, the interplay of literal seeing and imaginative and dramatic reconstruction raises the question of the historian's subjectivity. Ideally, the historian strives for corroborated subjective judgment; in practice, however, the interesting or unique events may not have many reliable witnesses. Carlyle's practical solution was to trust witnesses whose testimony did not appear self-conscious or who perhaps were not aware that they were writing "history." Thus applied to history, Carlyle's familiar doctrine of unconsciousness finds a perfect example in "Bozzy" Jocelin: "The man is of patient, peaceable, loving, clear-smiling nature. . . . A wise simplicity is in him . . . a veracity that goes deeper than words" (47). Being veracious, sincere and unconscious, Jocelin could look "face to face" on his own age and thus write "objective" history. Similarly, Carlyle tries to persuade the reader that he, as an historian, is not writing history but only revealing or "editing" it. So the success of Carlyle's historical art depends significantly on his apparent revelation of "God's-Finger writing": Carlyle uses images and metaphors not only to recreate the past but also to illuminate his own role as an historian who merely perceives and reveals what is already there.

What history teaches or reveals is, in fact, Carlyle's
philosophy. History itself is an open secret: it shows the "cosmic spiritual life" at work down through time, it illustrates how society can function dynamically, without mechanisms or "Morrison's Pills," it reveals the dualism in man's celestial-infernal life, and it shows the long term effects of work on man's society. In addition, Carlyle's concept of history illustrates Holloway's fourth tenet, that "the principle of cosmic life is progressively eliminating from the universe everything alien to it." Carlyle's concepts of optimism, progress, and "might and right" specifically illustrate the "lessons" of history.

Although Carlyle's own disciples, especially Kingsley, represented Carlyle as a pessimist, G. K. Chesterton points out that, in actuality, Carlyle's philosophy "will be found to be dangerously optimist rather than pessimist." Such a misunderstanding would be natural since a view of the present, which does not have any historical perspective, cannot demonstrate the long-run optimism which the passage of time permits. In the present, Carlyle typically sees stupidity, Mammonism, and Dilettantism standing in the way of a just society:

If you have little Wisdom, you will get even that little ill-collected, trampled under foot, reduced as near as possible to annihilation; for fools do not love wisdom. . . . Thus is fulfilled that saying in the Gospel: To him that hath shall be given; and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. (37)

But because Carlyle believes that the soul of the universe is just, that "From all souls of men, from all ends of Nature,
from the Throne of God above, there are voices bidding it [injustice] : Away, away" (16) and that judgment for an evil thing may be delayed, but never neglected, his optimism remains strong. And not only God and Nature are just, but man is at least born with a soul. Even though "red-colored pulpy infants" are baked, fixed and hardened into social form, the rebirth of soul is at least possible. As is expected, Carlyle's optimism stems from his religious belief in God's ultimate justice and his faith in the regenerative powers of work.

In addition to Carlyle's faith in God's justice and the possibility of some soul living in the working man, revolutions themselves may teach a kind of optimism. God's will and man's work may combine in history to produce catastrophes or revolutions which are themselves purifying agents of justice. If men cannot believe in a just universe, then Didactic Destiny will soon teach them; similarly, if societies persist in unwisdom, then Destiny, Fact, or Nature will make itself felt:

Trades' Strikes, Trades' Unions, Chartisms; mutiny, squalor, rage and desperate revolt, growing ever more desperate, will go on their way. As dark misery settles down on us, and our refuges of lies fall in pieces one after one, the hearts of men, now at last serious, will turn to refuges of truth. The eternal stars shine out again, so soon as it is dark enough. (290)

The principle of rebirth or renewal of the old ossified forms, whether in the purifying fire of the phoenix's pyre or in the simple act of bathing with "cunning symbolic influences," is basic to Carlyle's understanding of historical
revolution. An upheaval of a whole society such as in the French Revolution is only the most tangible and violent expression of the principle of rebirth:

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? (234)

Critics have sometimes made too much of the cataclysmic theory of history as figured in the phoenix image without realizing that the gradual growth in nature, say, of a tree or a sudden conflagration, are both processes of oxidation differing only in the speed of combustion. To say, as Edward Alexander does, that Carlyle and D. H. Lawrence "took as their symbol the phoenix; and, imprisoned by their adopted metaphor, celebrated the imminence of disaster as the necessary prelude to birth," does not do justice to Carlyle's larger theory of palingenesia and his multiplicity of metaphors suggesting organic growth and rebirth.20 "It should be emphasized," Louise Young says, "that Carlyle did not consider revolutions an inevitable and necessary part of the process of historic change. . . . The growth of institutions and states is more normal and rapid when it progresses by steady, silent persistence; and a lack of self-consciousness is a quality of healthy states no less than of healthy peoples."21 In Book I, Carlyle's comment on the Manchester Insurrection certainly supports that statement: "An Insurrection that can announce the disease, and then retire with no such
balance-account opened anywhere, has attained the highest success possible for it" (22).

Related, but not identical to his historical optimism, is Carlyle's concept of social progress. Carlyle has Sauerteig exclaim, "The Progress of Human Society consists even in this same, The better and better apportioning of wages to work" (25). The centuries of work produce a gradual but certain revelation of the principle of justice which is behind the modern question of wages:

From the time of Cain's slaying Abel by swift head-breakage, to this time of killing your man in Chancery by inches, and slow heart-break for forty years,—there too is an interval! Venerable Justice herself began by Wild-Justice; all Law is as a tamed furrowfield, slowly worked out, and rendered arable, from the waste jungle of Club-Law. (133-34)

While growth and work are often indices of social progress, they do not necessarily produce a real progress, which must contain a corresponding increase in wisdom and justice.

If our Trade in twenty years, 'flourishing' as never Trade flourished, could double itself; yet then also, by the old Laissez-faire method, our Population is doubled: we shall then be as we are, only twice as many of us, twice and ten times as unmanageable! (187)

Both Carlyle's optimism and his concept of progress are, however, dependent upon the gradual incarnation of the infinite in the finite, the virtual in the actual: celestial justice is "A thing ever struggling forward; irrepressible, advancing inevitable; perfecting itself, all days, more and more,—never to be perfect till that general Doomsday, the ultimate Consummation, and Last of earthly Days" (25). Progress, in short, should be more than a mathematical or mechanical
increase in the standard of living; it should be accompanied
by a proportionate increase in wisdom and justice.

Easily the most controversial of Carlyle's historical
ideas is his doctrine of might and right. Especially
during and after World War II, it was fashionable for critics
to demonstrate Carlyle's latent fascism or totalitarianism
by quoting an isolated passage such as: "The fighting too
was indispensable, for ascertaining who had the might over
whom, the right over whom" (243). Taken out of context, such
statements could certainly be appropriated for fascist political
propaganda; in context, however, some definite restrictions
are placed upon the meaning of the key terms, "might" and
"right." A more complete statement from Past and Present
reveals what Carlyle has in mind:

All Fighting, as we noticed long ago, is the dusty
conflict of strengths each thinking itself the strongest,
or, in other words, the justest;--of Mights which do
in the long-run, and forever will in this just Universe
in the long-run, mean Rights. In conflict the perishable
part of them, beaten sufficiently, flies off into dust:
this process ended, appears the imperishable, the true
and exact. (191)

The key phrase in this quotation, "in this just Universe
in the long-run," recalls one of Carlyle's basic truisms:
because the universe is just, the conflict of strengths will,
in the long-run, separate the perishable from the true,
eternal and just. It is important to see that the conflict
of strengths which determines the right is related both to
Carlyle's optimism and to his idea of revolution. There is
a sense in which might, equated with the principles of energy,
force and work, becomes, in the long-run, an evolutionary force which creates its own standards. Historically speaking, power is an unanswerable argument.

In the most thought-provoking example of Carlyle's idea of right and might in Past and Present, an evolutionary aspect is likewise implicit. Following the episode describing the confrontation of Archbishop Anselm and the Duke of Burgundy, Carlyle imagines a similar struggle between Anselm and King Redbeard:

It was as if King Redbeard unconsciously, addressing Anselm, Becket and the others, had said: "Right Reverend, your Theory of the Universe is indisputable by man or devil. To the core of our heart we feel that this divine thing, which you call Mother Church, does fill the whole world hitherto known, and is and shall be all our salvation and all our desire. And yet-- and yet-- Behold, though it is an unspoken secret, the world is wider than any of us think, Right Reverend! ... I cannot comply with you. ... I have--Per os Dei, I have Manchester Cotton-trades, Bromwicham Iron-trades, American Commonwealths, Indian Empires, Steam Mechanisms and Shakspeare Dramas, in my belly; and cannot do it, Right Reverend!" (247)

Much of Carlyle's vision in Past and Present can be related to Darwinian evolution because, although Carlyle does not grasp the idea of chance mutation, he understands that change is one of Nature's laws and that survival itself is a struggle. Most important, however, he has a feeling for the immensity of the two eternities which lie on either side of the present, and he understands that energy can be expressed in an infinite variety of forms, that the future offers infinite possibilities for change. As the medium for evolutionary forces, time is "all-edacious and all-feracious,"
the devourer and preserver of all things; history is seen as an evolutionary struggle between the forces of creative work and destructive "Oblivion incessantly gnawing at it [the created thing], impatient till chaos to which it belongs do reabsorb it!" (205). It is tempting to see Carlyle's concept of evolution in relation to the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which is little more than a scientific statement of Carlyle's "gnawing" Oblivion. There is even an incipient understanding in Past and Present of the transition from "survival of the fittest" to a cultural evolution in Carlyle's prophecy for a new Aristocracy:

But what an Aristocracy; on what new, far more complex and cunningly devised conditions than that old Feudal fighting one! For we are to rethink us that the Epic verily is not Arms and the Man, but Tools and the Man,—an infinitely wider kind of Epic. (248)

Related as they are to Carlyle's philosophy and his fundamental optimism, the concepts of progress, might and right, and time in the evolutionary "long-run," are not, in Past and Present, the ideas of a fascist social prophet. Carlyle's totalitarian impulses do become more pronounced in Latter-Day Pamphlets and Frederick the Great, but in Past and Present Carlyle does not advocate social reform only through centralized power or the dictatorial control of a "Great Man." In the interplay between literal and figurative meaning, Carlyle does have a tendency to insist literally on the image of the fighting or "warfaring" Christian, but "true fighting" involves a correspondence between physical and moral qualities. The "Bible of Universal History" at once
reveals and teaches an optimistic view of man's destiny, the notion that regeneration and progress are both possible and inevitable, and an evolutionary vision of the struggle of "Mights" in the world which are in the long-run equated with "Rights."

The art of Carlyle's history may be described, basically, by its emphasis on perception and dramatic recreation, and by the ideas which his "Bible of Universal History" promulgates. But whether Carlyle's art of history is effective, or whether Carlyle is even writing "history" at all is certainly a matter of some dispute. The typical objections which critics have raised are interesting both for themselves and for the light they shed on some particular characteristics of Carlyle's historical art. Expressed here by James Russell Lowell is perhaps the most frequent of those objections:

Mr. Carlyle's manner is not so well suited to the historian as to the essayist. He is always great in single figures and striking episodes, but there is neither gradation nor continuity... He sees history, as it were, by flashes of lightning. A single scene, whether a landscape or an interior, a single figure or a wild mob of men, whatever may be snatched by the eye in that instant of intense illumination, is minutely photographed upon the memory.23

To that comment we should add Chesterton's more succinct observation that Carlyle sees "much more vividly and humanly the things that he has not seen."24 Initially, we are apt to read Chesterton's comment as being substantially the same observation that Lowell makes, but Chesterton suggests, as well, that Carlyle's histories may be imaginative at the expense of recorded fact. There are many vivid passages in
Past and Present which are merely illustrations of the facts in Jocelin's chronicle, but there are also some whose memorableness may depend partly on the conjectural quality of the historical "facts." Two examples may illustrate this point: first, following a passage on Abbot Samson's economic troubles, Carlyle says,

And consider, if the Abbot found such difficulty in the mere economic department, how much in more complex ones, in spiritual ones perhaps! He wears a stern calm face; raging and gnashing teeth, fremens and frendens, many times, in the secret of his mind. (103)

Most historians would surely object to the inference that the economic difficulties are necessarily perfect emblems of spiritual ones. In spite of Carlyle's qualifying "perhaps," the writer of historical romance would recognize what Wayne Booth calls "priviledged" information in Carlyle's externalization of the "secret of his mind." Second, Carlyle turns an acknowledged possibility into a revelatory fact:

But even Dryasdust apprises me of one fact: 'A child, in this William's reign, might have carried a purse of gold from end to end of England.' My erudite friend, it is a fact which outweighs a thousand! (213)

In spite of Dryasdust's use of "might," Carlyle assumes that the possibility is a fact which symbolizes the whole character of a nation. Carlyle does create here a certain "suspension of disbelief" at the expense of historical accuracy. A passage describing King Henry's court may demonstrate Carlyle's typical historical method:

King Henry himself is visibly there, a vivid, noble-looking man, with grizzled beard, in glittering uncertain costume; with earls round him, and bishops and dignitaries, in the like. The Hall is large, and has
for one thing an altar near it,—chapel and altar adjoining it; but what gilt seats, carved tables, carpeting of rush-cloth, what arras-hangings, and a huge fire of logs: --alas, it has Human Life in it; and is not that the grand miracle, in what hangings or costume soever? (84)

This passage is reminiscent of Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn," which employs the same rhetorical figure in describing things only imagined: "what gilt seats . . . what arras hangings." In addition to that figure, it may be interesting to list in one column the specific details, and in another the vague suggestions:

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<th>specific</th>
<th>vague</th>
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<tr>
<td>King Henry</td>
<td>noble-looking man</td>
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<tr>
<td>grizzled beard</td>
<td>glittering uncertain costume</td>
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<tr>
<td>earls, bishops</td>
<td>dignitaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, altar, chapel</td>
<td>what hangings or costumes soever</td>
</tr>
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Admirers of Carlyle's "concrete" descriptions are likely to be surprised at the amount of vague or suggestive description in a passage characteristic of Carlyle's "intense illumination." The intensity and the vividness are achieved in no small part by the reader's own involvement and Carlyle's suggestions that the scene is vivid: "King Henry himself is visibly there, a vivid, noble-looking man."

Commenting on this "vividness," James Russell Lowell says that Carlyle's talent for witnessing and making the readers witnesses of historical events is "genius beyond a question, and of a very rare quality, but it is not history. He has not the cold-blooded impartiality of the historian." 26

Although Lowell takes away with one hand what he gives with
the other, his observation raises the problem of the imagination's role in the writing of history. In this instance, as in many others in Past and Present, Carlyle achieves an intensity of experience without violating the given facts. If this is not "cold-blooded" history, it is something superior rather than inferior.

Probably more serious than the objection critics have to Carlyle's over-dramatization is his idealization or romantic distortion of medieval life. "Although he was too scrupulously honest a man to have been able to distort his sources consciously," George Levine suggests, Carlyle "never wrote a history in which the facts had not already led him to his desired conclusions." 27 In Carlyle's adaptation of Jocelin's text there are some minor inaccuracies but they do not warrant a complaint about Carlyle's conscious or unconscious distortion of the matter or spirit of the narrative. 28 Carlyle does want Abbot Samson's society to serve as an example for modern England, but he tempers his idealism with passages about the monks' gossipy nature and their attempted mutiny. Similarly, although Carlyle does not include all of Abbot Samson's less flattering deeds from Jocelin's chronicle, he selects episodes which range from Samson's bullying of "poor old rural Deans" to the confrontation with King Richard, or from his petty displeasure with Jocelin's menu-switching to his shrewd handling of the Earl quarreling over the five-shilling knight's-fee.
In Books III and IV, Carlyle is occasionally nostalgic about the lost virtues of the twelfth-century society:

"For those were rugged stalwart ages; full of earnestness, of a rude God's-truth" (243). But he does put aside his nostalgia and recognize that Abbot Samson's solution for social problems cannot be John Bull's:

But no man is, or can henceforth be, the brass-collar thrall of any man; you will have to bind him by other, far nobler and cunninger methods. Once for all, he is to be loose of the brass-collar, to have a scope as wide as his faculties now are. ... How, in conjunction with inevitable Democracy, indispensable Sovereignty is to exist: certainly it is the hugest question ever heretofore propounded to Mankind! (249)

Carlyle's romantic distortion is tempered, in Past and Present, by his overriding sense of the actual and the real:

"the Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way" (63).

The most telling objection to be raised against Carlyle's historical writings concerns his lack of historical "sympathy." René Wellek's criticism is typical in its objection to the way in which Carlyle's ethical standards distort history:

It seems undeniable that Carlyle was never able to keep consistently to the historical point of view, that he always introduced a set of ethical standards which are not derived from history itself and which prevent him from judging the individuality of a man or time by its own inherent criteria. ... Carlyle did not want to transfer himself to another time, as the historian does; he wanted to sweep away the illusion of Time, to rend it asunder, to "pierce the Time-element and glance into the Eternal." ... Carlyle's narrow range of sympathy is in itself a contradiction of the true "historical spirit."
Certainly Wellek is correct in realizing that Carlyle could never write a "disinterested" history; within his "narrow range," however, Carlyle can be both vivid and accurate. Chesterton says that although Carlyle can be "outrageously" wrong about anything in which he is not intensely interested, he "could only be the fine historian of his best work when his best passions or prejudices were engaged. He could only be accurate when he was excited."30 Most likely, the same moral intensity which makes Carlyle unsympathetic to certain historical figures and ages is also responsible for his most memorable and vivid scenes.

The objections raised against Carlyle's art of writing history are finally all related. Carlyle's histories are "disfigured" by his melodramatic urges and his lack of historical sympathy. These very objections, of course, suggest the aspects most often praised in Carlyle's histories, that he is able to connect history with philosophy and religion and that he imaginatively recreates scenes from history which remain living in the reader's memory. Truth, even historical truth, does depend upon the intensity of perception, if only because history exists in the minds of men as well as in books. As Carlyle says, writing of his own art of history, "For this certainly turns out to be a truth; only what you at last have living in your own memory and heart is worth putting down to be printed; this alone has much chance to get into the living heart and memory of other men."31
Evaluating the historical art of Book II in terms of Carlyle's own theory, Louise Young is moderate but sound:

This Book II of Past and Present is the least pretentious but the most perfect of Carlyle's historical writings in satisfying his own requirements. There is biographic interest, both individual and social; there is poetic interest of the first order; and there is over all a sense of reality which not only parts the curtains of the past but persuades the reader that he is actually experiencing life as it was lived in the twelfth century.32

Taken from the second chapter of Book II, the following passage shows Carlyle parting the "curtains of the past" and engaging his reader in the twelfth-century life:

Beautifully, in our earnest loving glance, the old centuries melt from opaque to partially translucent, transparent here and there; and the void black Night, one finds, is but the summing up of innumerable peopled luminous Days. Not parchment Chartularies, Doctrines of the Constitution, O Dryasdust; not altogether, my erudite friend!--

Readers who please to go along with us into this poor Jocelini Chronica shall wander inconveniently enough, as in wintry twilight, through some poor stript hazel-grove, rustling with foolish noises, and perpetually hindering the eyesight; but across which, here and there, some real human figure is seen moving: very strange; whom we could hail if he would answer; --and we look into a pair of eyes deep as our own, imaging our own, but all unconscious of us; to whom we for the time are become as spirits and invisible! (55)

In this passage, Carlyle engages his reader in a variety of ways. First, there is an abundance of visual imagery which focusses not just on things seen, but on the act of seeing into the past: "in our earnest loving glance," "melt from opaque to partially translucent, transparent here and there," "void black Night," "hindering the eyesight," and "figure is seen moving." The visual imagery is capped in the final
image: "we look into a pair of eyes deep as our own, imaging our own, but all unconscious of us." Furthermore, the reader is invited, as if the visual imagery were not enough, to please "go along with us" in this dim wandering. Finally, there is Carlyle's ever-present contrast between appearance and reality in the "parchment Chartularies of Dryasdust" and the "real human figure," a contrast which is used to enhance our perception of the twelfth-century reality and our wonder at being able to see into the darkness of the centuries at all. The imaginative quality illustrated here is not sustained throughout the narrative--in fact, this passage serves its purpose in merely transporting the reader to the twelfth century (or to a willing suspension of disbelief) where the narrative can then begin. But throughout Book II, the visual imagery and concrete detail, the confrontation of past and present, and the contrast of appearance and reality invite the reader to see and partake in the life of Abbot Samson. Because Carlyle's history is as much a literary art as it is factual history, Past and Present survives in the "living heart and memory of other men" while the Monasticon Anglicanum languishes in the "mountains of dead ashes" and the "DRY RUBBISH" of history.
iii The Hero's Role in the Rebirth of Society

Carlyle's concept of the hero and his role in regenerating society is a function of Carlyle's philosophy and his view of history. Man is an emblem of the divine, concealing and revealing the divine will; in man exists the potential for moral life, a potential for vision, reverence and work. Man's perception is clarified by the birth, growth and death of individual men and societies in time, and his work is guided by a reverence for the heroes that he finds in those past or present societies. Since Carlyle, in Past and Present, is advocating a reform, a "Newbirth of Society" dependent upon both individual heroes as well as governing bodies, this section will consider the role that heroes—especially Abbot Samson—have in social reform and then the role which modern social organizations and the "elite of heroes" must play in the absence of a single great man. Samson's society provides a model for the nineteenth century that is not based on the absolute authority of some "Great Man" but on the mutual recognition of the worth of the individual members. Even more than in Abbot Samson's times, the solution of the nineteenth century's social problems involves a combination of individual work and governmental action, a mixture of "inevitable Democracy" and "indispensable Sovereignty."

Before discussing Abbot Samson and the other heroes
in *Past and Present*, we should consider Carlyle's concept of the hero. In *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero*, B. H. Lehman provides a brief definition:

The Hero is the gift of Heaven, a Force of Nature, sent by Nature. His essential quality is original Insight. Insight into the great Original Fact of Existence brings Belief in the Fact, disbelief in Semblances. . . . Inasmuch as he can not escape the inner Reality of the world, he is bound to a non-conscious Sincerity of speech and action in thorough-going accordance with the Reality.33

The hero's "non-conscious Sincerity of speech and action" is crucial to Carlyle's concept of the hero. In *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Carlyle says that "sincerity . . . is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic. . . . The Great Man's sincerity is of the kind he cannot speak of, is not conscious of" (V, 45). The idea of sincerity has its basis, like so much of Carlyle's philosophy, in the essay "Characteristics": "Always the characteristic of right performance is a certain spontaneity, an unconsciousness" (XXVIII, 7). The connection between the hero's "performance" and his sincerity is made more explicit by F. W. Roe: the hero is first "a man of sincerity . . . second, a man with the 'seeing eye' . . . finally, he is a creative force, a source of order. . . . He is, in truth, a servant of the people no less than their leader."34

Most simply stated, the hero is the man whose sincerity, reverence and work establish or reestablish the organic connections between men and between man and God in order to give new life, new moral life, to society.
Abbot Samson, as well as the many other heroic figures in Past and Present, provides a model for the hero's role in regenerating society. The key to Samson's role lies in his relationship to those more worthy than he, St. Edmund and God, as well as in the reverence paid him by those who elected him, the monks generally and "Bozzy" Jocelin in particular. Samson is not a Cromwell, obedient only to his conscience and God, but rather he is a hero in the middle, obeying and serving both his people and God. The fact that his belief in God is shared by the rest of the monastery is at the basis of his "unconscious" performance. Within the established hierarchy, Samson is an efficient administrator and a just executor. Samson's heroic qualities, his vision, his reverence and his work, are all suited to his role in an "unconscious" world where man still occupied a middle link on the Great Chain of Being.

The qualities of insight and vision, as manifestations of sincerity, constitute a major part of Carlyle's characterization of Abbot Samson. "The clear-beaming eyesight of Abbot Samson," Carlyle says in Chapter x of Book II, "is like Fiat lux in that inorganic waste whirlpool; penetrates gradually to all nooks, and of the chaos makes a kosmos or ordered world!" (95). Similarly, Samson's vision is seen as being "clear-hearted," suggesting that his insight comes from the heart rather than merely the eyes or the brain: "That he was a just clear-hearted man, this, as the basis of
all true talent, is presupposed. How can a man, without clear vision in his heart first of all, have any clear vision in the head?" (100). In addition, the talent for such vision is natural and "unconscious": "Our new Abbot has a right honest unconscious feeling . . . of what he is and what others are" (94). The terms "vision," "insight," "veracious," "clear-hearted," and "open smiling nature," all relate to Carlyle's doctrine of sincerity. Taken in a literal sense, however, the terms do not always correspond with the actions of the Abbot: Samson did not have, in any literal sense, an "open smiling nature." With good reason, the monks feared, for example, that Samson would "rage like a wolf." Often, then, the terms used to describe Abbot Samson are both descriptive and suggestive: they serve to create a positive aura about the hero and, if possible, to establish a feeling of reverence in the reader for a hero such as Samson.

A second characteristic of the hero which Roe's comment suggests is reverence, and the natural corollary to that, obedience. These terms are crucial to Carlyle's attempt to produce a regeneration of society. Society must abandon the cash nexus in favor of a real nexus, an organic and spiritual relationship between men. "The grand summary of a man's spiritual condition, what brings out all his hero- hood and insight, or all his flunkeyhood and horn-eyed dimness, is this question put to him, What man dost thou honour?" (80). The attitude of reverence permeates the
whole of Book II beginning with Carlyle's reverence for the twelfth-century society, through Jocelin's reverence and respect for Abbot Samson, and ending in Samson's and the monks' reverence for St. Edmund. Although Jocelin, Samson's "small Boswell," does not have the hero's intensity of vision and is an altogether "imperfect 'mirror'" (49), he illustrates the nexus between the monks and Samson. In a similar manner, Samson, at the culminating point of Book II, gives obedient reverence to the body and spirit of St. Edmund, reenacting the admiration which the people paid to Landlord Edmund in the ninth century. Of the twelfth-century opening of St. Edmund's Loculus, Carlyle says:

Stupid blockheads, to reverence their St. Edmund's dead Body in this manner? Yes, brother;--and yet, on the whole, who knows how to reverence the Body of a Man? It is the most reverend phenomenon under this Sun. For the Highest God dwells visible in that mystic unfathomable Visibility, which calls itself "I" on the Earth. (126)

It is not just that men may, as Eric Bentley indicates, "transfer to the hero the feelings they had associated with God," but that God reveals Himself in the souls of the heroic.35 In fact, in Book IV, Carlyle, recalling Novalis, says that the "one godlike thing" in the world is the "veneration done to Human Worth by the hearts of men" (282-83). Paralleling the idea of the universe as an "open secret," Carlyle says that hero-worship shows the "perpetual presence of Heaven in our poor Earth: when it is not there, Heaven is veiled from us" (283). Book II exemplifies the idea that hero-worship can take place only in the "souls of the heroic." Both Samson
and Jocelin are heroic because they are capable of reverence and obedience. Thus, it is important that we see not only Abbot Samson's reverence for true worth, his ability to promote only "fit men," his reverence for St. Edmund and the Abbey, but also that our whole vision of Samson and St. Edmundsbury is through Jocelin's (and Carlyle's) reverent eyes. Abbot Samson is in the middle, admired and revered by Jocelin, and respecting and reverencing St. Edmund.

The third basic quality of the hero stems from the first two. If the hero has "insight" and practices reverence and obedience, he will try to make reality correspond to his vision and will govern and work successfully. The lesson which Samson's career teaches is that obedience as well as reverence are basic to true governing: "To learn obeying is the fundamental art of governing. . . . He that cannot be servant of many, will never be master, true guide and deliverer of many" (92). Not only does obedience teach one how to govern, but governing itself must be an act of serving: "Is he not their servant, as we said, who can suffer from them, and for them; bear the burden their poor spindle-limbs totter and stagger under; and in virtue thereof govern them" (94). Samson's "right noble instinct of what is doable" tells him, on the one hand, that he must avoid inertia, the "three pound ten, and a life of Literature," and on the other, he must avoid "raging like a wolf" or resorting excessively to censure:
'To repress and hold-in such sudden anger he was continually careful,' and succeeded well:--right, Samson; that it may become in thee as noble central heat, fruitful, strong, beneficent; not blaze out . . . as wasteful volcanoism to scorch and consume! (96)

At the most critical moment of Samson's ministry, when the monks "burst into open mutiny," Samson does seem to rage when he excommunicates one monk and punishes three others. While Samson's reaction is strong, he does succeed in halting the mutiny and reconciling the monks in the touching scene which Jocelin describes: "He arose weeping, and embraced each and all of us with the kiss of peace. He wept; we all wept" (104). Most characteristically, Samson exhibits a "cautious energy" wherein he "hastes not; but neither does he pause to rest" (96). Samson's "slow but steady undeviating perseverance" is designed in the long run to gain his point:

    In fact, by excommunication or persuasion, by impetuosity of driving or adroitness in leading, this Abbot, it is now becoming plain everywhere, is a man that generally remains master at last. He tempers his medicine to the malady, now hot, now cool; prudent though fiery, an eminently practical man. (115)

In short, Samson wrestles and struggles "to educe organic method out of lazily fermenting wreck" (94), thatches out the rain and makes order out of chaos. Taken together, Samson's sincerity and insight, his reverence and obedience, and his ability to work, to create order out of chaos, provide the major pattern for the rebirth of modern England.

    In addition to Abbot Samson, there are many real and mythical heroes referred to in Books I, III, and IV who reflect parts of the heroic pattern which Samson illustrates
in Book II: Wallace, Hercules, Burns, Columbus, Sir Christopher Wren, William the Conqueror, Oliver Cromwell, Goethe, the Duke of Weimar, Anselm, King Redbeard, Friend Prudence and Lord Ashley. Apart from the further illustration of the heroic pattern, the structural effect of including so many heroes—as well as the anti-heroes, the quacks, dupes and sham-heroes—cannot be overlooked. Just as historical references are not limited to Book II, but occur throughout all of Past and Present, so too the heroic pattern is present in every book, linking potential modern heroes to the established heroes of the past. Although none of these figures is so fully developed as Samson, they manifest the same vision, reverence, and ability to work and govern.

The visionary qualities of these heroes are especially important. Goethe, whom Carlyle calls the "greatest German man," demonstrates his insight and vision in the poem known as "Mason-Lodge" or "Symbolum" which appears three times in Past and Present. Although other heroes such as Cromwell, Wren, Columbus or Byron do have an insight comparable to Samson's, Carlyle does not directly refer to their visionary qualities except under the general category of "the Gifted": "These are they, the elect of the world; the born champions, strong men, and liberatory Samsons of this poor world" (286). Carlyle, too, must be considered among these heroes who have special insight; Carlyle's own role, as will be discussed below, is as a member of the "Teaching Class" who brings vision and wisdom to the nineteenth century.
Samson's reverence and obedience are paralleled on several different social levels. On the lowest are those whose obedience is dictated by their own ignorance: Gurth and the Quashee, who is a "kind of blockhead." Significantly higher are the English workers (epitomized by Bull) in whom the potential for reverence and obedience is already present. On the highest level are the heroes who, if necessary, are willing to give up their lives to protest injustice: the martyrs like St. Edmund, Wallace, and Becket. Other marginal heroes develop reverence in spite of themselves: Henry of Essex, who, after his vision of Edmund and his defeat, "strove to wipe out the stain of his former life" (112); the Duke of Burgundy, who, after attempting to rob Anselm, plunges "down to his knees; embraces the feet of Old Anselm" (246); and King Redbeard, who, in a wholly imaginary conversation with Anselm, declares that the world is "an unspoken secret, the world is wider than any of us think, Right Reverend! Behold, there are yet other immeasurable Sacrednesses in this that you call Heathenism, Secularity!" (247).

Most closely paralleling Samson, however, are the heroes whose obedience and reverence find expression in working and just governing. Hercules, William the Conqueror, and Sir Christopher Wren are the workers who fight against chaos and whose "Epic, unsung in words, is written in huge characters on the face of this Planet" (162). While the categories overlap, heroes such as Christopher Columbus, Oliver Cromwell, and Friend Prudence are true governors of
men as well as workers. Columbus, like Samson, must fight against internal disorder and mutiny: "Mutiny of men thou wilt sternly repress; weakness, despondency, thou wilt cheerily encourage: thou wilt swallow down complaint, unreason, weariness, weakness of others and thyself" (199-200). Carlyle's advice to the Idle Aristocracy to descend and "learn what wretches feel" has an example in Peter the Great who "became a dusty toiling shipwright; worked with his axe in the Docks of Saardam" (181). The modern Aristocracy should at least be able, like the Duke of Weimar and Samson, to know how to choose "fit men" for important positions. Oliver Cromwell, whom Carlyle calls the "remarkablest Governor we have had here for the last five centuries or so" (221), had that talent of not only being able to govern and work well, but of inspiring work in others. Cromwell, with a much larger task ahead of him than Samson, had Samson's unconscious knowledge of the "voice of God, through waste awful whirlwinds and environments, speaking to his great heart" and had a talent "capable of inspiring similar talent" (221). Samson, the English "red coat" and Cromwell together provide Carlyle with a picture of the ideal "beneficent drill-sergeant" who can "encourage thee when right, punish thee when wrong, and everywhere with wise word-of-command say, Forward on this hand, Forward on that!" (260).

Corresponding to the hero and sham-hero pattern illustrated by Samson and Abbot Hugo in Book II are a whole
host of anti-heroes, dupes, blockheads and quacks which provide contrast to the modern heroes. In addition to the well-known Plugson of Undershot, Sir Jabesh Windbag and Bobus Higgins of Houndsditch, there are many lesser sham-heroes in the parade of dunces: Blusterowski, Colacorde, Joe Manton, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Viscount Mealymouth, the Earl of Windlestraw, Pandarus Dog-draught, Sam Slick and Blank. In Book II, Chapter xiv, there is an extended contrast between Oliver Cromwell, the hero from the past, and Sir Jabesh Windbag, the modern quack. Organized around this contrast, Chapter xiv illustrates how Carlyle uses heroes and anti-heroes, both past and present, to form a pattern which serves both the theme and structure of Past and Present. The ever-present sham-hero reminds the reader that "Quack and Dupe . . . are upper-side and under of the selfsame substance; convertible personages" (31). Both negatively and positively, then, the concept of the hero and hero-worship is important to theme and structure. The multiplicity of heroes and sham-heroes provide a recurring theme: the only help for England's ailing society is the resuscitation of man's soul and the corresponding reestablishment of a real nexus between men and between man and God.

In the absence of a single great man to provide leadership for modern English society, Carlyle relies on two basic appeals: first, in a religious approach, he exhorts each man to reform himself before he complains about society; second, he tries to force the existing social order and
Parliament to reform, to become an "elite of heroes" and assume the responsibilities which as a governing body they should have. Both appeals depend upon the concept of hero-worship.

The first appeal is basically religious: "Fancy a man," Carlyle says, "recommending his fellow men to believe in God, that so Chartism might abate, and the Manchester Operatives be got to spin peaceably!" (224). Each man must reform his own soul; the purpose of such a reform, however, is not to "save souls" but to save society. Once individuals are reformed, they are then able to choose leaders for society and government. As illustrated even in Samson's election, "Parliamentary Elections are but the topmost ultimate outcome of an electioneering which goes on at all hours, in all places, in every meeting of two or more men" (252). As Carlyle's "young friend of the Houndsditch Indicator" says, the responsibility for any election lies solely on each individual:

Nay I will even mention to you an infallible sifting-process whereby he that has ability will be sifted out to rule among us, and that same blessed Aristocracy of Talent be verily, in an approximate degree, vouchsafed us by and by: an infallible sifting-process; to which, however, no soul can help his neighbor, but each must, with devout prayer to Heaven, endeavour to help himself. (35)

Carlyle's second appeal is to the existing social order to reform itself and become a "blessed Aristocracy of Talent."

In the most general sense, Carlyle thinks of the Aristocracy of Talent as being composed of two elements, an "Aristocracy and Priesthood," or a "Governing Class and a Teaching
Class" (241). As in Abbot Samson's feudal Aristocracy, these two classes have both rights and duties: governor and governed, master-worker and worker, teacher and pupil, have a reciprocal relationship. In a characteristic metaphor, Carlyle says that a "High Class without duties to do is like a tree planted on precipices; from the roots of which all the earth has been crumbling" (180). The society is living and healthy—to continue the organic metaphor—when all of the cells are connected and related with reciprocating obligations.

Carlyle's two basic elements or "Classes" in his Aristocracy of Talent are each further divided: the Governing Class consists of the Landed Aristocracy and the Captains of Industry; the Teaching Class consists of the Priesthood and the Men of Letters. Carlyle's description of society takes into account the fact that the old classes (the Landed Aristocracy and the Priesthood) are falling into disuse and becoming ossified, while new ones (the Captains of Industry and the Men of Letters) are taking shape. Thus, the phoenix metaphor is implicit as the Virtual unfolds into the Actual and the old feudal order changes: "An actual new Sovereignty, Industrial Aristocracy, real not imaginary Aristocracy, is indispensable and undubitable for us" (248). The nature and function of each of these classes as branches of Carlyle's Aristocracy of Talent will be considered separately, acknowledging Carlyle's belief that the present and future forms
have grown out of and are rooted, like the Life-tree Yggdrasil itself, in the past.

The right basis of any true Aristocracy, Carlyle says, is land. The land, which is the gift of God, cannot be owned or sold: "Properly speaking, the Land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God; and to all His Children of Men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it" (176). Land belongs to all generations and the "last stroke of labour bestowed on it is not the making of its value, but only the increasing thereof" (177). The Landed Aristocracy, then, because it has stewardship over the earth, is more fundamentally responsible for the welfare of the earth's workers than even the Captains of Industry.

From noblest Patriotism to humblest industrial Mechanism; from highest dying for your country, to lowest quarrying and coal-boring for it, a Nation's Life depends upon its Land. Again and again we have to say, there can be no true Aristocracy but must possess the Land. (176)

If the Landed Aristocracy is to avoid complete ossification, they must, in return for the possession of the land, furnish guidance and governance.

To an increasing extent, the Captains of Industry must assume the rights and duties of the governing class. "The blind Plugson," Carlyle says, "was a Captain of Industry, born member of the Ultimate genuine Aristocracy of this Universe, could he have known it!" (193). Potentially a member of the governing Aristocracy, Plugson must learn what Samson learned, that "obeying is the fundamental art of governing." Just as the Aristocracy must learn to experience
the hardship and suffering of the lower classes, as Peter
the Great did, the Captains of Industry must take advantage
of the fact that they themselves are not just Master-workers,
but also workers: "The main substance of this immense Problem
of Organising Labour, and first of all of Managing the Working
Classes, will, it is very clear, have to be solved by those
who stand practically in the middle of it; by those who
themselves work and preside over work" (267). If Carlyle
has an answer to the immense problem of work and wages, of
achieving a "Fair day's-wages for a fair day's-work," it lies
in the possibility of producing a real nexus between employer
and worker by an understanding or even experience of the
other's rights and duties.

Just as Carlyle's message to the individual man is to
work in well-doing, his message to the Governing Class,
including the Landed Aristocracy and the Captains of Industry,
is to cease their mis-doing and their idleness and begin
truly governing. In addition to abolishing the corn-laws,
the Parliament, as the active arm of the governing class,
could "interfere" in some practical ways. Factory, Mine and
Furrowfield Inspectors might be created. Sanitary Regulations
might be passed. Anti-pollution laws might clear the air in
manufacturing towns and create "a hundred acres or so of
free greenfield, with trees on it, conquered, for its little
children to disport in; for its all-conquering workers to
take a breath of twilight air in" (262). To solve the
unemployment and the population problem, an "Emigration
Service" might create a "free bridge for Emigrants" (264). The Captains of Industry, like Friend Prudence, could help establish permanent rather than temporary contracts with workers, and those workers be given a permanent economic interest in the company. Doing away with all manner of mechanical apparatus, with Logics and Baconian Inductions, with statistics, Parliamentary Expediencies, Greatest-Happiness Principles, and "Laissez-faire," with "punishments" of all kinds, all "expediencies, parliamentary traditions, division-lists, election-funds, leading articles," Parliament might become an effective agent of the Governing Class. The "condition of England" does not call for a conquering hero on the order of Cromwell, but only an efficient organizer and just administrator like Samson.

In contrast to the "practical Governorship," the Teaching Class, composed of the Priesthood and the Men of Letters, provides the "spiritual Guideship." In every hamlet in Europe, a "Church Apparatus" is got together, where a man might stand and "speak of spiritual things to men" (242). "Spiritual Guideship" finds expression also in men "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" (233). The Men of Letters, like Goethe, and their literature are only the modern expression of the same religious impulse:

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. . . . (234)

In Past and Present, Goethe and Carlyle himself are the best examples of the Teaching Class.

While it may be too extreme to say, with John Gross, that "it is tempting to see the myth of the Hero as Man of Letters as a fairly transparent exercise in self-glorification," certainly Carlyle's role, in Past and Present, combines the functions of the Priesthood with the more modern Men of Letters.36 Both as preacher and historian, as prophet and editor, Carlyle uses the "ethical appeal" in a persuasive fashion. The reader cannot help but infer that if the prophet or the editor in Past and Present is sincere and admirable, then his ideas and judgments must likewise be so.37 Chapter vii in Book IV, entitled "The Gifted," best illustrates Carlyle's apotheosis of the "Man of Genius" (in this case, the Man of Letters):

His place is with the stars of Heaven. . . . What wilt thou do with him? He is above thee, like a god. . . . He is thy born king, thy conqueror and supreme law-giver. . . . The Highest Man of Genius, knowest thou him; Godlike and a God to this hour. . . . Genius is 'the inspired gift of God.' It is the clearer presence of God Most High in a man. (286-88)

The superior position of the Man of Letters, if he is so "Gifted," invites martyrdom if the people do not listen or believe. As Sauerteig says, "The regular way is to hang, kill, crucify your gods, and execrate and trample them under your stupid hoofs for a century or two; till you discover that they are gods,--and then take to braying over them" (25).
Like Samson, the Man of Letters is rigid and unyielding in the face of a possible compromise of justice or wisdom. In a perceptive remark, Chesterton saw an inevitable tragedy in Carlyle's stance as social prophet, a tragic situation which Carlyle must certainly have realized: "There are two main moral necessities for the work of a great man: the first is that he should believe in the truth of his message; the second is that he should believe in the acceptability of his message. It was the whole tragedy of Carlyle that he had the first and not the second."\(^{38}\) Carlyle's often pessimistic and satiric view of the present helps make his message unacceptable; as Louis Cazamian notes, "messages of hope, sometimes ecstatic and inspired, sometimes nearer to a savage, almost desperate, energy than to the normal forms of hope, will stand side by side in his writings with the bitterest irony and contempt for the mediocrity of his age and the frivolity of his fellows."\(^{39}\) Perhaps the difficulty was that Carlyle's insistence that only history, in the long run, reveals Nature's Law kept him looking backwards into the past, even while he talked about the present and the future, even while he believed, or wanted to believe, in the potential for moral justice in the present. Cazamian's own comment on this problem is most easily reconciled with the purpose of Past and Present:

Why should he [Carlyle] continue to preach, we may ask, if all preaching is vain? Here is the escape indeed from the maddening circle; in stirring the souls of men, in rousing there the powers of conscience and of
faith, the Heroic Man of Letters, a prophet pregnant with a divine message, will give men the power of choosing the wisest masters who shall lead them to the absolute good. 40

Messages of social reform may not be acceptable, but man's conscience may be aroused in spite of himself once he makes some "supportable approximations" and begins working. As we have seen in different contexts, the effect of Past and Present depends upon the creation of a vision in which both writer and reader participate. Such a vision is, in itself, not a matter of doctrine and is not designed to "prove and find reasons," but to produce belief and action.

Taken together, the Governing and Teaching Classes must find a solution to the condition-of-England question which balances the necessity for hero-worship with the idea that the heroic is "potential is all men." As Carlyle explains in Book I, the question of the Sphinx is, "What is Justice?" In Books III and IV, the question of Justice becomes the question of work and wages, of the proper relationship of governor to governed. The riddle of the Sphinx is articulated for modern times when, in Book IV, Carlyle wonders "How, in conjunction with inevitable Democracy, indispensable Sovereignty is to exist: certainly it is the hugest question ever propounded to Mankind!" (249). Apparently, this is not only the crucial question but also an answer to the social predicament. Sovereignty, in its feudal sense, is no longer possible: "And again we are to bethink us that men cannot now be bound to men by brass-collars,—not at all: that this brass-collar method, in all figures of it, has
vanished out of Europe forevermore!" (249). Democracy, in some form or other, is inevitable, but it cannot provide the basis for any just society. The answer is that men be given external freedom and liberty only as their internal sense of reverence and obedience is strong enough to withstand the pressures of disorder and anarchy. It is no coincidence that Carlyle's doctrine of individual obedience and self-willed working (Emerson's "Self-reliance") strikes sympathetic chords at a time when the old nexus between God and man is breaking down. Carlyle sees Democracy as a chaotic force, as "Twenty-seven Millions" advancing "towards the firm-land's end,--towards the end and extinction of what Faithfulness, Veracity, real Worth, was in their way of life" (145-46). Democracy, in short, means the "despair of finding any Heroes to govern you" (214), but also contains the simultaneous hope that "every man, God be thanked, [is] a potential hero" (204).

Similarly, liberty, "the liberty to live in want of work" (218), or to go about unconnected with anyone like the poor Irish Widow, is just another manifestation of the modern "Laissez-faire" principle which produces a "vague janglement" of "Supply-and-demand, Cash-payment the one nexus of man to man: Free-trade, Competition, and Devil take the hindmost, our latest Gospel yet preached!" (170). Mechanisms, "vague janglements" and even unjust Corn-Laws are not as devastating as true isolation, which Carlyle saw as the final product of the "Laissez-faire" principle:

Isolation is the sum-total of wretchedness to man. To be cut off, to be left solitary: to have a world
alien, not your world; all a hostile camp for you; not a home at all, of hearts and faces who are yours, whose you are! It is the frightfulest enchantment; too truly a work of the Evil One. (271)

Yet in spite of democracy, liberty, and laissez-faire, Carlyle manages some hope for the future, for man himself and for a rebirth of modern England.

The result of Carlyle's answer to the hugest question propounded to mankind, that inevitable democracy must still contain indispensable sovereignty, naturally led him to apparently contradictory or paradoxical positions. In his Introduction to Past and Present, A. M. D. Hughes suggests that Carlyle advocates both democratic and despotic forms of government. According to the first version, "a burning loyalty, passing from highest and lowest back again, is the condition of a great state. . . . In this case a democratic Parliament would be useful. . . . According to the other version, men are most blessed when a strong man leads or drives them aright . . . and in this case a Parliament is a superfluity." 41 Abbot Samson, in spite of his absolute power, is more representative of the first version while Oliver Cromwell typifies the second. Louis Cazamian agrees that the emphasis in Past and Present is on a democratic parliament composed of an elite of heroes: "State-socialism can be reconciled with the dominance of a benevolent despot, a modern Cromwell, but it excludes the possibility of a governing élite. . . . In Past and Present his [Carlyle's] hope is still pinned to an effective aristocracy, an élite of heroes." 42 Most importantly, the question about kinds of
government comes down to a method of keeping society organized and connected: a despot structures from the top down, while an elite of heroes suggests a mutual reverence and well-working initiated from within the social organism. Perhaps Carlyle was deceiving himself in believing that there could ever be enough heroes to form a true governing elite, and perhaps he was wrong in hoping that such an elite of heroes, each with his own idiosyncracies, could function smoothly with a highly centralized government. Obviously, this modern riddle of the Sphinx has no solution in theory, but only in practice, in the work of centuries. However, the general principle which Carlyle describes of increasing individual responsibility in the face of withdrawing external authority seems most desirable.

Carlyle's two approaches, the appeal to individuals for some reverence for true worth and for more heroic action, and the appeal to governing bodies of men to consider their social duties as well as their rights, are intended to effect, by both guiding and leading, a new Jerusalem. Carlyle's social vision, Harrold says, "held up to Victorian eyes the old enchanting but eternally rejected ideal of the world as temple, with human laws patterned after transcendent 'Right,' so that in the end, the world of man might become, as was the hope of that first great Calvinist, St. Augustine, a veritable City of God." In Book IV, Carlyle projects just such a city:
There will again be a King in Israel; a system of Order and Government; and every man shall, in some measure, see himself constrained to do that which is right in the King's eyes. This too we may call a sure element of the Future; for this too is of the Eternal;--this too is of the Present, though hidden from most; and without it no fibre of the Past ever was. An actual new Sovereignty, Industrial Aristocracy, real not imaginary Aristocracy, is indispensable and indubitable for us. (248)

Past and Present is, very likely, the "promised Volume of the Palingenesie der menschlichen Gesellschaft (Newbirth of Society)" alluded to in Sartor Resartus.44
NOTES

1 C. F. Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834 (New Haven, 1934), p. 79.

2 Holloway, Victorian Sage, p. 21.

3 Thomas Carlyle, "Characteristics," The Works of Thomas Carlyle, Centenary Edition (London, 1899), XXVIII, 4-5. All further reference to Carlyle's works (with the exception of Past and Present and Sartor Resartus) will be to this edition and will indicate volume and page number in the text.

4 Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present (Boston, 1965), p. 19. All further reference to Past and Present will be to this edition by Richard Altick and will indicate the page number in the text.

5 Holloway, p. 23.

6 See Holloway's discussion of Carlyle's "control of meaning" on pp. 41-49.

7 C. F. Harrold, "The Mystical Element in Carlyle (1827-34)," Modern Philology, 29 (1932), 460.


9 Quoted in Holloway, p. 4.


16 Carlisle Moore, "The Persistence of Carlyle's 'Everlasting Yea,'" Modern Philology, 54 (1957), 188.

17 LaValley, p. 207.


19 Chesterton, The Victorian Age, p. 57.


21 Young, p. 75.


27 George Levine, "'Sartor Resartus' and the Balance of Fiction," Victorian Studies, 8 (1964), 156.

28 There are some minor liberties which Carlyle took with Jocelin's chronicle. For example, in the chronicle there is no established connection between the Jews who were money lenders and those excommunicated. On this point see the note on page 45 of The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed. H. E. Butler. Out of his desire to dramatize the excommunication scene, Carlyle transforms "accensis candelis" into the more dramatic but not inaccurate "bell, book and candle." Most of Carlyle's liberties, when not of this order, deal with incidents wholly excluded, for one reason or another, from Jocelin's version. For a detailed discussion of Carlyle's handling of the original Latin chronicle, see Grace Calder, pp. 45-105.

29 René Wellek, "Carlyle and the Philosophy of History," Philological Quarterly, 23 (1944), 70, 71, 74.

31 Quoted in Young, p. 141.

32 Young, pp. 124-25.


35 Bentley, p. 67.


37 Levine, p. 156.


40 Cazamian, p. 196.

41 Hughes, Past and Present, p. lxiii.

42 Cazamian, p. 205.


44 Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, ed. C. F. Harrold (New York, 1937), p. 270. All further reference to Sartor Resartus will be to this edition and will cite the page number in the text.
CHAPTER III
THE STRUCTURE OF PAST AND PRESENT

i Introductory

The structure of Past and Present is not, beyond a few obvious generalities, easy to describe. If by "structure" we mean a logic behind the relationship of the parts to the whole, we may conclude, as Hughes does, that the "plan of the book" is not easy to discern:

Carlyle would seem to intend to begin with a declaration of truths on which the world is built and every nation must depend (Bk. I). After this ethical preface comes the episode of St. Edmund's Abbey to drive it home (Bk. II). Then, an analysis of the disease of modern England (Bk. III); and the horoscope of her future (Bk. IV). But at many points the first and the last two books overlap, and the scheme is blurred with iteration. Much also of the intended effect of the second book is carried off in the prolixity of the rest, and the picture of the great Abbot and his great century lapses to the state of an interlude.¹

In attempting to discover the structure of Past and Present by describing its plan or "logic," we are, however, making a wrong critical assumption about the nature of the work. Froude suggested that Carlyle's "method of composition is so original that it cannot be tried by common rules."² We cannot hope to describe the structure accurately by looking for logical development or by assuming that it is faulty (or
nonexistent) just because he does not use methods of development traditionally associated with expository prose. Carlyle abandons the "common rules" in favor of a much more "unconscious," "dynamic" and imaginative manner. Actually, the structure and method of composition are a natural expression of Carlyle's philosophy. In addition to the obvious and omnipresent contrast of past and present societies, Past and Present is held together by its philosophy, by the metaphorical conception of the world as "open secret," by the doctrine of hero-worship, and by the expanding network of terms and synonyms, allusions and images which form the very texture of the work. The passage from "Characteristics," cited in Chapter II, provides a starting point for a discussion of both Carlyle's philosophy and his method of composition: "The healthy Understanding, we should say, is not the Logical, argumentative, but the Intuitive; for the end of Understanding is not to prove and find reasons, but to know and believe" (XXVIII, 5). Carlyle is attempting to reform the English people and society not by "proof" and "reason," but by the assertion of that something which "no man can give to another, yet every man can find for himself." 3 Because the intuition and the unconscious perceive reality primarily through association and figurative expression, Carlyle's "original" method of composition consists of assertions which are expanded and related by a variety of literary devices. This method assists the reader to "find for himself" or perceive
directly the truth of those assertions. As Grace Calder has shown in her study of the drafts of Past and Present, Carlyle revised not by clarifying the logical structure or the progression of his assumptions and conclusions, but by continually expanding the scope and range of his associations. The structure of Past and Present is not a design imposed from without; rather, the structure develops, as an organism grows, from within, by the association of ideas and images which lie below the surface "plan" of the work. If we are to discover anything about the structure, we must, therefore, approach the work inductively and ask many of the same kinds of questions we would ask of a fictional or poetic work.

The structure of most literary works often develops from some formal intention indicated by the genre. The structure or formal intention of Past and Present, however, is "confused" by Carlyle's "inability" to choose a particular genre and stay within its boundaries. Although the work is most generally a "tract for the times," it contains other literary modes, including sermon, satire, epic, prophetic and lyric poetry as well as the historical narrative in Book II. As a Man of Letters, Carlyle is a man speaking of "spiritual things" to men, a voice from the "eternal Heart of Nature once again," a voice which finds expression in several different literary modes. The second section of this chapter, dealing with genre and voice, describes
Carlyle's use of these literary modes and illustrates the importance of voice and dialectic in the work as a whole. The third section then examines the organization and some of the literary devices which Carlyle uses to develop and relate themes and images in each of the individual books of Past and Present. The final section shows how the "texture," the motifs, allusions and image patterns which are an expression of style as much as structure, create, at the most unconscious, dynamic and imaginative level, the organic structure of Past and Present.

**ii Genre and Voice**

As a Man of Letters, Carlyle's prophetic and religious role is to speak the truth which comes from the "eternal Heart of Nature." "Fiction, 'Imagination,' 'Imaginative Poetry,' &c. &c." (51) can be justified only as a way of "vehiculating" some truth which cannot be conveyed in other ways. Most generally, Past and Present is a pamphlet or sermon on the "condition of England" question, but in the process of conveying Nature's truth, Carlyle uses epic, satiric and poetic modes as well as his highly imaginative historical narrative.

Past and Present is not an epic, but it is an "Iliad of English woes," and does contain several of the qualities of literary epics, including a mixture of historical events and myth, as well as an emphasis on heroic deeds.
Moreover, Carlyle continually refers to the "epic" nature of man's heroic work down through history. Book I, "Proem," contains a wealth of allusion to historical and mythical material which establishes analogies to the modern situation in England. For instance, from classical history and mythology, Carlyle refers to the riddle of the Sphinx, the fable of Midas, Hercules, the Lernean Hydra, Apollo, Dionysius, Virgil and Ugolino's huntetower. Similarly, Carlyle makes reference to Valhalla, the Jotuns, Frost Giants and the Life-tree Igdrasil from Norse history and mythology. But the best illustrations of "epic" material from Past and Present are in Book II, Chapter xvii, "The Beginnings," where Carlyle says that the very basis of language is metaphor accumulating through history, from a "thousand thousand articulate, semi-articulate, earnest-stammering Prayers ascending up to Heaven, from hut and cell, in many lands, in many centuries, from the fervent kindled souls of innumerable men" (132). Like history itself, Carlyle understands the epic as growing from the literary fragments of innumerable men. Reconstructing the effort of countless men through the centuries, Carlyle can give his imagination free reign in describing what is basically historical fact:

The great Iliad in Greece, and the small Robin Hood's Garland in England, are each, as I understand, the well-edited 'Select Beauties' of an immeasurable waste imbroglio of Heroic Ballads in their respective centuries and countries. Think
Likewise Chapter vi, "The English," praises England's epic of deeds which is a similar result of countless hard-working, tenacious and conservative Englishmen: "Thy Epic, unsung in words, is written in huge characters on the face of this Planet. . . . Great honour to him whose Epic is a melodious hexameter Iliad. . . . But still greater honour, if his Epic be a mighty Empire slowly built together, a mighty Series of Heroic Deeds" (162). In Book IV Carlyle says that when man discovers that he has always lived by justice, he will be taught that man's "acted History will then again be a Heroism; their written History, what it once was, an Epic" (240). In addition to combining myth with historical persons and events and "editing" the "waste imbroglio" which is recorded history, Carlyle employs some other epic elements: Jocelin's episodic narrative, the characters of heroic stature such as Samson, Cromwell, Columbus or Christopher Wren, and the heroic journey and task which the hero must accomplish. The latter is alluded to in the "purple passage" at the end of Book I which concludes with the line from Tennyson's "Ulysses": "There dwells the great Achilles whom we knew" (41). Thus, the problems of modern
England are placed in historical perspective, complete with ancient and modern heroes who, like Achilles, Aeneas or Beowulf, are examples of courageous and heroic work.

The satiric mode in *Past and Present* ranges from a controlled irony to a direct and broad invective. Sauerteig is the principal persona in the ironic mode:

"Hell generally signifies the Infinite Terror, the thing a man is infinitely afraid of, and shudders and shrinks from, struggling with his whole soul to escape from it. . . . What is it that the modern English soul does, in very truth, dread infinitely? . . . With hesitation, with astonishment, I pronounce it to be: The terror of "Not succeeding;" of not making money, fame, or some other figure in the world,—chiefly of not making money! Is not that a somewhat singular Hell?" (147-48)

There are several passages outside Sauerteig's jurisdiction, however, which deserve mention. At the end of Jocelin's narrative, Carlyle has the "Time-Curtains rush down" so that the whole medieval picture vanishes "like Mirza's vision": "there is nothing left," Carlyle says, "but a mutilated black Ruin amid green botanic expanses, and oxen, sheep and dilettanti pasturing in their places" (127). The sudden shift from the "real-phantasmagory of St. Edmundsbury" to the modern "botanic expanses" and the pasturing of the dilettanti with oxen and sheep creates a masterful ironic deflation. As mentioned later, Books III and IV pick up the animal imagery and use it to amplify the soullessness and bestiality of modern England. A passage where the irony is heavier occurs in "The One Institution" when
Carlyle mourns the fact that "a Prime Minister could raise within the year, as I have seen it done, a Hundred and Twenty Millions Sterling to shoot the French; and we are stopt short for want of the hundredth part of that to keep the English living" (263-64). Carlyle is against useless killing, yet he recognizes that the army is the one institution which is still sufficiently organized to be effective. Carlyle admires the tangible results of the drill-sergeant while expressing dismay at the resulting machine of death:

Strange, interesting, and yet most mournful to reflect on. Was this, then, of all the things mankind had some talent for, the one thing important to learn well, and bring to perfection; this of successfully killing one another? Truly you have learned it well, and carried the business to a high perfection. . . . These thousand straight-standing firm-set individuals, who shoulder arms, who march, wheel, advance, retreat; and are, for your behoof, a magazine charged with fiery death, in the most perfect condition of potential activity. . . . (259)

This kind of controlled irony often gives way to broader invective. Carlyle is famous for his caricatures of people, and his rendition of Pandarus Dogdraught is as memorable—though not as vicious—as most:

Is not Pandarus Dogdraught a member of select clubs, and admitted into the drawingrooms of men? Visibly to all persons he is the offal of Creation; but he carries money in his purse, due lacker on his dog-visage, and it is believed will not steal spoons. (252)

Frequently, what starts as irony ends as invective—a form more characteristic of Past and Present. The following passage begins with the ironic observation that the "free
and independent Franchiser" is not really free and then changes to invective by the end of the paragraph:

No man oppresses thee, can bid thee fetch or carry, come or go, without reason shewn. True; from all men thou art emancipated: but from Thyself and from the Devil--? No man, wiser, unwiser, can make thee come or go; but thy own futilities, bewilderments, thy false appetites for Money, Windsor Georges and such like? No man oppresses thee, O free and independent Franchiser: but does not this stupid Porter-pot oppress thee? No Son of Adam can bid thee come or go; but this absurd Pot of Heavy-wet, this can and does! Thou art the thrall not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thy own brutal appetites, and this scourged dish of liquor. And thou pratest of thy 'liberty'? Thou entire blockhead! (216-17)

This passage shows a transition from calm dialogue ("No man oppresses . . . True") through the exposure of the self-oppression of the appetites and stupidity to the final curse: "Thou art the thrall. . . . And thou pratest. . . . Thou entire blockhead!" With the frequent use of irony and invective, it can be argued that Past and Present becomes a kind of Dunciad devoted to the condition-of-England question. Rather than Dulness, it is Stupidity, personified by Bobus Higgins, which reigns in modern England. Mammonism has become Midas-eared; "Foolish men mistake transitory semblance for eternal fact" (14) and are unable to solve the riddle of the Sphinx. "It is Stupidity alone, with never so many rituals, that kills religion" (226). In fact, the whole purpose of social reform is to create order in nature and intelligence in man by fighting against stupidity and other forms of chaos:
O Heavens, if we saw an army ninety-thousand strong, maintained and fully equipt, in continual real action and battle against Human Starvation, against Chaos, Necessity, Stupidity, and our real 'natural enemies,' what a business were it! (260)

Again Carlyle, here through the persona of Sauerteig, characteristically emphasizes the stupidity and the animal-istic traits of people:

When was a god found 'agreeable' to everybody? The regular way is to hang, kill, crucify your gods, and execrate and trample them under your stupid hoofs for a century or two; till you discover that they are gods,—and then take to braying over them, still in very long-eared manner! (25)

Animal imagery is often the staple of the satirist, and perhaps no other kinds of images—with the exception of images of light and vision—are so pervasive in Past and Present. Carlyle understood that whereas an essay or pamphlet may exhort its readers to reform, satire and irony can, through ridicule, correct moral defects.

At its most imaginative, Carlyle's prose assumes some of the qualities of prophetic and lyric poetry. By way of indicating the significant differences in tone, diction and imagery between Carlyle's expository and his lyric or prophetic modes, we might compare two passages on the subject of work. First, Carlyle in the familiar expository mode:

The spoken Word, the written Poem, is said to be an epitome of the man; how much more the done Work. Whosoever of morality and of intelligence; what of patience, perseverance, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy; in a word,
whatsoever of Strength the man had in him will lie written in the Work he does. To work: why, it is to try himself against Nature, and her everlasting unerring Laws; these will tell a true verdict as to the man. (160)

Although Carlyle can easily be more didactic and exhort his "hapless Fraction" to try the impossible, to work while "the day is still day," the above example provides a fairly typical expository passage against which to compare more poetic excerpts. The second passage on work shows a definite shift toward the poetic mode:

Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life-purpose; he has found it, and will follow it! How, as a free-flowing channel, dug and torn by noble force through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, like an ever-deepening river there, it runs and flows;--draining off the sour festering water, gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade; making, instead of pestilential swamp, a green fruitful meadow with its clear-flowing stream. (197)

As John Holloway explains, the above passage shows an expansion through metaphor of the term, "work." From the basic metaphor connecting the mud-swamp with one's existence, Carlyle develops the extended figure which associates work with the clear-flowing stream. The figure begins as an extended simile and assumes an allegorical dimension from the associated symbols and the moral "cleansing" of the stream. Carlyle also uses alliteration, consonance and assonance, as in the following phrases: "free-flowing channel," "sour mud-swamp," "root of the remotest grass-blade," "dug and torn by noble force," and "ever-deepening
river there."

The best poetical passages in Past and Present are not the "purple passages" such as the "wide seas and roaring gulfs" passage at the end of Book I or the quasi-mystical "dome of Immensity . . . Star-throne of the Eternal" figures, but are those passages which are visionary and prophetic in addition to being figurative. The following passage I have recast in a loose verse form so that the poetic qualities are more apparent:

The Ribble and the Aire roll down,
As yet unpolluted by dyers' chemistry;
Tenanted by merry trouts and piscatory otters;
The sunbeam and the vacant wind's-blast
Alone traversing those moors.

Side by side sleep the coal-strata
And the iron-strata for so many ages;
No Steam-Demon has yet risen
Smoking into being. . . .

The Creek of the Mersey gurgles,
Twice in the four-and-twenty hours,
With eddying brine, clangorous with sea-fowl;
And is a Lither-Pool, a lazy or sullen Pool,
No monstrous pitchy City, and Seahaven of the world!

The Centuries are big; and the birth-hour
Is coming, not yet come. (71)

Lowell called Carlyle a "poet in all but rhythm," but this passage illustrates the rhythmic quality of Carlyle's prose as well as its prophetic and visionary qualities. "As yet unpolluted" is typical of Carlyle's usual disjointed prose rhythm, but there are some phrases whose rhythm and alliteration might be praised: "vacant wind's-blast," "Side by side sleep the coal strata," or "The Centuries are big; and
the birth-hour/ Is coming, not yet come." The visionary and prophetic effect of this passage is achieved not only through rhythm and imagery, but also through shifting viewpoints on the past, present and future. The modern present, for example, becomes a future for the twelfth century ("unpolluted by dyers' chemistry," "No monstrous pitchy City"): the modern past becomes the twelfth century present ("The Ribble and the Aire roll down . . . tenanted by merry trouts"); and even farther back than the twelfth century lie the coal and iron strata which will come into use in future times. Just as the "little Kuhbach" spans all times in Sartor Resartus, the Ribble, the Aire, the Creek of the Mersey and the "Lither-Pool itself" provide continuity for past, present and future societies. The composition of the passage supports the idea that for the prophet truth is not objective but "is found as part of the act or process of artistic creation itself: prophecy discovers and perhaps even creates truth." Several other passages, especially from Chapters i and ii of Book II, are similar in their visionary and prophetic quality, but a final passage from Chapter vii, Book III, is the most purely lyrical of any in Past and Present. Similarly recast in a loose verse form, this passage is part of Carlyle's praise of land as the "Mother of us all":
The Hill I first saw the Sun rise over,
When the Sun and I and all things
Were yet in their auroral hour,
Who can divorce me from it?

Mystic, deep as the world's centre,
Are the roots I have struck
Into my Native Soil;
No tree that grows is rooted so. (176)

The arrangement in verse form reveals that much of the harshness typical of Carlyle's prose is absent. In addition to their obvious poetic effect, such passages are important for establishing the credentials of the prophet or visionary himself; the metaphor of the prophet as a "tree" establishes his organic relationship to the world and to Nature's truths.

The most prevalent genre of Past and Present is the pamphlet or sermon, and it is here that Carlyle's use of voice and dialectic are most important. Inherent in his concept of this genre is a blending of oral and written styles. The oral emphasis comes from his belief in the religious heritage of the Man of Letters. Describing the "spiritual Guide and ship" furnished of old by the Priesthood and now largely assumed by written literature, Carlyle says: "The Speaking Function, this of Truth coming to us with a living voice, nay in a living shape, and as a concrete practical exemplar: this, with all our Writing and Printing Functions, has a perennial place" (242). Carlyle borrows some of his literary apparatus--the use of an "Editor" and persona like Sauerteig and Teufelsdröckh--from
Sartor Resartus, but the emphasis in Past and Present has shifted toward a more direct presentation of the "living voice" of truth.

Carlyle's series of London lectures--of which On Heroes is the most notable--were especially influential in giving him the confidence to speak more directly and in helping him to create a style or "dialect" which could convey the "living voice" of truth. In an 1839 letter to Emerson, Carlyle was concerned about the way he should express his ideas, "in what spoken dialect to utter them." In commenting on this point, DeLaura says that "By 'dialect,' a favorite word of Carlyle's, he seems to mean something more than 'style,' almost what we would today call 'dramatic voice' or rhetorical posture." 7 By the time Carlyle wrote Past and Present, he had written in several "dialects": he could imitate the manner of the essay, the Teufelsdröckhian seer, the obtuse Editor, the prophetic historian, the biographer, or the social and literary critic. Carlyle called himself a "magpie" in this respect, and in Past and Present, he managed to use most of the dialects or voices which he had previously mastered. In fact, during the period from Sartor to Past and Present, Carlyle was mastering the medley of voices which is so characteristic of Carlylese in general. After listening to Carlyle hold forth on various topics, Frederic Harrison, for example, testified to the similarity of Carlyle's written and spoken modes:
He rolled forth Latter-Day Pamphlets by the hour together in the very words, with all the nicknames, expletives, and ebullient tropes that were so familiar to us in print, with the full voice, the Dumfries burr, and the kindling eye which all his friends recall. . . . I seemed to be already in the Elysian fields listening to the spirit rather than to the voice of the mighty 'Sartor.' Could printed essay and spoken voice be so absolutely the same? 

Later in life, Carlyle was—perhaps unconsciously—parodying the styles and voices which he had earlier created; in Past and Present, however, Carlyle was still forming his public voice.

Throughout Past and Present, Carlyle tends to dramatize his arguments so that, as John Holloway observes, "his discussion is enlivened by a variety of characters, most fictitious and some not, who interrupt the author, confirm his outlook, defend their own, contradict him, and illustrate the points of view that he wishes to commend or condemn." The sheer number of these historical and imaginary characters who function to create a dialectic, to present truth coming in a "living voice," is in itself overwhelming. Moreover, the presence of these characters in every book takes on structural importance. Most obviously, Carlyle creates an "Editor" who introduces material, edits or reveals Jocelin's chronicle, or acts as a mediator for the observations of characters like Sauerteig. Some of these characters are either caricatures or rhetorical dummies who are described but do not act, or who are spoken to but do not speak back. The most notable in this passive group are
the Champion of England, the sumptuous Merchant-Prince, the Dead Sea Apes, Brindley, John Bull, Gurth and Cedric the Saxon, Pferdefuss-Quacksalber, Viscount Mealymouth, the Earl of Windlestraw, Pandarus Dogdraught, Aristides Rigmarole Esq. of the Destructive Party, Alcides Dolittle of the Conservative Party, Quashee, Friend Prudence and Blank, and Mecaenas Twiddledee. More important for the dialectic are the characters who do participate in the argument Carlyle presents, and sometimes even argue among themselves. Carlyle's use of these characters avoids a continual direct address and allows the reader to "overhear" the argument. Included in this group are the picturesque Tourist, the "idle reader of Newspapers," various "Blockheads," the Community, the Idle Dilettante, the much-consuming Aristocracy, and the workers. In addition to the historical figures of Book II, such as St. Edmund, Samson, and Jocelin, there are a number of real figures, historical and modern, who participate in the dialogue: Pilate, Cain, Columbus, Oliver Cromwell, Dr. Alison, the Irish Widow and a benevolent old surgeon. The major participants are usually Carlyle's fictional creations like Blusterowski, Colacorde, a young friend of the Houndsditch Indicator, Bobus Higgins, Plugson of Underset and the Grace of Rackrent, Dryasdust, Sir Jabesh Windbag and, from Sartor Resartus, Herr Teufelsdröckh and Sauerteig. Furthermore, Carlyle frequently personifies Nature so that she may reveal her
truths directly. Carlyle's penchant for dramatized dialectic is most pronounced in Book III, but its presence in all four books of *Past and Present* forms one of the unifying elements of the work.

These fictional and dialectical elements help both Carlyle and his reader. The characters not only help sustain Carlyle's interest and enthusiasm, but they also protect his most radical ideas from direct censure. From the reader's viewpoint, Carlyle's message seems more interesting coming from the mouth of a "sarcastic man" who speaks "in his wild way, very mournful truths" (25). Wayne Booth points out that because a reader is not in a position to be harmed by a fictional character, his "judgment is disinterested, even in a sense irresponsible." Often, the more idiosyncratic a character is, the more the reader's curiosity and interest is aroused, so that he may consider ideas which he would reject in a more realistic setting. Even when Carlyle speaks in the first person, he tends to adopt the voice, language and phraseology of a "wild man" speaking "mournful truths." For example, in the following first person "harangue," the message is carried to the reader in an indirect and dramatized fashion:

This [Plugson] is not a man I would kill and strangle by Corn-Laws, even if I could! No, I would fling my Corn-Laws and Shotbelts to the Devil; and try to help this man. I would teach him, by noble precept and law-precept, by noble example most of all, that Mammonism was not the essence of his or of my station in God's Universe;
but the adventitious excrescence of it; the gross, terrene, godless embodiment of it. . . . By noble real legislation, by true noble's-work, by unwearied, valiant, and were it wageless effort, in my Parliament and in my Parish, I would aid, constrain, encourage him to effect more or less this blessed change. I should know that it would have to be effected; that unless it were in some measure effected, he and I and all of us, I first and soonest of all, were doomed to perdition! (208)

Even when Carlyle is exhorting his readers and fictional characters in a direct and didactic manner, the reader senses that Carlyle's "I" is a character who speaks rather wildly, but who means well. Sometimes Carlyle's voice does become too strident to bear with very long, but for the most part, the combination of his characters' and his own voice help make his message more interesting and emphatic.

Carlyle's various genres and voices in *Past and Present* help convey Nature's Truth through the speaking voice of a man, thus reinforcing Carlyle's doctrine of the hero. David DeLaura says that through the variety of assumed roles and voices, "Carlyle convinces us of the integrity of his own embodied personality, sensed as a single energizing force behind all particular statement."12 DeLaura is testifying, in fact, to Carlyle's "sincerity." Throughout Carlyle's use of different genres, of the pamphlet, sermon, epic, satire, and poetry, his characters and voices help to dramatize the sincerity and integrity of Carlyle's own personality as it is manifested in his role as Man of Letters. As a result of his continual dialectic, Carlyle avoids abstract philosophy or unembodied doctrines and
assertions. The continual presence of a living, speaking voice provides structure as well as theme for Past and Present.

iii The Structure of Books I-IV

The title, Past and Present, is itself a key not just to Carlyle's rhetorical art but also to the overall structure, especially if we view Book I as an introduction and Book IV as a conclusion. Assuming that in Book IV Carlyle has projected but not wholly created a future society, then the structure of Past and Present depends principally upon the relationship between Books II and III, between Abbot Samson's society and Bobus Higgins' world. The themes which connect Book II with the rest of Past and Present can be grouped under four interrelated headings: Carlyle's vision, the "unconscious" nature of Abbot Samson's society, the men who govern and administer, and the actual work done by men. Although all of these ideas have been discussed in Chapter II, a brief summary of the differences between past and present societies may clarify the thematic continuity and development in Past and Present as a whole.

Carlyle's vision, first of all, is directly related to his concept of emblems. All phenomena, whether past or present, can be seen "into" or "through" so as to reveal an inner or deeper reality. Wisdom and true knowledge of both the past and the present require an "opening of the eyes."
Since the present "grows" out of the past, as in the image of the Life-tree Yggdrasil, historical and contemporary vision involve similar processes. As suggested earlier, and later demonstrated in Section iv, the images of eyesight, vision, light and radiance form one of the basic networks which unite all four books of Past and Present. The concept and the process of perception, then, is a fundamental connection between Book II and the rest of the work.

Second, the "unconscious" nature of twelfth century society continually contrasts with the "self-conscious" and "diseased" modern age. In the past, men believed in God without any agonizing introspection; they revered their natural-superiors and did not go around "unconnected" or bound only by a cash-nexus; and they worked and wrote, ideally, to create order in society rather than to promote themselves or their products. The twelfth century was a "rude" age, but because it was primitive, God's and Nature's Fact were immediately felt. Thus, all artificiality, pretense, show and other manifestations of self-consciousness were roughly discouraged by the demands of mere survival. In addition to the more obvious "remedies" of reverence, hero-worship and work, the contrast between the unconsciousness of Samson's age and the introspective and self-regarding nature of the modern age points to an inner transformation which must take place if modern England is to be reborn. Without a "rebirth" of the soul and heart, England will never build a "New Jerusalem"
based on unconscious and dynamic principles.

The presence of an effective and just governor and administrator like Samson—and a corresponding reverence of man for his real superiors—is a third major theme in Book II which is carried over into the rest of Past and Present. Jocelin, Samson and St. Edmund are men who manifest reverence and who work and keep society functioning. The fact that they are connected by reverence and obedience is perhaps more important for maintaining the life of their society than the work they do. Book III, as we have seen, calls not for some great leader to take control of society and impose his order on the people below him, but for all men at every level to reestablish reverence and obedience and to reform themselves and their government from within.

The work which men do represents Carlyle's practical application of the first three themes. Vision requires work and effort since it involves a "penetration" through the semblance of things into the substance or an exhumation and resuscitation of the living reality which lies buried in the records of the Dryasdusts. Work drives away doubt and induces, even if only temporarily, an unselfconscious state. And finally, work is the means by which order may be educed from chaos, the infinite and the divine revealed in the finite and human, and reverence between men reestablished. Once work is begun, all things become possible, even the "Newbirth of Society."
In addition to this basic thematic continuity, the overall structure of Past and Present is also strengthened by Carlyle's use of voice and dialectic and by the dominant motifs and images. Both of these aspects will be examined in the discussions of the individual books, but Carlyle's use of motifs and images will be further considered in Section iii, "Texture."

Book I, entitled "Proem," introduces the ideas which will be expanded in Books III and IV as well as in Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle in Book II. The six chapters of Book I may be divided into three basic parts: the examination of and reflection upon the "condition of England" (Chapter i), the inquiry as to the underlying causes of these phenomena, referred to as the "riddle of the Sphinx" (Chapter ii), and finally, the several answers which Carlyle suggests for these difficult questions (Chapters iii-vi). The three divisions, into phenomena, questions, and answers are only roughly reflected in the chapter divisions.

The opening sentences of Chapter i reflect upon the puzzling condition of England:

The condition of England, on which many pamphlets are now in the course of publication . . . is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition. (7)

From the beginning of Past and Present the difference between appearance and reality ("England is full of wealth
England is dying") is posited; the workers, the working body of England and the wealth which the workers have produced are, in the central metaphor of the chapter, "enchanted." As we have seen from Carlyle's philosophy, reflection and an "opening of the eyes" is necessary to perceive the reality:

Descend where you will into the lower class, in Town or Country, by what avenue you will, by Factory Inquiries, Agricultural Inquiries, by Revenue Returns, by Mining-Labourer Committees, by opening your own eyes and looking, the same sorrowful result discloses itself: you have to admit that the working body of this rich English Nation has sunk or is fast sinking into a state, to which, all sides of it considered, there was literally never any parallel. (9)

In Chapter i, Carlyle examines two specific phenomena which reveal the whole condition of England: the "workhouse Bastille" at St. Ives and the Stockport Mother and Father who are found guilty of "poisoning three of their children, to defraud a 'burial society' of some 31. 8s. due on the death of each child" (9). Carlyle says that this "case is not solitary, that perhaps you had better not probe farther into that department of things" (9). In a metaphor associated with the discussion of appearance versus reality, Carlyle says that "Such instances are like the highest mountain apex emerged into view; under which lies a whole mountain region and land, not yet emerged" (9). Similarly, the Manchester Insurrection is an "announcement of the disease" which infects the whole of the working class.
Reflection on these social phenomena leads to the underlying realities about England's situation:

Nor are they of the St. Ives workhouses, of the Glasgow lanes, and Stockport cellars, the only unblessed among us. This successful industry of England, with its plethoric wealth, has as yet made nobody rich; it is an enchanted wealth, and belongs yet to nobody. (10)

Combining this metaphor of "enchantment" with a "paralysis" of the English working body, the last two paragraphs of Chapter i refer to the fable of Midas:

Fatal paralysis spreading inwards, from the extremities, in St. Ives workhouses, in Stockport cellars, through all limbs, as if towards the heart itself. Have we actually got enchanted, then; accursed by some god?--

Midas longed for gold, and insulted the Olympians. He got gold, so that whatsoever he touched became gold,--and he, with his long ears, was little the better for it. Midas had misjudged the celestial music-tones; Midas had insulted Apollo and the gods: the gods gave him his wish, and a pair of long ears, which also were a good appendage to it. What a truth in these old Fables! (11-12)

Although the story of Midas is somewhat distorted in this version, the fable summarizes the ideas and connects the central images of the chapter. In his desire for gold, Midas could not distinguish between appearance and reality. His food, which was transformed into gold, became an "en-chanted wealth" which did not actually enrich the possessor. Appropriately, Midas' desires were fulfilled in two senses: first, by an "enchantment" of the food and of his person, and second, by the addition of the "pair of long ears" which symbolizes his unwisdom. Through a fusion, then, of
contemporary examples with classical myth, Chapter i establishes the idea that the "enchanted" or "paralysed" nature of society must first be revealed before the condition of England can be corrected.

Chapter ii, "The Sphinx," moves from the distinction between appearance and reality which Midas could not understand to the articulation by the Sphinx of the "grand question": "What is Justice?" Carlyle builds the question of the Sphinx on ideas and images from Chapter i:

The secret of gold Midas, which he with his long ears never could discover, was, That he had offended the Supreme Powers;--that he had parted company with the eternal inner Facts of this Universe, and followed the transient outer Appearances thereof; and so was arrived here. Properly it is the secret of all unhappy men and unhappy nations. Had they known Nature's right truth, Nature's right truth would have made them free. They have become enchanted. . . . because they were not wise enough. . . . They answer the Sphinx's question wrong. (14)

The question of the Sphinx, as it is rephrased in successive chapters, becomes a major cohesive device. Although chapters iii-iv deal primarily with possible solutions to the condition of England, answers are also given to successive restatements of the Sphinx-riddle. In Chapter iii we read that "the first practical form of our Sphinx-riddle (22) involves the governing class and the just relationship of work and wages:

And truly this first practical form of the Sphinx-question . . . is one of the most impressive ever asked in the world. "Behold us here, so many thousands, millions, and increasing at the rate of fifty every hour. We are right willing and able to
work; and on the Planet Earth is plenty of work and wages for a million times as many. We ask, If you mean to lead us towards work. . . . What is it you expect of us? What is it you mean to do with us?" (23)

In Chapter iv, the Sphinx-question is directed towards each individual: "'While we ourselves continue valets, how can any hero come to govern us'? . . . The Sphinx-question remains unsolved . . . becomes ever more insoluble" (30).

In Chapter v, the question of the Sphinx becomes the problem of how to choose the wisest leaders in order to create a real Aristocracy of Talent: "'Do you expect, my friends, that your indispensable Aristocracy of Talent is to be enlisted straightway, by some sort of recruitment aforethought . . . and set to rule over us?'" (34). Chapter vi leaves a final question: how can Carlyle, as Editor, accomplish the resuscitation of souls and the necessary reverence and hero-worship?

Certainly, could the present Editor instruct men how to know Wisdom, Heroism, when they see it, that they might do reverence to it only, and loyally make it ruler over them,--yes, he were the living epitome of all Editors, Teachers, Prophets, that now teach and prophesy; he were an Apollo-Morrison, a Trismegistus and effective Cassandra! . . . Let no Editor hope such things: no;--and yet let all Editors aim towards such things, and even towards such alone! One knows not what the meaning of editing and writing is, if even this be not it. (42)

Chapter ii, then, sets the metaphor of the celestial-infernal riddling Sphinx; her questions about justice are then rephrased in each successive chapter.
Just as the fable of Midas provides an appropriate analogy to England's enchanted wealth, so the legend of the Sphinx, who devoured all who could not answer her riddle correctly, expresses Carlyle's idea that Nature, operating through history, is didactic. The idea that "heavy Misery" will prove didactic is stated at the end of Chapter ii and in various forms in each of the successive chapters. The Manchester Insurrection shows the necessity for England's laws and practices either "changing or perishing" (26), and the importance of attempting the "impossible" until either it is attained or English men have died. In Chapter iv, the only possible "Morrison's Pill" is genuine rebirth of the soul or else death, while in Chapter v, Carlyle says that the English must find wiser men to govern her, "wiser, or else we perish!" (33). If the riddle of the Sphinx is not answered correctly, Chapter vi indicates that "Didactic Destiny," as the Sphinx's agent of destruction, will make itself felt.

The bulk of Chapters iii-vi suggests possible "answers" to the various forms of the Sphinx-riddle. The most fundamental answer, indicated in Chapter ii, is that "Justice must and will be done" (19). In Chapter iii, Sauerteig indicates that the answer must come in the "better and better apportioning of wages to work" (25). In Chapter iv, the only possible solution is for each man to become a "faithful discerning soul": "Thou shalt descend into thy
inner man, and see if there be any traces of a soul there; till then there can be nothing done!" (30-31).

In Chapter v, the "resuscitated" soul must be used to establish the Aristocracy of Talent, the government by the wisest. In its call for the renewal of the soul and the establishment of a real hero-worship, Chapter vi states the crucial idea in the palingenesia of the whole society:

To the present Editor, 'Hero-worship' . . . is the summary, ultimate essence, and supreme practical perfection of all manner of 'worship.' . . . Such blessed Parliament and . . . blessed Aristocracy of the Wisest, god-honoured and man-honoured, he does look for, more and more perfected,--as the topmost blessed practical apex of a whole world reformed from sham-worship, informed anew with worship, with truth and blessedness! (38-39)

It is worth noticing that Carlyle's ultimate answer to the riddle of the Sphinx borrows an image employed in his reflection upon the phenomena of England's condition. Just as the extent of England's degeneration is indicated by events at St. Ives, Stockport and Manchester which are only the highest mountain apexes "emerged into view," so when the "practical apex" of hero-worship becomes visible will a "whole world reformed from sham-worship" be realized. In Book I, as in all of Past and Present, wisdom, vision and reform are all interdependent.

The structure of Book I depends on the diagnosis of England's condition, on the questions of the Sphinx, and on the several interrelated answers to the Sphinx's questions. Images of enchantment and paralysis work with the
references to the Sphinx and Midas to provide a central motif for the book. These themes introduce many of the important ideas and images in Books III and IV and form a necessary prologue to Book II's vision into the twelfth century.

The structure of Book II is outwardly most dependent upon Jocelin's chronicle, but Carlyle also uses his role as "Editor" to provide an internal continuity and direction to the narrative. In addition, the imagery of Book II—especially the images of eyesight and vision—functions with the narrative events and the Editor's comments to create a "magical speculum" or a "magic-mirror" in which the reader sees imitated the living, organic relationship between past and present.

At the most general level, Carlyle organizes Book II around the narrative of Abbot Samson's life. Chapters i and ii constitute an introduction to the process of historical vision and to the twelfth century itself. Jocelin's narrative begins in Chapters iii-vi with the story of St. Edmund and follows with descriptions of the monastery and monastic life before the time of Abbot Samson. Within the narrative of Samson's life, there are four divisions: early life (Ch. vi), Samson's election (Chs. vii-ix), Samson's government (Chs. x-xv), and Samson's reverence for St. Edmund (Ch. xvi). The conclusion of the narrative comes in
the final paragraphs of Chapter xvi, "St. Edmund." Chapter xvii, "The Beginnings," concludes Book II by paralleling Chapters i and ii: the movement in the early chapters is from present to past while the final chapter moves from the past back to the present. The principal difference between the introduction and the conclusion is that the former is dominated by images of vision and penetration while the latter is concerned with mankind's work which reveals God's laws down through the centuries. As vision reveals the past, work embodies the future.

The organization of the body of Jocelin's narrative is not particularly striking until Carlyle's version is compared with the original chronicle. For example, by juxtaposing specific incidents and descriptions from Chapter xii in Carlyle's narrative with Jocelin's original account, we can see immediately how much reorganization took place. The right hand column indicates the source in Jocelin's chronicle (by page number) of the episodes recounted in Chapter xii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter xii</th>
<th>The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed. H. E. Butler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Abbot takes over the accounts of the Cellerarius</td>
<td>pp. 88-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The open mutiny of the monks and the reconciliation</td>
<td>pp. 118-119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Samson's white hair resulting from his years of governing</td>
<td>p. 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Samson's encounter with the old woman p. 32
5. The Abbot's dealings with the knights pp. 57-58
6. The Abbot's desire to have been keeper of the books p. 36

The comparison shows that Carlyle did not merely edit Jocelin's chronicle but completely restructured it, selecting and arranging those episodes which he found interesting or to his purpose under general headings.

By way of narrating Jocelin's chronicle, Carlyle's Editor in Book II performs two basic functions. First, he literally and figuratively "edits" the historical documents and second, he draws back and comments on the significance of the historical events and their relationship to the present. The literal and figurative aspects of the editorial process are, from the first, interrelated and have a structural as well as a thematic importance. To be an historian is, for Carlyle, to present not just facts, but to recreate the life which those facts describe: "Enough, to the present Editor it has seemed possible some glimmering of light, for here and there a human soul, might lie in these confused Paper-Masses now intrusted to him; wherefore he determines to edit the same" (42). "Editing" the "confused Paper-Masses" involves a literal process of arranging documents but it also requires, for Carlyle, an imaginative, dramatic and highly visual narrative method in order to
resuscitate a living "human soul" from those documents. Once the historical reality is recreated, Carlyle's Editor often functions as a kind of chorus, commenting in different voices on the events and suggesting their importance and relevance for modern eyes.

The Editor must first literally edit Jocelin's chronicle. The reference to "confused Paper-Masses" must be taken to apply not only to Jocelin's manuscripts, but also to the many other historical documents which appear and are "edited" for use in Book II. In addition to Jocelin's narrative, there are general passages on monasteries from Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, on the battle of Fornham and Henry of Essex from Lyttelton's *History of Henry II*, and on monastic anecdotes from Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*. Furthermore, there are passing references to the Bible, Greek, Roman and Norse mythology, contemporary proverbs, satirical poetry, news accounts, and passages from Annual Registers, not to mention the references to works by Homer, Vergil, Seneca, Horace, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Jonson, Cromwell, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Boswell, Voltaire, Muratori, Radcliffe, Goethe, Novalis, Scott, Burns and Carlyle himself. The "Paper-Masses" go beyond Jocelin's chronicle itself to suggest the range of literature since the beginnings of history. In fact, the final chapter of Book II, entitled "The Beginnings," reviews the growth of societies and their customs, including the gradual rise of literature:
The Iliad Poem, and indeed most other poetic, especially epic things, have risen as the Liturgy did. The great Iliad in Greece, and the small Robin Hood's Garland in England, are each, as I understand, the well-edited 'Select Beauties' of an immeasurable waste imbroglio of Heroic Ballads in their respective centuries and countries. (133)

Book II can be seen as a "well-edited" imitation of the rise of modern society from the "wellhead" suggested by Jocelin's chronicle.

Preparing Jocelin's manuscript involved many editors in addition to Carlyle. The chronicle was in the Liber Albus at St. Edmundsbury before it found a place in the Harleian Collection. The handwriting was deciphered by Mr. Rokewood, Jocelin's first editor; the Monk-Latin, which is "not foreign only but dead" (46), was translated with the help of a Spelman and Ducange; and the rambling chronicle organized with the help of a "copious correct Index." Finally, the Camden Society played its editorial role in bringing the chronicle to light once more. The editorial process, not only of Carlyle's Editor, but of all the editors before him, is symbolic of the resuscitation of soul as well as fact which is the historian's goal.

In addition to the literal job of editing, the Editor, in the metaphors associated with his endeavour, is hoping to figuratively "edit" or "resuscitate" the "human soul" which lies in the "confused Paper-Masses." Recalling the image of the phoenix from Sartor Resartus, the Editor indicates that his function is to exhume a soul from the "dry
rubbish shot" which is recorded history:

Alas, what mountains of dead ashes, wreck and burnt bones, does assiduous Pedantry dig up from the Past Time, and name it History, and Philosophy of History; till, as we say, the human soul sinks wearied and bewildered; till the Past Time seems all one infinite incredible grey void, without sun, stars, hearth-fires, or candle-light; dim offensive dust-whirlwinds filling universal Nature; and over your Historical Library, it is as if all the Titans had written for themselves: DRY RUBBISH SHOT HERE! (53)

Jocelin's chronicle must be "unwrapped from its thick cerements, and fairly brought forth into the common daylight" if the reader is to find that human soul lying therein.

The process of "rebirth" from the dead ashes or the "unwrapping" of the dead from its cerements parallels the literal process of editing Jocelin's manuscript. The "deep buried" life, the "extinct fossil species of Men or Monks" must be revealed, unwrapped in successive layers, even as the body of St. Edmund, at the climax of Book II, is reverently unwrapped. As a result of the literal and figurative editing, unwrapping, and exhuming, Carlyle, as the last in a long line of editors, is able to assert—and let the reader see—that twelfth-century England is a "green solid place":

The Sun shone on it. . . . Cloth was woven and worn; ditches were dug, furrowfields ploughed, and houses built. Day by day all men and cattle rose to labour, and night by night returned home weary to their several lairs. In wondrous Dualism, then as now, lived nations of breathing men. . . . (50)

In order to recreate the "deep buried" life, Carlyle uses dramatic and visual imagery extensively in Book II.
Carlyle's direct references to drama are derogatory: for example, he says that Richard the Lion-hearted "was not a theatrical popinjay . . . but a man living upon victuals" or suggests that the "Heroic, independent of bed and board, is found in Drury-Lane Theatre only" (63). On the other hand, Carlyle is certainly willing to use dramatic apparatus: he sees God as a kind of World-Dramatist whose play describes all of history. Of the life at St. Edmundsburh, Carlyle says:

For Twenty generations, here was the earthly arena where painful living men worked out their life-wrestle,—looked at by Earth, by Heaven and Hell. . . . How silent now; all departed, clean gone. The World-Dramaturgist has written: _Exeunt._ (54)

Similarly, at the end of Jocelin's chronicle, Carlyle turns to dramatic images to close out the final scene:

Abbot Samson, at this culminating point of his existence, may, and indeed must, be left to vanish with his Life-scenery from the eyes of modern men. . . . The magnanimous Abbot makes preparation for departure; departs, and— --And Jocelin's Boswelllean Narrative, suddenly shorn through by the scissors of Destiny, ends. There are no words more; but a black line, and leaves of blank paper. Irremediable: the miraculous hand that held all this theatric-machinery suddenly quits hold; impenetrable Time-Curtains rush down; in the mind's eye all is again dark, void; with loud dinning in the mind's ear, our real-phantasmagory of St. Edmundsburh plunges into the bosom of the Twelfth Century again, and all is over. (127)

The "Life-scenery" and the "Time-Curtains" are the dramatic apparatus for a "real-phantasmagory" rather than a created or imitated one; however, as much as Carlyle wants to see the "real" twelfth century, it is gone, and the reader
actually engages only with Carlyle's imaginative, visual, and dramatic imitation.

The simultaneous function of dramatic and visual imagery is implied in Carlyle's desire to allow his readers to confront the monks of the twelfth century "face to face." In Chapter i, for example, the reader is invited to look through the "clear eyes" of neighbor Jocelin and see what he can of John Lackland:

With Jocelin's eyes we discern almost nothing of John Lackland. As through a glass darkly, we with our own eyes and appliances, intensely looking, discern at most: A blustering, dissipated, human figure, with a kind of blackguard quality air, in cramoisy velvet, or other uncertain texture, uncertain cut, with much plumage and fringing; amid numerous other human figures of the like; riding abroad with hawks; talking noisy nonsense. . . . (50)

Like Horatio's description of the Ghost in Hamlet, this passage challenges the reader to see "as through a glass darkly" and to help reveal this uncertain figure. At the end of Chapter i, the appeal is again to imaginative vision and to the imaginative effort required to penetrate the "wintry twilight" of the twelfth century:

Through the thin watery gossip of our Jocelin, we do get some glimpses of that deep-buried Time; discern veritably, though in a fitful intermittent manner, these antique figures and their life-method, face to face! Beautifully, in our earnest loving glance, the old centuries melt from opaque to partially translucent, transparent here and there. . . . Readers who please to go along with us into this poor Jocelini Chronica shall wander inconveniently enough, as in wintry twilight, through some poor stript hazel-grove, rustling with foolish noises, and perpetually hindering the eyesight; but across
which, here and there, some real human figure is seen moving; very strange; whom we could hail if he would answer;--and we look into a pair of eyes deep as our own, imagining our own, but all unconscious of us; to whom we for the time are become as spirits and invisible! (54-55)

The pervasive visual imagery, "Through the thin watery gossip," "glimpses," "discern veritably," "earnest loving glance," "melt from opaque to partially translucent, transparent here and there," "wintry twilight," "hinder the eyesight," "is seen moving," "Look into a pair of eyes . . . imaging our own," and "become as spirits and invisible," works to engage the reader in a strenuous but imaginative vision. Such visual images are numerous, especially in the opening chapters of Book II, where the reader is introduced to the "Life-scenery" of the twelfth century and its principal characters.

At the same time the Editor is intensifying the dramatic and visual qualities of this historical scene, he also employs shifts in pronoun reference and point of view in order to involve the reader in a real participation with the monks of the twelfth century. By inviting the reader to "fancy himself one of the Brethren in St. Edmundsberry Monastery" (66), and by switching pronoun references to prime the reader's imagination, the Editor induces the reader to become dramatically involved in Jocelin's life. In the short space of six pages in Chapter i, for example, the Editor moves from a third-person omniscient narrative to a first-person plural narrative: at first, the Editor
is informing the reader about the doings of the monks; at
the end, the monks are telling the story themselves. The
Editor begins by referring to a "certain Jocelinus de
Brakelonda" and then calls him "our Jocelin" which could
be either the Editor's and the reader's or else the monks'
own Jocelin. Then, after calling on Jocelin, actually
invoking him in an epic manner to tell the story of Lack-
land ("O Jocelin, what did he say, what did he do; how
looked he?") he refers to "our St. Edmund Shrine" and con-
tinues, indirectly quoting Jocelin:

For one of his retinue borrowed it of us, and we
never got sight of it again; and, on the whole,
that the Dominus Rex, at departing, gave us
'thirteen sterlings.'... We of course said
our mass for him... but let impartial posterity
judge with what degree of fervour! (51)

By the time the reader gets to the last "we," he is aware
that the editorial "we" has shifted and become Jocelin's
"we" which includes the reader who was, we remember, in-
vited to imagine himself one of the monks. Chapter v pro-
vides a striking example of Carlyle's pronoun reference
shift which functions much as a zoom-lens on a camera:

Indisputable, though very dim to modern vision,
rests on its hill-slope that same Bury, Stow, or
Town of St. Edmund; already a considerable place,
not without traffic, nay manufactures, would
Jocelin only tell us what. Jocelin is totally
careless of telling: but, through dim fitful
apertures, we can see Fullones, 'Fullers,' see
cloth-making; looms dimly going, dye vats, and
old women spinning yarn. We have Fairs, too,
Nundinae, in due course; and the Londoners give
us much trouble. ... (69)
In this passage, the first "us" and "we" are editorial, but following the effort to see "through dim fitful apertures," the "we" and "us" in the last sentence become the monks of St. Edmundsberry. With such pronoun reference shifts, the Editor draws the reader into the historical drama and lets him see with "ancient yet with modern eyes" (110).

Once the reader actively envisions the characters and participates in their thoughts and feelings, it is then easy for the Editor to narrate and dramatize the important events. With the introductions to episodes that allow the reader to "overhear" conversations much as a character in a screen scene might, the Editor moves into the main part of the narrative:

Bozzy Jocelin opens to mankind the floodgates of authentic Convent gossip; we listen, as in a Dionysius' Ear, to the inanest hubbub, like the voices at Virgil's Horn-Gate of Dreams. Even gossip, seven centuries off, has significance. List, list, how like men are to one another in all centuries. (78)

Of the characters who cross the Editor's historical stage, the reader remembers, of course, Jocelin, whom the Editor longs in vain to cross-examine, "a brisk-eyed, noticing youth" with a childlike character and a clear-smiling nature. King John, as we have seen, appears out of nowhere "riding abroad with hawks ... tearing out the bowels of St. Edmundsberry convent" and insulting St. Edmund's Shrine with a thirteen sterlingsii gift before vanishing into the night. Similarly, other minor characters appear almost
frozen in a moment of life, in a manner reminiscent of Keats's figures in "Ode on a Grecian Urn": the old women shaking their distaffs, the roisterous young-blooded noble's sons who keep Samson awake with their howling, the blockhead messenger who confuses Elmset with Elmswell, and Old Herbert the Dean who must take down his windmills. Of highly dramatic scenes, complete with setting, memorable characters, and action, the reader sees Samson's election in King Henry's magnificent hall where Samson kisses the King's feet, steps to the Altar to sing "Misere mei Deus" which draws the admiring ejaculation from the King, "By God's eyes . . . that one, I think, will govern the Abbey well" (86). Similarly, the mutiny of the monks and the duel between Monfort and Henry of Essex are narrated with considerable attention to dramatic effect. The climax of Book II, however, is saved for the scene during the Festival of St. Edmund, where John of Dice, looking down from the roof, watches Samson reverently unwrap the body of the martyr. This action, too, is suspended, frozen at the climactic moment to allow the Editor two paragraphs of comment before the action is continued and John of Dice and the vestry men are allowed to slide down from the roof for that morning's matins. In that scene, the "unwrapping from the cerements" and the vision of the age "as through a glass darkly" have become literal and dramatic realities. John of Dice sits, looking through the sky-window, watching
Samson unveil the body:

What a scene; shining luminous effulgent, as the lamps of St. Edmund do, through the dark Night; John of Dice, with vestry-men, clambering on the roof to look through; the Convent all asleep, and the Earth all asleep,—and since then, Seven Centuries of Time mostly gone to sleep! (125)

As the "Time-Curtains" rush down, it becomes obvious that Carlyle has used dramatic devices throughout Book II to "resuscitate" and revitalize events and to intensify the historical narrative.

In addition to his dramatizing, the Editor comments, in a choric manner, on the moral significance of Jocelin's narrative. The opening paragraph of Book II suggests the relationship between past and present which the Editor, as commentator, should reveal:

We will, in this Second Portion of our Work, strive to penetrate . . . into a somewhat remote Century; and to look face to face on it, in hope of perhaps illustrating our own poor Century thereby. . . . The Centuries too are all lineal children of one another; and often, in the portrait of early grandfathers, this and the other enigmatic feature of the newest grandson shall disclose itself, to mutual elucidation. This Editor will venture on such a thing. (45)

Whereas in his first role the Editor tries to bring the reader "face to face" or to "penetrate" through the "Night of Centuries" which separates present from past, his function as commentator is to make explicit observations about the similarities and differences between past and present. Since roughly one third of Book II is comprised of direct and indirect commentaries, it is important for an understanding of the structure of the book to see how these
comments relate to Jocelin's narrative.

Chapter v, entitled "Twelfth Century," presents, in miniature, the confrontation of past and present which Richard Altick says is the key to Carlyle's rhetorical art in Past and Present. This short four-page chapter illustrates how Carlyle's Editor both narrates and comments, alternating between the two centuries: "Our Abbot being dead," the narrative begins, "the Dominus Rex . . . set Inspectors or Custodiers over us" (68). After describing the actions of the Custodiers, the second paragraph moves to a modern point of view, using the same image of vision employed in recreating the past reality:

Dim, as through a long vista of Seven Centuries, dim and very strange looks that monk-life to us; the ever-surprising circumstance this, That it is a fact and no dream, that we see it there, and gaze into the very eyes of it! . . . St. Edmund's Shrine, perpetually illuminated, glows ruddy through the Night, and through the Night of Centuries withal. . . . (68)

The point of view in paragraph three begins, as already mentioned, in the present and then shifts to past action: "Jocelin is totally careless of telling: but, through dim fitful apertures, we can see Fullones, 'Fullers,' see cloth-making. . . . We have Fairs, too, Nundinae, in due course" (69). The opening sentence of paragraph four shifts again to a modern point of view, but the second sentence immediately reverts to the twelfth century narrative:

Every way a most foreign Time. What a difficulty, for example, has our Cellarius to collect the
repselver, 'reaping silver,' or penny, which each household is by law bound to pay for cutting down the Convent grain! (69)

Returning to the present, paragraph five combines both narration and comment. The Editor reviews the "historical picture, glowing visible," and calls the old women "Female Chartists." Like superimposed negatives, the images of past and present meet and so bridge the gap of time: "But the image of these justly offended old women, in their old wool costumes, with their angry features, and spindles brandished, lives forever in the historical memory. Thanks to thee, Jocelin Boswell" (70). The meeting of past and present, we might note, is even captured in the name "Jocelin Boswell." Abruptly, at the beginning of paragraph six, the reader is returned to the twelfth century again ("Thus, too, our trouble with the Lakenheath eels is very great") and held there with Jocelin's first-person narration until the final sentence: "Thus, in its undeniable but dim manner, does old St. Edmundsbury spin and till, and laboriously keep its pot boiling, and St. Edmund's Shrine lighted, under such conditions and averages as it can" (70). Paragraphs seven and eight return to the past, but instead of continuing the twelfth century narrative, they discuss the "present" feudal aristocracy by contrast to the as yet uncreated future:

How much is still alive in England; how much has not yet come into life! A Feudal Aristocracy is still alive, in the prime of life; superintending
cultivation of the land, and less consciously the
distribution of the produce of the land, the ad-
justment of the quarrels of the land; judging,
soldiering, adjusting; everywhere governing the
people. . .

How silent, on the other hand, lie all Cotton-
trades and such like; not a steeple-chimney yet
got on end from sea to sea! (70-71)

The prophetic vision of the remaining portion of the eighth
paragraph is thus based on a vision which appears to be
futuristic but is actually a vision from past into the
present. Combining narrative with commentary and shifting
continually from past to present and back, Chapter vi demon-
strates the structural importance of the contrast between
the centuries and shows how the Editor suspends the reader
between the centuries and instructs him to see "with ancient
yet with modern eyes."

In the Editor's comments on Abbot Samson's story and
its relationship to the modern age, there are three discern-
ible voices belonging to the sage, the prophet and the
preacher. The Editor's comments in the sage's voice are
usually wise and temperate observations about human nature.
Frequently, a paragraph devoted to commentary begins in the
calm tone of the sage:

By the law of Nature, too, all manner of Ideals have
their fatal limits and lot; their appointed periods,
of youth, of maturity or perfection, of decline,
degradation, and final death and disappearance.
There is nothing born but has to die. (63)

After beginning with a comment in the manner of the sage,
the Editor often develops the idea's prophetic dimensions,
as in the following tribute to the "future" age of Richard Arkwright:

Certain Times do crystallise themselves in a magnificent manner; and others, perhaps, are like to do it in rather a shabby one! -- But Richard Arkwright too will have his Monument, a thousand years hence: all Lancashire and Yorkshire, and how many other shires and countries, with their machineries and industries, for his monument! A true pyramid or 'flame-mountain,' flaming with steam fires and useful labour over wide continents. . . . (62)

The same prophetic view is created in the passage already discussed in verse form about the "Creek of the Mersey." Just as the sage in his wise conservatism testifies to the fact that "man is ever man," the prophet demonstrates man's nature by comparing man in past, present and future times. The third voice, that of the preacher, which is not as dominant in Book II as in Book III, usually occurs following the voice of the sage or the prophet. In Chapter iii, for example, one paragraph begins with a reference to Dickens, then makes an observation on the nature of hero-worship in the manner of the sage, and finally closes in the preacher's voice:

O, if all Yankee-land follow a small good 'Schnüspel the distinguished Novelist' with blazing torches . . . how might all Angle-land once follow a hero-martyr and great true Son of Heaven! It is the very joy of man's heart to admire, where he can; nothing so lifts him from all his mean imprisonments, were it but for moments, as true admiration. . . . What sight is more pathetic than that of poor multitudes of persons met to gaze at King's Progresses, Lord Mayor's Shews, and other gilt-gingerbread phenomena of the worshipful sort, in these times. . . . These be thy gods, O Israel? And thou art so willing to worship,--poor Israel! (60)
Distinguishing the different voices of the sage, the prophet and the preacher is less important than seeing the characteristic movement from lower to higher pitches, from expository to exclamatory tones. Nearly half of the chapters in Book II have concluding paragraphs in which some combination of the sage, prophet or preacher functions to comment on the preceding narrative. These voices themselves provide continuity and contrast between past and present while the recurrence of these voices in nearly every chapter assumes a structural function.

"The Ancient Monk" is often called the most successful book of Past and Present, and the reason may be explained partly in terms of structure. The very fact that Carlyle must literally and figuratively "edit" his "confused Paper-Masses," as the Editor in Sartor Resartus edits the material in Teufelsdröckh's paper bags, helps to balance Carlyle's didactic impulses. History, like biography, is a perfect medium for Carlyle because he can use imagination as a means of perceiving and recreating a reality which already has moral and didactic dimensions. Carlyle's "Bible of Universal History" is highly imaginative, dramatic and vivid without sacrificing literal "truth." When Carlyle can have God, Nature and Fact seem to speak and reveal "their" truths, he does not need to comment as often in his own more direct and didactic voice. The structure of Book II depends largely on the balance between this imaginative
re-creation and the Editor's commentary, and on the resulting contrast between past and present which permeates both Book II and the rest of *Past and Present*.

Of all the books in *Past and Present*, Book III has received the most adverse criticism. Louis Cazamian, for example, says that nowhere does Carlyle "succeed so little in attaining continuity in the development of his ideas. An oppressive richness of thought leads him into undue haste: or rather, his directive ideas, few and simple, become infinitely ramified and interlaced."\(^{15}\) Book III epitomizes Carlyle's problem in *Past and Present*: he wants the book to analyze the "condition of England" by looking at various social phenomena but he does not want to use "analysis" as such. His objection to "logical" methods, statistics, and the "dismal Science" of economics as well as his unwillingness to prescribe any "Morrison's Pills" for England's ailing society, preclude any such methodical treatment. More than in any other book the structure of Book III sacrifices logical continuity and methodical development in order to stress Carlyle's vision--always expressed through a living, speaking voice--of a soulless age. Moreover, Carlyle chooses discrete phenomena which are connected by the inherent similarity of the "open secret" which they reveal rather than by any narrative sequence or logical progression. Carlyle's effort to structure Book III along
dynamic principles, through the "Speaking Function" and by association and expansion of motifs and images, necessarily avoids any external or logical order and sequence. Thus, Cazamian's response is a natural one, in that he expects an analysis to be analytical and contain logical method, but his expectations do not do justice to Carlyle's predicament or, more importantly, point to the dynamic principles which do have structural effect in Book III.

Typically, an outline of Carlyle's few "directive ideas" is helpful as a starting point. The outline below suggests the major concerns of the book and is primarily useful for giving an overview of the central issues:

I. Introduction (Ch. i)

II. English social theory and practice visible in modern phenomena
   A. England's "Laissez-faire" and profit-loss philosophies (Chs. ii, iii, and iv)
   B. England's practical sense (Chs. v, vi)

III. The present condition of England's aristocracy and working classes
   A. The argument between the classes (Ch. vii)
   B. The present condition of the classes (Chs. viii, ix and x)

IV. The question of work and wages (Chs. xi, xii)

V. English democracy (Chs. xiii, xiv)

VI. Conclusion (Ch. xv)

While such an outline illustrates the general order in Book III, it over-organizes and oversimplifies Carlyle's argument,
as a paragraph by paragraph examination would show. As Grace Calder has shown in her revealing study of the First Draft and the Printer's Copy of Past and Present, Carlyle sometimes transposed paragraphs from their context in the earlier draft and expanded other paragraphs into whole chapters, but he did not, apparently, spend much time cutting tangential material or refining the logical structure of his argument. As Calder explains, "The sequence of ideas is a matter of association, and the paths of thought cross and recross."16

In keeping with Carlyle's philosophy and his emphasis on the unconscious and the dynamic, the structure of Book III depends largely on "texture," on the generation and expansion of web-like associations between related ideas and images. These motifs are accompanied, throughout Book III, by the constant presence of Carlyle's various voices and his dialectical presentation of the important issues. Carlyle's voices and dialectic together with his network of expanding images and motifs do succeed in giving Book III continuity and development which are not determined by logical or analytical method.

The use which Carlyle makes of voice and dialectic may best be illustrated by discussing Chapters ii and vii, which show how Carlyle's interwoven ideas and assertions are effectively orchestrated and dramatized. The structural importance of these voices becomes apparent when we realize
that nearly every chapter in Book III presents its ideas and assertions in a dialectical fashion, so that the emphasis throughout the book is on a living voice, on a man speaking of "spiritual things" to men.

Chapter ii, "The Gospel of Mammonism," opens with an abrupt question: "Reader, even Christian Reader as thy title goes, hast thou any notion of Heaven and Hell?" (147). Right from the beginning, there is an implied dialogue between Carlyle and his reader. By the end of the chapter, the dialogue becomes explicit: "Nay, what wouldst thou thyself have us do? cry indignant readers. Nothing, my friends,--till you have got a soul for yourselves again. Till then all things are 'impossible'" (151). In the middle paragraphs of the chapter, however, Carlyle also establishes several dialogues which the reader "overhears."

First, he quotes Sauerteig's pronouncement on the nature of the English Hell and then agrees with him: "Yes, O Sauerteig, it is very singular. If we do not 'succeed,' where is the use of us?" (148). Following a paragraph of comment on the Gospel of Mammonism, Carlyle introduces a "rich Mill-owner" and then Cain and Abel to illustrate, in a dramatic manner, the English creed of "Mammon-worship":

"My starving workers?" answers the rich Mill-owner: "Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I do do with them more?" --Verily Mammon-worship is a melancholy creed. When Cain, for his own behoof, had killed Abel, and was questioned, "Where is thy brother" he too made
answer, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Did I not pay my brother his wages, the thing he had merited from me? (148-49)

Again, following two paragraphs of comment on the lack of soul and faith, and the prevalence of atheism, mechanism and quackery in modern England, Carlyle turns to Dr. Alison for a modern exemplum and proceeds to dramatize not only the plight of the Irish Widow but also Dr. Alison's reaction:

At this Charitable Establishment and then at that she was refused; referred from one to the other, helped by none;--till . . . she sank down in typhus-fever; died, and infected her Lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. The humane Physician [Dr. Alison] asks thereupon, as with a heart too full for speaking, Would it not have been economy to help this poor Widow? She took typhus-fever, and killed seventeen of you!--Very curious. The forlorn Irish Widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, "Behold, I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us: ye must help me!" They answer, "No; impossible: thou art no sister of ours." (150-51)

In a characteristic manner, Carlyle includes both a direct quotation from Dr. Alison's text ('seventeen other persons') as well as the imaginary and dramatic responses of Dr. Alison, the Irish Widow, and the "They" of the various Charitable Establishments. "The Gospel of Mammonism" is typical--but perhaps more successful than other chapters--of Carlyle's forceful mixture of direct exhortation and dialogue which is found throughout Book III.

In Chapter vii, "Over-Production," Carlyle moves beyond dialogue to a multi-voiced dialectic or debate on the cause
of England's ailing condition. The opening sentences of the chapter indicate the participants:

But what will reflective readers say of a Governing Class, such as ours, addressing its Workers with an indictment of 'Over-production!' Over-production: runs it not so? "Ye miscellaneous, ignoble manufacturing individuals, ye have produced too much!"

(172)

In this chapter, Carlyle becomes the advocate for the working classes and has "the reflective reader," the "Governing Class" and the "Worker" dramatize his dialectic on the question of over-production. The Governing Class has the longest speech in Chapter vii, broken into paragraphs one and three, the latter containing an ironic accusation of the "Millo-cracy." Initially, Carlyle has the Governing Class appeal to both the accusers and potential defenders of their position. The result is a speech which itself creates an implied argument between disputants of both sides:

"You have produced, produced;--he that seeks your indictment, let him look around. Millions of shirts, and empty pairs of breeches, hang there in judgment against you. . . . And now there is a glut, and your operatives cannot be fed! . . . We take the Heavens and the Earth to witness that we have produced nothing at all. . . . He that accuses us of producing, let him shew himself, let him name what and when. . . . Are not your filthy mills built on these fields of ours; on this soil of England, which belongs to--whom think you?"

(172-73)

The "reflective reader" who presumably overhears this debate says nothing at this point, but the "Community with all its voices," a kind of choric voice, criticizes the
Governing Class:

The Community with all its voices commanded them [the "Millo-cracy"], saying "Make shirts;"--and there the shirts are! . . . But the Community commanded you, saying, "See that the shirts are well apportioned, that our Human Laws be emblem of God's Laws." (173)

Then, in paragraph six, the "you"--which could refer either to "the world" of the previous paragraph or to the "reflec-tive reader"--similarly takes the Idle Aristocracy to task after praising the man who works:

To the man who works . . . you will say to him: "Welcome, thou art ours; our care shall be of thee." To the idler . . . you will not hasten out; you will sit still, and be disinclined to rise. You will say to him: "Not welcome, O complex Anomaly; would thou hadst staid out of doors: for who of mortals knows what to do with thee?" (174)

Carlyle's own role involves a mediatorial function when he introduces the arguments in paragraphs one and six, but becomes a participant when he defends the working class against the charges of the Idle Aristocracy: "Never surely, against an earnest Working Mammonism was there brought, by Game-preserving aristocratic Dilettantism, a stranger ac-cusation, since this world began. My lords and gentlemen,--why, it was you that were appointed . . . to 'make and administer Laws'" (172). Finally, in paragraph five Carlyle begins in his own voice, then shifts pronouns to change the point of view, quotes indirectly the Idle Aris-tocracy's argument and his own thoughts directly, and fi-nally addresses his corn-lawing friends directly,
embodying his social theories in a living dialectic:

Yes, truly here is the ultimate rock-basis of all Corn-Laws; whereon at the bottom of much arguing, they rest, as securely as they can: What would become of you, if we decided, some day, on growing no more wheat at all? . . . Cannot we do what we like with our own? --Yes, indeed! For my share, if I could . . . stride out to the Doggerbank, some morning, and striking down my trident there into the mudwaves, say, "Be land, be fields, meadows, mountains and fresh-rolling streams!" by Heaven, I should incline to have the letting of that land in perpetuity, and sell the wheat of it, or burn the wheat of it, according to my own good judgment! My Corn-Lawing friends, you affright me. (174)

In Chapter vii or in Book III as a whole, Carlyle does not compose a logical analysis of England's social ills, but continually presents short narratives as phenomena and then either embodies his ideas and assertions in the voice of a participating character or includes the reader in a more direct dialogue. In keeping with his own emphasis on the hero and on man in general, Carlyle does not separate doctrine from the man who professes it. Exactly such an emphasis, of course, is expressed by the interaction of biography and the philosophy of Teufelsdröckh in Sartor Resartus. Moreover, the structural importance of Carlyle's use of voices and dialectic becomes clearer when we realize that in nearly every chapter of Book III there are both direct and implied dialogues. Not only are fictional characters, politicians, popes, physicians, authors and workers quoted, but "Nature" and several "isms" are personified. Even a melancholy meat-jack and the over-burdened stomach
of the "much consuming Aristocracy" come to life and take part in the argument.

In Book III, Carlyle does succeed in "attaining continuity in the development of his ideas" not only through dialectic but also through the generation and expansion of images and motifs. While the texture of *Past and Present* as a whole will be considered in the following section, at this point I would like to trace one motif through a single chapter in Book III and another through all of Book III. In developing these motifs, Carlyle establishes continuity through the recurrence of central ideas in different contexts and in different forms, and second, he does not just repeat, but develops or expands his central ideas so that they become more inclusive and allusive. The core of an idea is expanded centrifugally, accumulating synonymous terms and metaphorical connections. As both Chapter v and the whole of Book III demonstrate, Carlyle replaces logical continuity and methodical analysis with a more dynamic principle of outward-moving association and expansion.

Near the beginning of Chapter v, "The English," Carlyle states one of the chapter's "directive ideas" or themes: "The English are a dumb people. They can do great acts, but not describe them" (159). During the course of the chapter, two meanings of "dumb" are developed: "stupid" and "inarticulate." The English, as Carlyle
makes clear, are only apparently stupid; however, they are actually inarticulate. They have the potential for understanding and for creating order, but that potential is expressed primarily through work and deeds rather than speech and words. This theme, that the solution to England's problem is unspoken but lies written everywhere in her deeds and work, occurs with some variation in nearly every paragraph of Chapter v. Carlyle establishes continuity for the chapter by the recurrence, in different forms and contexts and in association with various images, of this distinction between two basic means of expression: work and articulation. For example, the following sentences from paragraphs two, four, seven and eight show how Carlyle develops and intensifies the idea that England's genius is articulated through work:

Like the old Romans, and some few others, their Epic Poem is written on the Earth's surface:
England her Mark! (159)

Whatsoever of morality and of intelligence; what of patience, perseverance, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy; in a word, whatsoever of Strength the man had in him will lie written in the Work he does. (160)

Nature alone knows thee, acknowledges the bulk and strength of thee: thy Epic, unsung in words, is written in huge characters on the face of this Planet. . . . (162)

But still greater honour, if his Epic be a mighty Empire slowly built together, a mighty Series of Heroic Deeds,—a mighty Conquest over Chaos; which Epic the "Eternal Melodies' have, and must have, informed and dwelt in, as it sung itself! (162)
In the first passage, the idea is stated: "England's Epic Poem is written on the Earth's surface." Next, the relationship of man's strength to the work done is added. The third passage uses the image of man's strength and adds Nature's role. Finally, in the last passage, the previous ideas are echoed, but man's—-and England's—Epic is now expanded into a "mighty Empire slowly built together, a mighty Series of Heroic Deeds,—a mighty Conquest over Chaos," and the phrase, "unsung in words" has become "the 'Eternal Melodies' have, and must have informed and dwelt in, as it sung itself!" Typically, the expansion produces an increase in intensity along with an increase in scope and complexity. "Eternal Melodies," for example, is a hyperbolic substitution for the original denotative word, "song." Probably the most effective elements in Carlyle's style depend on this structural accumulation and expansion; a paraphrase of Carlyle's ideas is often uninteresting because his prose has a cumulative power apparent only in context, where he can build on previous definitions, assertions, metaphors and figures. In the place of logical method, then, Chapter v shows Carlyle creating structure through the expanding and accumulative recurrence of such key ideas and images.

In a similar manner, the tracing of an important theme and its attendant imagery throughout Book III illustrates the same kind of accumulation and expansion. By choosing
selected references to man's loss of soul in modern English society, we can demonstrate one way Carlyle maintains some coherence between chapters while expanding and intensifying his assertions through accumulated synonyms and images. For illustrative purposes, the following examples are necessarily selective and abridged:

Chapter i

God's Laws are become a Greatest-Happiness Principle . . . the Heavens overarch us only as an Astronomical Time-keeper; a butt for Herschel-telescopes to shoot science at, to shoot senti-mentalities at . . . man has lost the soul out of him. . . . There is no religion; there is no God; man has lost his soul, and vainly seeks antiseptic salt. (139-40)

Chapter ii

The Infinite is more sure than any other fact. But only men can discern it; mere building beavers, spinning arachnes, much more the predatory vulturous and vulpine species, do not discern it well! (147)

Chapter iii

The Universe has become a Humbug to these Apes who thought it one! . . . They made no use of their souls; and so have lost them. Their worship on the Sabbath now is to roost there, with unmusical screeches, and half-remember that they had souls. (154)

Chapter iv

We construct our theory of Human Duties, not on any Greatest-Nobleness Principle . . . but on a Greatest-Happiness Principle. 'The word Soul with us, as in some Slavonic dialects, seems to be syn-onymous with Stomach.' We plead and speak, in our Parliaments and elsewhere, not as from the Soul, but from the Stomach. . . . (155)
Chapter vi

Labour must become a seeing rational giant, with a soul in the body of him, and take his place on the throne of things,--leaving his Mammonism, and several other adjuncts, on the lower steps of said throne. (171)

Chapter vii

To the 'Millo-cracy' so-called, to the Working Aristocracy, steeped too deep in mere ignoble Mammonism, and as yet all unconscious of its noble destinies, as yet but an irrational or semi-rational giant, struggling to awake some soul in itself,--the world will have much to say, reproachfully, reprovingly, admonishingly. (174)

Chapter viii

In the Higher Court . . . which is the Court of Necessity withal, and the eternal Court of the Universe, in which all Fact comes to plead, and every Human Soul is an apparitor,--the Aristocracy is answerable, and even now answering, there. (182)

Chapter x

Curious enough: they . . . devise some light comfortable kind of 'wine-and-walnuts philosophy' for themselves . . . and keep saying . . . "Soul, take thy ease, it is all well that thou art a vulture-soul." (189)

For all human things do require to have an Ideal in them; to have some Soul in them, as we said, were it only to keep the Body unputrefied. And wonderful it is to see how the Ideal or Soul, place it in what ugliest Body you may, will irradiate said Body with its own nobleness. . . . (190-91)

Chapter xi

Consider how, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work! Doubt, Desire, Sorrow, Remorse, Indignation, Despair itself, all these like hell-dogs lie beleaguer the soul of the poor dayworker, as of every man. . . . (196)
Chapter xiii

It is not your purses that suffer; your farm-rents, your commerces, your mill-revenues ... it is not these alone, but a far deeper than these: it is your Souls that lie dead, crushed down under despicable Nightmares, Atheisms, Brain-fumes; and are not Souls at all, but mere succedanea for salt to keep your bodies and their appetites from putrefying! Your cotton-spinning and thrice-miraculous mechanism, what is this too, by itself but a larger kind of Animalism? Spiders can spin, Beavers can build and shew contrivance; the Ant lays up accumulation of capital, and has, for aught I know, a Bank of Antland. If there is no soul in man higher than all that ... then I say, man is but an animal, a more cunning kind of brute: he has no soul, but only a succedaneum for salt. (219-20)

Chapter xv

'All religion issues in due Practical Hero-Worship.' He that has a soul unasphyxied will never want a religion; he that has a soul asphyxied, reduced to a succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion, though you rose from the dead to preach him one. (226)

Brother, thou art a Man, I think; thou art not a mere building Beaver, or two-legged Cotton-Spider; thou hast verily a Soul in thee, asphyxied or otherwise! (226-27)

The above quotations demonstrate that Carlyle does have at least one theme, expressed in a variety of contexts, which runs throughout the chapters of Book III. A close reading shows that Carlyle builds a network of associated images and synonyms which reaches a climactic statement in Chapter xiii and then, using the imagery already developed, returns in Chapter xv, "Morrison Again," to a restatement of the opening thesis, very like a Bach fugue. In fact, the resulting structure and movement imitates a musical composition more than it does traditional
expository structure.

A review of the motifs and imagery reveals how Carlyle orchestrates his assertions. The images may be traced through these passages under two general categories: the loss of soul and the resulting mechanism and animalism. First, the loss-of-soul motif and images (here italicized) which refer to salt, putrefaction, and asphyxiation.

Man has lost the soul out of him . . . and vainly seeks antisepetic salt.

For all human things do require to have an Ideal in them; to have some Soul in them, as we said, were it only to keep the Body unputrefied.

. . . and are not Souls at all, but mere succedanea for salt to keep your bodies and their appetites from putrefying!

He that has a soul unasphyxied will never want a religion; he that has a soul asphyxied, reduced to succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion. . . .

Related to the loss of soul from the body are the parallel references to mechanism and animalism. The mechanical nature of a soul-less universe is referred to in the passages on "Herschel-telescopes," the Almighty as a "Clockmaker," the "Millo-cracy," in the section where "men go about as if by galvanism" and in the references to "cotton-spinning and thrice-miraculous mechanism." The animal-like character of soul-less man and his soul-less philosophies is more pervasive: "beavers . . . and vulpine species, do not discern it well," "[Apes] made
no use of their souls," "The word Soul . . . seems to be synonymous with Stomach," "the men go about . . . with meaningless glaring eyes, and have no soul, but only a beaver-faculty and stomach," "thou art a vulture-soul," "Spiders can spin, Beavers can build . . . the Ant lays up accumulation," "man is but an animal, a more cunning kind of brute," and "thou art not a mere building Beaver, or two-legged Cotton-Spider." The animal images, along with the medical allusions to putrefaction and asphyxiation, establish a series of images which share an organic nature, thereby dramatizing Carlyle's belief that society is an organism. Furthermore, the very presence of the theme of England's soul-less condition—as well as the presence of other themes and motifs—in nearly every chapter of Book III accounts for much of its coherence and continuity.

Tracing a single recurring theme or motif through either a chapter or the whole of Book III can only begin to indicate the kind of organic (or musical) structure which exists. If all the themes, motifs and images were similarly traced, the result would indicate the vastness and the interrelated and expanding quality of the structural network, but it would not demonstrate Carlyle's dynamic and associational approach to structure any more clearly. For Carlyle, structure is not an end in itself, an architectural design which is separable from the argument and admirable in itself, but is subordinate, as Book III
shows, to belief and understanding. As the following passage from "Morrison Again" illustrates, Carlyle's images, motifs and themes are projected through real and personified voices in order to produce belief:

Rituals, Liturgies, Credos, Sinai Thunder: I know more or less the history of these... Can thunder... repeated daily for centuries of years, make God's Laws more godlike to me? Brother, No... Perhaps I am above being frightened; perhaps it is not Fear, but Reverence alone, that shall now lead me!--Revelations, Inspirations? Yes: and thy own god-created Soul; dost thou not call that a 'revelation?' Who made THEE? Where didst Thou come from? The Voice of Eternity, if thou be not a blasphemer and poor asphyxied mute, speaks with that tongue of thine! Thou art the latest Birth of Nature; it is 'the Inspiration of the Almighty' that giveth thee understanding! (228)

In such passages, the presence of voice, both Carlyle's and the "Voice of Eternity," and the images work simultaneously not to "prove and find reasons" but to assist the reader in knowing and perceiving reality, and in believing in a possible rebirth for himself and for society.

The eight chapters in Book IV have two basic purposes: as the title, "Horoscope," indicates, Book IV is a brief look into England's future, a review of the immense potential and possibility existing in English society. But the book also functions as a conclusion, recalling England's history and Samson's story and reemphasizing the most important of Carlyle's social and philosophic ideas. Because prophecy for Carlyle depends on his steady vision
into the past and present rather than the future, the structure of Book IV develops from an interweaving of materials and modes from Books II and III. The original title for Book IV, as Grace Calder points out, was not "Horoscope" but simply "Conclusion."17 As a conclusion, Book IV stresses again the necessity of awakening some soul in English society, of practicing reverence and true hero-worship and of working well in order to realize the rebirth or palingenesis of man and society. In fact, the Greek root of the word "horoscope" itself suggests rebirth and means literally, "hour-observer" or "observer of the hour of nativity." In the process of discussing Carlyle's use of voice and recurrent images and motifs, the double function of Book IV as conclusion and prophecy will become more apparent. Carlyle's prophecies, that a "Splendour of God" will "unfold itself from the heart of these our Industrial Ages" and that "there will again be a King in Israel," are made possible because of his belief that the future grows out of the past and the present, that "man is ever man" and that "A man has, in his own soul, an Eternal; can read something of the Eternal there, if he will look! He already knows what will continue; what cannot, by any means or appliance whatsoever, be made to continue!" (248). If man knows the past by reading the "Bible of Universal History," and knows the present by looking into his own soul, he already knows the future.
The opening chapter in Book IV, "Aristocracies," suggests an outline for the remaining chapters. As in earlier books, the outline provides only an overview of the "directive ideas":

I. Introduction (paragraphs 1-4, Ch. i)

II. England needs effective governing and teaching classes (paragraphs 5-22, Ch. i)

A. A governing class must provide some "Organization of Labour"
   1. Bribery must cease (Ch. ii)
   2. Parliament could learn from the army how to organize effectively (Ch. iii)
   3. Captains of Industry must become a "Virtual Aristocracy" and establish permanent bonds between workers and manufacturers (Chs. iv and v)
   4. The "Idle Aristocracy" must develop reverence and begin to work (Ch. vi)

B. The "Men of Letters" must form the true teaching class or priesthood (Ch. vii)

III. Conclusion (Ch. viii)

This outline of Book IV does not, however, indicate how Carlyle combines ideas, images, voices or editorial roles from earlier books in his effort to make the book serve a dual function as conclusion and horoscope. The prophetic aspect of Book IV is captured in Chapter i, "Aristocracies," Chapter iii, "The One Institution" and the last half of Chapter viii, "The Didactic." Chapters iv, "Captains of Industry," and vi, "The Landed," however, are largely extensions of subjects already mentioned in
Book III, and Chapters ii and vii both return to a hortatory voice more characteristic of Book III. In Book IV, Carlyle does not sustain a prophetic tone or visionary stance because his vision into the future always leads him back to the present and the past, from which the future grows. In returning to the present and the past, and to the subjects and ideas of Books III and II, Carlyle recreates the very manner and mode of each book. When, for example, Carlyle discusses England's past, he reassumes the editorial role characteristic of Book II, and when he turns to the present, he assumes the direct "living voice" and the dramatized discussions typical of Book III.

Carlyle begins Book IV without directly assuming an editorial role; however, the following passage indicates that his function in "Horoscope" is to "see into" the future in the same way that the Editor of Book II sees into the past:

Our Epic having now become Tools and the Man, it is more than usually impossible to prophesy the Future. . . . Straining our eyes hitherto, the utmost effort of intelligence sheds but some most glimmering dawn, a little way into its dark enormous Deeps: only huge outlines loom uncertain on the sight; and the ray of prophecy, at a short distance, expires. (247-48)

The difficulty with Carlyle's role as visionary in Book IV is that there are no documents which can be revealed within the "dark enormous Deeps." The only "outline" which is visible in the future is determined by events in the present and the past. It is not surprising, therefore, to find
historical accounts in Book IV, such as the one of Rufus and Anselm in Chapter i. Similarly, Chapter iii, "The One Institution," echoes the tone and content of the final chapter of Book II, "The Beginnings," especially in Carlyle's praise of English conservatism:

It is true the English Legislature, like the English People, is . . . conservative. In our wildest periods of reform, in the Long Parliament itself, you notice always the invincible instinct to hold fast by the Old; to admit the minimum of New; to expand . . . some old habit or method, already found fruitful, into new growth for the new need. . . . The Future hereby is not disovered from the Past, but based continuously on it; grows with all the vitalities of the Past, and is rooted down deep into the beginnings of us. (265)

Carlyle's conservative belief that the future is contained in the present and the past continually draws him back to the present and consequently to his exhortation to work and action. "An Editor's stipulated work," Carlyle says in Chapter iii, is not to say how the ideal social state may be realized, but rather to inform the Parliament, the Aristocracy and all members of the Governing Class that it must be done and that the "'way to do it,' is to try it" (266). In Chapter viii, "The Didactic," Carlyle returns to the more direct voice of Book III.

Some 'Chivalry of Labour,' some noble Humanity and practical Divineness of Labour, will yet be realised on this Earth. Or why will; why do we pray to Heaven, without setting our own shoulder to the wheel? The Present, if it will have the Future accomplish, shall itself commence. Thou who prophesiest, who believest, begin thou to fulfill. Here or nowhere, now equally as at any time! (292)
A partial list of other imaginary characters like Bobus reveals the extent to which the dialogue characteristic of Book III is continued into Book IV: Pandarus Dogdraught, a grimy Freeman, Aristides Rigmarole, Hon. Alcides Dolittle, Sauerteig, Blank, Sam Slick, Quashee and Macaenas Twiddledee. There are also several personified abstractions and contemporary or historical figures who take part in the dialogue or who answer Carlyle's rhetorical questions. In short, the presence of material drawn from Books II and III is a natural consequence of Carlyle's prophetic vision which depends upon the past and the present. The dual function of Book IV as both conclusion and prophecy is necessitated by Carlyle's view of the future; consequently, Book IV is characterized by an ebbing and flowing movement, by a blend of history, present phenomena and future vision. Book IV is, in fact, a microcosm of the whole of Past and Present.

The motifs which function structurally in Book IV similarly depend on the natural continuity of past, present and future. In particular, two related motifs illustrate how Book IV is both horoscope and conclusion. First, the reference to England's future and second, the several variations of the "riddle of the Sphinx" which England must answer not only lead to the crucial ideas in Book IV, but incorporate the important images of birth and awakening.

In every chapter of Book IV, references to the future invariably stress the relationship which the future bears
to the present and the past. The life-tree Igdrasil, referred to in Books I and II, symbolizes the organic connections between past and present and present and future which Book IV emphasizes. Without directly alluding to the Norse myth, however, other passages in Book IV are insistent that the future grows out of the present and the past: in Chapter iii, Carlyle uses this idea in discussing the conservative nature of the English legislature, as we have just seen: "The Future hereby is not dissevered from the Past, but based continuously on it; grows with all the vitalities of the Past, and is rooted down deep into the beginnings of us" (265). Not only does the future grow out of the past and the present, but the incessant work of man results in a "birth" of new societies and social organisms. Taken respectively from Chapters iii and iv, the following passages associate birth with the future:

I could conceive an Emigration Service, a Teaching Service, considerable varieties of United and Separate Services . . . all doing their work, like it;--which work, much more than fighting, is henceforth the necessity of these New Ages we are got into! Much lies among us, convulsively, nigh desperately struggling to be born. (259-60)

The future Epic of the World rests not with those that are near dead, but with those that are alive, and those that are coming into life. (272)

The birth which the future will bring, Carlyle emphasizes, is a difficult struggle which involves answering difficult questions.
As the outline of Book IV indicates, the basic question for the future is the problem of organizing labor: "This that they call 'Organizing of Labour' is, if well understood, the Problem of the whole Future, for all who will in future pretend to govern men" (255). Specifically, the most difficult question which England must answer Carlyle asks in Chapter i, "Aristocracies":

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. (249)

Work eventually answers the question with a "Practical" solution, but it must be work coming from a soul which has repudiated the mammonistic Chactaw Principle. In Chapter vi, "The Landed," the question reverts to the necessity of having a rebirth of soul in the Aristocrat Worker:

Why should he [the Aristocrat Worker], with such appliances, stand an incumbrance in the Present; perish disastrously out of the Future! From no section of the Future would we lose these noble courtesies . . . lose aught of what the fruitful Past still gives us token of, memento of, in this man. Can we not save him:--can he not help us to save him! . . .

Will he awaken, be alive again, and have a soul; or is this death-fit very death? It is a question of questions, for himself and for us all! (280)

Only through a "perpetual metamorphosis" or the "Death-Birth" of the Phoenix, as Teufelsdröckh says in Sartor Resartus, can England be resuscitated from its "death-fit" and "awaken, be alive again, and have a soul." As both a conclusion for the first three books of Past and Present
and a "horoscope" for modern England, Book IV envisions a phoenix-like rebirth from the ashes and chaos of the present. As in the previous books of Past and Present, Carlyle develops and intensifies his message primarily through expansion and the accumulation of a network of related images. In Book IV, a cluster of images relating to the organic process of sleep and awakening, and death and birth is developed and carries Carlyle's optimistic vision. Picking up the "enchanted-nightmare-dream-asleep" cluster from earlier books, Chapter i of Book IV recalls the present state of "Laissez-faire" philosophies and the Idle Aristocracy which has promulgated them:

The Dryasdust Philosophisms and enlightened Scepticisms of the Eighteenth Century, historical and other, will have to survive for a while with the Physiologists, as a memorable Nightmare-Dream. (240)

Good Heavens, "Laissez-faire, Do ye nothing, eat your wages and sleep," is everywhere the passionate half-wise cry of this time; and they will not so much as do nothing, but must do mere Corn-Laws! (244)

From the images of nightmare and sleep which characterize the modern period will come a rebirth and an awakening in future times. First Carlyle has King Redbeard, in a wholly imaginary conversation with Anselm, envision the birth of Arkwright ages from a vantage point in the past:

Behold, though it is an unspoken secret, the world is wider than any of us think, Right Reverend! ... I am, so to speak, in the family-way; with child. ... I have Manchester Cotton-trades, Bromwicham Iron-trades, American Commonwealths, Indian
Empires, Steam Mechanisms and Shakspeare Dramas, in my belly. . . . (247)

In Chapter iii, England's awakening is associated with the difficulty of articulating and enacting the potential which lies in its heart:

A Prime Minister . . . who shall . . . address himself like a man and hero to the great dumb-struggling heart of England; and speak out for it . . . the God's-Justice it is writhing to get uttered and perishing for want of,--yes, he too will see awaken round him, in passionate burning all-defiant loyalty, the heart of England. . . . (257)

By Chapter iv, where the images of birth and awakening proliferate, the struggle and the "writhing to get uttered" have become associated with the struggle of birth or the difficulty of shaking off the enchanted sleep. In the short space of four pages, the images all come together and form one of Carlyle's more memorable clarion-calls, a call to arise, figuratively and literally, from the dead. The added italics highlight the images of birth and awakening:

It is with the hope of awakening here and there a British man to know himself for a man and divine soul, that a few words of parting . . . may now be addressed. (268)

Deep-hidden under wretchedest godforgetting Cants, Epicurisms, Dead-Sea Apisms; forgotten as under foulest fat Lethe mud and weeds, there is yet, in all hearts born into this God's-World, a spark of the Godlike slumbering. Awake, O nightmare sleepers; awake, arise, or be forever fallen! . . . Thou who feelest aught of such a Godlike stirring in thee, any faintest intimation of it as through heavy-laden dreams, follow it, I conjure thee. Arise, save thyself, be one of those that save thy country. (269)
Thy scalps and thy thousand-pound bills are as yet nothing, if no nobleness from within irradiate them; if no Chivalry, in action, or in embryo ever struggling towards birth and action, be there. (269)

Awake, ye noble Workers, warriors in the one true war: all this must be remedied. It is you who are already half-alive, whom I will welcome into life; whom I will conjure in God's name to shake off your enchanted sleep, and live wholly! (271)

It is to you I call; for ye are not dead, ye are already half-alive: there is in you a sleepless dauntless energy, the prime-matter of all nobleness in man. (271)

Following this climax, the images of death-birth and sleep-awakening decrease markedly; in Chapter vi, the "question of questions" for all Englishmen is whether man--and especially the Idle Aristocracy--will "awaken, be alive again, and have a soul" (280). By the concluding chapter, the focus has shifted toward a rallying of the necessary energy for the work that must be done. Even on the final page of Chapter viii, however, man's energy is seen as creating a "birth of Heaven" on earth:

Sooty Hell of mutiny and savagery and despair can, by man's energy, be made a kind of Heaven; cleared of its soot . . . the everlasting arch of Heaven's azure overspanning it too, and its cunning mechanisms and tall chimney-steeples, as a birth of Heaven; God and all men looking on it well pleased. (294)

The images of birth and awakening increase in frequency during Book IV and become associated and interwoven with each other and with Carlyle's call for the "noble Workers, warriors in the one true war," to arise. The cumulative power of Carlyle's images and motifs is nowhere more
successful than in Book IV, where Carlyle can draw on the whole range of his ideas and images developed in earlier books.

The structure of Book IV develops from the book's dual function as conclusion and horoscope. Carlyle does not attempt a detailed description of a new Jerusalem, but he is optimistic about its possible and eventual realization. Because he sees past, present and future as organically related, he returns to a discussion of the past and the present in order to illustrate the future, and he reasserts both the mode and manner of Books II and III. The dual purposes of Book IV do not conflict but rather complement each other. As a result, it has an ebbing and flowing movement as Carlyle describes past and present struggles to give "Newbirth" to the future. In returning to the material and the modes of earlier books, Carlyle also picks up earlier images—especially the "enchantment-nightmare-dream-asleep" cluster—and creates a network of birth-death, sleep-awakening images which carry the prophetic, energetic message of Book IV.

iv The Texture of Past and Present

At the outset of a discussion of the texture of Past and Present we should recall Carlyle's belief in the importance of unconscious and dynamic processes and in the
potential for an omnipresent life in the universe. The unconscious, being anti-rational and anti-analytical, sees relationships between ideas primarily through association of similar ideas in different form or dress. Similarly, the potential for life in all things may be demonstrated not by logic and analysis, which involve division and separation, but by the connectedness and the relatedness of all things in the universe. In attempting to deal with the associated themes and images in Sartor Resartus, G. B. Tennyson uses the term, "texture":

Taken as extreme points on a critical continuum, structure and style meet in an area that I, adapting a term in general use, shall call texture... Prose has texture as surely as poetry, if by texture we mean the pattern of imagery, thematic interweavings, the verbal surface, the very feel of a work... Con- strued in this way, texture can show a good deal that is easily overlooked in an examination of structure or style: what helps knit the larger divisions together? are there recurrent images? What thematic patterns lie below the major structural ones?18

On a smaller scale, the "pattern of imagery" and "thematic interweavings" have already been investigated in the examination of each of the separate books of Past and Present. On a larger scale, throughout the work as a whole, the patterns of imagery and the thematic interweavings take on an organic character as the growth, expansion and accumulation become apparent. Not just the structure, but also much of the cumulative power of Carlyle's prose comes from this expanding network of synonyms and images
through which Carlyle's assertions are expressed. G. B. Tennyson suggests that the banyan tree symbolizes the organic character of Carlyle's prose: "The banyan is a tree of the Mulberry family, often called self-renewing because it sends down what are termed aerial-roots from its branches, which upon reaching the ground thicken and help support the tree by becoming additional trunks." 19

It is easy to see the banyan tree as a pattern for Carlyle's idea of "organic filaments" which create a circulation "through all Space and all Time" (245) and also as a pattern for movement between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries in Past and Present. As in the image of the Life-tree Igdrasil, all things dead or yet to be born have a place in the organic relationship of past, present and future:

For the Present holds in it both the whole Past and the whole Future;--as the LIFE-TREE IGDRASIL, wide-waving, many-toned, has its roots down deep in the Death-kingdoms, among the oldest dead dust of men, and with its boughs reaches always beyond the stars; and in all times and places is one and the same Life-tree! (42)

The texture of Past and Present serves to relate "all times and places" but it also has the growing and expanding character of the banyan tree. Images and synonyms start out as branches on the tree, but as they grow, they bend to the earth and become trunks to support new growth. The texture of Past and Present is a direct manifestation of Carlyle's philosophy and represents an attempt to imitate
the process of the unconscious by associating images and ideas dynamically in order to produce expansion and growth. The purpose of this banyan-like structure lies in its cumulative power to produce knowledge and belief.

In the creation of the texture of Past and Present, two different but functionally related processes are found: the expansion of important ideas by means of connective synonyms and allusions and the expansion of key images. In practice, both processes occur simultaneously, but for the purposes of analysis, we will consider them separately.

The expansion of ideas through synonyms and allusions can be illustrated by tracing the term "Nature" and its use in varying contexts through the fabric of Past and Present. The order behind the "multiple criss-crossing strands of motif" is created, according to Richard Altick, "by Carlyle's adroit use of his iterated references. The iteration is not, however, mere mechanical repetition, for the tags and allusions themselves acquire new forms and additional meaning in the course of their reappearances." In tracing the term "Nature," we are tracing only one strand of the "multiple criss-crossing strands"; the connections with other strands or motifs, however, becomes more apparent as the network grows until, finally, we discover that following a single strand leads us to the center of Carlyle's religious and social philosophy.
Beginning in Book I, Chapter ii, Nature is associated with the Sphinx, an association which remains directly or indirectly implied throughout the rest of Past and Present:

Nature, like the Sphinx, is of womanly celestial loveliness and tenderness; the face and bosom of a goddess, but ending in claws and the body of a lioness. There is in her a celestial beauty,--which means celestial order, pliancy to wisdom; but there is also a darkness, a ferocity, fatality, which are infernal. She is a goddess, but one not yet disimprisoned; one still half imprisoned,--the articulate, lovely still encased in the inarticulate, chaotic. How true! And does she not propound her riddles to us? (13)

This extended simile suggests the duality in Nature: she is a goddess-lioness, she is celestial-infernal, she contains wisdom (light) and darkness, and she represents the articulate encased in the inarticulate. Moreover, Nature is associated with the basic sources of truth and justice in the world, with God and the souls of men; thus, the return to Nature and her laws represents the only possible cure for the "condition" of England:

There will no 'thing' be done that will cure you. There will . . . a most toilsome, all but 'impossible' return to Nature, and her veracities, and her integrities, take place: that so the inner fountains of life may again begin, like eternal Light-fountains, to irradiate and purify your bloated, swollen, foul existence. . . . (28-29)

Nature is associated with "veracities" and "intelligences" and, as the network builds, with other synonyms such as "truth," "soul" or "inner heart." Nature is also acknowledged as a source for the "fountains of life," or the
"eternal Light-fountains" which will provide a cure for the present diseased state. In Chapter v, Sauerteig's comment on Nature expresses Carlyle's basic anti-mechanistic view and iterates the celestial-infernal and the didactic aspects of Nature:

'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 . . . but now I am happy to observe, she is everywhere asserting herself to be not dead and brass at all, but alive and miraculous, celestial-infernal. . . . (33)

In the same context, Carlyle then indicates that Nature's Fact, the voice of Fact itself and God's message are all synonyms for a didactic concept of justice in the world:

A God's-message never came to thicker-skinned people. . . . It is Fact, speaking once more . . . from out of the centre of the world. . . . Behold, ye shall grow wiser, or ye shall die! Truer to Nature's Fact, or inane Chimera will swallow you; in whirlwinds of fire, you and your Mammonisms. . . . Such is the God's-message to us, once more, in these modern days. (34)

Book II has fewer references to Nature, but they pick up many of the threads established in Book I. The law of Nature defines the period of growth and decline and forces any social or human ideal to "grow in the Real": "By the law of Nature, too, all manner of Ideals have their fatal limits and lot; their appointed periods, of youth, of maturity or perfection, of decline, degradation, and final death and disappearance" (63). As Nature is celestial-infernal, so it is Ideal-Real; the ideal must be worked out through the organic process of birth-maturity-death
in accordance with Nature's law. We have already seen the association of Nature's Law with the "veracities," the "inner fountains of life" and the "voice" of God's message; in a passage from Chapter ix, such terms are also used to describe the hero's relationship to Nature:

Genius, Poet: do we know what these words mean? An inspired Soul once more vouchsafed us, direct from Nature's own great fire-heart, to see the Truth, and speak it, and do it; Nature's own sacred voice heard once more. . . . Listen once again to a voice from the inner Light-sea and Flame-sea, Nature's and Truth's own heart. . . . (90)

In the passage from Book I on Carlyle's "cure" for society, the image of the "light-fountain" was used. Now, it is associated with the "inspired Soul" who comes from the "fire-heart" of Nature and speaks with Nature's "own sacred voice." As it grows, the body of ideas, synonyms and images associated with Nature is used more and more as a source for further allusion as the branches reach the ground and become trunks to support further growth. In Chapter xvii, the origins of liturgy are dramatized in Carlyle's picture of the "original" man who is described in terms earlier applied to the genius or poet:

The first man who, looking with opened soul on this august Heaven and Earth, this Beautiful and Awful, which we name Nature, Universe and such like, the essence of which remains forever UNNAMEABLE; he who first, gazing into this, fell on his knees awestruck, in silence as is likeliest,—he, driven by inner necessity, the 'audacious original' that he was, had done a thing, too, which all thoughtful hearts saw straightway to be an expressive, altogether adoptable thing! (132)
This man who looks on the beautiful-awful in Nature Carlyle calls a poet, like the "inspired Soul" who sees into Nature's "fire-heart." By the end of Book II, tracing the term "Nature" through its synonyms, allusions and associated images has led to Carlyle's dualism, to the only possible "cure" for the condition of England, and to the doctrine of the hero who, being an "inspired Soul" "direct from Nature's own great fire-heart," can help bring about the regeneration of society.

In Book III, Chapter 1, Nature's laws are called on to help denounce the ubiquitous puffery and falsehood:

Nature requires no man to make proclamation of his doings and hat-makings; Nature forbids all men to make such. . . . Nature's Laws . . . are eternal: her small still voice, speaking from the inmost heart of us, shall not, under terrible penalties, be disregarded. . . . Nature has appointed happy fields, victorious laurel-crowns; but only to the brave and true: Unnature, what we call Chaos, holds nothing in it but vacuities, devouring guls. What are Twenty-seven Millions, and their unanimity? Believe them not: the Worlds and the Ages, God and Nature and All Men say otherwise. (144-45)

Just as the genius or poet speaks from Nature's inmost heart, so all men can find Nature's "small still voice" in their "inmost heart." The laws are eternal and do not regard the majority's action as necessarily true. Nature's dualism is again evident in Carlyle's reference to "Unnature" or "Chaos" on the one hand and the "World and the Ages, God and Nature and All Men" on the other. The new synonym here, "the World and the Ages," which comes from Goethe's poem,
"Symbolum," reflects Carlyle's concept of a didactic history. In the allusion to the narrative of Moses and the Dwellers by the Dead Sea, Carlyle explains that this tribe of men had forgotten the "inner facts of Nature," and had taken up with the "falsities and outer semblances of it" (153). It becomes clear, then, that as the term "Nature" develops, its dualistic nature, its celestial-infernal, beautiful-awful quality is associated with Carlyle's basic distinction between inner reality and outer semblance or appearance.

Tracing the banyan-like branches and roots of the term "Nature" also leads to Carlyle's doctrine of work and his belief in the primacy of the unconscious faculties. In Chapter v, "The English," the sphinx-like personification of Nature is shown as testing the strength of a man's work: "To work: why it is to try himself against Nature, and her everlasting unerring Laws; these will tell a true verdict as to the man" (160). Nature is shown as favoring the burly Man of Practice rather than the Man of Theory with his "logic-arrows":

The ineloquent Brindley, behold he has chained seas together; his ships do visibly float over valleys, invisibly through the hearts of mountains; the Mersey and the Thames, the Humber and the Severn have shaken hands: Nature most audibly answers, Yea! The man of Theory twangs his full-bent bow: Nature's Fact ought to fall stricken, but does not: his logic-arrow glances from it as from a scaly dragon, and the obstinate Fact keeps walking its way. (161)
Especially in Book III, Carlyle converts allusions to Nature's intentions ("Nature does not mean her poor Saxon children to perish") to direct quotations from Nature which support his social ideas. What has been an inarticulate source of the eternal verities now speaks directly:

All this dire misery, therefore; all this of our poor Workhouse Workmen, of our Chartisms, Trades-strikes, Corn-Laws, Toryisms, and the general downbreak of Laissez-faire in these days,—may we not regard it as a voice from the dumb bosom of Nature, saying to us: Behold! Supply-and-demand is not the one Law of Nature; Cash-payment is not the sole nexus of man with man,—how far from it! (187)

One of the important chapters in Book III, "Labour," refers to Nature throughout in making the point already illustrated, that "Work, never so Mammonish, mean, is in communication with Nature; the real desire to get Work done will itself lead one more and more to truth, to Nature's appointments and regulations, which are truth" (196). Poet-prophet, worker and world soldier are all "melodious Voices from the eternal Heart of Nature once again; souls forever venerable to all that have a soul" (233-34). By continually suggesting that the great wise men speak from Nature's own "fire-heart," and by directly and indirectly quoting Nature's personified voice, Carlyle give Nature's truth a dramatic and prophetic reality of its own. Nature's role is developed to its fullest extent in Book III; Book IV has only a few references which recall some of the previously established ideas, that "the Laws of Nature will
have themselves fulfilled" (270), that men will again
discover the "rock-foundations that reach to the centre of
the world, and rest on Nature's self" (291), and that the
word "impossible," where "Truth and Mercy and the ever-
lasting Voice of Nature order, has no place in the brave
man's dictionary" (292). The expansion ceases with Book
III but the connections continue into Book IV.

By way of review, we might examine the complex of asso-
ciated synonyms, allusions and images in the previous
passages. "Nature" is associated with several terms includ-
ing "God," "Fact," and "The World and the Ages." The
various synonyms are partly explained by the idea that
Nature is essentially "UNNAMEABLE"; the essence of Nature
is suggested but not captured or defined by any one syno-
nym. Discussing the principle of truth and justice in
"Nature's appointments and regulations," "Nature's truth,"
and "God's-message." The images and allusions are most
frequently connected with Carlyle's various descriptions
of the dualistic principle in Nature. Nature is "celestial-
infernal" and "Beautiful-Awful"; it is the articulate
encased in the inarticulate, the Ideal existing in the Real;
and it has an inner heart or reality and an outer appearance.
Nature, which is alive, is contrasted to "Unnature" which
is equivalent to chaos and vacuity. Furthermore, Nature is
always Sphinx-like; for the poet or genius who speaks from
the heart of Nature, for the men who work in accordance with Nature and attempt the "impossible," Nature is a positive source of life and health, an "eternal Light-fountain," and "inner light-sea and Flame-sea." Nature, however, can also be a negative didactic force, leading men to the abyss at the road's end, penetrating into thick heads if necessary, destroying unbelievers and their canting, their Mammonisms, Dilettantisms, Midas-eared philosophies, theories, parchments, Laissez-faire and cash-nexus doctrines in whirlwinds of fire, swallowing them by Chimeras or other agents of the Sphinx, surgically removing the "disease" or otherwise punishing them. The synonyms, allusions and images lead to the center of Carlyle's philosophy, to his social and religious beliefs, to the doctrine of the hero, genius or poet and to the idea of work. As we are now in a position to see, the texture of Past and Present grows out of the expanding and interconnected "strands of motif" and "iterated references" and forms an organic or web-like network. Even more important is the fact that Carlyle's "web-weaving" is more than a mere vehicle to express his ideas; in fact, his belief in the potential rebirth of an organically connected society is structurally imitated in his expansion of a term such as "Nature." An examination of the texture of Past and Present shows that the purpose or end of such an organic structure is not to "prove and find reasons" for the
ailing "condition" of England, but to reestablish belief in the organic "nexus" connecting Nature, society and man.

Carlyle's use of imagery is perhaps the most interesting and important aspect of the texture of *Past and Present*. Since it is impossible to trace all of the important images, the following discussion focuses on two groups of images which have the greatest unifying effect on the work as a whole. The first group of images deals with eyesight, vision, light and radiance, while the second group centers on images of the wayfaring and warfaring man. The two groups treat, respectively, two areas crucial to Carlyle's philosophy: the problem of wisdom and knowledge and the problem of working and doing. It is not surprising to find that Carlyle's major images deal with perception and action, the two basic concerns of the philosophy in *Past and Present*.

An investigation of the associations and connections which images of eyesight, vision, light and radiance create leads to virtually every major idea and nearly every major image or symbol. Tracing these images permits an inductive view of the metaphorical form of Carlyle's ideas and of the way in which the connections between ideas and images function, thematically and structurally, to create the work itself. If nothing else, tracing the important images gives us the sense that we might begin at any point in *Past and Present*, with almost any idea or image and, by following
the connections and associations, arrive eventually at an understanding of the whole.

The importance of perception in Carlyle's philosophy has been noted several times. The notion that the world is an "open secret" is one of his basic tenets, and it suggests a schematic relationship between man and the "secret" or the thing actually seen. Man may look into the world, into societies past and present, and by "opening his eyes," discover God, Nature, Justice and Truth; similarly, he may look into his own soul or heart and see God, Nature, Justice and Truth:

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  God  Man's
  Nature ← soul ← Man's ← the world  God
  Justice → or → body → Man → societies → Nature
  Truth  heart (past, present ← Justice and future)  Truth
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The processes of perception are by no means separate or distinct: having a "true-seeking" soul enables man to perceive the "open secret" in the world; perceiving justice in the world enables man to see justice in his own heart or soul and vice-versa. "For in truth," Carlyle says in the opening sentences of Book IV, "the eye sees in all things 'what it brought with it the means of seeing'" (239). The process of perception is further complicated by the fact that vision and eyesight must depend upon some external source of light or radiance. God, Nature, Justice and Truth are sources of light and radiance which make perception by man's eye or "inner heart" possible. Furthermore,
Carlyle's use of these images expresses the dualism in the universe, the idea that "all things have two faces, a light one and a dark." Images of light and darkness, eyesight and blindness become associated with the principles of life and death in the universe, with appearance, semblance, and sham versus reality, substance and fact, and with moral good and evil. Often, to indicate the difficulty of perceiving the "open secret," the vision or eyesight must penetrate through some intervening medium. The following examples illustrate man's perception of the duality in the world and in his own soul as well as show how images of eyesight and vision, light and radiance become associated with other images and ideas central to Carlyle's philosophy.

By far the majority of the visual images in Past and Present are concerned with man's seeing into the nature of the world and the society around him. The visual imagery associated with the historian's effort to look through the darkness of seven centuries to the twelfth century of Abbot Samson have already been discussed. The "medium" which the historian and the reader must imaginatively penetrate ranges from Jocelin's monk-Latin to the "blankets of the old Night" which separate the centuries. Similarly, just as modern man's eyes must penetrate the gap of time, the monks and especially St. Edmund's Shrine itself are a source of light which radiates out from the twelfth century
to the nineteenth: "St. Edmund's Shrine, perpetually illuminated, glows ruddy through the Night, and through the Night of Centuries withal" (68). Carlyle then combines the images of vision and radiation to suggest the cooperative effort of a light source plus a receiving eye: "Let the modern eye look earnestly on that old midnight hour in St. Edmundsbury Church, shining yet on us, ruddy-bright, through the depths of seven hundred years" (122).

Just as Book II concentrates on man's perception of a past society, Books I and III, and to some extent Book IV, consider man's vision into the phenomena of modern society. The duality in the world becomes more predominant in Book III because as Carlyle says, "We have quietly closed our eyes to the eternal Substance of things, and opened them only to the Shews and Shams of things" (139). Modern phenomena are emblems whose meaning must be carefully "discerned." For example, the "Justice" which Westminster Hall represents is partially obscured:

The clothed embodied Justice that sits in Westminster Hall, with penalties, parchments, tip-staves, is very visible. But the unembodied Justice, whereof that other is either an emblem, or else is a fearful indescribability, is not so visible! For the unembodied Justice is of Heaven; a Spirit, and Divinity of Heaven,--invisible to all but the noble and pure of soul. (19)

The clothes which men wear, the forms of their government, and their social habits both reveal and conceal. In the case of the Aristocracy, images of death and destruction lie partially visible beneath the fresh faces of the
fox-hunting and corn-lawing aristocrats: "Through your
Corn-Law Majorities, Sliding-Scales, Protecting-Duties,
Bribery-Elections and triumphant Kentish-fire, a thinking
eye discerns ghastly images of ruin, too ghastly for words;
a handwriting as of MENE, MENE" (180). In the metaphors of
these examples, some medium is present which partially
obscures the substance and reality.

When the difficulty does not lie in "seeing through"
some medium, often the trouble is in the eyes themselves
which are open but visionless, as in the case with Pilate:
"Thick serene opacity, thicker than amaurosis, veiled those
smiling eyes of his to Truth; the inner retina of them was
gone paralytic, dead. He looked at Truth: and discerned
her not, there where she stood" (19). More often, man's
inability to see is associated with animal imagery:

Seek through this Universe; if with other than
owl's eyes, thou wilt find nothing nourished there,
nothing kept in life, but what has right to nour-
ishment and life. The rest, look at it with other
than owl's eyes, is not living; is all dying, all
as good as dead! (18)

Thus, the difficulty of seeing into the "open secret" of
the world, of "discerning" the reality through the appear-
ances, can be indicated either by the presence of some
intervening medium which must be seen "through" or else
by some failure of the eyes themselves.

Man's vision into the phenomena of modern society,
like his vision into the past, is assisted by a divine
source of light and radiance which illuminates the world and brings life and moral order into being. Carlyle describes God's will as the "radiance of celestial Justice; in the light or in the fire of which all impediments, vested interests, and iron cannon, are more and more melting like wax, and disappearing from the pathways of men" (25). Just as an obscuring medium may hinder true vision into past and present phenomena, there are "impediments" which hinder the "radiance" of God's will. In the present as in the past, God's radiance and man's eyesight must work together if man is to distinguish semblance from substance:

Nay, if there were not a Heaven's radiance of Justice, prophetic, clearly of Heaven, discernible behind all these confused world-wide entanglements . . . it [social reform] would seem to everyone a flat impossibility, which all wise men might as well at once abandon. (24)

Whether man's eyesight functions or not, "revelations, if not celestial then infernal," will teach man that God's justice exists. The references to "the Great Taskmaster's eye," "the eye of God" or "by God's eyes" ("Per os Dei") suggest that God knows what occurs in the "dark lanes" of the world and will eventually teach man to see His Justice.

Throughout Past and Present, the images of eyesight-vision and light-radiance combine to give form to the idea of the "open secret" and to help the reader himself participate in the visionary activity.
Man may discern justice in his own soul or inner heart as well as in the "open secret" of the world. With an analogy which parallels the image of God as a source of light and radiance behind and in the world, Carlyle suggests that the soul is a source of light for the body:

And wonderful it is to see how the Ideal or Soul, place it in what ugliest Body you may, will ir-radiate said Body with its own nobleness . . . and make it at last beautiful, and to a certain degree divine! (190-91)

The soul may "irradiate" the body, but often through obstructing media, as in the case of Henry of Essex:

Henry of Essex's religion was the Inner Light or Moral Conscience of his own soul . . . which Inner Light shone here 'through such intellectual and other media' as there were. . . . The clearer my Inner Light may shine, through the less turbid media; the fewer Phantasms it may produce. . . . (225)

Once the "inner Light" is working properly, Carlyle says that it can serve as a source which guides other men: leaders are, in a literal and figurative sense, guiding lights. Of Samson's role in the election process, Jocelin says that "Though a servant of servants, and saying little, his words all tell, having sense in them; it seems by his light mainly that we steer ourselves in this great dimness" (81). The ability to govern well and, correspondingly, to have reverence for heroes is indicated by the presence of an inner or heavenly light. Of the Duke of Weimar, for example, Carlyle says: "Heaven had sent, once more, heavenly Light into the world; and this man's honour was
that he gave it welcome" (281). Hero-worship, which begins with the inner light of man's soul shining properly, is a manifestation of Heaven's light. Describing Abbot Samson's reverence for St. Edmund, Carlyle uses several different light metaphors and images to illustrate how death and life, darkness and light, nature and suprenature meet in the act of reverence of one soul for another:

For the Highest God dwells visible in that mystic unfathomable Visibility, which calls itself "I" on the Earth. 'Bending before men,' says Novalis, 'is a reverence done to this Revelation in the Flesh. We touch Heaven when we lay our hand on a human Body.' And the Body of one Dead;--a temple where the Hero-soul once was and now is not: Oh, all mystery, all pity, all mute awe and wonder; Supernaturalism brought home to the very dullest; Eternity laid open, and the nether Darkness and the upper Light-Kingdoms;--do conjoin there, or exist nowhere! (126)

The light imagery used in connection with man's soul indicates that the soul is a source of light--a manifestation of Divine light--which irradiates the body. Carlyle uses the images of light and radiance to illustrate how a man may reform himself, how he may lead and guide others, and how, in paying reverence to other men, he becomes a manifestation of the Divine.

Throughout Past and Present, perception of the Divine, both in the world and in man's own soul, is necessary before work can begin. Man must first become wise enough to see reality as it is, to distinguish semblance from substance; however, once he has "soul and eyesight" he can
begin to work. Or, since the terms in that statement are reversible, once he begins to work, he may begin to see properly and gain wisdom. Work and vision are inseparable. Man, "the missionary of Unseen Powers," must work in an attempt to give living form to the Unseen: "He that works, whatsoever be his work, he bodies forth the form of Things Unseen; a small Poet every Worker is" (205). In Goethe's poem, "Symbolum," which closes out three of the four books in Past and Present, man's future is hidden and the "dark Portal" is "veiled," but by working and pressing onward, the "Mason" finds hope and fullness:

The Future hides in it
Good hap and sorrow;
We press still thorow,
Nought that abides in it
Daunting us,--onward.

And solemn before us,
Veiled, the dark Portal,
Goal of all mortal:--
Stars silent rest o'er us,
Graves under us silent.

. . . . . . . . . .

"Here eyes do regard you,
In Eternity's stilness;
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
Work, and despair not." (235)

The images of eyesight, vision, light and radiance, woven throughout Past and Present, give form to the major ideas and help connect ideas and images. Ultimately, these images are involved in the expression of the relationship between man's vision and his work in the world.
In a similar manner, the related images of man's life as a "life-pilgrimage" or a journey down the "Life-road" and man's work and struggle during his life as a "Fight of Life" help express and connect important ideas in Past and Present. The two images develop, as will be shown, out of the dual Biblical image of the "wayfaring" and "war-faring" Christian. The images begin as separate and distinct metaphors for life, but gradually merge into a single vision of man's life as a heroic endeavor, a difficult, struggling life-pilgrimage devoted to incessant fight against chaos and disorder. The passages exemplifying Carlyle's use of the dual image will generally be cited in order of appearance so that the development and the accumulating associations will be apparent. As in the visual imagery, Carlyle's dualism is manifested in negative images of inaction (paralysis and enchantment) as well as positive images of a productive life-pilgrimage.

In Book I, two indirect references to the life-road which all men must walk employ the images of paralysis and enchantment which are important in the early chapters:

Workers, Master Workers, Unworkers, all men, come to a pause; stand fixed, and cannot farther. (11)

They [the unhappy men and nations] have become enchanted; stagger spell-bound, reeling on the brink of huge peril, because they were not wise enough. . . . Foolish men mistake transitory semblance for eternal fact, and go astray more and more. (14)
Both passages refer to the path or way which all men are walking, but the second adds an important association: unless men and nations have proper eyesight and are wise enough to distinguish appearance from reality, the way will lead to a perilous brink or, in an image much used later, to an abyss or devouring gulf. Right from the start, the necessity of vision or guidance for the life-pilgrimage is made; proper eyesight and vision are necessary to guide man down his life-road. Man, if he follows "Nature and her laws," will be on the right road; otherwise, he will be walking on the road to "destruction" or to the "Abyss." At the end of Book I, Carlyle employs the variant metaphor of the "life-voyage"; even in the ocean, however, there are abysses awaiting those who sail unwisely:

Towards that haven will we, O friends; let all true men, with what of faculty is in them, bend valiantly, incessantly, with thousandfold endeavour, thither, thither! There, or else in the Ocean-abysses, it is very clear to me, we shall arrive. (40-41)

In Book I, then, the life-pilgrimage is developed initially as a single motif and contrasted to the negative images of paralysis, enchantment and the abyss.

The warfaring or "fight of life" image begins in Book I with a distinct reference to the might-right doctrine and to organization along military lines: "Fight on, thou brave true heart, and falter not, through dark fortune and through bright. The cause thou fightest for, so far as it
is true, no farther, yet precisely so far, is very sure of victory" (18). In a quotation from "our young friend of the Houndsditch Indicator," reference to military organization again appears:

'Do you expect, my friends, that your indispensable Aristocracy of Talent is to be enlisted straightway, by some sort of recruitment aforethought, out of the general population; arranged in supreme regimental order; and set to rule over us?' (34)

The "regimental" analogy is ironically referred to here; by Book III, however, Carlyle uses the metaphor seriously to indicate the kind of organization needed in modern England.

In Book II, the images of the life-pilgrimage and the fight of life are more evenly balanced and begin to merge. Most frequently, both images are used to show Abbot Samson's ability to work and govern well. As the life-pilgrimage metaphor is applied to Samson and St. Edmund, two of the associations found in Book I reappear. First, Edmund, in the Biblical image, "walks" with God and is "seen and felt by all men to have done verily a man's part in this life-pilgrimage of his" (59). Of Abbot Samson, too, Carlyle says that "his life is but a labour and a journey; a bustling and a justling, till the still Night come" (127). Second, Samson's journey provides a guidance for others which becomes connected with his wisdom and powers of discernment:
No one will accuse our Lord Abbot of wanting worldly wisdom, due interest in worldly things. A skilful man; full of cunning insight, lively interests; always discerning the road to his object, be it circuit, be it short-cut, and triumphantly travelling forward thereon. (118)

Samson's insight leads to the proper road, to a "victorious travelling," a phrase which connects the life-fight with the life-pilgrimage. In addition to recalling the uses of the image in Book I, the image gains new associations—especially the idea of true governing which is basic to the purpose of Book II. Abbot Samson walks not just for himself, but also to learn how to govern and lead others:

Walk this world with no friend in it but God and St. Edmund, you will either fall into the ditch, or learn a good many things. To learn obeying is the fundamental art of governing. How much would many a Serene Highness have learned, had he travelled through the world with water-jug and empty wallet. . . . (92)

Is he not their servant, as we said, who can suffer from them, and for them; bear the burden their poor spindle-limbs totter and stagger under; and in virtue thereof govern them, lead them out of weakness into strength, out of defeat into victory! (94)

Thus, two important and related ideas in Book II are expressed through the expanding image of the life-pilgrimage: man must first learn how to walk himself before he can guide others; and second, by becoming man's servant and by guiding or bearing the weak along the way, he may become a servant who is actually master, a true governor.

The image of the life-fight in Book II begins with associations formed in Book I and becomes related to the
central idea of governing. Samson himself is a warfaring Christian who fights against chaos and disorder: "Wheresoever Disorder may stand or lie, let it have a care; here is the man that has declared war with it, that never will make peace with it" (95). Abbot Samson's actions in the siege of Windsor are also described as a literal and a metaphorical "battle of reform":

[Abbot Samson] led his men in person to the siege of Windleshora, what we now call Windsor; where Lackland had entrenched himself, the centre of infinite confusions; some Reform Bill, then as now, being greatly needed. There did Abbot Samson 'fight the battle of reform,'--with other ammunition, one hopes, than 'tremendous cheering' and such like! (108)

Gradually, Carlyle adopts the warfare and fighting imagery to describe the concentrated energy and work required, not for literal wars, but for the everyday efforts of a Samson to govern justly and organize the monastery efficiently.

Most of the references to the wayfaring image in Book III contain some mixture of warfaring images, likening the journey to a victorious marching or comparing a nation to an army marching down the broad way:

Shew me a Nation fallen everywhere into this course, so that each expects it, permits it to others and himself, I will shew you a Nation travelling with one assent on the broad way. The broad way, however many Banks of England, Cotton-Mills and Duke's Palaces it may have! Not at happy Elysian fields, and everlasting crowns of victory, earned by silent Valour, will this Nation arrive; but at precipices, devouring gulfs, if it pause not. (145)

As Book III progresses, Carlyle moves toward the redenition of England's epic which stresses the figurative rather
than the literal aspects of warfare. At the end of Chapter xii, for example, he says that the "proper Epic of this world is not now 'Arms and the Man' . . . it is now 'Tools and the Man'" (208). The image of the warfaring man or nation is not literally stressed because the enemy is not other men, but chaos and disorder generally. Fighting in modern England must become organized into a "chivalry of Labour." The warfare metaphor is useful for Carlyle because it is much more energetic and impelling than the wayfaring image: working and organizing can be tedious and tiring, but warfare is a "Quintessence of Labour; Labour distilled into its utmost concentration; the significance of years of it compressed into an hour" (192). The compression and concentration of energy inherent in warfare images makes them better suited for Carlyle's task of inspiring and then impelling Englishmen toward a "victorious" working and labour:

It is not the Bucanier, it is the Hero only that can gain victory, that can do more than seem to succeed. These things will deserve meditating; for they apply to all battle and soldiership, all struggle and effort whatsoever in this Fight of Life. (192-93)

In order to make heroes out of his readers, Carlyle exhorts them directly to take part in the "Fight of Life":

Thou must descend to the Mothers, to the Manes, and Hercules-like long suffer and labour there, wouldst thou emerge with victory into the sunlight. As in battle and the shock of war,--for is not this a battle?--thou too shalt fear no pain or death, shalt love no ease or life; the voice of festive Lubberlands, the noise of greedy Acheron shall alike lie silent under thy victorious feet. (205)
The final paragraph of Book III shows the warfare image slightly subdued, blending warfarings and wayfarings images in Carlyle's picture of the host of men marching and singing Goethe's "grand Road-Song and Marching-Song":

My candid readers, we will march out of this Third Book with a rhythmic word of Goethe's on our tongue... To me... 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! (234)

Though ostensibly a pamphlet on the "condition of England," Past and Present can be seen as Carlyle's own grand road and marching song with which he hopes to inspire and encourage a whole nation.

In Book IV, the images of warfare and of the "chivalry of Labour" predominate. Perhaps because Book IV is concerned with groups of people, with the Aristocracy, the Captains of Industry, the workers and the Parliament, Carlyle finds the analogy with the regimented army fitting:

O Heavens, if we saw an army ninety-thousand strong, maintained and fully equipt, in continual real action and battle against Human Starvation, against Chaos, Necessity, Stupidity, and our real 'natural enemies,' what a business were it! (260)

At the head of this host of warriors, Carlyle places the Captains of Industry who are the "true fighters" in the war against "Chaos, Necessity and the Devils and the Jotuns" and who lead "Mankind in that great, and alone true, and universal warfare; the stars in their courses fighting for them, and all Heaven and all Earth saying audibly,
Well-done!" (268). Once these "warriors in the one true war" have been awakened they may be able to realize the future "Chivalry of Labour." With a blend of literal and figurative meanings, the warfaring image becomes the final vehicle or form for Carlyle's ideas on government and social reform. The spirit of fighting must be retained in an age whose epic has become "Tools and the Man," in an age where work and labor replace literal fighting: "No Working World, any more than a Fighting World, can be led on without a noble Chivalry of Work, and laws and fixed rules which follow out of that,--far nobler than any Chivalry of Fighting was" (270). The final version of the wayfaring and warfaring images in Book IV recall the conclusion of Book III; all heroic men, past and present, are part of one grand host, victoriously working and marching:

Ploughers, Spinners, Builders; Prophets, Poets, Kings; Brindleys and Goethes, Odins and Arkwrights; all martyrs, and noble men, and gods are of one grand Host: immeasurable; marching ever forward since the Beginnings of the World. The enormous, all-conquering, flame-crowned Host, noble every soldier in it; sacred, and alone noble. (294)

Even the stanza of Goethe's "grand Road-Song and Marching Song" contains the heroic wayfaring and warfaring overtones:

The Future hides in it
Good hap and sorrow;
We press still thorow,
Nought that abides in it
Daunting us,--onward. (294)

An examination of the key images and motifs in Past and Present thus reveals not only the interrelation of
Carlyle's major ideas but also exposes the metaphorical basis of the work's structure. From their inception, Carlyle's ideas are expressed in metaphorical form rather than in logical terms. Similarly, the structural relationship of those ideas proceeds not according to an internal, logical or predetermined plan, but develops internally out of the dynamic relationship between idea and image. True vision or wisdom reveals an organic society whose constituents are interdependent; the organic growth of society is, in turn, dependent upon the effort and work of the individual. The images of vision and eyesight and of the wayfaring and warfaring man give metaphorical expression to the relationship between perception and action, wisdom and working, knowing and doing. The very heart of Carlyle's philosophy, the necessity of true vision and right working, is thus conceived and conveyed in figurative and analogical terms. Without these images and the growing network which is created from them, the structural skeleton in Past and Present would collapse.

More importantly, the metaphorical basis of the work helps produce assent and belief in the reader: as John Holloway says, the rhetorical methods of the sages like Carlyle "persuade because they clarify, and clarify because they are organic to a view presented not by one thread of logical argument alone, but by the whole weave of a book." An examination of the texture of Past and Present supports
J. Hillis Miller's belief that the romantic artist "is the man who goes out into the empty space between man and God and takes the enormous risk of attempting to create in that vacancy a new fabric of connections between man and the divine power" (italics mine). As much as any other Victorian writer, Carlyle was struggling to halt the "disappearance of God"; it is appropriate therefore, that philosophy, structure and style in Past and Present operate together for that end. The creation of a "fabric of connections" between God and man, the supernatural and nature is both the medium and the message of Past and Present.
NOTES

1 Hughes, *Past and Present*, pp. lxix-lxx.


3 See Holloway, *Victorian Sage*, p. 4.

4 Calder, *Writing of "Past and Present"*, p. 196.

5 Holloway, pp. 44-45.

6 DeLaura, p. 711.

7 DeLaura, p. 715.


9 Holloway, p. 27.


12 DeLaura, p. 706.


14 Levine, p. 133.


16 Calder, p. 110.

17 Calder, p. 117.

19 Tennyson, p. 164.
20 Altick, pp. xvi-xvii.
21 Holloway, p. 11.

CHAPTER IV

STYLE AND SYNTAX IN PAST AND PRESENT

I. Style and Artistic Theory

Throughout this study an attempt has been made to demonstrate the interrelation of Carlyle's thought, structure and style in Past and Present. Previous chapters have dealt, in part, with those areas where thought and structure merge; as this chapter will show, an analysis of Carlyle's style reveals that some of his most important ideas are expressed in stylistic or syntactic terms. As Richard Ohmann suggests, style involves the "highly general meanings which are implied by a writer's habitual methods of expressing propositions," and frequently in Carlyle's prose the implied "highly general meanings" correspond directly to explicit meanings. Although Carlyle's style has been the subject of a wide range of impressionistic comments and quantitative analyses, the discussion in this chapter will be limited to illuminating some specific recurring features of Carlyle's sentences. G. B. Tennyson's notion, that "Carlyle's style, Carlylese, is first the way Carlyle writes, and second what is effective in his writing," describes the general plan of this chapter. While Carlyle does have "habitual methods of expressing propositions" or
of narrating events, he infuses an incredible syntactical variety into his sentences which is often interesting in itself. Once we have a notion about the way or ways Carlyle writes, we may make some judgment about what is effective and appropriate in the style of *Past and Present*. Because Carlyle so readily elicits impressionistic praise or blame for his style, the question of appropriateness is crucial if we are to attempt to judge Carlylese by Carlyle's own philosophical and aesthetic assumptions.

Like his philosophy, Carlyle's ideas about art and expression deny mimesis, formalism and logic, which is to say that they are typically romantic. The romantic artist does not hold a mirror up to nature, but rather he projects, like a lamp, his vision of nature and society onto a screen. Abrams' lamp metaphor is, of course, directly analogous to Carlyle's own belief that man has an inner source of light comparable to and just as important as the light source in nature. In spite of Carlyle's insistence on the importance of physical and historical fact, he is concerned not just with representing fact literally, but with penetrating, seeing into or revealing the "reality" behind or beneath the fact. Such a view of reality thwarts any mimetic attempts because, finally, an individual must create that reality which he sees behind the face of things. As an artist, Carlyle is a "seeker after truth," Tennyson says, "and truth, like the inspiration for a work of art, comes from the invisible not the visible world. Thus mimesis is quite out of the question. The poet's
fundamental problem is to find some means of projecting that which is within."\(^3\) Carlyle's emphasis on penetration and revelation is often reflected in his sentence structures.

Similarly, Carlyle denies literary formalism, both in terms of genre and syntax. As *Sartor Resartus* is fiction bordering on biography and philosophy, so *Past and Present* contains history, biography, philosophy, poetry and homily in what to the classical point of view is a hodgepodge. In syntax as well, Carlyle thought of his style as revolutionary, as overturning the formalism and convention of the classical "well-made" style. The essay "Characteristics" explains not only Carlyle's belief on this issue, but also a philosophic truth: "Manufacture is intelligible, but trivial; Creation is great, and cannot be understood. . . . Unconsciousness is the sign of creation; Consciousness, at best, that of manufacture" (XXVIII, 5, 16). Carlyle's emphasis on unconscious creation amounts to a revolution in which the style is merely a symbol of a more universal upheaval: "the whole structure of our Johnsonian English breaking up from its foundations, --revolution there as visible as anywhere else!"\(^4\) When the old forms become ossified and dead, the old must be reanimated and reborn. As Tennyson notes, Carlyle's "syntax is the reflection of his conviction that revolution is everywhere, that the old forms no longer do service. His diction is the reflection of his conviction that the nature of language is metaphorical and symbolic, and that we need to reanimate the old and create the new, showing in
both cases the infinite through the finite."⁵ Carlyle's syntactic revolution is not merely iconoclastic, but creates new uses and new variants for outworn classical habits such as parallelism and balance, periodicity and antithesis. Even slight syntactic changes contain philosophically revolutionary implications, as Richard Ohmann explains: "A writer cannot escape the boundaries set by his tongue, except by creating new words, by uprooting normal syntax, or by building metaphors, each of which is a new ontological discovery."⁶ Although Ohmann is discussing the problem theoretically without reference to a particular writer, he pinpoints the three principal means by which Carlyle "revolutionizes" classical syntax: creating new words (and new definitions for old words), "uprooting" normal syntax, and building metaphors.

Finally, Carlyle vehemently denies logic and mechanical reasoning in favor of the unconscious and spontaneous intuition and imagination. Again, a passage from "Characteristics" illuminates Carlyle's theory of art and expression:

The Orator persuades and carries all with him, he knows not how; the Rhetorician can prove that he ought to have persuaded and carried all with him: the one is in a state of healthy unconsciousness, as if he 'had no system'; the other, in virtue of regimen and dietetic punctuality, feels at best that 'his system is in high order.' . . . Always the characteristic of right performance is a certain spontaneity, an unconsciousness. . . . (XXVIII, 7)

The rhetorician can "prove and find reasons," and thereby communicate systematically with others; the orator—and it is clear that Carlyle would identify himself with the orator—depends upon a less logical or demonstrable means of
communication. The intuition communicates as sound waves do when they set up sympathetic vibrations in a tuned receiver. Or to use metaphors commonly associated with romantic theories of art, the mode of communication is intangible like light or heat waves: even in the "rudest Caliban of a body," there is a potential for a "ray of Heaven, and illuminative creative Fiat-Lux" (192) to spread throughout the universe. Combining images of heat and light, Carlyle says that truth will "radiate outwards, irrepressible . . . kindling ever new light" (39). Following these intuitive and dynamic principles, the syntax in **Past and Present** is, above all, expansive and associational, moving upward and outward and contributing to the transcendental movement in Carlyle's prose.

### ii The Styles of **Past and Present**

The first problem in a discussion of "how" Carlyle writes lies in the fact that he did not have, in **Past and Present**, just one style, but several--the number varying from two to perhaps five or more. Carlyle's style is usually described in terms of literary influence, rhetorical manner, or syntactical pattern. A significant part of Carlyle scholarship, for example, is devoted to revealing the precise influence of Carlyle's wide reading--especially in the German writers--on his own style. In a general observation about the influences on Carlyle's style, René Wellek finds that there were three important sources of literary and stylistic
influence. Carlyle's style shows, Wellek says, "the constant wavering between the lucidity and simplicity of the 'Enlightenment' and the biblical oratory of the protestant preachers and rhapsodists on the one hand, and the first signs of Romanticism, the humor of Sterne and the vision and humor of Jean Paul, on the other." Discriminating between Carlyle's styles on a rhetorical basis, as Carlisle Moore does, is particularly helpful:

Strictly speaking, Carlyle had no "characteristic" style; he had many styles--one for each of his major works at least, and others which can be distinguished in the various shorter pieces. Each springs from his feeling at the time toward the subject, toward the reader, toward himself as author.

In the major works there are at least four basic rhetorical styles, each with its literary role or voice: the expository, the philosophic-prophetic, the narrative and the oratorical.

In the early essays, which are basically exposition, Carlyle assumes a conventional analytical role. In Past and Present, there are many examples of the "essay style" such as the following:

The present Editor is not here, with his readers, to vindicate the character of Insurrections. . . . (20)

It is well said, 'Land is the right basis of an Aristocracy;' whoever possesses the Land, he, more emphatically than any other, is the Governor, Viceking of the people on the Land. (176)

In the case of the late Bribery Committee, it seemed to be the conclusion of the soundest practical minds that Bribery could not be put down. . . . (250)

In this stance, Carlyle is fairly low-key and undemonstrative; he expresses his ideas indirectly: "The present Editor is not here . . . to vindicate," "It is well said," and "it seemed
to be the conclusion."

With the advent of Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle created a second major rhetorical style, one which might be labelled "philosophic-prophetic" in an appropriately Germanic manner. In *Past and Present*, Sauerteig's speeches for example, are fairly calm and philosophic: "'The word Hell . . . is still frequently in use among the English People: but I could not without difficulty ascertain what they meant by it. Hell generally signifies the Infinite Terror" (147). The tone here is not different from the early essay style, but the syntax is more baroque ("I could not without difficulty ascertain what they meant"). At its most emotional and prophetic, this style becomes expansive and elliptical, usually involving several images or symbols:

Unstained by wasteful deformities, by wasted tears or heart's-blood of men, or any defacement of the Pit, noble fruitful Labour, growing ever nobler, will come forth,—the grand sole miracle of Man; whereby Man has risen from the low places of this Earth, very literally, into divine Heavens. (294)

It is this "philosophic-prophetic" style which most popularly characterizes "Carlylese" even though the true hallmark of Carlyle's prose lies in its variety and range and in the cumulative power of the interaction of styles to move the reader.

Carlyle's narrative style is most prominent in *The French Revolution*. In contrast to Samson's narrative, with its emphasis on character, *The French Revolution* is more fully developed and sustained, weaving detailed description and prophetic commentary into the narrative thread. Here, for
example, is Carlyle's description of the "flight" of the "Miserable new Berline":

All runs along, unmolested, speedy, except only the new Berline. Huge leathern vehicle:--huge Argosy, let us say, or Acapulco ship; with its heavy stern-boat of Chaise-and-pair; with its three yellow Pilot-boats of Mounted Bodyguard Couriers, rocking aimless round it and ahead of it, to bewilder, not to guide! It lumbers along, luriously with stress, at a snail's pace; noted of all the world. . . . Stoppages occur; and breakages, to be repaired at Etoges. King Louis too will dismount, will walk up hills, and enjoy the blessed sunshine:--with eleven horses and double drink-money, and all furtherances of Nature and Art, it will be found that Royalty, flying for life, accomplishes Sixty-nine miles in Twenty-two incessant hours. Slow Royalty! And yet not a minute of these hours but is precious: on minutes hang the destinies of Royalty now. (III, 169)

Although Book II of Past and Present does not have the scope or action which would make the narrative itself of prime interest, Carlyle adapts this narrative style for his twelfth-century history. Describing the end of Abbot Hugo's life, for example, Carlyle mixes detail and commentary with the narrative:

"In very truth, what could poor old Abbot Hugo do? A frail old man; and the Philistines were upon him,--that is to say, the Hebrews. . . . Happily, before it was quite too late, he bethought him of pilgrimng to St. Thomas of Canterbury. He set out, with a fit train, in the autumn days of the year 1180; near Rochester City, his mule threw him, dislocated his poor kneepan, raised incurable inflammatory fever; and the poor old man got his dismissal from the whole coil at once. St. Thomas a Becket, though in a circuitous way, had brought deliverance! (67)

Past and Present shares with On Heroes and Hero-Worship this adaptation of the narrative style to anecdote and biography.

The fourth style, here labeled "oratorical," is
primarily associated with the direct voice and the didactic tone in Book III of *Past and Present*, but it is found as well in *The French Revolution* and in *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*. It is worthwhile noting that the first two rhetorical styles roughly correspond to the division between Enlightenment and Germanic styles in Wellek's scheme, while the didactic or homiletic strain of the oratorical style corresponds to what Wellek calls the "biblical oratory of the protestant preachers."

Perhaps the most "characteristic" aspect of the prose in *Past and Present* is the way in which all of these styles are incorporated, sometimes even in a single paragraph. Carlyle himself recognized that he was a "mockbird," borrowing from the ideas and styles of writers he admired—not only from Richter, Goethe and Biblical sources, but also from himself. Writing on Carlyle's style in his anthology of style parodies, Dwight Macdonald says that he regrets not including a sample of Carlyle's style in a section on unconscious self-parody because, as he says, when "I came to look through that fulgurating prose again after a happy lapse of thirty years since I had to read it in Freshman English at Yale, I discovered it was all self-parody."9 Actually, Carlyle's habit of echoing his own voice, coupled with his expansive and hyperbolic tendencies, is largely responsible for the Germanic "humor"; the self-parodying aspect is not wholly unintended, but Carlyle frequently manages to turn much of the potential ridicule away from
himself and onto his exaggerated voices or persona like Sauerteig or Teufelsdröckh. In *Past and Present*, Carlyle uses a wider variety of rhetorical styles than in any previous work; it is a showcase for the stylistic successes—and excesses—of his earlier works. In rhetorical terms, then, the prose of *Past and Present* is characterized primarily by the interaction of a wide range of attitudes, tones and styles.

Even from a syntactical point of view, the variety of styles is apparent. In a quantitative study of the syntax in all of Carlyle's major works, Robert Oakman determined that there were "roughly five stylistic periods" in Carlyle's career and further contended that "quantitative analysis convincingly demonstrates the claims of critics like René Wellek and Francis X. Roellinger that Carlyle had two recognizable styles before *Sartor*: an early periodical one in the neoclassical manner and a baroque Germanic one."¹⁰ Even in *Past and Present* some of the neoclassical parallelism, balance and antithesis survive to demonstrate the early form which was gradually altered, primarily through expansion, in favor of more elliptical and irregular baroque periods. Rather than attempt to discriminate among all the styles of *Past and Present*, I would like to focus on a few prominent syntactic tendencies. In both sentences and paragraphs, the way Carlyle writes involves antithesis and dialectic on the one hand, and a prevailing habit of syntactic expansion on the other.
At the sentence level, we can show that both the "neoclassical" and the more Germanic or baroque styles exist side by side in the prose of *Past and Present*. Furthermore, we can trace the development of the latter from the former by showing how Carlyle alters the simple and balanced antithesis typical of neoclassical style by means of expressive or rhetorical punctuation, ellipses, imagery and syntactic expansion. The following two balanced and antithetical constructions recall Carlyle's early periodical style:

We have more riches than any Nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any Nation ever had before. (11)

Not in sharp fever-fits, but in chronic gangrene of this kind is Scotland suffering. (8)

With the addition of expressive or irregularly used punctuation—in this case the dash—Carlyle can take the same two basic sentence structures and make them seem much more irregular:

There is in her a celestial beauty,--which means celestial order, pliancy to wisdom; but there is also a darkness, a ferocity, fatality, which are infernal. (13)

For we are to bethink us that the Epic verily is not Arms and the Man, but Tools and the Man,—an infinitely wider kind of Epic. (248)

The kernels of both sentences are still balanced and antithetical, but the individual members show less parallelism. When Carlyle begins using ellipsis, the syntax begins to look more like "Carlylese":

The stars keen-glancing, from the Immensities, send tidings to him; the graves, silent with their dead, from the Eternities. (287)
Semblances, be they of Sham-woven Cloth or of Dilettante Legislation, which are not real wool or substance, but Devil's-dust, accursed of God and man! (206)

The addition of imagery and personification further changes the style of the same two basic sentence kernels, as the previous passages incipiently show and as the following quotations demonstrate more obviously:

The inventive genius of England is not a Beaver's, or a Spinner's or Spider's genius: it is a Man's genius, I hope, with a God over him! (186)

Not at happy Elysian fields, and everlasting crowns of victory, earned by silent Valour, will this Nation arrive; but at precipices, devouring gulfs, if it pause not. (145)

The use of expressive or irregular punctuation, ellipsis and imagery is important to the difference between Carlyle's "neoclassical" style and his more baroque one, but the use of syntactic expansion can even more drastically affect the antithetical sentence structure. The following three examples all have an antithetical kernel, but with the expansion and an increasing sentence-length, the actual dichotomy receives less stress and the expanded parallel or subordinate elements become more important:

The Future hereby is not dis severed from the Past, but based continuously on it; grows with all the vitalities of the Past, and is rooted down deep into the beginnings of us. (265)

It is not according to the laws of Fact that ye have lived and guided yourselves, but according to the laws of Delusion, Imposture, and wilful and unwilful Mistake of Fact; behold therefore the Unveracity is worn out; Nature's long-suffering with you is exhausted; and ye are here! (32-33)

Life was never a May-game for men: in all times the lot of the dumb millions born to toil was defaced with manifold sufferings, injustices, heavy burdens,
avoidable and unavoidable; not play at all, but hard work that made the sinews sore, and the heart sore. (209-10)

One of Carlyle's stylistic trademarks is his use of the positive after negative, Tennyson suggests, a method which involves "taking a position contrary to the one he actually holds, a position he identifies with the reader's, stating the case, and then reversing his position to argue, triumphantly, the reverse." At the sentence level, this device is often just a further expansion of the "not . . . but . . . " construction which we have just illustrated:

It is not your purses that suffer; your farm-rents, your commences, your mill-revenues, loud as ye lament over these; no, it is not these alone, but a far deeper than these: it is your Souls that lie dead, crushed down under despicable Nightmares, Atheisms, Brain-fumes; and are not Souls at all, but mere succedanea for salt to keep your bodies and their appetites from putrefying! (219-20)

More typically in Past and Present, the antithetical construction is expanded into a dialectic involving several sentences or even a whole paragraph. For example, Carlyle takes the kernel, "It is not to die that makes a man wretched, but it is to live miserable," and expands it with parallel structures and imagery into two rather long sentences following the positive after negative pattern:

It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched; many men have died; all men must die,—the last exit of us all is in a Fire-Chariot of Pain. But it is to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold universal Laissez-faire; it is to die slowly all our life long, imprisoned in a deaf, dead, Infinite Injustice, as in the accursed iron belly of a Phalaris' Bull! (210)
This is a good example of what we might call "full-blown Carlylese" in contrast to the simple and short antithetical structures which we began with ("Not in sharp fever-fits, but in chronic gangrene of this kind is Scotland suffering"). But to label this last full-blown passage "typical Carlylese" is to ignore Carlyle's habitual movement from simple to complex and from literal to figurative which is more fundamentally "characteristic" of the prose style in Past and Present.

iii The Principle of Syntactic Expansion

In Past and Present, syntactic expansion is the most important and pervasive tendency in Carlyle's prose. At its worst, Carlyle's habit of expanding syntax can produce an inflated quality, like a balloon filling with air instead of a tree branching out or an organism growing. At its best, however, Carlyle's expanded syntax establishes connections between and among ideas, images, people and events both past and present; the connections and associations support Carlyle's "unspoken secret," that "the world is wider than any of us think" (247). Furthermore, Carlyle's penchant for expansion reflects his belief in a dynamic universe organized by a pervasive principle of life. In addition to the expected increase in detail and association, syntactic expansion also encourages an intensification of the value or importance of an idea or event. Expansion describes the process of adding words, phrases and clauses to some sentence
kernel; however, the addition usually produces an increase of specific detail, an increase in the quantity of associated things, and an increase in the value of the thing or idea being discussed. In fact, in many of Carlyle's sentences, all three kinds of expansion are present. In order to illustrate the variety and function of syntactic expansion in *Past and Present*, we shall look first at specific words and the process of definition, then at whole sentences, and finally at selected paragraphs.

Much of Carlyle's energy in *Past and Present* is directed toward reevaluating and redefining key terms like "liberty" or "democracy" as well as more general concepts such as "man" or "work." The cumulative effect of Carlyle's prose is largely due to the creation and gradual accumulation of words with special connotations and associations so that, as Albert LaValley has noticed, the reader finds himself--especially in Book IV--in a "personal linguistic world, the work of Carlyle's own personal vision. If one opened the book first to these pages, its very words would be a mystery." 12 Indeed, the "very words" of *Past and Present* often represent larger processes or complexes of ideas and images. Because Carlyle's definitions go beyond particularization to establish associations and, even more importantly, to introduce judgments, Carlyle can prejudice an assertion by the words he uses. He frequently uses tautological statements, for example, which hinge on terms previously defined in a special sense. 13 But the purpose of such
definitions is to widen and intensify the reader's perception and understanding, so that the reader sees that an "endless significance" lies in the phenomena being discussed. This expansive attitude toward key terms stems from Carlyle's belief--a romantic one--that the essences which lie behind important words are not definable: "this august Heaven and Earth . . . which we name Nature, Universe and such like, the essence of which remains forever UNNAMEABLE" (132). For Carlyle, a successful definition is one which gets beyond naming or indicating the genus and differentia to evoking the essence which lies beneath the surface meaning. Consequently, Carlyle's often unjustly ridiculed attitude is that when he says something, he does not mean what everyone else thinks; he does not refer to the consensual definition, but he means "unspoken volumes." One of the unavoidable ironies of Carlyle's philosophy and style is that he has to speak--in manifest contradiction to his doctrine of silence--the unspoken volumes in order to suggest the essences which lie behind appearances.

Carlyle often defines favorable words by suggesting their connection with some essential principle in the universe. Thus, "Genius" means "An inspired Soul once more vouchsafed us, direct from Nature's own great fire-heart, to see the Truth, and speak it, and do it" (90). By contrast, Carlyle uses deflationary tactics in defining unfavorable words such as "parchments," "posterity," "democracy," or "liberty." Usually Carlyle tries to show
that they are connected only with appearances or that they are unconnected and unrelated to the sources of life and dynamism in the universe:

He who cannot work in this Universe cannot get existed in it: had he parchments to thatch the face of the world. . . . (175)

The voting of Posterity . . . will be quite inaudible, extra-forensic, without any effect whatever. (223)

'Democracy, which means despair of finding any Heroes to govern you . . .' (214)

Liberty? The true Liberty of a man . . . consisted in his finding out, or being forced to find out the right path, and to walk thereon. (211-12)

Favorable and unfavorable words are associated, positively or negatively, with the essential processes which are not nameable but which have the widest possible importance.

Because the key words and terms are related to an undefinable quality or essence, Carlyle frequently resorts to figurative definitions. "Man himself," Carlyle says, "is definable in Philosophy as an 'Incarnate Word'" (152). Carlyle's interest in figurative rather than literal definitions is paralleled by his preference for metaphorical etymologies. "The coldest word was once a glowing new metaphor, and bold questionable originality" (131).

Whether or not Carlyle's etymologies for words like "lord" ("Law-ward"), "Earls" ("Jarls," "Strong-Ones") or "Lady" ("Hlaf-dig" or "Loaf-giveress") are wholly accurate is not as important as their attempt to remove the literal naming quality of words and restore their metaphoric and incarnating quality. In one sense this is just a device for
highlighting and intensifying words, an aspect of what Tennyson calls "foregrounding." But in a more important sense, Carlyle is attempting a revolutionary "rebirth" of words, recreating their power to "carry across" supernatural and infinite qualities into the real and finite. Only by restoring life to words which have become dead metaphors can there be some communication between the infinite and the finite, some communication to man of the "unnameable" essences in the universe. In a discussion of the role of language in the nineteenth-century "disappearance" of God, J. Hillis Miller makes a comment which directly applies to Carlyle's use of words, symbols and metaphors:

The Eucharist was the archetype of the divine analogy whereby created things participated in the supernatural reality they signified. Poetry in turn was, in one way or another, modelled on sacramental or scriptural language. The words of the poem incarnated the things they named, just as the words of the Mass shared in the transformation they evoked. The symbols and metaphors of poetry were no mere invention of the poets. They were borrowed from the divine analogies of nature.

Like Carlyle, Miller sees that the history of modern literature is in part "the history of the splitting apart of this communion." In the "rude unconscious ages," figures of speech were, in actuality, facts in the same sense that the Eucharist is—or was—a fact. "To figure Society as endowed with life is scarcely a metaphor," Carlyle says in "Characteristics," "but rather the statement of a fact by such imperfect methods as language affords" (XXVIII, 12). What LaValley calls Carlyle's "wobbling between metaphor
and fact" describes exactly that correspondence between fact and metaphor which Carlyle is trying to reestablish; the germ of a figurative expression lies in man's apprehension of any literal fact. Carlyle defines words in such a way as to attempt the restoration of a communion between the supernatural and the natural; appropriately, Carlyle's short definition for work ("Work is Worship") most simply illustrates his attempt to restore this communion.

Carlyle's habit of defining terms so as to create his personal linguistic world not only reflects his philosophy, but it also becomes a structural principle. Nowhere in Past and Present is this more obvious than in Book III, Chapter xi, entitled "Labour," which is almost wholly devoted to defining "work" and its synonym, "labour." Carlyle uses a wide variety of devices in the process of describing and defining "work." He suggests attributes ("Work is of a religious nature:--work is of a brave nature."); he uses simile and analogy ("The blessed glow of Labour . . . is as purifying fire," "All work of man is as the swimmer's."). He indicates the effect of work on man ("Blessed is he who has found his work," "A man perfects himself by working."); he uses an extended example in his description of Columbus ("Yes, my World-Soldier . . . thou, in thy strong soul, as with wrestler's arms, shalt embrace it, harness it down; and make it bear thee on,--to new Americas, or whither God wills!"); and he uses negative statements for contrast ("In Idleness alone is there perpetual despair," "Of an
idle unrevolving man the kindest Destiny . . . can . . . knead nothing."). All of this description is designed to demonstrate that there is "an endless significance in Work," that "Work . . . is in communication with Nature," and that, ultimately, "Labour is life." Work is not limited to a force exerted on a mass, but is expanded to encompass all of life itself. In the chapters which follow "Labour," Carlyle need only use the word "work" or "labour" and all the associations and connotations are evoked in a shorthand form. To the end of Past and Present the word carries with it a reticulum of images and associations which imitate the complexity of life itself, so that when Carlyle speaks of the "Chivalry of Labour" which the future should create, the very words carry an immense connotative weight.

At the sentence level, the principle of expansion expresses itself often in parallel constructions, appositives, and sentence modifiers. In his study of Carlyle's style, Robert Oakman says that Past and Present reveals the "highest incidence of rhetorical accumulation" and the greatest occurrence of copular verbs in connection with a preference--nearly five to one--for nominal series over verb series. 17 In his measurement of "rhetorical accumulation," Oakman includes instances of apposition, repetition, absolute constructions, parallelism, antithesis, comparison, apostrophe and qualification. Although Oakman does not attempt to distinguish the different rhetorical purposes of Books II and III, his figures do substantiate more subjective impressions
about Carlyle's preference for expanded syntax. For example, Tennyson sees a relationship between Carlyle's expansion and his use of metaphor and analogy:

Metaphor and analogy are so fundamental to Carlyle's thought that his tendency to apposition can be seen to arise from his metaphorical cast of mind. His appositions are comparisons as much as particularizers, which is why they move ever farther afield: he is forever expanding the scope of the comparison. ¹³

Carlyle expands his ideas through precise parallel constructions as well as through highly fragmented, elliptical and irregular structures. The purpose of these expansions, however, remains to demonstrate that "the world is wider" and more significant than we think.

In addition to compounding of subject, verb or object, a sentence may be expanded, basically, at three points: initially, in the form of apostrophes, introductory phrases or subordinate clauses; medially, by appositions or qualifying elements between the subject and the verb; and finally, by series, parallelism and subordination in a variety of forms. In turn, independent clauses may themselves be strung together in some regular or irregular fashion.

Initial expansion, though not as prevalent as medial or final expansion, takes a variety of forms including apostrophe and introductory phrases or clauses. The following five sentences illustrate some typical kinds of initial expansion in Past and Present:
Brave Sea-captain, Norse Sea-king,—Columbus, my hero, royalest Sea-king of all! it is no friendly environ-
ment this of thine. . . . (199)

Straining our eyes hitherto, the utmost effort of intelligence sheds but some most glimmering dawn. . . . (247)

'In an open space of a wood,' some 'wood' then green and growing, eight centuries ago, in Burgundian Land,—this fierce Duke . . . dashes out on the weak old Anselm. . . . (246)

But, in the solitude of the Convent, Destiny thus big and in her birthtime, what gossiping, what babbling, what dreaming of dreams! (83)

O, if the accursed invisible Nightmare, that is crushing out the life of us and ours, would take a shape; approach us like the Hyrcanian tiger, the Behemoth of Chaos, the Archfiend himself; in any shape that we could see, and fasten on! (21)

In these examples, we should first notice that Carlyle's punctuation, in particular the semi-colon and dash, is used expressively, often to create the effect of abruptness and disconnection within the sentence ("would take a shape; approach us") or to indicate oral stress and juncture ("in Burgundian land,—this fierce Duke," and "Sea-king of all! it is no friendly environment"). The final two sentences are especially interesting for the features we might call "irregular" if they were not so common to Carlyle's style. Strictly speaking, sentences four and five are fragments without an independent clause. In sentence four, the dependent clause is interrupted by a qualifying phrase ("in the solitude of the Convent") and an absolute construction ("Destiny thus big and in her birthtime"), which together create a definitely poetic syntax. The fifth example is worth recasting in a
schematic form, not only because it is all an initial introductory element without a main clause, but also because it demonstrates two of the most common tendencies of Carlyle's syntax: accumulation through series, apposition, and parallelism and expansion by means of an interrupting qualifying phrase or clause.

O, if the ...
Nightmare, that is crushing out the life
of us and ours,

would take a shape;
approach us like the Hyrcanian tiger,
the Behemoth of Chaos,
the Archfiend himself;
in any shape that we could see, and fasten on!

The vertical dotted line indicates the connection between subject and verb in this clause which is interrupted by the non-restrictive clause, and the vertical solid lines emphasize parallel or series elements. Such a scheme cannot, of course, handle all the varieties of syntax or all of Carlyle's intricate and elliptical sentences, but it does illustrate his frequent accumulation through series and parallel structures and his expansion through apposition and qualifying elements. The above example is only a small scale initial expansion, as we see when we come across a more complicated and lengthier structure:

How Abbot Samson, giving his new subjects seriatim the kiss of fatherhood in the St. Edmundsbury chapterhouse,

proceeded with cautious energy to set about reforming their disjointed distracted way of life;
how he managed, with his Fifty rough Milites (Feudal Knights),
with his lazy Farmers,
remiss refractory Monks,
with Pope's Legates,
Viscounts,
Bishops,
Kings;

how on all sides he
laid about him like a man,
and putting consequence
on premiss, and every-
where the saddle on the
right horse,

struggled incessantly to educe organic method out of
lazily fermenting wreck,

—the careful reader will discern, not without
true interest,
in these pages of
Jocelin Boswell. (94)

The introductory clause is really the direct object of
the sentence kernel, "the reader will discern," but it is
inverted and placed initially, creating a periodic effect.

Medial expansion is more typical of Carlyle's prose
in Past and Present, and it can be schematized in much
the same way. In some cases, Carlyle creates a balanced
effect by means of parallel medial elements:

Brief brawling Day,
with its noisy phantasms,
its poor paper-crowns
tinsel-gilt,
is gone;
and
divine everlasting Night,
with her star-diadems,
with her silences and her
veracities,
is come! (158)

More often, Carlyle avoids such studied balance and uses
medial expansion to help focus on the subject and to associate additional details or images with the subject. The following two examples illustrate how medial expansion assists in the definition of a term:

Work?
The quantity of done and forgotten work, that lies silent under my feet in this world, and escorts and attends me, and supports and keeps me alive, wheresoever I walk or stand, whatsoever I think or do, gives rise to reflections! (135)

The restrictive punctuation here actually does "expand" the noun, "work," rather than just qualifying it as a non-restrictive clause would. In the second sentence, the non-restrictive construction expands the noun, "election," so as to signify a process which includes a variety of actions, a wider variety than one usually associates with the term:

An election, whether managed directly by ballot-box on public hustings, or indirectly by force of public opinion, or were it even by open alehouses, landlords' coercion, popular club-law, or whatever electoral methods, is always an interesting phenomenon. (79-80)

Sometimes, as in the next sentence, the expanded medial modifiers become so long and cumbersome that Carlyle repeats the subject before moving on to the predicate:
A Prime Minister, even here in England, who shall dare believe the heavenly omens, and address himself like a man and hero to the great dumb-struggling heart of England; and speak out for it, and act out for it, the God's-Justice it is writing to get uttered and perishing for want of,--

yes, he too will see awaken . . . the heart of England. . . .

(257)

Carlyle occasionally turns this almost necessary repetition of the subject into a stylistic device which serves to emphasize the subject, as in the following case:

The first man who, looking with opened soul on this august Heaven and Earth, this Beautiful and Awful, which we name Nature, Universe and such like, the essence of which remains forever UNNAMEABLE;

he who first, gazing into this, fell on his knees awestruck, in silence as is likeliest,

--he, driven by inner necessity, the 'audacious original' that he was, had done a thing, too, which all thoughtful hearts saw straightway to be an expressive, altogether adoptable thing! (132)

Following such long expanded medial elements, Carlyle often concludes with an inversion, usually an exclamation or a question, which leaves the "subject" of the sentence and its
qualifying phrases and clauses hanging there:

Thou who, in an All of rotten Formulas,
'seemest to stand nigh bare, having indignantly
shaken off the superannuated rags and
unsound callosities of Formulas,

--consider how thou too art still clothed! (129)

The
first Antique
Cheruscan who,
of felt-cloth or bear's-hide,
with bone or metal needle,
'set about making himself a coat, before
Tailors had yet awakened out of Nothing,

--did not he make it even so? (215)

Both of these sentences are especially interesting because
the final exclamation and question are, in fact, short
recapitulations of the initial expanded form. In both
cases, the expansion comes first, and the root which
forms the basis for the expansion comes after, as a summary.
In the second sentence, for example, a step by step comparison
of the expanded elements with the summary question shows
how each element has been amplified: did not he (the first
Antique Cheruscan) make (set about making himself) it (a coat)
even so (of felt-cloth or bear's-hide, with bone or metal
needle). Such inversions, with their expanded elements
and concluding rhetorical question are a natural result of
Carlyle's desire to describe vividly the manner in which all
things in the world are associated and at the same time,
if possible, to engage the reader in a dialogue. The
following example of expansion-inversion also reveals
these tendencies:
He, even He, with his unspoken voice, awfuler than any Sinai thunders or syllabled speech of Whirlwinds;

for the SILENCE of deep Eternities,
of Worlds from beyond the morning-stars,

does it not speak to thee? (202)

The beginning of the sentence promises to be much like other sentences with medial expansion, but by the time we reach "for the SILENCE of deep Eternities," the grammatical continuity seems to have evaporated. The "it" in the last line stands for the "SILENCE of deep Eternities," but also suggests "his unspoken voice," and finally, by implication, the opening "He." We see Carlyle here using medial expansion to form a highly elliptical syntax which creates a philosophic or even a mystical aura. Medial modification, involving appositions, qualifying phrases or clauses, is a trademark of Carlyle's style, and he uses it for definition and description as well as for narrative or prophetic passages. And because medial modification suspends the predicate, these sentences have an emphatic and revelatory quality appropriate to the message of Past and Present.

Rather than discuss separate illustrations of Carlyle's use of final modification, I would like to consider some sentences where he has included qualifying elements at two or more positions in a sentence, one of which is usually in the final position. Such sentences, with their continual interruption of the sentence kernel, provide for detailed
descriptions and often have a periodic effect. The following two sentences exhibit the resulting "interrupted" effect:

Thou and I, my friend,
'can, in the most flunkey world,
'make, each of us,
one non-flunkey, one hero, if we
like: that will be two heroes
to begin with. . . . (40)

In the next example, the appositions and qualifying phrases are longer, making the end effect more detailed and less choppy:

Month-long contracts do not answer well even with your house-servants; the liberty on both sides to change every month is growing very apelike; nomadic;

--and I hear philosophers predict
that it will alter,
or
that strange results will follow:

that wise men, pestered with nomads,
with unattached ever-
shifting spies and enemies
rather than friends and
servants,

will gradually, weighing substance
against semblance,
with indignation,

dismiss such, down almost
to the very shoeblack,
and say,

"Begone; I will serve myself rather, and have peace!" (275)

Such expanded structures are well-suited to an especially detailed or descriptive narration. One of the more vivid
pictures in Book III, for example, is of the Roman Pope
blessing the crowd while riding in his mechanical contraption.
By stressing a few details, Carlyle describes the absurd
mechanism while he continues narrating:

Stuffed figure,
or rump of a figure;
to this stuffed rump he, sitting at his ease on
a lower level,
joins, by the aid of cloaks and drapery,
his living head and
outspread hands:

the rump with its cloaks kneels,
the Pope looks, and holds his hands spread;
and so the two in concert bless the Roman population
on Corpus-Christi Day, as well as they can. (140-41)

The inherent ability of such sentences to describe as they
narrate makes them extremely useful in Carlyle's prose.
Sometimes these sentences are too long and complex to
represent schematically, and then it is helpful to compare
the kernel of the statement with the full expanded version.
First, the kernel:

Oliver Cromwell quitted his farming;
undertook a . . . Labour and . . .
wrestle . . .
and he did wrestle with it . . .
and he wrestled it,
and mowed and cut it down . . .
and his wages . . . were burial . . . and two centuries
now of mixed cursing and ridicule. . . . (24-25)

When we put the omitted details and images and commentary
back into the sentence, we can see that the expanded syntact-
ical members are largely responsible for creating that detailed
and energetic effect so typically found in Carlyle's prose:
Oliver Cromwell quitted his farming; undertook a Hercules' Labour and lifelong wrestle with that Lernean Hydra-coil, wide as England, hissing heaven-high through its thousand crowned, coroneted, shovell-hatted quackheads; and he did wrestle with it, the truest and terriblest wrestle I have heard of; and he wrestled it, and mowed and cut it down a good many stages, so that its hissing is ever since pitiful in comparison, and one can walk abroad in comparative peace from it;--and his wages, as I understand, were burial under the gallows-tree near Tyburn Turnpike, with his head on the gable of Westminster Hall, and two centuries now of mixed cursing and ridicule from all manner of men. (24-25)

As such sentences illustrate, much of the vividness and energy of Carlyle's prose stems from his habit of inserting detailed descriptions and images in initial, medial or final positions as he describes an action or narrates an event.

At the same time that Carlyle expands the syntax in order to show that the "world is wider" than we think, he often intensifies the statement or tries to show that the divine is present in the smallest and least important living thing. Occasionally such expansions are expressed through parallel grammatical units and stress the progression from finite to infinite:

From all souls of men,
from all ends of Nature,
from the Throne of God above,

there are voices bidding it [the unjust thing]: Away, away! (16)

Often, Carlyle combines a movement from finite to infinite and from nature to supernature with a corresponding shift from temporal to eternal, as in his tribute to the "future"
Arkwright ages:

But Richard Arkwright too will have his Monument, a thousand years hence: all Lancashire and Yorkshire, and how many other shires and countries, with their machineries and industries, for his monument! A true pyramid or 'flame-mountain,' flaming with steam fires and useful labour over wide continents, usefully towards the Stars, to a certain height;--how much grander than your foolish Cheops Pyramids or Sakhara clay ones! (62)

Not only is Richard Arkwright's monument expanded to become "all Lancashire and Yorkshire, and how many other shires and countries," but it becomes an eternal monument, "flaming . . . usefully towards the Stars," "grander than . . . Cheops Pyramids." Significantly, Carlyle's notion of work is continually associated with the movement from finite to infinite. In the example which follows, the "Liturgy of Praying by Working" is being defined, but the "vertical" movement created by the analogy and the imagery supports an almost mystic vision. There is nothing "higher" than the "dome of Immensity," or more eternal than the "Star-galaxies":

He that understands it [the liturgy of praying by working] well, understands the Prophecy of the whole Future; the last Evangel, which has included all others. Its cathedral the Dome of Immensity,--hast thou seen it? coped with the star-galaxies; paved with the green mosaic of land and ocean; and for altar, verily, the Star-throne of the Eternal! Its litany and psalmody the noble acts, the heroic work and suffering, and true Heart-utterance of all the Valiant of the Sons of Men. Its choir-music the ancient Winds and Oceans, and deep-toned, inarticulate, but most speaking voices of Destiny and History,--supernal ever as of old. (231)

The last three sentences are fragments without a main verb, each expanding the "it" of the first sentence. The religion--
for the liturgy of praying by working expresses a religion—
has the "Dome of Immensity" for its cathedral, the "Star-
throne of the Eternal" for its altar, the heroic work of
"all the Valiant of the Sons of Men" for its litany and
psalmody, and the "Winds and Oceans," "the speaking voices
of Destiny and History" for its choir music. The religion
of work is associated with the most infinite and eternal
things man knows: the star-galaxies and the history of
man. This is Carlyle's style at its most expansive and most
"mystical." It is not the most effective or moving passage
in Past and Present, but it does represent the epitome
of Carlyle's characteristic "vertical" expansions.

By way of concluding the discussion of syntactical
expansion at the sentence level, we should notice that
sometimes Carlyle expands some idea without adding anything
of importance. Such examples do, in fact, suggest an
inflated balloon rather than a growing organism, and we
would misrepresent Carlyle's style by not calling attention
to them. In the two examples below, the italicized portions
show Carlyle going through the motions of expansion without
adding any specific details, analogies or images:

    Days come when there is no King in Israel, but every
man is his own king . . . and tarbarrels are burnt
to 'Liberty,' 'Tenpound Franchise' and the like, with
considerable effect in various ways! (244)

    His [Oliver Cromwell's] way of making this same
'assertion,' the one way he had of making it, has
given rise to immense criticism: but the assertion
itself in what way soever 'made,' is it not somewhat
of a solemn one, somewhat of a tremendous one! (221)
Such sentences substantiate the charge that Carlyle is himself sometimes guilty of "puffery" in his prose style; indeed, such examples can prejudice more successful sentences which follow the same pattern. The "fatiguing" quality of Carlyle's prose which some critics have noticed is in part a result of Carlyle's overdependence on syntactic expansion; however, distinguishing empty inflation from real growth and, more importantly, seeing that they result from a common tendency of syntactic expansion, is necessary to any understanding of the way Carlyle writes in *Past and Present*.19

At the level of the paragraph, the principle of expansion is perhaps more obvious. In addition to his use of dialectic, which has been previously discussed, Carlyle generates paragraphs most frequently out of analogy and imagery, extended parallelism, and expansion of key words and phrases in topic sentences.

One of the best paragraphs illustrating how analogy and imagery help generate a whole paragraph is the passage in Book III, Chapter xi, on work as a "clear-flowing stream," which will be discussed in Section iv. A paragraph from Book II, Chapter i, is nearly as good, however, and will be considered here. The key to this paragraph is the opening sentence which not only establishes an analogy which likens monks to an "extinct species of the human family" but also personifies this species: what if, Carlyle says, this species were made "visible and audible"? As the following abbreviated version of that paragraph illustrates,
the two kinds of imagery (monks as a "species" or "fossil" which is made "visible" and "audible") are expanded while the initial analogy is kept in front of the reader:

We have heard so much of Monks; everywhere, in real and fictitious History . . . these singular two-legged animals . . . masquerade so strangely through our fancy; and they are in fact so very strange an extinct species of the human family,—a veritable Monk . . . is worth attending to, if by chance made visible and audible.

[1] Here he is; and in his hand a magical speculum . . . wherein the marvellous image of his existence does still shadow itself . . . with an intermittent light! Will not the reader peep with us into this singular camera lucida, where an extinct species . . . can still be seen alive? Extinct species, we say. . . .

[2] But fancy . . . some fossil . . . were to begin to speak . . . never so indistinctly! The most extinct fossil species of Men or Monks can do, and does, this miracle,—thanks to the Letters of the Alphabet, good for so many things. (48-49, italics mine except for camera lucida and speak)

The opening analogy between monks and extinct fossil species is maintained throughout this paragraph, but in the first part of the body of the paragraph, the visual imagery is expanded and developed, while in the second part, the monks are imagined to be audible as well. More generally, this paragraph illustrates how Carlyle's tendency to dramatize, to make events in history both visible and audible, contributes to the (perhaps only subconscious) design of the paragraph.

Paragraph development through extended parallelism is also widespread in Past and Present, even though Carlyle does not usually sustain such parallelism throughout the paragraph. In the following example, however, Carlyle first
sets up his "Editor" and then repeats the construction, "he thinks that . . ." in a variety of ways:

To the present Editor . . . a Government of the Wisest . . . seems the one healing remedy . . .

He thinks that we have at once missed realizing it . . .
He thinks that 'enlightened Egoism' . . . is not the rule by which man's life can be led.
That 'Laissez-faire,' 'Supply-and-demand' . . . are not . . . a practicable Law of Union . . .
That Poor and Rich, that Governed and Governing, cannot long live together on any such Law of Union.

Alas, he thinks that man has a soul in him . . .
that if said soul be asphyxied . . . the man and his affairs are in a bad way.
He thinks that said soul will have to be resuscitated . . .
that if it prove irresuscitable, the man is not long for this world.
In brief, that Midas-eared Mammonism, double-barrelled Dilettantism . . . are not the Law . . .
That, once for all, these are not the Law: and then farther
that we shall have to return to what is the Law . . .

The resuscitating of a soul that has gone to asphyxia is no momentary or pleasant process, but a long and terrible one. (38)

On top of this elaborate structure consisting of eleven "that" clauses, Carlyle loads his details and images of resuscitation. Such extended parallelism is often responsible for the "overpowering" effect of Carlyle's prose.

Lastly, the expansion of a few key words and phrases in a topic sentence is an obvious mode of paragraph development. Typically, the subject of a Carlyle paragraph moves beyond the initial topic; but in spite of this outward movement, there is often a simple design to his paragraphs.
One such paragraph occurs at the end of Book II, in Chapter xvi:

Abbot Samson, at this culminating point of his existence, may, and indeed must, be left to vanish with his Life-scenery from the eyes of modern men.

[1] He had to run into France. . . .
He had to decide on the dilapidated Coventry Monks. . . .
He had, not without labour, to controvert the intrusive Bishop of Ely. . . .
Magnanimous Samson, his life is but a labour and a journey; a bustling and a justling. . . .
He is sent for again, over sea, to advise King Richard. . . .
The magnanimous Abbot makes preparation for departure; departs, and -- --

[2] And Jocelin's Boswelllean Narrative, suddenly shorn through by the scissors of Destiny, ends.
There are no words more; but a black line, and leaves of blank paper.
Irremediable: the miraculous hand . . . suddenly quits hold; impenetrable Time-Curtains rush down; in the mind's eye all is again dark, void . . .
our real-phantasmagory of St. Edmundsburry plunges into the bosom of the Twelfth Century again, and all is over.

Monks, Abbot . . . vanish like Mirza's Vision; and there is nothing left but a mutilated black Ruin amid 'green botanic expanses, and oxen, sheep and dilettanti pasturing in their places. (127)

Following the opening sentence, the first group of sentences describes the last activities of Abbot Samson "at this culminating point of his existence." The second half of the paragraph, with the various images suggesting the end of Samson's life, of Jocelin's narrative, and of the historical "real-phantasmagory," emphasize the ending and the fact that Abbot Samson is "left to vanish with his Life-scenery from the eyes of modern men." The concluding sentence repeats the fact that Abbot Samson and his "life-scenery"
have vanished, leaving only a "black ruin" in its place. In short, the opening and closing sentences provide the frame for the expansion, in the body of the paragraph, of the simple statement, "Abbot Samson's life . . . ends."

At their best, Carlyle's sentences and paragraphs expand naturally from the conditions of syntax, from initial analogies and images, or from a simple narrative statement. In keeping with his own philosophy and aesthetic, Carlyle's syntactic expansion contributes to his personal vision of reality which is simultaneously "created" and "revealed." It permits unconscious creation rather than "manufacture" according to a predetermined or logical order, allows for a revolutionizing of old words and syntactic forms, and helps to express the transcendental movement in his philosophy. The way Carlyle writes involves several different styles, but is most fundamentally described by the various manifestations of syntactic expansion.

iv Style and Effectiveness

A demonstration of the effectiveness of any prose style is at best an impossible task. Only the testimony of generations of readers can, "in the long run," as Carlyle would say, prove that a style is "effective" or that style and thought are mutually appropriate. The ability of a work to survive and endure while remaining relevant and alive is, like power itself, an unanswerable argument: a given
style is the "best possible" means of expressing an idea where the expression is found most effective. As George Levine has shown, Carlyle's style seems as appropriate a vehicle for the "strenuous kind of optimism that characterizes all his most mature work between 1829 and 1842" as it is for the "barbarous" vision in "The Nigger Question."  

"If the merit of a style lies in complete correspondence with the feeling of the writer," Henry James says, "Carlyle's is one of the best. It is not defensible, but it is victorious." So rather than defend the style of *Past and Present*, I would like to illustrate how Carlyle uses diction and syntax to imitate the thought being expressed, where the order of words and phrases contributes to or reflects the idea in the sentence. In his most effective or "victorious" sentences, the syntax assists the transcendental movement of Carlyle's thought. Such sentences often occur when Carlyle is describing an event removed in space or time from the here and now or when he is expressing an idea which bridges the gap between man and man, between the natural and the supernatural, the finite and the infinite, and between the temporal and the eternal. In most cases, the effect of such passages is to engage the reader himself—along with Carlyle—in the transcendental movement. In the best and most effective sentences, the syntax itself imitates the difficulty of such a movement by means of clauses and phrases which hinder the expression or revelation of the
thought. In these sentences, philosophy and syntax are united in an effort to reconstruct not just a transcendental vision, but the strenuous act of perceiving and articulating that revealed vision.

Even without any overt transcendental movement, Carlyle uses his syntax to assist, reflect or imitate the idea or event which he is discussing. For example, when Carlyle wants to say that England's government is too large and unwieldy to function efficiently, he reinforces that idea by a long and extended series of non-parallel medial structures:

A government such as ours, consisting of from seven to eight hundred Parliamentary Talkers, with their escort of Able Editors and Public Opinion; and for head, certain Lords and Servants of the Treasury, and Chief Secretaries and others, who find themselves at once Chiefs and No-Chiefs, and often commanded rather than commanding, --is doubtless a most complicate entity, and none of the alertest for getting on with business! (256)

The kernel of this statement, "A Government such as ours . . . is doubtless a most complicate entity," is reflected and illustrated in the detailed series of medial structures. In fact, the predicate, coming as it does after these structures, is almost superfluous: the reader already has seen that such a government is probably too complicated to operate effectively. A second example in this same manner
is even more of a tour de force, only the subject this time is the twelfth-century history written by the pedantic and unimaginative Dryas dust. With its repetitious "such and such" and "so many" and "then farther," the passage actually parodies the style of Dryas dust while describing it.

Giant Pedantry also will step in, with its huge Dugdale and other enormous Monastic cons under its arm,

and cheerfully apprise you,

That this was a very great Abbey, owner and indeed creator of St. Edmund's Town itself, owner of wide lands and revenues; nay that its lands were once a county of themselves; that indeed King Canute or Knut was very kind to it; and gave St. Edmund his own gold crown off his head, on one occasion: for the rest, that the Monks were of such and such a genus, such and such a number; that they had so many carucates of land in this hundred, and so many in that; and then farther that the large Tower or Belfry was built by such a one, and the smaller Belfry was built by &c. &c.--

Till human nature can stand no more of it; till human nature desperately take refuge in forgetfulness, almost in flat disbelief of the whole business, Monks, Monastery, Belfries, Carucates and all! (52-53)

The exhaustive and exhausting quality of the syntax gives the reader the feeling of having plowed through a huge Dugdale himself, so that he may well respond with "flat disbelief" of the whole mechanical history. Furthermore, the dramatic and ironic quality of the passage ("Giant Pedantry also will step in . . . and cheerfully apprise you")
works with the extended series of "that" clauses to parody the kind of history which Carlyle does not write in Book II.

Often Carlyle uses verbs and verb phrases to help imitate and emphasize an assertion. He imitates the dynamic quality of work, for example, by creating sequence and process in his verbs and verbals, as in the following two examples:

Reform, like Charity, O Bobus, must begin at home. Once well at home, how will it radiate outwards, irrepressible, into all that we touch and handle, speak and work; kindling ever new light, by incalculable contagion, spreading in geometric ratio, far and wide, -- doing good only, wheresoever it spreads, and not evil. (39)

Man, Son of Earth and of Heaven, lies there not, in the innermost heart of thee, a Spirit of active Method, a Force for Work; -- and burns like a painfully smouldering fire, giving thee no rest till thou unfold it, till thou write it down in beneficent Facts around thee! (201)

The first example illustrates how Carlyle typically takes a simple statement -- here the cliché, "Reform, like Charity . . . must begin at home" -- and in the following sentence describes, principally by means of a sequence of verbs and verbals, how reform will "radiate outward," "kindling ever new light," "spreading . . . far and wide," and "doing good only, wheresoever it spreads." In addition to the series of verb phrases, the sentence contains three incipient images which compare the movement of reform to light, to a positive kind of "contagion," and to a geometric expansion. In the second quotation, the same kind of verb series shows how the "Spirit of active Method" first "lies,"
then "burns" like a "smouldering" fire, until it is finally unfolded and written down in "Facts." In both sentences, the syntax helps to imitate and express the movement by which the creative and enlivening reform and work spread.

On a more sophisticated level, Carlyle's sentences sometimes blend sound and rhythm to the content. The following sentence, which was considered earlier as an example of Carlyle's poetic mode, is also illustrative of Carlyle's use of rhythm and sound patterns to support the idea that work has a power to cleanse and reform:

How, as a free-flowing channel

dug and torn by noble force through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, like an ever-deepening river there,

it runs and flows;--draining off the sour festering water, gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade;

making, instead of pestilential swamp,

a green fruitful meadow with its clear-flowing stream. (197)

The verbs in this sentence sustain the movement, and they emphasize the "flowing" of the stream: "How, as a free-flowing channel, dug and torn . . . like an ever-deepening river there, it runs and flows;--draining off . . . making . . . a meadow with its clear-flowing stream." Reminiscent of some of Tennyson's descriptive poetry, the assonance here is also particularly effective. Prose rhythm is always difficult to measure or evaluate, but this sentence, like the passage considered earlier on land as the "Mother of
us all," has a less abrupt or "smoother" rhythm than is normally associated with Carlyle's prose. The contrast between this sentence and the passage quoted earlier about the "complicate entity" which is England's government makes the range of Carlyle's prose especially obvious. Carlyle is capable of suiting the syntax and prose rhythm to widely differing purposes. But whether he is writing about modern governments or about the "cleansing" effect of work in a man's life, Carlyle is able, as G. B. Tennyson says, to convey "what it feels like to think as he does."

In some of the most interesting sentences in Past and Present, not only does the syntax imitate the "felt quality" of the thought, but it imitates the struggle of some idea or event as it crosses the gap between past and present. In the following examples, the first sentence expresses the struggle which institutions undergo as they evolve, while the last two sentences express the difficulty of revealing the past in the present. In the first and last sentences, the syntax first hinders the completion of the thought, and then is overcome as the past is revealed in the present:

For a thousand years and more, Wisdom and faithful Valour, struggling amid much Folly and greedy Baseness, not without most sad distortions in the struggle,

have built them [Parliament and the Courts of Westminster] up;

and they are as we see. (15)
See it there, with buff-belts, red coats on its back;
walking sentry at guardhouses, brushing white breeches in barracks;

an indisputable palpable fact.

Out of grey Antiquity, amid all finance-difficulties, scaccarium-tallies, ship-monies, coat-and-conduct monies, and vicissitudes of Chance and Time,

there, down to the present blessed hour,

it is. (258)

In the first sentence, the medial modifier, "struggling amid much Folly . . . distortions in the struggle," comes between subject and verb and provides the syntactical "barriers" which the "thousand years" of "Wisdom and faithful Valour" have overcome. In the second two sentences, Carlyle moves from the present reality ("See it there . . . an indisputable palpable fact") to the evolution of that reality "out of grey Antiquity . . . down to the present hour." As in the first sentence, the evolutionary struggle is imitated by the intervening series of prepositional objects describing the "finance difficulties" and the "vicissitudes of Chance and Time." Of the many other examples of such sentences, we might look at one more, taken from the last chapter of Book II, "The Beginnings":

For example, who taught thee to speak?

From the day when two hairy-naked or fig-leaved Human Figures began, as uncomfortable dummies, anxious no longer to be dumb, but to impart themselves to one another;

and endeavoured, with gaspings, gesturings, with unsyllabled cries, with painful pantomime and interjections, in a very unsuccessful manner,

--up to the writing of this present copyright Book, which also is not very successful!

Between that day and this, I say, there has been a pretty space of time; a pretty spell of work, which somebody has done! (131)

In this example, the intervening structures not only inhibit and defer the main clause, but the whole structure is finally left uncompleted, to be finished in the following sentence, "Between that day and this . . . a pretty space of time . . . of work." The sentences imitate the evolutionary struggle and in so doing bridge the gap between past and present.

In a similar fashion, Carlyle's sentences reflect the struggle involved in perceiving the infinite in the finite. Reality is a chaotic medium which may become opaque and turn into a mirror, revealing nothing and reflecting only the viewer's own image: "For in truth, the eye sees in all things 'what it brought with it the means of seeing.'" Carlyle uses initial and medial modifying elements often in order to imitate the "chaotic" impediments and thus to
suggest how and why a genuine revelation of the infinite is so difficult:

How with thy rubrics and dalmatics, and clothwebs and cobwebs, and with thy stupidities and grovelling baseheartedness, hast thou hidden the Holiest into all but invisibility! (288)

In addition to the imagery, alliteration and assonance in "rubrics and dalmatics" and "clothwebs and cobwebs," the final "grovelling baseheartedness" with its compounding suggests a formidable obstacle indeed. The next two sentences, with their long initial modifying phrases and clauses, similarly illustrate how Carlyle's syntax itself recreates the struggle involved in perceiving the "true God-made King" and a "Heaven's radiance of Justice" behind and through all the syntactical cobwebberies and entanglements:

When, across the hundredfold poor scepticisms, trivialisms, and constitutional cobwebberies of Dryasdust,

you catch any glimpse of a William the Conqueror, a Tancred of Hauteville or such like,

--do you not discern veritably some rude outline of a true God-made King; whom not the Champion of England cased in tin, but all Nature and the Universe were calling to the throne? (212-13)
Nay, if there were not a Heaven's radiance of Justice, prophetic, clearly of Heaven, discernible behind all these confused world-wide entanglements,
of Landlord interests, Manufacturing interests, Tory-Whig interests, and who knows what other interests, expediencies, vested interests, established possessions, inveterate Dilettantisms, Midas-eared Mammonisms,

--it would seem to everyone a flat impossibility, which all wise men might as well at once abandon. (24)

Especially in the last sentence, the accumulation itself imitates the impossibility of discerning any infinite reality behind the "world-wide entanglements."

The principle of syntactic expansion is a natural manifestation of Carlyle's belief in the connections among all things in the universe, and it accounts not just for the way Carlyle writes, but also for much of the effectiveness of his prose style. Beginning with the very words of his ideas and assertions, through the sentences and paragraphs, to whole chapters and books, Carlyle accumulates ideas and images so that philosophy, structure, and syntax are related in a view of the world that is "wider" and more important than we may think. Like the baroque periods, Carlyle's sentences also express a "creed that is at the same time philosophical and artistic. . . . An idea separated from the act of experiencing it is not the idea that was experienced."27 The "revolutionary" world-view which Carlyle's syntax helps to express is the old eternal one,
that life pervades the whole universe, that life is sacred, and that through strenuous work, a reform and rebirth of the divine in man is possible and inevitable. The expansive and revelatory quality of Carlyle's style is most apparent in the last optimistic pages of Past and Present:

Sooty Hell of mutiny
and
savagery
and
despair can, by man's energy,
be made a kind of Heaven. . . .

Unstained by wasteful deformities,
by wasted tears or heart's-blood of men,
or
any defacement of the Pit,
noble fruitful Labour, growing ever nobler,
will come forth,

--the grand sole miracle of Man; whereby Man has risen from the low places of this Earth, very literally, into divine Heavens. (294)

Carlyle's style is most successful not only at imitating but providing the energy needed for such a reform. The syntax can reveal, usually through such expanded, elliptical and periodic structures, both the process and the result of man's effort and vision.
NOTES


2 Tennyson, "Sartor" Called "Resartus", p. 239.

3 Tennyson, p. 90.

4 Quoted in Tennyson, p. 241.

5 Tennyson, p. 271.

6 Ohmann, p. 405.


11 Tennyson, p. 110.
13 Holloway, Victorian Sage, pp. 50-57.
14 Tennyson, p. 118.
15 Miller, Disappearance of God, p. 3.
16 LaValley, p. 231.
17 Oakman, pp. 79, 86.
18 Tennyson, p. 252.


21 Henry James, "The Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson," The Century, 26 (1883), 272.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

In the depths of "The Everlasting No" in Sartor Resartus, Teufelsdröckh exclaims that the universe is devoid of life and purpose and is "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?" After surviving his dark night of the soul, Teufelsdröckh discovers, in "The Everlasting Yea," that faith and belief have been reborn in him, and that the universe is in fact alive:

'Fore-shadows, call them rather fore-splendours, of that Truth, and Beginning of Truths, fell mysteriously over my soul. Sweeter than Dayspring to the Ship-wrecked 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!' (188)

Teufelsdröckh's spiritual crisis was to be repeated, with variation, many times during the nineteenth century but nowhere more memorably and famously than, after Sartor, in Newman's Apologia pro Vita Sua or in Mill's Autobiography.
But the distinctive character of much of the "Christian-humanist" prose in the nineteenth century lies not just in the records of such personal crises, but in the mediation between personal crises and social vision. Most obviously, *Past and Present* represents Carlyle's attempt to do for England what Teufelsdröckh (and Carlyle) had done for himself: to survive the period of the everlasting no and the period of indifference (which began for England with the "Settlement of despair" in 1660) and to give new birth to belief and faith. Converts have always been tireless zealots, but only a handful have carried their proselytizing beyond their neighbors and attempted to reform a whole society, to lead a whole nation to their own personal vision of a world transfused with life and faith. Although *Sartor* points the way to a social rebirth, it is *Past and Present*, that "red-hot indignant thing," which represents the peak of Carlyle's social evangelism. Whether the beginning of a personal and social conversion lies in an orthodox contrition and repentance, in a Teufelsdröckhian defiance ("I am not thine [the Devil's], but Free, and forever hate thee!") or in reorganized governments and social working in well-doing which disperses doubt, the result of the conversion is most importantly a reestablishment of the connections between men and between man and God. In *Sartor*, Teufelsdröckh sees, during "The Everlasting No," a mechanical and unconnected universe in which the
"Living [was] banished thither companionless, conscious" (164). In Past and Present, the same spiritual state is expressed in the vivid opening picture of the "successful skilful workers" who sit enchanted and isolated from the world in the "workhouse Bastille," "their hopes, outlooks, share of this fair world, shut in by narrow walls" (7-8). Yet they are still conscious, reminding Carlyle of the figures in Dante's Hell:

They sat there, near by one another; but in a kind of torpor, especially in a silence, which was very striking. In silence: for alas, what word was to be said? An Earth all lying round, crying, Come and till me, come and reap me;—yet we here sit enchanted! In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief and shame and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness; they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, "Do not look at us. We sit enchanted here, we know not why." (8)

The isolation and enchantment motif reappears throughout Past and Present but Carlyle's summary statement is reserved for Book IV. The passage is worth quoting in full, not just for the condition of spiritual paralysis which it evokes, but also for the parallels in motif and imagery which it shares with Teufelsdröckh's experience in Sartor Resartus:

Isolation is the sum-total of wretchedness to man. To be cut off, to be left solitary: to have a world alien, not your world; all a hostile camp for you; not a home at all, of hearts and faces who are yours, whose you are! It is the frightfullest enchantment; too truly a work of the Evil One. To have neither superior, nor inferior, nor
equal, united manlike to you. Without father, without child, without brother. Man knows no sadder destiny. 'How is each of us,' exclaims Jean Paul, 'so lonely, in the wide bosom of the All!' Encased each as 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. (271)

Here, isolation is an enchantment and a separation from father, child and brother; in Sartor Teufelsdröckh likens his condition to that of a little child who, after straying, bewildered and weeping, suddenly hears its mother's voice. In Past and Present, Carlyle's exemplum is not his own personal experience, but the short history of Abbot Samson's society where the connections between men and between man and God are, as yet, unbroken. If Past and Present has a center or a single point of focus, it lies in the pervasive connections and the organic unity of its social and religious vision. Because he sees that social and spiritual isolation are related, Carlyle has gone out "into the empty space between man and God" and created a "new fabric of connections between men and the divine power."¹ Philosophy, structure and style all contribute to this vision of a world where men are truly a part of a social organism transfused with moral life.

Carlyle's own writing, as illustrated by the structure and style of Past and Present, serves as a first step in uniting man with man in a social organism. The essay
"Characteristics" is again most specific about the revitalizing effect of a "communion of soul with soul" which is Carlyle's objective:

To understand man . . . we must look beyond the individual man and his actions or interests, and view him in combination with his fellows. It is in Society that man first feels what he is; first becomes what he can be. . . . 'Already,' says a deep Thinker, with more meaning than will disclose itself at once, 'my opinion, my conviction, gains infinitely in strength and sureness, the moment a second mind has adopted it.' Such, even its simplest form, is association; so wondrous the communion of soul with soul as directed to the mere act of Knowing! . . . The lightning-spark of Thought, generated, or say rather heaven-kindled, in the solitary mind, awakens its express likeness in another mind, in a thousand other minds, and all blaze-up together in combined fire; reverberated from mind to mind, fed also with fresh fuel in each, it acquires incalculable new light as Thought, incalculable new heat as converted into Action. (XXVIII, 10-11)

The purpose of Past and Present is not to find "reasons" for the modern condition of England, but to generate the "lightning-spark of Thought" in another mind so that knowledge, belief and action may result. As we have seen, Carlyle's own role as a Man of Letters is intended to produce a spiritual guideship, and to that end he is a "man speaking of spiritual things to man." The ever-present dialogue and dialectic in Past and Present maintains this sense of a speaking voice communicating directly with an audience. In his effort to kindle the fire in other minds, Carlyle does not restrict himself to one voice or literary genre, but uses whatever seems most effective in the
context, whatever voice or combination of voices is most likely to reverberate in another mind. Similarly, the metaphorical basis of his thought and expression helps to create associations in men's minds between the seemingly unrelated things of the universe. As we have seen, Carlyle develops the natural connections and associations between images and metaphors into a vast network of interrelated ideas and images which imitates the interrelationship of finite and infinite, human and divine. Furthermore, as Carlyle builds this network, his assertions gain a cumulative power from the widening and intensifying of key images and motifs. Even the syntax and use of words continually expands the field of vision, so that nothing is seen isolated or detached. Dialectic and dramatized conversations and a plethora of metaphors and symbols, facts and detailed descriptions, allusions and catalogues, combine to give Carlyle's prose an unparalleled sense of detail and energy. This unexampled vitality in his style is put, again and again, to three basic tasks: to helping the reader participate in the vision and the dialogue, to increasing the reader's felt sense that the world is wider and more divine than he thinks, and to building new filaments or connective tissue between man and man and between man and the divine, transcendent reality which is manifested throughout the universe. Past and Present is Carlyle's attempt to translate the vision which
resulted from his own spiritual crisis, as outlined in Sartor, into social terms and to transfuse that vision directly into England's ailing system. Even Carlyle realized that attempting such a social reformation or rebirth was madness: "To reform a nation," Carlyle wrote at the end of "Signs of the Times," "no wise man will undertake; and all but foolish men know, that the only solid, though a far slower reformation, is what each begins and perfects on himself" (XXVII, 82). But instructing men to know and reverence wisdom and heroism is a task, as he says in Past and Present, which all "Editors" should aim towards: "One knows not what the meaning of editing and writing is, if even this be not it" (42).

Past and Present is a work which, increasingly, will survive on its own terms and will remain, as Emerson said, "a book which will be read, no thanks to anybody but itself." Although Past and Present does provide "background" information on England's social condition in the 1840's, it will increasingly be read for its imaginative qualities and for Carlyle's "impelling literary manner" which drew readers to it in the first place. "Only what you at last have living in your own memory and heart is worth putting down to be printed," Carlyle of his historical art, "this alone has much chance to get into the living heart and memory of other men."2 Carlyle's task of revitalizing a present
society through the example of a past one is most importantly assisted not by the mere facts and events of Samson's life—exemplary as they may be—but by the sense of communion and participation which the modern reader gains in reading the twelfth-century narrative. The imaginative sense of a communion between the present and the past is crucial if the goal is not to "prove and find reasons," but to "know and believe."

Similarly, Carlyle's account of nineteenth-century English society will continue to be read not just because he discusses specific social problems in the 1840's but because Past and Present contains a vision of injustice, greed, self-centeredness and stupidity which were as characteristic of Langland's and Bunyan's England as they are of twentieth-century society. At present, it is popular for social and political reformers to talk of ecology, unemployment and the giant mechanistic and soulless corporate complexes, of the lack of credibility in government, of accountability in campaign spending, of political bribery, of over-production and planned obsolescence, and of the "windbag" politicians in Parliament or Congress who mechanically legislate bills with built-in favors and injustices. But all of these are prefigured in Carlyle's vision of his own age. Carlyle's "entanglements, of Landlord interests, Manufacturing interests, Tory-Whig interests, and who knows what other interests, expediencies, vested
interests, established possessions, inveterate Dilet-tantisms, Midas-eared Mammonisms" (24) are perhaps even more characteristic of modern societies than of nineteenth-century ones, and are not likely to be resolved in the immediate future. Just as Carlyle's nineteenth-century reader compared his own society with Samson's, the modern reader, looking from the vantage point of Carlyle's "future," cannot help but compare his own age to Carlyle's social portraits of the twelfth and nineteenth centuries. If "isolation is the sum total of wretchedness of man to man," then man is probably more wretched and "alienated" in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century. Perhaps even more than wholly imaginative works of literature, Past and Present answers the contemporary cry for "relevancy" in its detailed vision of social and political realities.

Finally, Past and Present will survive on its own terms simply because "its terms" are highly poetic and imaginative ones. Although Carlyle does not sustain a poetic mode, his history and his prophecy continually "bodies forth the form of Things Unseen," or, in Coleridge's words, excites "a feeling analogous to the supernatural by awakening the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom."3 Beyond his detailed vision of the "condition of England," Past and Present, like Sartor Resartus, has a transcendental vision of the world not unlike Blake's as in his short poem, "To see a world":
To see a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour.4

Although less characteristic of modern poetry, this transcendental vision is also found in Theodore Roethke, a poet whose temperament seems diametrically opposed to Carlyle's. But the concluding stanzas from Roethke's "The Far Field" not only share this vision, but seem to be talking directly about Carlyle:

A man faced with his own immensity
Wakes all the waves, all their loose wandering fire,
The murmur of the absolute, the why
Of being born falls on his naked ears.
His spirit moves like a monumental wind
That gentles on a sunny blue plateau.
He is the end of things, the final man.

All finite things reveal infinitude:
The mountain with its singular bright shade . . .
Silence of water above a sunken tree:
The pure serene of memory in one man--
A ripple widening from a single stone
Winding around the waters of the world.5

More than any abstract "content," the reader of Past and Present carries away a sense of a world in which there is an all-pervasive potential for life, in which "all finite things reveal infinitude." "The transcendental movement, the ascent toward what is above, toward what is beyond," Cazamian believes, "was to be the constant rhythm of his [Carlyle's] thinking, the scheme of his doctrine."6 Carlyle's philosophy, texture and style work together to create a fabric of connections, a revelation of the world's "open secret" which will lead to a "New Birth" of Society.
A society in which no man is unconnected to any other man, in which man has a feeling for the moral life in all things, is in fact a society resuscitated and reborn.

Like nearly all of Carlyle's works, Past and Present has drawn vociferous attack as well as high praise. Most recently—and most typically—Past and Present has been attacked as being "crude" and "contemptuous" social propaganda. On the other hand, Raymond Chapman writes glowingly that "for all its idiosyncracies, Past and Present is Carlyle's finest work. . . ." To imply, as Chapman does, that Past and Present is a finer work than Sartor Resartus probably does an injustice to Sartor, but it does help to correct the notion that Past and Present is inferior simply because it is a less "literary" or fictive work than Sartor. In Emerson's judgment, which still seems sound, Past and Present is both a "political tract" for the times and a poem, an "Iliad of English woes." If it is not read in the bald paraphrases of literary histories, in the excerpts of nineteenth-century prose surveys, or for background material, but for itself, as a work with an integrity of its own, the imaginative basis of Carlyle's thought and style, and the accumulative effect of his expansive, connective prose will be apparent. In a style which captures the energy and expansion of the modern world, Past and Present contains a sense of vision and energy rarely paralleled in works of fiction or poetry.
Like most readers who accept *Past and Present* on its own terms, Emerson testifies to the effect of Carlyle's vision and energy:

Obviously, it is the book of a powerful and accomplished thinker, who has looked with naked eyes at the dreadful political signs in England for the last few years, has conversed much on these topics . . . until such daily and nightly meditation has grown into a great connection if not a system of thoughts. . . . It is such an appeal to the conscience and honor of England as cannot be forgotten, or be feigned to be forgotten. . . . Every reader shall carry away something. The scholar shall read and write, the farmer and mechanic shall toil, with new resolution, nor forget the book when they resume their labor.9

In resuming their labour with a renewed sense of purpose and with a vision of society as potentially an organic group of related, connected individuals, connected not only by duties and obligations as well as rights and privileges but most importantly by manifestations of the infinite and divine in all men, the readers themselves will have begun the "rebirth" of society.
NOTES

1 Miller, Disappearance of God, pp. 13-14.
2 Quoted in Young, Art of History, p. 141.
3 Quoted in Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 121.
4 William Blake, "To see a world," in An Introduction to Poetry, ed. X. J. Kennedy (Boston, 1966), p. 90.
5 Roethke, Collected Poems, p. 201.
6 Cazamian, Carlyle, p. 105.
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