THE INFLUENCE OF CARLYLE ON THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF RUSKIN
IN THE PERIOD FROM 1860 to 1884

by

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THE INFLUENCE OF CARLYLE ON THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF RUSKIN IN
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Introduction

To connect the name of Ruskin with that of Carlyle is not a new idea. Every biographer and critic of Ruskin refers to the relation which existed between the two men; all mention especially Ruskin's admiration and respect for Carlyle. But no detailed study of the relationship of these two writers has yet been made; no considerable attempt has been made to determine definitely what Carlyle contributed to the ideas of Ruskin; no investigation has been made of the character and extent of the influence of the one upon the other. This study is not comprehensive; it is restricted and limited. It proposes to determine where, how, and to what extent Carlyle influenced the social ideas of Ruskin between 1860 and 1884.

To this end, are presented, first, establishment of influence by circumstances, secondly, the nature and extent of the influence. For the first, standard biographies furnish material; for the second, Chartism (1839), Past and Present (1843), and Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850) contain the most definite expression of the social ideas of Carlyle; Unto this Last (1860), Munera Pulveris (1862-3), and Fors Clavigera (1871-1884) show the greatest influence of the social ideas of Carlyle on the work of Ruskin.

Influence, in this thesis, means contribution to the finished work of one man by another. Contribution covers both definite ideas and encouragement or stimulation. Even

where influence is freely admitted, it cannot be measured; it can only be estimated. What Ruskin would have developed in his social thought without Carlyle is almost an idle question, because Carlyle is acknowledged to have influenced Ruskin to an unusual degree. When influence is admitted, as in this case, there is danger, whatever the evidence, of finding merely what one is seeking, not what is true. With this danger constantly in mind, the plan is, first, to gather information from standard biographies; secondly, to present the social ideas found in the six books just named in order to determine the nature and extent of the influence.

CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT OF INFLUENCE BY CARLYLE ON RUSKIN

Circumstances in social relations establish the personal influence of Carlyle on Ruskin between 1850 and 1881. (A) Biographical facts show (1) that at first Ruskin did what all serious minded men of the middle of the nineteenth century were doing in seeking to know Carlyle; (2) that similarity of race, training, and moral standards proved to be connecting links; (3) that they valued their friendship highly. (B) Ruskin's statements of indebtedness establish, finally, the fact of influence. The purpose of this chapter is to present details which establish the fact.

(A) Biographies, letters, and practically all records of the nineteenth century include references to Carlyle. These accounts show (1) that Carlyle dominated his contemporaries. "We¹ all discussed him", reports one, "followers and rebels alike." Masson says:

"It was a testimony to the extraordinary depth of the impression which Carlyle had by that time made on all who were within his circle, that there had been formed in Robertson, even then (1841), that habit of always speaking of Carlyle, always recurring to Carlyle after any range of the conversation among other things, which I was to observe for the next forty years in every person, without exception, that had come within Carlyle's influence, whether personally or through his books. In 1841, Robertson could not, for any half hour together, keep off Carlyle."²

1. McCarthy, Justin, Portraits of the 'Sixties, p. 35.
2. Masson, David, Memories of London in the 'Forties, pp. 9-10.

A later writer states:

"It has been asserted that there is not in this country a reading, thinking man under the age of forty who has not been directly or indirectly influenced by Thomas Carlyle and has not learned from him. Indeed it may be safely said that one half the thought of the present day is solely due to this man."³

Although Mill worked out a philosophy of life which was largely antagonistic to the ideas of Carlyle, he did not fail to testify to the strength of his friend's position on many subjects. Mill expressed gratitude for the earlier writings of Carlyle which had opened the mind of Mill to new ideas. He considered Carlyle his superior in imagination and insight, and was content, he said, "to hobble after and prove" what Carlyle saw more clearly.⁴

Other writers of the period show the effect of Carlyle's personality. Hearn considers him in some respects the most important figure in nineteenth century literature.⁵ Kingsley, in Alton Locke, reflects the legendary mannerisms and conversational habits of Carlyle in the character of Sandy Mackaye.⁶ The influence of Carlyle may be traced in Dickens, in Browning, in Ruskin, even in Macaulay. This last debt, Garnett says, Macaulay "had no mind to pay."⁷ Later writers also have been more or less influenced. Meredith wrote of his younger days especially that Carlyle "had the field."⁸ Stevenson felt the influence at one time.⁹

3. Japp, A. H., Ruskin, pp. 220-23.

4. Mill, J. S., Autobiography, pp. 174-76.

5. Hearn, Lafcadio, Interpretations of Literature, p. 208.

6. Garnett, Richard, Life of Thomas Carlyle, p. 145.

7. Ibid., p. 86.

8. Meredith, George, Letters, Vol. II, p. 525.

9. Balfour, Graham, The Life of Robert L. Stevenson, Vol. II, pp. 121-2.

For many people, Carlyle crystallized new ideas in his time. The amount of serious prose in the period shows that he was not alone in trying to find a reasonable basis for conduct. His interpretation of the world on a moral basis appealed to men as different as "Tyndall and Ruskin, as Mill and Tennyson, as Browning and Arnold and Meredith," who according to Thayer and others, "have felt the infusion of his moral force."¹⁰ The ability to produce thought-provoking conclusions does not necessarily produce followers. For some people, the opinions of Carlyle furnished the best material for antagonistic judgments. Early in the century he had few sympathizers. Lecky gives the reason for later support:

"All men like to find their own opinions expressed with a power and eloquence they cannot themselves attain, and most men dislike a writer who, in the first flush of a great enthusiasm, points out all that can be said on the other side. But when the first enthusiasm is over - when the prevailing tendency has fully triumphed and the evils and defects connected with it are disclosed - the words of this unpopular or neglected teacher will begin to gather weight. It will be found that although he may not have been wiser than those who advocated the other side, yet his words contained exactly that kind of truth which was not needed or most generally forgotten, and his reputation will steadily rise. This appears to me to have been much the position which Carlyle occupied towards the chief questions of his day, and it explains, I think, in a great degree the growth of his influence."¹¹

Miss Martineau states the general effect of the impression which Carlyle made on his age in this way:

"If I am warranted in believing that the society I am bidding farewell to is a vast improvement upon that which I was born into, I am confident that the blessed change is attributable to Carlyle more than to any influence besides.

10. Thayer, W. R., Throne Makers, p. 192.

11. Lecky, W. E. H., Historical and Political Essays, p. 106.

He may be himself the most curious opposition to himself; he may be the greatest mannerist of his age while denouncing conventionalism - the greatest talker while eulogising silence - the most woeful complainer while glorifying fortitude - the most uncertain and stormy in mood while holding forth serenity as the greatest good within the reach of man; but he has none the less infused into the mind of the English nation sincerity, earnestness, healthfulness, and courage."¹²

Since Carlyle influenced his age to such a marked extent, Ruskin may seem merely to be falling in line with the rest. The nature of influence, however, differs in degree and kind. Biographical facts show (2) that similarity of race, training, and moral standards proved to be connecting links which bound these men closely. In the first place, Scotch racial characteristics helped them to understand each other with less explanation than would have been required without that basis. Secondly, college training made intellectual points of view clear with bare mention. Thirdly, both were reared under Puritanical religious tenets which furnished a similar background of thought. Too much emphasis should not be placed upon race; for Scott and Mill were Scotch, yet neither was congenial to Carlyle; nor do all university graduates find that similar conditions of environment and training make them intimate friends. People who have had like religious experience may be very far apart in their final thought. The only point is, that similarities of race, of training, and of religious experience in the case of Carlyle and Ruskin made their intercourse easier and, since they did agree, made the

12. Martineau, Harriet, Autobiography, p. 137, quoted in Robertson's Modern Humanists p. 2.

development of intimacy rapid. For instance, one topic of conversation which the Scotch connection made possible arose about Mrs. Church, the great-aunt of Ruskin. Carlyle's father had built the house in which she lived, north of Annan, on the Solway Coast near Cumbertries.¹³ Carlyle enjoyed Ruskin's Scotch mother and Miss Joan Ruskin Agnew.¹⁴ The Annandale burrs of Carlyle would attract rather than repel Ruskin, whose parents and Nurse Anne had the same accent.

Biographies, further, record many proofs (3) that both Carlyle and Ruskin valued their friendship. Ruskin showed tact in maintaining friendly relations. "No one managed Carlyle so well as Ruskin", said Mrs. Carlyle; "It was quite beautiful to see him. Carlyle would say outrageous things, running counter to all Ruskin valued and cared for, Ruskin would treat Carlyle like a naughty child, lay his arms around him and say, 'Now, this is too bad!'"¹⁵

Mrs. Earland wrote of their relations:

"He (Ruskin) sought Carlyle out, calling frequently at Cheyne Row when in London. Ruskin never came empty handed: there was always an offering of flowers for Mrs. Carlyle, with whom he was a special favorite...."

Carlyle's house was a rendezvous for all the notable people of his time, but he never tolerated bores of uncongenial society. To such he was as prickly as the thistles of his native land. Ruskin, deferential, sympathetic, a good listener and sincere admirer, proved a welcome guest. It made for peace between them that Ruskin, who could lash himself to fury on paper, was mildness itself in speech. Had it been otherwise these evening meetings must soon have come to an end."¹⁶

13. Sloan, J. M., The Carlyle Country, pp. 200-202. See Praeterita, pp. 439-9.

14. Cook, E. T., The Life of Ruskin, Vol. II, pp. 112-3.

15. Ibid., p. 561, quoted from Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings, p. 82.

16. Earland, Mrs. Ada, Ruskin and His Circle, pp. 90-107.

The history of the friendship on Carlyle's side shows steady growth. In 1855, in a letter to his brother, Dr. John Carlyle, he described Ruskin as a "bottle of beautiful soda water..very pleasant company now and then." By 1865, Carlyle was sometimes going to Denmark Hill.¹⁷ He wrote to Ruskin, February 22, 1865: "I have a notion to come out actually some day soon; and take a serious lecture from you on what you really know, and can give some intelligible outline of, about Rocks; - bones of our poor old Mother; which have always been venerable and strange to me." Mr. Cook quotes the letter, and suggests that it may have led Ruskin to write¹⁸ The Ethics of the Dust'. An incident which Thackeray's daughter records shows Carlyle's personal attachment for Ruskin:

"I heard a pretty account once from Mr. Alfred Lyttelton of a visit paid by Ruskin to Carlyle in the familiar room in Cheyne Walk, with the old picture of Cromwell on the wall, and Mrs. Carlyle's little tables and pretty knickknacks still in their quiet order. Mr. Ruskin had been ill not long before, and as he talked on of something he cared about, Mr. Lyttelton said his eyes lighted up, and he seemed agitated and moved. Carlyle stopped him short, saying the subject was too interesting. "You must take care," he said, with the infinite kindness which Carlyle could show; "you will be making yourself ill once more." And Ruskin, quite simply, like a child, stopped short. "You are right," he said, calling Carlyle "Master", and then went on to talk of something else, as dull, no doubt as anything that Ruskin and Carlyle could talk about together." ¹⁹

In the first letter to Ruskin after the death of Mrs. Carlyle, in 1866, Carlyle wrote:

17. Praeterita, p. 438 ff. Of one call Ruskin writes; "Carlyle rode up the front garden, joyfully and reverently received as always."
18. Cook, E. T., The Life of John Ruskin, Vol. II, p. 99.
19. Ritchie, Anne Thackeray, Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning, pp. 103-4.

"You are yourself very unhappy, as I too well discern; heavy-laden, obstructed and dispirited; but you have a great work still ahead; and will gradually have to gird yourself up against the heat of the day, which is coming on for you, - as the night too is coming. Think valiantly of these things.....Come and see me when you get time; come oftener and see me, and speak more frankly to me (for I am very true to your highest interests and you) while I remain here....." ²⁰ 7.

In October, 1869, he wrote: "Don't neglect to call on me the first time you are in town - the sight of your face will be a comfort, and I long for a little further talk on the problems you are occupied with." ²¹

Carlyle and Ruskin had one particularly engrossing topic of discussion: the social ideas of Carlyle which led Carlyle to give Ruskin his best and deepest thoughts on social questions. Passages in letters of Carlyle show the faith and confidence which he had in Ruskin as an exponent of these ideas. To Ruskin, whose essays on political economy were proving unpopular, Carlyle wrote, on June 30, 1862:

"I have read, a month ago, your First in Fraser, and have ever since had a wish to say to it and you, Euge, macte nova virtute. I approved in every particular; calm, definite, clear; rising into the sphere of Plato (our, almost best), which in exchange for the sphere of Macculloch, Mill and Co. is a mighty improvement! Since that, I have seen the little green book too; reprint of your Cornhill operations, - about two thirds of which was read to me (known only from what the contradictions of sinners had told me of it); in every part of which I find a high and noble sort of truth, not one doctrine that I can intrinsically dissent from, count other than salutary in the extreme, and pressingly needed in England above all." ²²

20. Collingwood, W. G., The Life of John Ruskin, p. 226-7.

21. Cook, E. T., The Life of John Ruskin, Vol. II, p. 165.

22. Collingwood, W. G., Op. Cit., p. 202.

Carlyle even tried to point out the significance of the essays to Ruskin's father, who disapproved of these social ideas, as the following letter of Froude to Ruskin in 1863 shows:

"The world talks of the article in its usual way. I was at Carlyle's last night...He said that in writing to your father as to subject, he had told him that when Solomon's temple was building it was credibly reported that at least 10,000 sparrows sitting on the trees round declared that it was entirely wrong, quite contrary to received opinion, hopelessly condemned by public opinion etc. Nevertheless it got finished, and the sparrows flew away and began to chirp in the same note about something else." 23

in 1871, he wrote to Ruskin:

"This Fors Clavigera, Letter 5th, which I have just finished reading, is incomparable; a quasi-sacred consolation to me, which almost brings tears into my eyes! Every word of it is as if spoken, not out of my poor heart only, but out of the eternal skies; words winged with Empyrean wisdom, piercing as lightning, - and which I really do not remember to have heard the like of. Continue, while you have such utterances in you, to give them voice. They will find and force entrance into human hearts, whatever the "angle of incidence" may be; that is to say, whether, for the degraded and inhuman Blockheadism we, so-called "men", have mostly now come, you come in upon them at the broadside, at the top, or even at the bottom. Euge, Euge!" 24

More important facts in tracing the influence of Carlyle on Ruskin are (B) Ruskin's own expressions of admiration and indebtedness. In their friendly social relations, evidence of the development of Ruskin's attitude of respect to an attitude of docility appears. While Ruskin was on the Continent in 1861, a volume of Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin was published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. In a letter to his father from Lucerne, December 5, 1861, Ruskin deferred to Carlyle's judgment in this fashion:

23. Cook, E. T. Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 57.

24. Collingwood, W. G., Op. Cit., p. 288.

"I have your nice and kind letter of 1st December, enclosing Carlyle's, most interesting and kind also (herewith returned). As he says the extracts are right, I have not a word to say against them. It is the books which must be wrong."

He had written to his father from Lucerne, November 9, that he did not want the book of extracts, calling it "a form of mince-pie which I have no fancy for." 25

Ruskin's father died on March third, 1864, and Ruskin spent the rest of the year at Denmark Hill. He frequently spent the evening with Carlyle. In December at Manchester he gave the lectures now entitled "Sesame and Lilies". In them, says Collingwood, "We can hear the echo of Carlyle's talk in the heroic, aristocratic, Stoic ideals, and in the insistence on the value of books and free public libraries, Carlyle being the founder of the London Library." Benson writes of this particular winter:

"Carlyle opened his heart to the friend who was set on speaking wholesome truth to the world, and who had been so sternly rebuffed. We can hear the echoes of Carlyle's talks and Carlyle's ideas - the 'heroic, aristocratic, stoic ideals,' as they have been finely called - in Ruskin's work. Carlyle was much interested then in the question of public libraries, and gave Ruskin's mind an impulse in this direction. The result was a book - three lectures - which is perhaps the most popular of all Ruskin's writing - *Sesame and Lilies, Mystery of Life and its Arts*." 26

Another proof of the personal influence of Carlyle over Ruskin is in the active part which the latter took in the Governor Eyre Controversy. Carlyle immediately opposed the Jamaica Committee made up of Spencer, Huxley, Goldwin Smith, and others, who wished to make public example of what

25. Cook, E. T., The Life of John Ruskin, Vol. II, p. 42.
 26. Benson, A. C., Ruskin: A Study in Personality, pp. 140-41.

they considered the tyranny of Governor Eyre in dealing with the negro insurrection at Morant Bay, Jamaica. Ruskin was, up to this time at least, an adherent of the Broad Church, and nominally a member of the Liberal Party, organizations whose adherents would naturally criticize such actions as those reported of Governor Eyre. However, Ruskin placed himself with Carlyle as an opponent of the critics of the governor, by subscribing a hundred pounds to the Eyre Defence Committee and by taking part in public meetings, especially after the death of Mrs. Carlyle. That friendship for Carlyle, and the desire to relieve him of publicity at this time were motives with Ruskin,²⁷²⁸ both Collingwood and Cook agree. Cook says, "Ever since Ruskin had entered the field against 'the dismal science', his relations with Carlyle had grown more and more intimate and affectionate. As each new shaft was hurled by Ruskin, Carlyle applauded and exhorted the younger man to fresh onslaughts." ²⁹

The fact that only one misunderstanding occurred during the thirty years of friendship between Carlyle and Ruskin, is a sign of unusual harmony. In a letter to Mr. Dixon on April 27, 1867, which came out in the newspaper, Ruskin used some remark that Carlyle had made about the difference between the respect shown by Italian peasantry and the rudeness of London people. Upon the strength of this remark, Ruskin severely criticised the Chelsea neighborhood for irreverence. Shepherd says, "Mr. Ruskin appears to have misunderstood, or involuntarily

27. Collingwood, Op. Cit., pp. 232-3.
 28. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, pp. 111-12.
 29. Ibid.

exaggerated, or at any rate to have received too much au sérieux, some emphatic utterance of Carlyle meant to be taken cum grano salis."³⁰ When someone wrote to Carlyle about the truth of Ruskin's statements, in his answer on May 22, 1867, Carlyle denied that they had any truth. On May 28, he sent a contradiction to the newspaper. Cook says that Ruskin made no public statements but started a correspondence with Carlyle which became angry.³¹ Mr. Conway, who was on intimate terms with Carlyle, gives one instance of a reference by Ruskin to the affair, in a lecture in June, 1867, before the separation was ended. "Before beginning his lecture," says Conway, "he said words nearly like these: 'It may be expected that I would say something concerning the matter which has been publicly discussed relating to a statement of mine; but I will only say here that there are reasons quite apart from the question of accuracy, which prevent me from saying anything on the subject.' This was said so simply, so quietly, and Ruskin was so unconscious of their pathos, that there was a burst of applause."³²

The passage which started the difficulty states Ruskin's indignation at what he believed was disrespect shown to Carlyle, and shows, above all, Ruskin's devotion to Carlyle. Cook quotes what Ruskin wrote:..."In ~~the~~ streets of Chelsea, and of the whole district of London round it, from the Park to the outer country (some twelve or fifteen miles of disorganized, foul, sinful, and most wretched life), he

30. Shepherd, R. H., and Williams, C. N., Memoirs of Carlyle, Vol. II, pp. 247-52.

31. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 117.

32. Conway, M. D., Autobiography, Vol. II, pp. 117-8.

cannot walk without being insulted, chiefly because he is a grey, old man; and also because he is cleanly dressed - these two conditions of him being wholly hostile, as far as they appear to claim some kind of reverence and recognition of betterness, to be instantly crushed and jeered out of their way." ³³ Hawthorne curiously gives a different reason for rudeness, in a note of 1855: "Carlyle dresses so badly, and wears such a rough outside, that the flunkies are rude to him at gentlemen's doors." ³⁴ Besides the letters to the newspapers, which are quoted in Shepherd's account, ³⁵ Carlyle wrote some to Ruskin which were not kept. One of Ruskin's to Carlyle on June first, 1867, indicates the nature of these letters, as well as Ruskin's attitude toward Carlyle:

"I am under the sorrowful necessity of ignoring your present letter. You have given the lie direct in the most insulting terms possible to the man who probably of all men living most honored you. It is just because he so honours you that he is compelled to require of you to do right in this matter (but for many reasons besides, and, as I said, none of the trivial), and the right manifestly is that you justify the terms of that letter, or retract them; and that with all convenient speed." ³⁶

Carlyle then wrote a letter to the Times in which he stated that he did not blame Mr. Ruskin 'heavily'. Cook says, "A fortnight later Ruskin spent an evening with Carlyle; the wound was healed by personal explanation, and affectionate intercourse was resumed on the old terms." ³⁷

33. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, pp. 116-7.

34. Hawthorne, N., Our Old Home, English Note Books, Vol. II, p. 69.

35. Shepherd, Op. Cit., Vol. II, pp. 247-52.

36. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 117.

37. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 118.

The friendly social relations which existed for thirty years between Carlyle and Ruskin provided an ideal environment for influence of one upon the other. "Yet", as Ruskin says, "men are made what they finally become only by the external accidents which are in harmony with their inner nature."³⁸ What Carlyle contributed to Ruskin from the standpoint of ideas, "which were in harmony with his inner nature", is discussed in succeeding chapters on social ideas. Meanwhile, it would be incorrect to leave the impression that Carlyle domineered over Ruskin or obtained servile attention from Ruskin. Biographers of Ruskin have not omitted striking instances of self-assertion. However, the fact that Ruskin felt it necessary to make such statements as occur in the following letter, shows that he was aware of the danger of leaving an impression of dependence. From Denmark Hill, on January 23, 1855, he wrote to Carlyle:

..."People are continually accusing me of borrowing other men's thoughts, and not confessing the obligation. I don't think there is anything of which I am more utterly incapable than of this meanness; but it is very difficult always to know how much one is indebted to other people, and it is always most difficult to explain to others the degree in which a stronger mind may guide you, without your having at least intentionally borrowed this or that definite thought. The fact is, it is very possible for two people to hit sometimes on the same thought, and I have over and over been somewhat vexed as well as surprised at finding that what I really had, and knew I Had, worked out for myself, corresponded very closely to things that you had said much better. I entreat you not to think when (if you have ever patience to do so) you glance at anything I write - and when you come, as you must sometimes, on bits that look like bits of yourself

38. Ruskin, John, Notes on Prout and Hunt, written 1879-80.

spoiled - to think that I have been mean enough to borrow from you knowingly, and without acknowledgment. How much your general influence has told upon me, I know not, but I always confess it, or rather boast of it, in conversations about you, and you will see what - considering the way malicious people catch at such confessions - is certainly a very frank one, at the close of the lecture of which I send you a Builder containing a report." 39

Ruskin went further; he disapproved of Carlyle in some particulars. In a letter to Charles Norton, a valued American friend of both, Ruskin expressed dislike of the complaining attitude which Carlyle took toward life. The letter was sent from Oxford, March 10, 1883:

"....Carlyle's, like all the words of him published since his death, have vexed me, and partly angered, with their perpetual 'me miserum' - never deeming to feel the extreme ill manners of this perpetual whine; and, to what one dares not call an affected, but a quite unconsciously affected false extent, hiding the more or less of pleasure which a strong man must have in using his strength, be it in leaving dustheaps.

What in my own personal way I chiefly regret and wonder at in him is, the perception in all nature of nothing between the stars and his stomach, - his going for instance into North Wales, for two months, and noting absolutely no Cambrian thing or event, but only increase of Carlylian bile...." 40

Other letters to Mr. Norton have some derogatory remarks about Carlyle, with many more of praise. One such letter of mixed regard and blame came out in the Atlantic Monthly. From Brantwood, January 2, 1885, Ruskin wrote to Mr. Norton that people all about him were depending on him more or less but that he had neither Charles (Mr. Norton) nor Carlyle for his support. "But it seems to me as if old age were threatening to be a weary time for me, I'll never mew about it like

39. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. I, pp. 476-7.

40. Letters of John Ruskin to C. E. Norton, Vol. II, pp. 189-90.

Carlyle nor make Joanie miserable if I know it." 41

Ruskin, however, did not change his fundamentally respectful attitude of learner and disciple of Carlyle. After Carlyle died, Ruskin wrote on May 20, 1881 to George Richmond: "Oh me! so you recollect when you first made me read "Past and Present"? It was the only book I could get help from during my illness, which was partly brought on by the sense of loneliness - and greater responsibility brought upon me by Carlyle's death." 42 Another letter, one to Mr. Norton, from Brantwood, September 13, 1886, shows how vital a place Carlyle had in his life. Ruskin was at the time working on Praeterita. "I like the notion of leaving you out of my Autobiography. What would be the use of it, if it did not show under what friendly discouragements I wrote my best works? You might as well propose leaving out Carlyle, or Joan herself!" 43.

The external circumstances of the lives of Carlyle and Ruskin show clearly that Carlyle definitely influenced Ruskin. Contemporaries honored, but Ruskin obeyed, Carlyle. Congeniality through race and training undoubtedly helped to promote their friendship. In their personal relations, Carlyle was consistently and throughout the leader and guide. He encouraged Ruskin and took pleasure in his achievements. Moreover, both Ruskin and Carlyle acknowledge the influence. To find how Carlyle influenced the social ideas of Ruskin is the purpose of the following chapters.

41. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 94, 1904, Letters, p. 387.

42. Cook, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 454.

43. Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 504.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL IDEAS OF CARLYLE

Although some aspects of the social beliefs of Carlyle are found in all his writings, his social ideas are most clearly expressed in Chartism, Past and Present, and Latter-Day Pamphlets. These books deal more exclusively and specifically with the social relations and functions of men than do other literary and historical works which Carlyle has written. Each of these three books was produced when Carlyle felt compelled to turn away from other literary work to express his generally adverse criticism of social conditions. Sometimes his expression took the form of foreboding prophecy aroused by unwise management of some national situation.

A brief account of the circumstances which occasioned these books shows the importance Carlyle attached to the ideas in them and his fitness for criticism. The social ideas, which they contain, fall into three divisions: (A) basic principles of (1) mysticism, (2) individualism, (3) socialistic conception of society; (B) criticism of (1) popular ideas of political economy, (2) democratic tendencies in government; (C) prophecies (1) fulfilled, and (2) unfulfilled.

Chartism came out in 1839, when the hopes of better social adjustment by the Reform Bill of 1832 had not been realized; working classes were in an ugly, rebellious mood. Carlyle had the work finished by November 8. During the time he was

1. Froude, J. A., Thomas Carlyle: Life in London, Vol. I, p. 149: p. 240.
2. Froude, Ib., p. 147.

working on it, the Birmingham uprising (July 15, 1839) occurred. As he finished the book, the trouble at Newport, in Monmouth (November 4), verified his position that the mass of people suffered unjustly and validated his prophecy that violence was imminent. In Chartism, Carlyle was a radical in that he opposed the Tories, but as a partisan he went little farther with the Radical party. He did not believe that the Radicals had the right principles in their attempt to better the condition of England. He had no confidence in the plans which the Chartists thought would bring beneficial changes. For he did not believe in universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, equal electoral divisions, or the abolition of property qualifications, as means of lasting improvement. In Chartism, the sympathies of Carlyle were clearly with the rebelling workers. He constantly refers to the Glasgow riots of 1819, which he had seen.³ His family belonged to the laboring classes in whose interest he was writing. However, he had no confidence in the principles of the Chartists or of any other class in England to lead the whole nation out of its bad condition. He was convinced that the thinkers on economic problems had not found the correct solution. In Chartism he called their theory, paralytic radicalism, "which gauges with Statistic measuring-reed, sounds with Philosophic Politico-Economic plummet the deep dark sea of troubles; and having taught us rightly what an infinite sea of troubles it is, sums-up with the practical inference, and use of consolation, that nothing whatever can be done in it by man, who has simply to sit still, and look wistfully to 'time and general laws':

3. Froude, ib., p. 138.

and thereupon, without so much as recommending suicide, 18.
coldly takes its leave of us." 4

The conditions which brought out Chartism were not soon relieved. Although Carlyle was planning his Cromwell,⁵ he spent seven weeks in 1843 in writing Past and Present. This book, which Ruskin praised, had a more picturesque treatment of his ideas. The calm past which contrasted most favorably with the turbulent present was a reproduction of the lives of Samson the Abbot and his monks at St. Edmund's. The twelfth century Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond, which had been brought out by the Camden Society, furnished the material for the "past" of the book. A part of a letter to his mother shows where he obtained material for the present:

"I hope it will be a rather useful kind of book . It goes rather in a fiery strain about the present condition of men in general, and the strange pass they are coming to; and I calculate it may awaken here and there a slumbering blockhead to rub his eyes and consider what he is about in God's creation - a thing highly desirable at present. I found I could not go on with anything else, till I disburdened my heart somewhat in regard to all that. The look of the world is really quite oppressive to me. Eleven thousand souls in Paisley alone living on three-half pence a day, and the governors of the land all busy shooting partridges and passing corn-laws the while! It is a thing no man with a speaking tongue in his head is entitled to be silent about." 6

Another book which is included in getting Carlyle's ideas on social subjects is Latter-Day Pamphlets. An article⁷ by Carlyle on the Negro Question, which came out in Fraser's Magazine in 1849 prepared the way for the following articles,

4. Chartism, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. IV, p. 191.
5. Correspondence, Thomas Carlyle and Ralph W. Emerson, Vol. II, p. 22.
6. Quoted in Froude, Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. 243.
7. In Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. IV, p. 348 ff.

though it is not included in the volume called Latter-Day Pamphlets. However, the essay might well be considered preliminary because of its general similarity to the articles which compose the volume. This essay expressed views so extreme as to give "universal offence."⁸ Neither Froude, nor any reviewer since has revoked the adverse judgment. The eight pamphlets, included in Latter-Day Pamphlets, appeared each month and continued in bitter tone the criticism of social conditions. The first pamphlet on The Present Time gave the immediate cause for the series. A warning that democratic tendencies in government led to destruction was held up to the English people. "Close following which (the French changes in government) as if by sympathetic subterranean electricities, all Europe exploded, boundless, uncontrollable; and we had the year 1848, one of the most singular, disastrous, amazing, and, on the whole humiliating years the European world ever saw."⁹ The rest of the pamphlets considered prison reform, the English government, a statue to Hudson, stump oratory, and Jesuitism. These articles dealt with incidents of an occasional nature; accordingly, as Mr. Trail suggests, they have suffered most from the hand of time.¹⁰ The Life of Sterling, a decided contrast in the mildness of its style, came out in 1851. This biography shows that the harshness of the Latter-Day Pamphlets was due chiefly to the subject, not altogether to the perversity of the author.

The particular social ideas, expressed in these books,

8. Froude, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 22.
9. Latter-Day Pamphlets, No. I, The Present Time, p. 5.
10. Trail, H. D., Introduction to Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. VII.

reflect (A) certain theories of life. These views of society reveal a reaction to the Victorian age, growing out of a philosophy of life which includes (1) mysticism. Masson states the substance of this theory in relation to external nature:

"By this idealistic theory all the apparent universe of known external realities, - sun, moon, stars, rocks, clouds, earth, and human history and tradition, - is resolved or reduced into mere present thinkings of your mind or my mind, a mere complex phantasmagory of the present human spirit; and therefore it is through this present human spirit that one has to seek the all-explaining bond of connection between the real world of finite nature and the real world of infinite supernatural world. He (Carlyle) remained to the end what may be called a Realistic Transcendentalist or Transcendental Realist. By this is meant that he was satisfied to think of the world of space and time and of all physical and historical realities, as having substantially existed, in its essential fabric at least, very much as we imagine it, by an independent tenure from the Infinite, distinct from that of all past or present conceiving minds inserted into it and in traffic with it." 11

This conception of mysticism implies that the spiritual part of the universe is more important than the material; that to grasp the meaning of the spiritual significance requires faith. The mysticism of Carlyle developed from an early training in Calvinistic doctrines, and from a study of the German transcendentalism of Novalis, Richter, Fichte, and Goethe. The dogmatism of Scotch Calvinism, and the subtle metaphysics of philosophers he modified in a new application of the truth of spirit. When religious formulas represented vital feeling to those who engaged in them, Carlyle held such statements essential as a habit of thought, but when formulas

11. Masson, David, Carlyle. Personally and in His Writings. p. 73 ff.

outlasted their usefulness and developed cant and pretense, they became dangerous. He says:

"Formulas too, as we call them, have a reality in Human Life. They are real as the very skin and muscular tissue of a Man's Life; and a most blessed indispensable thing, so long as they have vitality withal, and are a living skin and tissue to him!..... And yet, again, when a man's Formulas become deadit is time that he take to bed, and prepare for departure, which cannot now be distant."¹²

The danger lay in finding that 'Cant well-ordered is marketable Cant.'¹³

A continuation of the forms of old creeds which were no longer believed could result in nothing but Atheism.

In popular thought the real soul and the real God were, Carlyle held, no longer revered.

"Oh, it is frightful when a whole Nation, as our Fathers used to say, has 'forgotten God'...A soul is not like wind (spiritus, or breath) contained within a capsule; the Almighty Maker is not like a Clock maker that once, in old immemorial ages, having made his Horologe of a Universe, sits even since and sees it go!Hence comes Atheism."¹⁴

A faith, not expressed in religious creeds, Carlyle found in this spiritual conception of the universe. This faith explains the whole point of view in his social ideas. No contradiction of this conclusion of his faith ever occurs in his statements: "The great soul of the world is just."¹⁵

The general trend of this idealistic thought was not different from that of the Romanticists; but the ideals were different from theirs in their practicality. The mysticism of Carlyle did not end with reflection. The objective facts in the lives of men hold his attention. Contemplation

12. Past and Present, Bk. II, Ch. XVII, p. 126.

13. Ib., Bk. III, Ch. II, p. 148.

14. Ib., p. 147-8.

15. Ib., Bk. I, Ch. II, p. 8.

of idealistic themes which had no connection with man's life was 'paralytic'.¹⁶ The racial trait which Taine ascribed to the English was exemplified: "At need, the heart takes the place of the brain."¹⁷ The welfare of the individual was, to Carlyle, of greatest importance; such emphasis results in (2) individualism.

One aspect of individualism in the teaching of Carlyle concerns the value of the individual. People are worth consideration because of their innate worthiness of character, or because of their innate possibilities for developing character. Mead states that this faith, which made Rousseau the inspirer of Kant, "keeps Carlyle from fatalistic or pessimistic philosophy."¹⁸ The spiritual or moral nature is the real man which the physical body merely clothed.⁵ The reverence which the monks paid to Saint Edmund's dead body illustrates, for Carlyle, this truth:

"It (the body) 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."¹⁹

If the body, or clothes, of the spirit deserves such regard, a living man must be an object of every one's respect.

In the development of the social ideas of Carlyle, definite convictions concerning the individual appear. One belief and teaching is that no man should cherish hope of personal happiness. Such passages as the following state the idea.

16. Chartism, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. IV, p. 191.
17. Taine, A. H., History of English Literature, Vol. II, p. 548.
18. Mead, Edwin, D. The Philosophy of Carlyle, p. 102.
Vide, Morley, John, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 147, for other comparisons of Rousseau and Carlyle.
19. Past and Present, Bk. II, Ch. XVI, p. 124.

"Was it thy aim and life-purpose to be filled with good things for thy heroism; to have a life of pomp and ease, and be what men call 'happy' in this world, or in any other world? I answer for thee deliberately, No. The whole epoch lies in this, that thou canst answer for thyself, with thy whole clearness of head and heart, deliberately, No!" 20

"Happy my brother? First of all what difference is it whether thou art happy or not! To-day becomes Yesterday so fast, all Tomorrows become Yesterdays; and then there is no question whatever of the 'happiness', but quite another question. Nay, thou hast such a sacred pity left for thyself, thy very pains, once gone over into Yesterday, become joys to thee. Besides thou knowest not what heavenly blessedness and indispensable ~~sanative~~ virtue was in them; thou shalt know it only after many days, when thou art wiser!" 21

Not happiness but blessedness is man's proper aim.

This second conviction is a part of the glorification of work. The connection between the two lies in having happiness enough to get work done, "the only happiness a brave man ever troubled himself with."²² Some of the blessedness falls to the lot of the worker. Despair is to be conquered by work. If a man actually and earnestly labors, he is not in despair. He has some faith in what he is producing. Self-cultivation, too, is accomplished by work. A better maxim than 'Know thyself' is 'Know thy work'. Trying to know self has proved through the ages to be too difficult. By means of labor, "doubt, desire, sorrow, remorse, indignation, despair itself" are quelled. By it "patience, courage, perseverance, openness to light" are gained. Finally, work is in its nature religious. A faith that could not exist with idleness rewarded labor. The old monks were right in Laborare est Opere. Two chapters entitled Labor and Reward contain amplification of these ideas. ²³

20. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. XII, p. 204.

21. ib., Ch. IV, p. 154-5.

22. ib., Ch. IV, p. 156.

23. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. XI and XII.

From the point of view of the individual, the question of reward or wages follows work. Upon this subject, too, Carlyle has a definite conviction. The spiritual well-being which attends work is a part of the reward.

"Work, and therein have well being. Man, son of Earth and Heaven, lies there not, in the innermost heart of thee, a spirit of active Method, a force for work; - and burns like a painfully smoldering fire, giving thee no rest till thou unfold it, till thou write it down in beneficent facts around thee!"²⁴

The worker must not expect to be paid entirely in money. This fact, however, does not excuse exploitation of laboring men by others. "Money-wages to the extent of keeping your worker alive that he may work more; these, unless you mean to dismiss him straightway out of this world, are indispensable alike to the noblest worker and to the least noble!"²⁵ The most valuable work has never received adequate payment. Probably it can never be so rewarded. "Fair day's-wages for fair day's work! exclaims a sarcastic man: Alas, in what corner of this Planet, since Adam first awoke on it, was that ever realized? the day's wages of John of John Milton's day's work, named "Paradise Lost" and "Milton's Works", were ten pounds paid by installments, and a rather close escape from death the gallows."²⁶ Thus reward is connected with the idea of blessedness rather than with happiness. Man should be ready to give his life for a worthy cause. "Give it, like a royal heart; let the price be nothing: thou hast then in a certain sense, got All for it! The heroic man, - and is not every man, God be thanked, a potential hero has to do so,

24. Ib., Ch. XII, p. 201.

25. Ib., p. 203.

26. Ib., Bk. 1, Ch. III, p. 19.

in all times and circumstances." 27

One more decided opinion about the well-being of man appears in the social ideas of Carlyle. The glorious opportunity of most men, according to him, is obedience. Their freedom of choice in selecting their guides gives the key-note to their characters. To seek a noble leader and to obey him are duties. Parents, teachers, superiors in any praiseworthy particular, are recognized as leaders. In fact, a regular hierarchy above man has its supremacy in God the Maker. A tragic situation occurs when a just man finds nothing divine in the powers set over him. The saddest duty for such a man is to resist instead of to obey. "Rebel without due and most due cause, is the ugliest of words; the first rebel was Satan." 28 The duty of obedience by inferiors, who constitute the mass, implies the existence of a few who are able to lead. The wise consider leading or governing a harsh duty which ought not to be left undone. They will never seek it for what may be got out of it. 29

The last basic principle considered in this treatment of the social ideas of Carlyle is (3) his conception of society as a whole. The mass of "potential heroes" has, necessarily, a part in society. Evidently the emphasis is put upon "potential"; for he has no faith in the majority for social improvement, only in a few leaders. These leaders have power to shape the destiny of many. Society is conceived, by Carlyle, as an organism, not as the sum of individual members. "Men cannot live isolated:

27. Ib., Bk. II, Ch. XII, p. 204; p. 209. "It is now 'Tools and the Man': that, henceforth to all time, is now our Epic."

28. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 189.

29. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 23.

we are all bound together, for mutual good or else for mutual misery, as living nerves in the same body. No highest man can disunite himself from any lowest." ³⁰ Use of the terms brotherhood and sisterhood shows the patriarchal idea. Some parts of the group have to prove the interdependence of other parts in a striking way. A poor widow, in an illustration which Carlyle uses, went with her three children to get help from a Charitable Establishment. She was referred by that institution to others in turn, but she received no help from any. She died and infected the Lane with typhus-fever which resulted in the death of seventeen. Her relation to society was not recognized when she was asking for help.

"But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus-fever kills them; they were actually her brothers, though denying it! Had human creature ever to go lower for a proof?" ³¹

Ireland too is proving her kinship. ³² In this conception of society as a unit, there is agreement with a fundamental tenet of socialism. Socialism implies, according to Hobson, "an organic view of social life, which accords to society a unity not constituted of the mere addition of its individual members, but contained in a common end or purpose, which determines and imposes the activities of these individual members." ³³ Chesterton

30. Past and Present, p. 286. Cf.

Münsterberg, Hugo, The Eternal Life, p. 33. Münsterberg, also holds that in history man is a creator in freedom, and that the 'whole world's history is a story of mutual will-influence', i. e., 'will-reference to other subjects of will'. He expresses delight in the thought of Carlyle and of Emerson upon this idea.

31. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. II, p. 149.

32. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 138.

33. Hobson, J. A., John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p. 192.

calls Carlyle the first prophet of the Socialists. ³⁴

In this conception of society is a prophecy of socialism, perhaps, but not of recent socialism. The emphasis upon individual differences does not agree with scientific modes of interpreting history as an evolution of people as a whole.³⁵ In the conception of Carlyle the improvement of the masses depends upon their following a leader; "great men are creators as well as creatures of their age."³⁶ Only loyalty to men who represent true ideals insures social advancement. When these leaders are wise, sincere men, they will be followed. Honest men of limited intellect have "an instinct for discriminating sincerity."³⁷ On the other hand, an unjust and deceitful ruling class brings revolt and revenge by the lower class. The man who can discern the truth of natural or spiritual forces is superior to all others; success and achievement follow his leading. The conquest of England by the Norman Nobles illustrates one aspect of such discernment.³⁸ It also illustrates another difference between this conception and modern socialistic theory to which the idea that might is a proof of right is repugnant. Might and right are intimately connected, to Carlyle, in spite of the fact that the relation may not be always evident. "Might and Right do differ frightfully from hour to hour; but give them centuries to try it in, they are found to be identical."³⁹ Moreover, the might which is meant is

34. Chesterton, G. K., The Victorian Age, p. 55.

35. Stephen, Sir Leslie, The English Utilitarians, Vol. III, p. 472.

36. Nichol, John, Thomas Carlyle, p. 11.

37. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 151.

38. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 146-7.

39. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 173-4.

not necessarily physical strength.

"Of conquest we may say that it never yet went by brute force; conquest of that kind does not endure. The strong man, what is he? The wise man. His muscles and bones are not stronger than ours; but his soul is clearer, nobler." 40

The hope of social improvement rests, then, in individual greatness. The principles of mysticism and of socialism, with Carlyle, are subservient to individualism and are useful in interpreting it.

Besides consideration of basic principles, a study of Carlyle's social ideas includes a survey of people in their business of making a living and in their success at living together. This investigation reveals (B) criticism of (1) popular ideas of political economy, (2) democratic tendencies in government. 41

The belief in renunciation of individual happiness as a goal is clearly opposed to (a) the greatest happiness principle of Bentham, Mill, and other economists who represent the popular idea of political economy. They have in view, according to Carlyle's criticism, material prosperity and success as the source of happiness. Denial of that position does not preclude a recog-

40. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 147.

41. Ellwood, C. A., An Introduction to Social Psychology, p. 21.
 "That economic value cannot be understood apart from..social life..., recent literature clearly demonstrates...In that subject (political science or government) the problem of sovereignty, of the origin and nature of governmental authority, is manifestly a phase of the general problem of social control, which, as we shall see, is one of the central problems of sociology."

dition of the necessity of living conditions. The point is, what the economists took for ends of life, Carlyle considers means of life. Belief in the Greatest Happiness Principle changed the direction of intense effort from 'soul to stomach'.⁴² People in the nation as a whole were pleading for 'interests' instead of justice. "The foundation of the State", says an interpreter of Carlyle, "as well as of the Church, is traceable to this principle of self-denial, whose first practical utterance will be a revolt against the half-heathen dicta, that in these later times have been imported into political economy." ⁴³

Connected with this social aim of greatest happiness to the greatest number is the theory of laissez-faire. The best commentary on the working of the principle is to be found in English History. (The authority for historical facts in this paragraph and in those following may be found in Spencer Walpole's English History.⁴⁴) The Chartist Movement came between 1838 and 1848 as result of the bad conditions of life for the common people. At the same time there had never been so much money made or such prosperity enjoyed by a few. Although the Chartists might not have the right solution in their six demands, their protests prove that the economic and governmental system then in operation were inefficient. More faith is held in dissatisfaction as an instrument of progress than in the

⁴². Past and Present, B. III, Ch. IV, p. 154.

⁴³. Japp, A. H., Three Great Teachers, p. 37.

⁴⁴. Walpole, Spencer, History of England (from 1815) 6 vols.

desire for happiness, as Mr. Horne points out. 45.

in general the principle of (b) laissez-faire has to do with government. Inasmuch as government legislation or lack of legislation may affect economic conditions, the comfortable theory of the day is held responsible for bad social conditions. "To believe practically that the poor and luckless are here only a nuisance to be abraded and abated, and in some permissible manner made away with, and swept out of sight, is not an amiable faith. That the arrangements of good and ill success in this perplexed scramble of a world, which a blind goddess was always thought to preside over, are in fact the work of a seeing goddess or god, and require only not to be meddled with: what stretch of heroic faculty or inspiration of genius was needed to teach one that? To button your pockets and stand still, is no complex recipe. Laissez-faire, laissez passer! Whatever goes on, ought it not to go on; 'the widow picking nettles for her children's dinner; and the perfumed seigneur delicately lounging in the Oeil-de-Boeuf, who has an alchemy whereby he will extract from her the third nettle, and name it rent and law?'" 46

The material and moral condition of the English lower classes grew steadily worse after the passing of the Reform Bill (1832) to 1842. The Poor Law of 1834 put the indigent into work houses instead of giving individual pensions of 'out-door aid' as it was called. The Reform Bill

45. Horne, R. H., A New Spirit of the Age, p. 343.

46. Chartism, Op. Cit., pp. 130-131.

put responsibility of government more into the hands of representatives of the people. They supported a government which put into effect a Poor Law that forced many people to choose between slavery in factory or mine and slow starvation in the Work House. Parents were driven by starvation to poison [^]three children for their burial funds. A particular case mentioned in the first chapter of Past and Present was not a solitary instance. Besides the protests of the Chartists, crime and riots were increasing. Public sentiment was being compelled to admit the advisability of interference. "By infallible contagion, evident enough to reflection, evident even to Political Economy that will reflect, the misery of the lowest spreads upwards till it reaches the very highest; till all has grown miserable, palpably false and wrong." 47

Just why laissez-faire fails, according to the analysis of Carlyle, is next considered. He finds the reason in the fact that men are depending upon one connection in their relations; viz., cash payment. The quantity of money exchanged for work should not represent the whole relation between employer and employee. "Cash Payment the sole nexus; and there are so many things which cash will not pay."⁴⁸ The wealthier class cannot make injustice less glaring by their charity balls, and soup kitchens. Their court decisions and prison-discipline will not settle remonstrance. The working man does not want

47. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 168.

48. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 169.

something for nothing, does not want easy work houses. "It is 'for justice' that he struggles; for 'just wages', - not in money alone! an ever-toiling inferior, he would fain (though as yet he knows it not) find for himself a superior that should lovingly and wisely govern: is not that too the 'just wages' of his service done?" ⁴⁹ Circumstances other than the amount of money paid concern the laborer. He wants to know whether there is chance for **promotion** and whether permanence is insured. He is interested in knowing whether his employer is a friendly, agreeable, just man. ⁵⁰ Another consideration which he must take into account is whether, at that rate of wage, he can save something out of it for the future.

Another criticism of prevalent economic practice in social life is (3) in this emphasis on money. Because of this emphasis upon the value of money, the English have created a new heaven and a new hell for themselves. In the "Gospel of Mammonism" hell signifies the fear of "not succeeding; of not making money, fame, or some other figure in the world, - chiefly of not making money!" ⁵¹

The use of supply and demand to express the relation among people in the distribution of their products is condemned for the same reason that cash payment is condemned as an expression of relation between employer and employee. The criticism is that it is used to express the entire relation.

49. Ib. p. 134.

50. Ib., p. 127.

51. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. II, p. 146.

Carlyle nowhere denies the value of money as a medium of exchange, nor the usefulness of the name, supply and demand, in denoting the movement of goods to and from market. By political economists, the common usage of supply and demand takes 'a given price' as a term common to both words. That is, supply means the quantity of anything that may be obtained at a 'certain price'. Demand means the amount of anything that would be taken at a 'certain price'.⁵² To Carlyle, the relation thus stated in 'at a certain price' is too far removed from facts of exchange in life. "Yet how many demands are there, entirely indispensable, which have to go elsewhere than to the shops, and produce quite other than cash; before they can get their supply!" Another error involved in the use of 'at a certain price' is the low payment made for some of the most valuable supplies. Samuel Johnson's 'four pence-half penny a day, and solid lodging at nights on paved streets' illustrates.⁵³ Moreover, the distribution does not always follow the law. Adam Smith had said, "But the average produce of every sort of industry is always suited, more or less exactly to the average consumption, the average supply to the average demand."⁵⁴ As disproof of the validity of this theory, attention is called to the spun shirts which hang by the million unsalable and to the million of diligent bare backs which go unclothed.⁵⁵ In the third place, noble work has never been demanded in terms of money price. The man of Macedonia who called to Paul in a vision, "Come over

52. Walker, F. A., American Dictionary and Encyclopedia.

53. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 169.

54. Smith, Adam, Wealth of Nations, Vol. I, p. 197.

55. Past and Present, Bk. I, Ch. III, p. 22.

and help us", did not offer a money equivalent for the services.⁵⁶

Carlyle condemns (4) the principle of competition which materialistic social theory approved. He opposed competition in industrial life because living conditions are thereby made harder for the lower classes. His argument is that society as a whole cannot prosper upon that basis. Mr. Caird's interpretation of this conception follows:

"Nature, instead of being to us a symbol and a manifestation of the divine, has become for us a piece of dead mechanism, and, what is worse than this, the mechanical view of things has extended itself to the life of man, which is now regarded by most simply as a machine, moved by the sensuous springs of pleasure and pain. With this, too, all idea of a social unity has been lost. men have come to regard themselves as individual units, competing with each other, and trampling down each other in the struggle for material good." 57

Instead of competition, cooperation is urged.⁵⁸ Under existing conditions individuals who live in a group called society are in interests far apart. "Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked, under due laws of war, named 'fair competition' and so forth, it is a mutual hostility."⁵⁹ The best quality the English people have is found in their activity. Even when they work under wrong methods and for wrong ends such prosperity as they have comes from cooperating with Nature's laws.⁶⁰

56. Ib., Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 186.

57. Caird, Edward, Essays on Literature and Philosophy, p. 254.

58. Ellwood, Op. Cit., p. 57. "Social progress implies 'greater capacity for, and greater development of, cooperation.'"

59. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. II, p. 146.

60. Ib., Ch. V, p. 158.

One bad result of competition, from the point of view of good for the whole social group, is that it makes people work to produce cheaper articles rather than better articles. They work, then, to sell their products. This, Carlyle considers, a most shortsighted performance. Producers have lost sight of the real product of toil, and waste much time and means in advertising. The futility of advertising from the economist's point of view is satirically presented in a description of a hatter's advertisement. "The Hatter in the Strand of London, instead of making better felt-hats than another mounts a huge lath and plaster Hat, seven-feet high, upon wheels; sends a man to drive it through the streets... He has not attempted to make better hats, as he was appointed by the Universe to do, and as with this ingenuity of his he could very probably have done; but his whole industry is turned to persuade us that he has made such. He too knows that the Quack has become God." ⁶¹ Competition had forced the price of cotton cloth to go down so low in England that the people on the Continent were importing machinery in order to manufacture their own cloth and were entering the market as producers instead of consumers. This situation is not considered so ominous as the constant attempt, by nations as well as people, to undersell one another. "Brothers we will cease to undersell them; we will be constant to equal-sell them; to be happy selling equally with them!....Cotton cloth is already two-pence a yard lower; and yet bare backs were never more

61. Ib., Ch. I, p. 141.

numerous among us. Let inventive men cease to spend their existence incessantly striving how cotton can be made cheaper; and try to invent, a little how cotton at its present cheapness could be somewhat justlier divided among us." 62

The principle of competition has a disastrous effect when it is applied to men's wages. The belief that man shall not live by bread alone is nowhere better exemplified in these books than on this subject of wages. At the same time there is insistence that the laborer ^{be} is worthy of his hire. The criticism of wages under the economic sway of competition is that injustice prevails. Work is never rewarded entirely in a material way; the finer the work the less likely is it to be properly paid. References to Milton and Johnson illustrate as well in this connection as they do in a previous one. In 1834, five years before Chartism appeared, the New Poor Law had been passed. The old method of supporting paupers by pension is condemned severely. For worthless people this method had put a premium on idleness.⁶³ The New Poor Law had stopped entirely that possibility and is accordingly praised for containing a 'half truth'. Besides the suffering which harsh enforcement caused, this law worked with the employers of labor to drive workers to factories at very low wages or to work houses. This result which is given in history may be implied but is never clearly stated. This effect of cheapening labor by competition is recognized; for the fact that the hordes of Irish peasants underbid the English workers is mentioned. In

62. Ib., Ch. IX, p. 183.

63. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 132.

practice the payment of low wages has not only failed to satisfy the worker; it has failed to feed him. In the past, Gurth, the born servant of Eedric, was at least as well fed as the pigs which he tended. The horses in England are sleek and satisfied. A figure shows what is happening to some English laborers:

"The master of horses, when the summer labour is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: 'Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you; but work exists abundantly over the world: are you ignorant (or must I read you Political-Economy Lectures) that the Steam engine always in the longrun creates additional work? Railways are forming on one quarter of this earth, canals in another, much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage: go and seek cartage, and good go with you!' They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious; signifying that...They can find no cartage. They gallop distracted along highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left: finally they take to leaping fences; eating foreign property, and - we know the rest." 64

To Carlyle, government has an important part in people's lives; therefore, social ideas include a discussion of government. His social ideas led him to criticise (2) democratic tendencies in government. Morley finds some excuse for the constant complaint of the bad government of the period: "A man born into a community where political forms, from the monarchy down to the popular chamber, are mainly hollow shams disguising the coarse supremacy of wealth, where religion is mainly official and political, and is ever ready to dis sever itself alike from the spirit of justice, the spirit of charity and the spirit of truth, and where literature does not as a

rule permit itself to discuss serious subjects frankly and worthily - a community, in short, where the great aim of all classes and orders with power is by dint of rigorous silence, fast shutting of the eyes, and stern stopping of the ears, somehow to keep the social pyramid on its apex, with the fatal result of preserving for England its glorious fame as a paradise for the well-to-do, a purgatory for the able, and a hell for the poor - why, a man born with intellectual vision something more acute than that of a Troglodyte, may well be allowed to turn aside and cry moons for a season." ⁶⁵ This bad government came largely as a result of the indifference of those who should have been thinking. The calm satisfaction of those who made up good society in the age is realistically reproduced in the characters of Jane Austen's novels. Of that class Robertson, also, says: "All thought good society was a fortuitous collection of people with easy incomes: that society is an organic though monstrous whole, in which the rich live on the labor of the poor, was a doctrine never even discussed, since mere political democracy was itself a horror of great darkness." ⁶⁶ Two novels of Charles Kingsley, Alton Locke and Yeast, depict the effect of this attitude of the intelligent class, who were economically free, upon the ignorant, toiling masses. They suffered miserably before they asserted their rights. In the assertion of their rights in Manchester riots and Chartism propaganda they revealed their might.

65. Morley, John, Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. 152-3.

66. Robertson, J. M., Modern Humanists, p. 3.

According to the conception of individual differences which Carlyle holds as one of the basic principles of his social ideas, the aristocratic class is responsible for this governmental fiasco. Conformable to his conception of society, government is based on the obedience of a few by the many. The cause of the remissness on the proper leaders is found in their adherence to dilettantism and mammonism. By the former is meant settled indifference to truth or playing with life. By the latter is meant the desire of money above everything else.⁶⁷ Those who were following Mammonism are condemned for not understanding that 'money alone is not the representative either of man's success in the world or of man's duties to man.'⁶⁸ Those who are loitering and dawdling through life are even more culpable. They are not performing their duty.

"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. Nature owns no man who is not a Martyr withal. Is there a man who pretends to live luxuriously housed up; screened from all work, from want, danger, hardships, the victory over which is what we name work; - he himself to sit serene, amid down bolsters and appliances, and have all his work and battling done by other men? And such man calls himself a nobleman? His fathers worked for him, he says; or successfully gambled for him: here he sits; professes, not in sorrow but in pride, that he and his have done no work, time out of mind... What is the meaning of nobleness, if this be 'noble'? In valiant suffering for others, not in a slothful making others suffer for us, did nobleness ever lie. The chief of men is he who stands in the van of men; fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others. Every noble crown is, and on Earth will forever be, a crown of thorns."

67. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. III, p.150.

68. Ib., Bk. III, Ch.VIII, p. 177.

69. Ib., pp. 179-80.

The so-called governing class do nothing. They "go gracefully idle in Mayfair". They obey the 'gospel of dilettantism'. The Corn-Law had been demonstrating its bad effects for ten years, and still (1843) nothing was being done. A body of people working, even to make money, and a group of people, presumably governing but really doing nothing, cannot live together in harmony. This anomalous situation accounts for 'nameless unmeasured confusion'. ⁷⁰

Although the nobility are not doing their duty in governing, there is no hope in thinking that it could be done by all the people in a democratic way. The result of a democratic vote is a self-cancelling process, which, in so far as it is successful in America, is so, because America with its boundless resources needs no real government but only a sort of parish constable. ⁷¹ America's battle is yet to fight. Mere democracy will never settle wrongs because the plan of the Universe is a monarchical hierarchy. ⁷² The absurdity of thinking that a majority vote really decides an issue in hand is illustrated by an imaginary vote on ship board. The crew and all on board may vote in a perfectly harmonious manner to go around Cape Horn. That will not prevent storms and destruction if they come in accordance with natural law. "The Elemental Powers are entirely careless how you vote." ⁷³

Since no confidence is to be placed in the collective

70. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 186.

71. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 158.

72. Latter-Day Pamphlets, pp. 8-21.

73. Ib., p. 16.

wisdom of the nation from the point of view of Carlyle, nothing is to be gained by efforts to get greater liberty by franchise. Individual freedom to be complete includes the liberty to die of starvation; whereas obedience to superiors has been rewarded. These same men who talk of liberty may be free to bind themselves by 'heavy-wet and gin: alas .. not the only kinds of thralldom'.⁷⁴ "This liberty turns out, before it have long continued in action, with all men flinging up their caps around it, to be, for the Working Millions a liberty to die by want of food: for the Idle Thousands and Units, alas, a still more fatal liberty to live in want of work."⁷⁵ With this conviction about the bad effect of liberty for most people, some comparisons in Latter-Day Pamphlets are made between negro slavery and white freedom. The conclusion clearly is that the thirty thousand white needle women are the victims of a free industrial system which grinds the life in a more tragic way than negro slavery.⁷⁶ Independence and emancipation are not what is needed but the placing of responsibility for these distresses and the making of human ties closer.

The particular criticism of the English government between 1839 and 1850 grew out of a belief in the futility of franchise and a belief in guidance by the best. The English Parliament had degenerated from its real ruling power in the time of the Norman kings. Now it had become an assembly of

74. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. XIII, p. 218.

75. Ib., p. 219.

76. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 27, ff.

those who had pleased the people by their talk. They did not come together to decide without fear what was the best course for the nation. They spoke always with regard to the report in the newspapers. They must please the majority. The guidance of the best was such a government as that by Cromwell and a minority such as he had. The guidance of the best was possible only when they were freed from the necessity of pleasing the mob which did not know even what was best for its own interests.⁷⁷

Because the details of government management neglected the bad social condition of the mass, Carlyle finds much fault with the governmental system. The Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the Home Office are considered especially inefficient.⁷⁸ Some hope is placed in Sir Robert Peel who has a more liberal colonial policy. The reason for the inefficiency of these departments is traced to stupidity. "Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens." Individuals do their work poorly and are generally engaged in the wrong sort of work. Really discerning people would be unwilling to undertake the work as it is now conducted. A person who has business in these offices has to waste time in going through useless red tape to the extent that he can hardly accomplish his task. Neither intellect nor human worth is essential in getting these government positions, but ability to please. Therefore improvement may

77. Latter-Day Pamphlets, Number VI, Parliaments, pp. 214 ff.

78. Ib. Number IV, The New Downing Street, p. 127 ff.

be expected when the selection of officials does not depend on their getting into Parliament. As things appear at that date (1850), the blindness of those in authority to every thing but a money basis in government is leading to national destruction.⁷⁹

Some of the social ideas of Carlyle appear in his (C) prophecies. The principles of political economy and of government easily fall together in this summary; for government regulation should concern itself with the economic conditions of the individual whose welfare is the subject of social thought.⁸⁰ Mr. Trail says of Past and Present what would be a fortiori argument for the other two books if it be accepted at all. "We have to do with a political pessimist who mistook a passing phase of trouble in the history of a nation for a crisis, probably a fatal crisis, in its fortunes; and his boding prophecies, stormily eloquent, grimly humorous as is the form of their expression, are marred for us of to-day by an ever-pressing consciousness of their subsequent falsification."⁸¹ If the 'boding prophecies' had the effect of warning which was received, they should not be scorned. When a prophecy is introduced by a minatory if, the condition may be met. Such a prophecy is a remedy and is so considered in this review.

79. Ib. p. 163.

80. Ellwood, C.A., Sociology and Modern Social Problems. p. 18: "Economics is that special social science which deals with the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of man." p. 20: "It is manifest that politics, on both its practical and its theoretical side, has many close relations to sociology. While the state or nation must not be confused with society in general, yet because the state is the most imposing, if not the most important, form of human association, the relations of politics and sociology must be very intimate."

81. Trail, H.D., Introduction to Past and Present, p. IX.

Certain prophecies which grew out of the social ideas of Carlyle are (1) unfulfilled. The trend of his prophecy on the subject of forms of government is the final defeat of the democratic idea. In spite of the repellent nature of this prediction to American idealists, it is a notable fact that Emerson and Conway never lost faith in their own principles, nor did they lose respect for their opponent's ideas. In fact the ideals of democracy, as exemplified by Americans, and the ideas held by Carlyle are not so far apart as the statements sometimes seem to indicate. The emphasis on fraternity is the same. The desire for equal opportunity is the same. The difference lies in the absolute distrust of the collective wisdom of the whole people by one, and the faith in the rule of the majority by the other. The title, Representative Men, as Mr. Caird suggests, is a quiet rebuke of Heroes and Hero Worship.⁸² The former belief is that votes should be weighed rather than added, that a slave's vote is a nuisance.⁸³ Mr. Maccunn has stated the difference: "For the democratic spirit is one thing and democratic methods of government another. And though Carlyle did not love the second, few men have done more splendid service to the first."⁸⁴ He elsewhere says that Carlyle had no faith in ignorant people on experts' questions. What is called the essence of democracy, that the able man be promoted in what ever rank he may be found, is accepted.⁸⁵ The prophecy of the failure of democracy as a method of government still remains

82. Caird, Edwards, Essays on Literature and Philosophy, p. 265.

83. Latter-Day Pamphlets, No. VI, pp. 245-247.

84. Maccunn, John, Six Radical Thinkers, p. 164.

85. Op. Cit., No. III, pp. 119-120; No. 4, p. 130.

unfulfilled.

Another prophecy which has not been fulfilled to the letter is that cooperation as a business basis would have to take the place of competition on a money basis. "The Working Aristocracy must strike into a new path; must understand that money is not the representative either of man's success in the world, or of man's duties to man; and reform their own selves from top to bottom, if they wish England reformed. England will not be habitable long unreformed."⁸⁶ Exploitation of labor still exists, but the conviction that there is a better way to get the work of the world done is not so foreign as it was when this arraignment appeared. The attack on 'Bucaniers and Chactaw Indians' punctured holes in the theory that freedom of contract for wages settles the whole relation between employers and workers. "Love of men cannot be bought by cash-payment; and without love, men cannot endure together....The thing becomes not 'in a day impossible; but in some two generations it does!"⁸⁷

Neither has permanency of contract been adopted. "Let us here hint at simply one widest universal principle, as the basis from which all organization hitherto has grown up among men, and all henceforth will have to grow: The principle of Permanent Contract instead of Temporary."⁸⁸ A question arises here: "Whether, in ulterior, perhaps some not far

86. Past and Present, Bk. III, Ch. VIII, p. 177.

87. Ib. Bk. IV, Ch. IV, p. 273.

88. Past and Present, Bk. IV, Ch. V, p. 277. Bk. IV, Ch. III.

distant stage of this 'Chivalry of Labor', your Master-Worker may not find it possible and needful, to grant his Workers permanent interest in his enterprise and theirs?...all men, from the Chief Master down to the lowest Overseer and Operative, economically as well as loyally concerned for it?" ⁸⁹

On the other hand many of the conditional prophecies growing out of these social ideas have suggested remedies, or are (2) fulfilled. Only a belief in the innate ability of common people can prompt a scheme for universal education. The same confidence is shown in the industrious efforts to get public libraries which were unknown (1849) except in Iceland. In the evidence of Carlyle before the committee appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Management of the British Museum, this statement occurs: "But I hope the time is coming when there will be a public library in every county, - when no Englishman will be born who will not have a chance of getting books out of the public library." Shepherd, who gives a full account of this evidence, adds: "Now, however, a good public lending or reference library exists in most of the great English towns. In this case, as in many others, a suggestion of Carlyle has been carried into practical effect." ⁹⁰ Among the causes for the improvement of the condition of the people in England, the more general education brought about by State assistance is considered of greatest importance. In 1837, about half of the boys and more than half of the girls could neither

89. Chartism, Op. Cit., p.192 ff; Past and Present, p. 266.

90. Shepherd, Op. Cit., Vol. II, Ch. II, pp. 44-83.

read nor write. Attendance in State inspected schools increased from 271,000 in 1851 to 1,028,000 in 1861. The⁹¹ office of Minister of Education, which is proposed, has been added (1856) and made responsible to parliament. This proposal of universal education as a means of social progress has been adopted. Time has proved the value of the suggestion.

A second specific recommendation that Carlyle made was the advisability of Emigration as a means of combating the "strange phenomenon called over-production" and the hard Malthusian predictions which Bible quotations and the "preventive check" had not been able to conquer.⁹² Later the Government did assist those who wished to go to less populous parts of the world. The suggestion of government aid grows out of the idea that it is the duty of government to assist in improving social conditions. By this governmental aid, in government regulations, the laissez-faire attitude disappears. Government is more than a grand policeman and has a social work to perform.

A plan which has been largely developed in the two generations since it was suggested in these books of Carlyle is that of organization of labor. With the trade union idea on the continent, this plan has little in common. The prophecy of Carlyle is that "Some Chivalry of Labor, some noble Humanity and practical divineness of Labor will yet be realized on this Earth." ⁹³ The plea for the rise of Captains of Industry brought

91. Latter-Day Pamphlets, No. IV, The New Downing Street, p.148; p.168.

92. See also Past and Present, B. IV, Ch. III, p. 266.
Chartism, Op. Cit. p. 199 ff.

93. Past and Present, Bk. IV, Ch. VIII, p. 296.

out appreciative response. "The suggestiveness of "Captains of Labor" arouses enthusiasm.

"And thou hast shown the way must man aspire,
Is through the old sweat and anguish Adamite,
As at the first. Unsweet might seem his fate,
Sole with a spade between the stars of earth!
Giving much labour for his little mirth,
And soldier-service till he fail to strike:
But such thine was, and thine to contemplate
Shall quicken young ambition for the like."95

While the responsibility of leadership which is put upon the landowners has not been universally accepted by individuals among the nobility, at least they have met rather gracefully the reduction of their powers by Land Acts and other legislation which decreased their privileges. The course has not been exactly that of the much praised Duke of Weimar nor of Ashley, "who would fain, by work and by word, admonish their Order not to rush upon destruction." 96 If no Duke has gathered a Weiland, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe about him, the nation has made its men of eminence free by the removal of sectarian restrictions from Universities. The gifted men of letters have no fetters to prevent their becoming "a Chivalry, an actual instead of a virtual Priesthood, with results immeasurable." 97

Another questionable procedure which these prophecies helped to moderate is that of unregulated philanthropy. The second pamphlet, Model Prisons, is severe in its denunciation of "the more humane and noble minded of our generation" who are "resolute to cure a world's woes by rose water." 98 The laws

94. Brownell, W.C., Victorian Prose Masters, p.210. See also Dawson, W. J., The Makers of English Prose, p. 202.

95. Meredith, George, Letters, Sonnet vol. 1, p. 260.

96. Past and Present, B. IV, Ch. VI, p. 285.

97. ib., p. 293.

98. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 49.

of right and wrong cannot be broken for charity, emancipation, and pity for suffering. Neither selfish indifference nor self-lauding charity is the way to mend evils; justice is the only sovereign remedy. Canting sentimentality over criminals is in reality a way to lower proper respect for human worth.

"There is a worst man in England, too - curious to think of, - whom it would be inexpressibly advantageous to lay hold of, and hang, the first of all." 99

According to the social ideas of Carlyle, government has a function of helpfulness to perform in the lives of the meanest citizens. Prophecies of calamity are pronounced for the English people unless changes are made in the needless complexities of government administration. The act of legislation has no importance in comparison with its execution. Hence, the insistence upon the futility of Acts and Bills to cure evils. Colonial Administration was bad, according to the investigation of Carlyle. In fact, the worth of the Colonies to England was considered a debatable proposition. A recognition of their value which was emphasized by Carlyle conquered the "Little England" policy and prevented separation. The following paragraph contains the sort of reproach which appears in the pamphlets in several places.

"And yet an instinct deeper than the Gospel of M'Croudy teaches all men that Colonies are worth something to a country! That if, under the present Colonial Office, they are a vexation to us and themselves, some other Colonial Office can and must be contrived which shall render them a blessing; and that the remedy will be to contrive such a Colonial Office of method of

administration, and by no means cut the Colonies loose. Colonies are not to be picked off the street every day; not a Colony of them but has been bought dear, well purchased by the toil and blood of those we have the honour to be sons of; and we cannot just afford to cut them away because M'Croudy finds the present management will indeed require to be cut away; - but as for the Colonies, we purpose through Heaven's blessing to retain them a while yet! Shame on us for unworthy sons of brave fathers if we do not. Brave fathers, by valiant blood and sweat, purchased for us, from the bounty of Heaven, rich possessions in all zones; and, we, wretched imbeciles, cannot do the function of administering them?" 100

A summary of the social ideas of Carlyle may be briefly stated. First, the importance of the spiritual over the material is a basic principle. It explains how the individual through renunciation, work, and obedience may attain a more nearly perfect development. Secondly, these ideas oppose any theories of political economy, or of government which disregard the welfare of any class of people. Thirdly, although some of the prophecies based on these social ideas have not been fulfilled, universal opportunity for education, some organization of labor, better government administration, as shown in the emigration and colonial policies, have been realized. A newspaper on the morning after the death of Carlyle made this comment: "A preacher of Doric thought, always in the pulpit, he denounced wealth without sympathy, equality without respect, mobs without leaders, and life without aim." 101

100. Latter-Day Pamphlets, no. IV, p. 150.

101. Nichol, John, Op. Cit., p. 251.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF RUSKIN

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth the social ideas of Ruskin. They naturally follow, to a large extent, the same division used in the preceding chapter on the social ideas of Carlyle. Such similarity as exists in the outlines is neither forced nor accidental. The social ideas of Ruskin properly group themselves, in part, in the order of those of Carlyle, because the ideas of Ruskin grew under the influence of Carlyle. Differences in emphasis and in detail occur. In general, the style of writing differs; however, some critics find Carlyle's influence appearing in Ruskin's manner of expression.¹ So important is an account of the production of the various works of Ruskin on social themes for explaining the direction which his thinking took, that Section I of this chapter presents the development of Ruskin's social ideas with special reference to Carlyle. In Section II, the social ideas of Ruskin are explained by presenting (A) his basic principles of (1) mysticism, (2) individualism, (3) socialistic conception of society; (B) his criticism of (1) popular ideas of political economy in (a) laissez-faire, (b) emphasis on money, and supply and demand, (c) competition, (2) democratic tendencies in government, in (a) minimum government, (b) failure to use aristocratic class; (C) his remedies, revealed in the scheme of St. George's

1. Carlyle's influence on the style of Ruskin is only incidentally connected with this thesis, as a further proof of the fact of influence. The question has been rather interesting to critics, among whom the following affirm this influence: Birrell, Agustine, Obiter Dicta, p. 25; Gosse, Edmund, Modern English Literature, pp. 357-8; Spielman, M.H., John Ruskin, p. 71.

Guild and the tenement work of Miss Hill, (1) improvement of conditions of work, (2) improved homes, (3) better leadership, (4) better education.

Section I.

Ruskin had been led to think about political economy in connection with his art work.² His own investigations had not led him to agree with the theories of business which his father, a successful wine-merchant, had discussed with other business men in Ruskin's presence.³ For instance, he could not accept without inquiry the belief they all held that the economic health of the nation depended on a national debt. Other questions arose, which Ruskin's deference to his father's opinions and respect for his father's success could not conquer until Ruskin was about forty years old. The awakening to social problems which he could not think out made him restless and dissatisfied. The ideas of Carlyle gave Ruskin a reasonable analysis of the causes of bad conditions and definite suggestions for thought on social problems. Ruskin's interest in the conceptions of Carlyle began perhaps as early as 1841. Collingwood says that the reading of Heroes, which had recently appeared, helped Ruskin to recover from a period of gloom during that year.⁴ Of the next year also, Collingwood says:

"....the desire came over him with a renewed force; now not only to be definitely employed in the service of a definite mission, which, be it observed, was, in art, exactly what Carlyle had preached in every other sphere of life in that book of "Heroes": the gospel of sincerity; the reference of greatness in any form to honesty of purpose as the underlying

2. Ruskin, J. Political Economy of Art (1857-8), Everyman ed. with Unto this Last, in 1 vol.

3. Brown, John, Letters, p. 292. munera ruiveris, preface, p. XXXIII

4. Collingwood, W.G., Life and Work of John Ruskin, pp. 76-7.

motive of a perspicuous intellect and a resolute will - these last being necessary conditions of success, but sincerity being the chief thing needful." 5

Between 1851 and 1855, before Ruskin expressed himself publicly on questions of social science, he was studying the subject closely and willingly under the influence of Carlyle. Letters, quoted by Mr. Cook and by Mr. Collingwood, show that Ruskin was following Carlyle's lines of thought and that Carlyle encouraged Ruskin.⁶

By 1857, the appearance of The Political Economy of Art shows the effect of Ruskin's reflection for more than ten years upon the material of his guide, in the denunciation of laissez-faire, mammonism, and dilettantism.⁷ A development of Carlyle's particular kind of social thought appears in the work of Ruskin from 1857. In The Two Paths, in 1859, the aim of art as a means to better life and not as an end in itself is clearly put:

"Wherever art is practised for its own sake, and the delight of the workman is in what he does and produces, instead of in what he interprets or exhibits, - there art has an influence of the most fatal kind on brain and heart, and it issues, if long pursued, in the destruction, both of intellectual power and moral principle; whereas art devoted humbly and self-forgetfully to the clear statement and record of the facts of the universe, is always helpful and beneficial to mankind, full of comfort, strength, and salvation." 8

5. Ib., p. 84.

6. See the discussion of personal relations in Ch. I.

7. Chubb, Percival, Ruskin's Message to Our Time, p. 89: "It was in 1857 that Ruskin published his Political Economy of Art" - a title sufficiently suggestive of the trend of his thought. By this time he had been deeply influenced by Carlyle, and had come (with his Master) to see in Mammonism, in the shame and infidelities, and in the false social ideas of a commercial age, the corrupting forces of national life."

8. The Two Paths, p. 16.

At this point, Ruskin takes the explanation of Carlyle for the sordid life of so many people and turns his attention from art to some solution of the problems of the living conditions of the poor. The hope of accomplishing amelioration of the misery of many people seems due in part to such challenges as Carlyle throws out in Chartism and Past and Present.

"A feeling very generally exists that the condition and disposition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it." ⁹

"The condition of England, on which many pamphlets are now in the course of publication, and many thoughts unpublished are going on in every reflective head, is justly regarded as one of the most ominous, and withal one of the strangest, ever seen in this world. England full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind; yet England is dying of inanition." ¹⁰

The personal answer of Ruskin to the call is well expressed in his first letter in Fors Clavigera, as Cook suggests.¹¹

"For my own part, I will put up with this state of things, passively, not an hour longer. I am not an unselfish person, nor an Evangelical one; I have no particular pleasure in doing good; neither do I dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world. But I simply cannot paint, nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else that I like, and the very light of the morning sky, when there is any - which is seldom, now-a-days, near London - has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know of, and see signs of, where I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly." ¹²

From 1860 to the end of his life, then, Ruskin concerned himself with social questions. Besides the four books just mentioned, Unto this Last, (1860), Munera Pulveris (1862), The Queen's Gardens (1864), Sesame and Lilies (1865), The Cestus

9. Chartism, p. 118.

10. Past and Present, p. 1.

11. Cook, E. T., Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 321.

12. Fors Clavigera, Vol. I, p. 4. Later citations: Fors, Vol. in Roman numerals, p. in Arabic.

of Aglaia (1865), The Ethics of the Dust (1866), The Crown of Wild Olive (1866), Time and Tide (1867), amplify and illustrate again and again his ideas. Because of his habit of reiteration, a selection merely of the most significant books which treat social ideas in as technical a manner as Ruskin used is sufficient to represent his ideas adequately. The books which set forth his mature and generally final¹³ convictions are Unto this Last, Munera Pulveris, and Fors Clavigera.

Unto this Last came out in 1860 in the form of four articles for the Cornhill Magazine, edited by Thackeray. The strikes in the building trades of London in 1859 led Ruskin to think of the relation between employer and employee, which is the theme of this work. Although these articles were stopped because of their unpopularity and disastrous effect on the magazine, Fraser's Magazine gave him another opportunity to express himself. Through Carlyle, Froude, the editor, had become a friend of Ruskin. The four essays which Froude allowed to appear in 1862 were published in 1872 as a book of six chapters, Munera Pulveris. In the preface to this Ruskin pointed out that Carlyle had guided him in his work on social themes. Of Unto this Last he said:

"Eleven years ago, in the summer of 1860, perceiving then fully, (as Carlyle had done long before) what distress was about to come on the said populace of Europe through these errors of their teachers, I began to do the best I might, to combat them, in a series of papers for the Cornhill Magazine, since published under the title of Unto this Last. The editor of the Magazine was my friend, and ventured the insertion of the three first essays." ¹⁴

13. In Fors Clavigera, Ruskin expresses changed views on interest.
 14. Munera Pulveris, preface, p. XXXV.

Of Munera Pulveris he said:

"I inscribed the first volume of this series to the friend who aided me in chief sorrow. Let me inscribe the second to the friend and guide who has urged me to all chief labour, THOMAS CARLYLE.

"I would that some better means were in my power of showing reverence to the man who alone, of all our masters of literature, has written, without thought of himself, what he knew it to be needful for the people of his time to hear, if the will to hear were in them: whom, therefore, Republican and Free-thoughted England assaults with impatient reproach; and out of the abyss of her cowardice in policy and dishonour in trade, sets the hacks of her literature to speak of evil, grateful to her ears, of the Solitary Teacher who has asked her to be brave for the help of Man, and just, for the love of God." 15

Beginning on the first of January, 1871, Ruskin commenced to publish letters to the workmen and laborers of Great Britain. These discursive communications came out at intervals until 1884. They are disconnected in form; they are written on any subject which the day might suggest; yet they have unity of purpose, which is to assist the readers to a richer life. The criticisms of existing conditions and the remedies offered in these two thousand pages make them, therefore, a source for finding Ruskin's social thought. "The criticism of the nineteenth century which runs through the book from the first to the last is deeply coloured by the influence of Carlyle", says Cook.¹⁶ Ruskin's statement of his purpose and of Carlyle's part in it, occurs in one of the letters:

"I do not pretend to tell you straightforwardly all laws of nature respecting the conduct of men...What final relations may take place between masters and servants, labourers and employers, old people and useless, in such society, only experience can conclude....Some few things the most obstinate will admit, and the least credulous believe: that washed faces are healthier than dirty ones; whole clothes decenter than ragged ones, kind behaviour more serviceable

15. ib., p. XI.

16. Cook, E. T., Op. Cit., p. 320.

than malicious, and pure air pleasanter than foul. Upon that much of 'philosophie positive' I mean to act; and little by little, to define in these letters the process of action. That it should be left to me to begin such a work, with only one man in England - Thomas Carlyle - to whom I can look for steady guidance, is alike wonderful and sorrowful to me." ¹⁷

Section II. The social ideas of Ruskin appear (A) in his basic principles of life. The philosophy of these ideas rests on (1) mysticism. Hobson finds two elements in this philosophy: "It may perhaps be claimed for Mr. Ruskin that his philosophy, alike of art and of social reform, combines and even merges the supposed antagonism of Hellenism and Hebraism more completely than that of any other modern thinker." ¹⁸ The Bible, with Calvinistic doctrine, mediaeval art, and Plato, in the order named, furnish material for mental development in the formative period of his thinking. He seeks always for the essence, or soul, the idea back of the fact or object. This trait shows itself in the search for the soul of words in their etymological history. ¹⁹ The enigmatic character of the titles of books and of the chapters of these books on social ideas is always suggestive of an inner meaning more significant than commonplace words would give. Unto this Last concerns the payment of labor on the principle of the parable in Matthew; Munera Pulveris suggests the error in valuing money for its own sake in "the gifts or functions of the dust"; Fors Clavigera is fortune, bearing hammer, key, and nail. In every way Ruskin wants to rid life, as far as possible, of mechanical

17. Fors, II, 136-7.

18. Hobson, J. A., John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p. 328.

19. Unto this Last, pp. 133; 146; Munera Pulveris, pp. 59; 119; 155.

devices. Machinery is condemned, when a man's soul might be expressed by hand craft in the product of his toil. The applications made show that the mystical reflections are never for their own sake; they revert directly to man.

"You will find references to the practical connection between the physical and the spiritual light - of which now I would fain state, in the most unmistakable terms, this sum: that you cannot love the real sun, that is to say physical light and color, rightly, unless you love the spiritual sun, that is to say justice and truth, rightly." ²⁰

Ruskin holds that happiness depends on spiritual discernment:

"The presence of a wise population implies the search for felicity as well as for food; nor can any population reach its maximum but through that wisdom which 'rejoices' in the habitable parts of the earth....The desire of the heart is also the light of the eyes. No scene is continually and untiringly loved, but one rich by joyful human labor; smooth in field; fair in garden; full in orchard; trim, sweet, and frequent in homestead; ringing with voices of vivid existence...as the art of life is learned, it will be found at last that all lovely things are also necessary:-the wild flower by the roadside, as well as the tended corn; and the wild birds and creatures of the forest, as well as the tended cattle; because man doth not live by bread only, but also by desert manna; by every wondrous and unknowable work of God. Happy, in that he knew them not, nor did his fathers know; and that round about him reaches yet into the infinite, the amazement of his existence." ²¹

Not only is mysticism for Ruskin a basis for interpreting life, but (2) the individual soul is the most important consideration in life. "Note, finally, that all effectual advancement towards true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort." ²² For the best development of the individual, he has some definite suggestions. As a goal he holds up the ideal happiness (a) through renunciation. He maintains that the honor attached to any profession is in proportion to

20. Fors, III, 215.

21. Unto this Last, pp. 190-1.

22. Ib., p. 191. See, for other appeals to individual responsibility, Fors, IV, 248; Ib. IV, 415-6.

the sacrifice or possible sacrifice involved. He analyzes several occupations to account for the respect paid them.

"A brave's trade is slaying; but the world has never respected braves more than merchants: the reason it honors the soldier is, because he holds his life at the service of the State...Our estimate of him is based on this ultimate fact - of which we are well assured - that, put him in a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of the world behind him, and only death and duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front; and he knows that this choice may be put to him at any moment, and has beforehand taken his part - virtually takes such part continually - does, in reality, die daily." 23

The lawyer and physician meet the same test of self-sacrifice. Justice must be the first consideration with the lawyer; his private good must be of less importance. The physician who would look upon his patients as experiments is regarded with horror. The merchant is not held in so high esteem as members of the liberal professions because his motives are presumed to be, not commercially unfair necessarily, but, selfish. Ruskin holds that in the case of the merchant's occupation, the business justifies such a change as to make it more respected. Heroic men might join it, who are willing not merely "to teach the form of a gospel" but to "lose a hundred pounds in showing the practice of one." 24

According to the ideas of Ruskin, the individual must renounce purely selfish pleasures to find satisfaction incidentally (b) in productive work. In his second letter to the workmen, of the three promises he asked them to make, two concerned work:

23. Ib., p. 126.

24. Unto this Last, p. 128. See also on renunciation Fors II, 409; III, 40; 210; 312.

1. "To do your own work well, whether it be for life or for death.
2. To help other people at theirs, when you can, and seek to avenge no injury." 25.

His conclusion is that work settles the question of duty for men.

"I set myself to work out that problem thoroughly in 1858, and arrived at the conclusion - which is an entirely sound one, and which did indeed alter, from that time forward, the tone and method of my teaching, - that human work must be done honorably and thoroughly, because we are now Men; - whether we ever expect to be angels, or ever were slugs, being practically no matter. We are now Human creatures, and must, at our peril, do Human - that is to say, affectionate, honest, and earnest work." 26

Work furnishes an honest basis of existence:

"Build, my man, - build, or dig, one of the two; and then eat your honestly earned meat, thankfully, and let other people alone, if you can't help them." 27

The third vow of the Company of St. George, for whom he expressed the deepest convictions on social relations, follows:

"I shall labor, with such strength and opportunity as God gives me, for my own daily bread; and all that my hand finds to do, I will do with my might." 28

Ruskin, furthermore, held "in resolving to do our work well, is the only sound foundation of any religion whatsoever." 29

"And it is physically impossible that true religious knowledge, or pure morality, should exist among any classes of a nation who do not work with their hands for their bread." 30

Finally, true pleasure, Ruskin thinks, may follow work; "for useful action, because all enjoyment worth having (may, all enjoyment not harmful) must in some way arise out of that, either in happy energy, or rightly complacent and exulting rest." 31

Another obligation or privilege which Ruskin holds

25. Fors., I, 29.
26. Ib., IV, 8.
27. Ib., II, 301.
28. Ib., III, 40.
29. Ib., IV, 8.
30. Fors., III, 249.
31. Ib., I, 113.

fundamental for the individual is (c) the duty of obedience.

This duty arises from the inequality among men.

"What necessarily inferior labor remains to be done,... should and always will, when the relations of society are reverent and harmonious, fall to the lot of those who, for the time, are fit for nothing better. For as, whatever the perfectness of the educational system there must remain infinite differences between the natures and capacities of men."³²

Another aspect of the teaching on obedience is that if it is required in youth, laws need not be enforced in age.

"Make your educational laws strict, and your criminal ones may be gentle; but leave youth its liberty, and you will have to dig dungeons for age." ³³

Such obedience follows a natural instinct of reverence:

"Reverence is as instinctive as anger;- both of them instant on true vision: it is sight and understanding that we have to teach, and these are reverence. Make a man perceive worth, and in its reflection he sees his own relative unworth, and worships thereupon inevitably, not with stiff courtesy, but rejoicingly, passionately, and, best of all, restfully: for the infinite capacity of awe and love is infinite in man; and only in finding these, can we find peace. And the common insolence of the people, and their talk of equality are not irreverence in them in the least, but mere blindness, stupefaction, and fog in the brains, the first sign of any cleansing of which is, that they gain some power of discerning, and some patience in submitting to, their true counsellors and governors." ³⁴

Obedience to superiors is a sign of wisdom:

"The wise man knows his master. Less or more wise, he perceives lower or higher masters; but always some creature larger than himself - some law holier than his own. A law to be sought - learned, loved - obeyed; but in order to its discovery, the obedience must be begun first, to the best one knows. Obey something; and you will have a chance some day of finding out what is best to obey. But if you begin by obeying nothing, you will end by obeying Beelzebub and all his seven invited friends." ³⁵

Thus by devotion to nobility, the individual may redeem himself from his limitations.

32. Munera Pulveris, pp. 134-5.

33. Ib., p. 139.

34. Ib., pp. 147-8.

35. Fors, II, 420-1. See also pp. 263-4. See also, Fors I, 100, "Learn to obey good laws; and in a little while, you will reach better learning - how to obey good men, who are living, breathing, unblinded Law."

The individual bears the responsibility for his actions; society does not; nor inheritance; nor civilization. Yet man does not live alone. Hence, (3) the conception of society revealed in the social ideas of Ruskin is socialistic. He disclaimed, however, allegiance with socialism as he understood the term when he wrote (a) "but nature intends, and the utmost efforts of socialism will not hinder the fulfilment of her intention, that a provident person shall always be richer than a spendthrift; and an ingenious one more comfortable than a fool." 36 Such statements as the following show, on the other hand, that Ruskin recognized the interdependence of members of society and the proper demands of assistance from one another (b):

"As long as any one remains unfed, or barebacked, the wages fund must be in common. When every man, woman, and child is fed and clothed, the saving men may begin to lay by money, if they like; but while there is hunger and cold among you,...every man must bring all he earns to the common stock." 37

Not only do abnormal situations reveal the organic nature of social relations, but the injustice of daily practice is evident (c):

"And it is gradually becoming manifest to the tenants, borrowers, and labourers, that instead of paying these large sums into the hands of the landlords, lenders, and employers, that they may purchase music, painting, etc.; the tenants, borrowers, and workers, had better buy a little music and painting for themselves!" 38

Ruskin does not explain the apparent inconsistency of the first passage with such passages as the two which follow. Hobson says that social forces, as such, or popular movements did not

36. Munera Pulveris, preface, p. XXXVIII.

37. Fors, III, 367-8.

38. Ib., III, 90.

mean much to Ruskin. He wished to find the people who held the ideas. "Hence," says Hobson, "though Ruskin saw clearly the errors of the individualism of the old Radicals, though he developed a powerful economic socialism, he remained a political individualist." ³⁹ The emphasis which Ruskin places on the feeling of brotherhood as a motive in social relations has given his doctrine the name of Christian Socialism. ⁴⁰ Harrison calls this system of belief Social Democracy; ⁴¹ Hobson, Social Democracy. ⁴² Chesterton calls Ruskin the second founder of Socialism. ⁴³ Another interpreter of Ruskin says: "Mr. Ruskin was indeed a Socialist to this extent, that he demanded a greatly increased control of industry by the State, and that he maintained that every man has the opportunity of earning his living by his labor." ⁴⁴ Whatever the name may be, the idea is evident; it is that the feelings of men and not the works of their hands receive emphasis in the social thought of Ruskin.

The social ideas of Ruskin, besides being revealed through a study of his basic principles, are expressed (B) through criticisms of (1) the popular political economy of his day. Questions of political economy and of institutional

39. Hobson, J.A., Ruskin and Democracy, Contemporary, Vol. 81, p. 110.

40. Ward, M.A., Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p. 133.

41. Harrison, Frederick, John Ruskin, p. 84-5.

42. Hobson, J.A., Op. Cit., p. 192.

43. Chesterton, G.K., Op. Cit., p. 67.

44. Gladden, Washington, Witnesses of the Light, p. 274.

life properly belong to social ideas.⁴⁵ A criticism which furnishes an explanatory starting point is his criticism (a) of laissez-faire. The prefaces to both Unto this Last and Munera Pulvera state grounds of opposition to Mill and the latter book to Professor Rawcett, the teacher of Political Economy at Cambridge. According to Ruskin, popular economists neglect or are indifferent to the main cause for which economic laws are studied. These men formulate laws controlling the production and distribution of riches and neglect the people who produce valuable articles and who should have a part in using them. He opposes indifference to the whole nature of man which the following statement of their position indicates to him:

"The social affections are accidental and disturbing elements in human nature: but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements. Let us eliminate the inconstants, and, considering the human being merely as a covetous machine, examine by what laws of labor, purchase, and sale, the greatest accumulative result in wealth is attainable. Those laws once determined it will be for each individual afterwards to introduce as much of the disturbing affectionate element as he chooses." 46

45. Ellwood, C. A., Introduction to Social Psychology, Preface, P. XI. "The millions of individuals cooperate in producing the institutional civilization; the administrative and legal institutions, the educational and the religious institutions, the economic and the technical institutions, result from the action of the social neurons. But every change produced in these institutions has its influence on the social group itself Cook, Vol. 2, p. 136: The harmony of Ruskin's doctrines with recent Political Economy is shown by the quotation from Professor Ingram: "A History of Political Economy," 1888, pp. 241-243: "Economics must be constantly regarded as forming only one department of the larger science of sociology, in vital connexion with its other departments, and with the moral synthesis which is the crown of the whole intellectual system...Especially must we keep in view the high moral issues to which the economic movement is subservient, and in the absence of which it could never in any great degree attract the interest or fix the attention either of eminent thinkers or of right-minded men."
46. Unto this Last, p. 115.

To Ruskin, the statement of laws governing economic relations without including the entire affect on the individual was worse than incorrect; such statements were leading into a hard, scientific attitude, which justified men in their practices.

"And therefore, the idea that directions can be given for the gaining of wealth, irrespectively of the consideration of its moral sources, or that any general and technical law of purchase and gain can be set down for national practice, is perhaps the most insolently futile of all that ever beguiled men through their vices...."Buy in the cheapest market? - yes; but what made your market cheap? Charcoal may be cheap among your roof timbers after a fire, and bricks may be cheap in your streets after an earthquake; but fire and earthquake may not therefore be national benefits. Sell in the dearest? - yes, truly; but what made your market dear? You sold your bread well today; was it to a dying man who gave his last coin for it, and will never need bread more, or to a rich man who tomorrow will put your farm over your head; or to a soldier on his way to pillage the bank in which you have put your fortune?" 47

The teaching of clergymen did not counteract any of the injurious effect of economic superiority to human suffering.

While preachers acknowledged the impossibility of living by honest trade, their conclusion upon the situation was not that the ways of trade should be amended, but that heaven will be gratefully received.⁴⁸ Ruskin's conclusion concerning orthodox economists is stated thus:

"Among the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious - certainly the least creditable - is the modern soi-disant science of political economy, based on the idea than an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection."⁴⁹

47. Ib., pp. 141-2.

48. Fors, I, 123.

49. Unto this Last, p. 115.

To summarize from these books Ruskin's general criticism of the laissez-faire attitude in political economy is to give the ground of his opposition to the science; namely, that it aims to state in terms of undeviating laws, facts of human life which could be properly estimated only in terms of value.⁵⁰

The social ideas of Ruskin are revealed through criticism (b) of popular ideas of wealth and money. Wealth is not riches. That wealth consists of valuable things is not sufficient unless "value" is understood to mean the "availing of anything towards the sustaining of life." ⁵¹ The nature of value is twofold: the intrinsic value, the absolute power which anything has for supporting life; effectual value, production which includes production of useful things and the capacity to use them. ⁵² For the accepted object of political economy, which is "to accumulate money or exchangeable property," is substituted "the continuance not only of life, but of healthy and happy life." ⁵³

50. Munera Pulveris, p. 1, Ruskin's definition of political economy shows direct opposition to laissez-faire. "As domestic economy regulates the acts and habits of a household, Political Economy regulates those of a society of State, with reference to the means of its maintenance. Political Economy is neither an art nor a science; but a system of conduct and legislature, founded on the sciences, directing the arts, and impossible, except under certain conditions of moral culture."

51. Ib., p. 11.

52. Ib., p. 12.

53. Ib., p. 4.

"Perhaps it may even appear after some consideration, that the persons themselves are the wealth.....In fact, it may be discovered that the true veins of wealth are purple - and not in Rock, but in Flesh - perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures...A Christian mother, may at last attain to the virtues and the treasures of a Heathen one, and be able to lead forth her sons, saying, - 'These are MyJewels.'⁵⁴

"There is no wealth but life. Life including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings: that man is the richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."⁵⁵

According to the thought of Ruskin, money should not be considered a standard of value. Essential material things, pure air, water, earth, and essential immaterial things, admiration, hope, love,⁵⁶ are not affected by money. Foolishly, to him, people have willingly spent their lives in unremitting toil to make money. The pleasure of accumulation consists in "the imagination of power to part with that with which we have no intention of parting" which is "one of the most curious though commonest forms of the Eidolon, or Phantasm of Wealth."⁵⁷ So far has the practice of thinking of valuable things in terms of money grown with most people that in "estimating their possessions, they rather calculate the value of their horses and fields by the number of guineas they could get for them, than the value of their guineas by the number of horses and fields they could buy with them."⁵⁸ This service of mammonism is ruining the possibility of finer feelings in the working class.

54. Unto this Last, p.143-4.

55. Ib., p. 185.

56. Fors, I, 68-71.

57. Munera Pulveris, p. 36.

58. Unto this Last, p. 133.

"And it is quite possible for the simplest workman or labourer for whom I write to understand what the feelings of a gentleman are, and share them, if he will; but the crisis and horror of this present time are that its desire of money and the fulness of luxury dishonestly attainable by common persons, are gradually making churls of all men; and the nobler passions are not merely disbelieved, but even the conception of them seems ludicrous to the impotent churl mind." 59

The danger of mammonism is slighted by clergymen. Of the fifteen hundred sermons which Ruskin heard in thirty years, he says:

"I now solemnly state I never heard one preacher deal faithfully with the quarrel between God and Mammon, or explain the need of choice between the service of those two masters. And all vices are indeed summed, and all their forces consummated, in that simple acceptance of the authority of God; and preference of gain, or the increase of gold, to godliness of the peace of God." 60

To counteract the bad result of mammonism, Ruskin denies the social benefit of unlimited saving and makes utility and human cost the standard for measuring both the intrinsic and effectual value of things.

The law of supply and demand is restated to include human labor in production. "The exchangeable value of a commodity is that of the labor required to produce it, multiplied by the force of the demand for it." 61 For the 'certain price' 62 which economists held as the mean term in exchange, Ruskin supplies 'amount of human labor'. In some instances the greed of men will not allow the natural supply of material necessities to reach the demand. Fish dealers in London, for instance, will

59. Fors., II, 195.

60. Ib., II, 123-4.

61. See preceding chapter, quotation from Adam Smith.

62. Unto this Last, note, p. 151.

not allow quantities of fish to be sent for that would reduce the price of fish.⁶³ Illustration of another kind of failure of the law follows:

"I have some pease and strawberries in summer; some camellias and azaleas in winter; and good cream, and a quiet place to walk in, all the year round. Of the strawberries, cream, and pease, I eat more than is good for me... Meantime, outside of my fenced seven acres - owing to the operation of the great universal law of supply and demand - numbers of people are starving; many more, dying of too much gin; and many of their children dying of too little milk."⁶⁴

Accordingly, the conclusion of this process of reasoning is that the so-called law of supply and demand is inconstant and often injurious in its working. Consumption as a means of life is the economic goal, from the social or human point of view.

Another fundamental principle of political economy which the social ideas of Ruskin condemn is (c) competition. It is wrong because commercial rivalry occasions needless distress. Competition works ruthlessly to reduce wages which largely make the living conditions of laborers.

"There is not yet, nor will yet for ages be, any real over-population in the world; but a local over-population, or, more accurately, a degree of population locally unmanageable under existing circumstances for want of forethought and sufficient machinery, necessarily shows itself by pressure of competition; and the taking advantage of this competition by the purchaser to obtain their labor unjustly cheap, consummates at once their suffering and his own."⁶⁵

A second evil of competition is that it prevents helpful co-operation. Dante illustrates the effect of the competitive struggle among men in his conception of Plutus. The selfish

63. Fors, II, pp. 147-9. See also p. 152; Fors, I, pp. 33; 151-152.

64. Ib., I, pp. 153-4.

65. Unto this Last, p. 159.

spirit of gain "makes all men strangers; his speech is therefore unintelligible, and no single soul of all those ruined by him has recognizable features." 66 A sentence summarizes the opposition to competition: "Government and co-operation are in all things the Laws of Life; Anarchy and competition the Laws of Death." 67

In addition to the criticism of popular economy, the social ideas of Ruskin are revealed through his criticism of (2) the democratic tendency in government. The application of the democratic theory to government is injurious because (a) what people need is not minimum government, but right government. According to Ruskin, liberty is not the desirable goal for individuals in society.

"There is a highly curious feeling in the English mind against educational law: we think no man's liberty should be interfered with till he has done irrevocable wrong; whereas it is then just too late for the only gracious and kingly interference, which is to hinder him from doing it." 68

"The pamphlet (M. Emile de Lavelaye's Protestantism and Catholicism) is especially displeasing to me, because it speaks of 'Liberty' under the common assumption of its desirableness; whereas my own teaching has been, and is, that liberty, whether in the body, soul, or political estate of men, is only another word for Death, and the final issue of Death, putrefaction; the body, spirit, and political estate being alike healthy only by their bonds and laws; and by Liberty being instantly disengaged into mephitic vapour." 69

Liberalism will not lead to finding the "quality and intrinsic value of things" or men. 70 The theory of minimum government

66. Munera Pulveris, p. 101.

67. Unto this Last, p. 160.

68. Munera Pulveris, p. 139.

69. Fors, III, 21.

70. Ib., I, 189.

is contrary to Ruskin's ideas because it is based on liberty; the theory of maximum government is sound because it is based on control. The form of government is immaterial; the nature of the people concerned makes the practice good or bad.

"Any form of government will work, provided the governnors are real, and the people obey them; and none will work, if the governors are unreal, or the people disobedient. If you mean to have logs for kings, no quantity of liberty in choice of the wood will be of any profit to you:- nor will the wisest or best governor be able to serve you, if you mean to discuss his orders instead of obeying them." 71

When liberty is yielded and the maximum government is admitted, then responsibility for improving conditions is fixed. "The first duty of the government is to see that the people have food, fuel, and clothes. The second, that they have means of moral and intellectual education." ⁷² Other definite duties of the government are: the establishment of training schools where every child in the nation should be permitted, in some cases required, to attend; the establishment of manufacturies and workshops where every necessary of life would be produced and every useful art practiced; the employment at fixed rate of wages of those who cannot find work to do; the provision for the comfort of the old and destitute. Such provision should be considered honorable to those who without disgrace are unfortunate. 73.

"A labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen, or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable, and it ought to be quite

71. Fors, III, 246.

72. Ib.

73. Unto this Last, preface, pp. 111-2.

as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country." 74

Critics of Ruskin's social ideas value his interpretation of the rightful duties of the government. Mr. Taverer says:

"Public libraries, government schools, state workshops, and polytechnics are common institutions today, of which no one would deny the use; but John Ruskin was considerably laughed at when, in 1861, he advocated them." 75

A summary of the ideas of Ruskin on constituted authority follows:

"Der staat ist für Ruskin mehr als die summe von individuen, die unter einem gestez zusammengefasst sind; er ist ihm ein wesen, auf das er die lebensfunktionen des menschen überträgt. Die pflichten, die für den einzelnen gelten, bestehen auch für den staat. Auch er hat siene tugenden; sie stellen sich in seinen organisationen dar. Ruskin vermeidet es auch nicht, vom staate geradezu als einer person zu reden....Der staat denkst, regirt, ordnet und verteilt für siene bürger, wie der vater es gegenüber seinen kindern tut." 76

Instead of a democratic idea of liberalism, Ruskin would put (b) the responsibility of strong government upon the authority of superior people. The fact of inequality among individuals, he holds, makes this solution logical. The form of the government is a negligible matter, as has been shown. The necessity is wise rulers:

"No form of government, provided it be a government at all, is, as such, to be either condemned or praised, or contested for in anywise, but by fools. But all forms of government are good just so far as they attain this one vital necessity of policy - that the wise and kind, few or many, shall govern the unwise and unkind; and they are evil so far

74. Ib. P. 112.

75. Taverer, Lucking, John Ruskin, Poet, Painter, Prophet.
Review of Reviews, Vol. XXI, 1900, pp. 289-302.

76. Claus, Paul, Die Ethik John Ruskins, Die Neurenen Sprachen, Vol. XVII, p. 292.

as they miss of this or reverse it. Nor does the form, in any case, signify one whit, but its firmness, and adaptation to the need." 77

People cannot control their destiny by voting but "simply in being worth more or less, and not in voting that you are worth more or less." 78

"Your main problem is that ancient and trite one, 'Who is the best man?'....But if you refuse such inquiry, and maintain every man for his neighbor's match,- if you give vote to the simple and liberty to the vile, the powers of those spiritual and material worlds in due time present you inevitably with the same problem, soluble now only wrong side upwards; and your robbing and slaying must be done then to find out 'Who is worst man?'" 79

The duty of governing belongs to the upper classes, finally, to a king who, in Homer and Scott, Ruskin observes, 'not only did more, but in proportion to their doings, got less, than other people - nay, that the best of them were even ready to govern for nothing, and let their followers divide any quantity of spoil or profit.'" 80 In modern times, landlords are responsible for improvement of bad conditions.⁸¹ Loyalty and obedience are due only to lords who will not work always for their own interest. The poor should not be made, because of poverty, to live in mean huts and build and rebuild magnificent houses for the rich.⁸² An essential gain for the poor from obedience to wise landlords is security of livelihood and of home.⁸³ Ideal relations between landlord and peasant, Ruskin found illustrated

77. Munera Pulveris, pp. 154-5.

78. Fors, I, p. 176.

79. Ib., pp. 189-90.

80. Ib., p. 131.

81. Fors, II, p. 248.

82. Munera Pulveris, p. 182. See Fors, I, p. 136-7; 334-384; 414-5, for the importance of houses in home life.

83. Munera Pulveris, p. 180-1.

in Italian and French peasant life. In some of his letters to the workingmen, he translated stories from Marmontel to show the happiness of French peasant life.⁸⁴ The basis of improvement of social conditions is not through legislation but through action according to the fact of inequality, as he states:

"If there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality. My continual aim has been to show the eternal superiority of some men to others, sometimes even of one man to all others; and to show also the advisability of appointing such persons or person to guide, lead, or on occasion even to compel and subdue, their inferiors, according to their own better knowledge and wiser will."⁸⁵

When this idea is in operation, he believes, men will enlist to be "Soldiers of the Plowshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword."⁸⁶

The social ideas of Ruskin are revealed (C) through the remedies which he proposed for improving bad social conditions. The specific schemes, which appear in these books, are the Company of St. George, or the Guild of St. George, and the improvement of tenement houses in London. To the Company of St. George, Ruskin gave 7000 pounds when it was organized in 1871, and about a tenth of his income afterwards.⁸⁷ The monthly letters to working men, Fors Clavigera, furnish statements of his social ideas incorporated in that scheme. To Miss Octavia Hill, he gave the charge of

84. Fors, I, p. 192 ff.

85. Unto this Last, p. 160.

86. Ib.

87. Cook, E. T., Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 333 ff.

nine or ten houses owned by him in London. She improved the houses, surroundings, instructed the tenants, and gave Ruskin five per cent.⁸⁸ In these schemes, Ruskin emphasized (1) the significance of work; (2) the importance of home life; (3) the necessity of leadership; (4) the necessity of education, in attaining social improvement.

Ruskin hoped to have the work of the Guild done in accordance with his conception of the proper attitude toward labor. First, work should not be considered a burden to be shunned and despised. The common notion that labor is necessarily a distasteful means to a useful end was an idea which he wished to combat.⁸⁹ Mechanical devices, he thought, had corrupted the taste of the age. Machinery makes possible "the flimsy dresses, toys, metal work, and other rubbish."⁹⁰ Men no longer felt pride in manual accomplishment, but rather considered it undignified and contemptible. This attitude on the part of laborers was deplorable because it led to idleness; whereas in its final analysis any production is valuable in proportion to the self-sacrifice represented.⁹¹ Secondly, overspecialization led to some of the same bad results. Originality and thought were checked or destroyed if division of labor were carried far. When the worker could not see the effect of his labor in the various degrees of attainment of some end, he lost interest and pride

88. Ib., p. 119.

89. Fors, III, p. 168 ff.; p. 242-4.

90. Ib., II, 244.

91. Ib., I, 33-4.

and became himself a kind of machine. ⁹² Throughout the letters of working men, Ruskin urges the "absolute duty of work, and of work which, so far as possible, absorbs the full interest, and excites the inventive faculty of the worker." ⁹³ Thirdly, ownership was an incentive to work. The natural delight in possession should be gratified within proper limits.

The following conditions should encourage occupations, helpful alike to the worker and to his associates:

"We will try to make some small piece of English ground, beautiful, peaceful, and fruitful. We will have no steam-engines upon it, and no railroads; we will have no untended or unthought-of creatures on it; none wretched, but the sick; none idle, but the dead. We will have no liberty upon it, but instant obedience to known law, and appointed persons: no equality upon it; but recognition of every betterness that we can find, and reprobation of every worseness.....We will have some music and poetry; the children shall learn to dance to it and sing it;- perhaps some of the old people, in time, may also. We will have some art, moreover; we will at least try if, like the Greeks, we can't make some pots....Little by little, some higher art and imagination may manifest themselves among us; and feeble rays of science may dawn for us." ⁹⁴

In this environment, numbers of the Guild would find (1) the true significance of work in its ennobling rather than in its degrading quality. To this end, a tract of land was purchased and agriculture was the main pursuit. This labor was healthful and encouraged by Ruskin because it made possible for all the members the fulfillment of one of the vows:

"I will labour, with such strength and opportunity as God gives me, for my own daily bread; and all that my hand finds to do, I will do with my might." ⁹⁵

92. Ib., I, 33-4.

93. Dawson, W. J., The Makers of English Prose, p. 258.

94. Fors, I, 72-3.

95. Fors, III, 40; See also I, 110; III, 240.

Besides the honest independence, a broadening effect was expected from the variety of labor, from the library,⁹⁶ and from innocent amusements.⁹⁷

Since Ruskin believed that the possession of the fruits of toil should belong to the toiler, the rate of wages was to be fixed and permanency of contract, insured.

"Tenants, I say, and at long lease, if they behave well: with power eventually to purchase the piece of it; the rent they pay, meanwhile, - being the tithe of the annual produce to St. George's fund." 98

More important than the ownership of property, to Ruskin, was quiet, unostentatious home life. The object which he had in giving Miss Hill control of his London houses was to improve conditions of home life.

"You are beginning to hear something of what Miss Hill has done in Marylebone, and of the change brought about by her energy and good sense in one of the worst districts of London...Any London landlord who will content himself with moderate and fixed rent....assuring his tenants of secure possession if it is paid, so that they need not fear having their rent raised if they improve their houses; and who will secure also a quiet bit of ground for their children to play in, instead of the street, - has established all the necessary conditions of success." 99

The desire for display and excitement prevents the establishment of such homes; or grasping landlords make them impossible.

"But the best that can be done in this will be useless ultimately, unless the deep source of the misery be cut off. While Miss Hill, with intense effort and noble power, has partially moralized a couple of acres in Marylebone, at least fifty square miles of lovely country have been Demoralized outside London, by the increasing itch of the upper classes to live where they can get some gossip in their idleness, and show each other their dresses." 100

So firmly did Ruskin believe that people should find pleasure in their own homes that he could not contribute to the purchase

96. Ib., III, 53.

97. Ib., III, 247.

98. Ib., II, 134.

99. Ib., I, 137.

100. Ib.

of Alexandra Park because he thought homes should be made comfortable and refined to counteract "the vile modern notion that you are to be crowded in kennels till you are nearly dead, that other people may make money by your work, and then taken out in squads by tramway and railway, to be revived and refined by science and art. Your first business is to make your homes healthy and delightful: then, keep your wives and children there, and let your return to them be your daily 'holy day'." ¹⁰¹ Ownership of the house,

Ruskin considered, was an incentive to making a home. In that connection, the lawyer exercises his function,

"of asserting, in perfectly intelligible and indelible letters, the absolute claim of a man to his own house, or castle, and all that it properly includes".....and "telling him, in black letter, that his house is his own. It will be necessary, however, evidently, that his house should be his own, before any lawyer can divinely assert the same to him." ¹⁰²

The necessity for leadership was to be met in the Guild by the control of landlords. Ruskin hoped the gentlemen of England would become interested in the scheme for social improvement, would live on their estates the whole year, and be "shepherd lords." ¹⁰³ The mediaeval laws of Florence in the fourteenth century, changed somewhat to suit English people, and Christian principles, with suggestions from Bacon, Sir Thomas More, and Plato served as authority for the system of government.¹⁰⁴ In Letter XLV, Ruskin challenged the squires of England to justify the second statement in the

101. Ib., I, 303-4. See also pp. 136-7; 334; 384; 414-5; II, 298.

102. Ib., II, 290.

103. Ib., I, 125. See also p. 129; II, 248-9.

104. Ib., II, 137; III, 245.

text often engraved on their family vaults: "that they rest from their Labours, and their Works do follow them" by giving personal supervision to their lands. He had definite suggestions concerning the duties of landlords:

"First, - the act which will be the foundation of all bettering and strength in your own lives, as in that of your tenants, - fix their rent; under legal assurance that it shall not be raised; and under moral assurance that, if you see they treat your land well, and are likely to leave it to you, if they die, raised in value, the said rent shall be diminished in proportion to the improvement; that is to say, providing they pay you the fixed rent during the time of lease, you are to leave to them the entire benefit of whatever increase they can give to the value of the land. Then the second thing you have to do is to determine the income necessary for your own noble and peaceful country life; and setting that aside out of the rents, for a constant sum, to be habitually lived well within limits of, put your heart and strength into the right employment of the rest for the bettering of your estates, in ways which the farmers for their own advantage could not or would not; for the growth of more various plants; the cherishing, not killing, of beautiful living creatures - birds, beast, and fish; and the establishment of such schools of History, Natural History, and Art, as may enable your farmers' children, with your own, to know something of the words Beauty, Courtesy, Compassion, Gladness, and Religion." 105

The faith placed in administration by a landlord is shown in Ruskin's answer to a question which arose out of Marmontel:

"A landlord should rather take two thousand pounds in rents, and return one thousand pounds in help to his tenants, than remit the one thousand pounds of rents at once... It is primarily better for the State, and ultimately for the tenant, that administrative power should be increased in the landlord's hands; but that it ought not to be by rents which he can change at his own pleasure, but by fixed duties under State law." 106.

107

The space and emphasis given to education in the pages of Fors Clavigera, show that Ruskin valued the proper

105. Ib., II, 262-3.

106. Ib., I, 287.

107. Ellwood, C.A., Sociology and Modern Social Problems, p.23:
"Social problems touch education on every side, and, on the other hand, education must bear upon every social problem."

sort of education as the supreme hope of social reconstruction. No school was established in connection with the Guild, but the place of education in Ruskin's social thought is fully discussed in the letters to working men. Education for social improvement begins with the individual and must be suited to him. The subject matter should depend on natural endowment, which, as has been shown, Ruskin thought, extremely variable. The aim of education "consists in the granting to every human being due aid in the development of such faculties as he possesses for action and enjoyment." 108 Competition should have no place in stimulating study; variability in natural capacity in children makes it necessary to judge each child "by its own standard, trained to its own duty, and rewarded by its just praise. It is the effort that deserves praise, not the success." 109 Moreover, superior capacities imply obligations, and inferior capacities are not disgraceful but permit "admiration of nobler powers" in others. The opportunity for intellectual education should be open to all people, but not forced on any one; 110 Vocational training, too, should be possible and required of every one; 111 moral education is the duty of every one. 112

Many suggestions for the content suitable to intellectual development occur in these letters and in Praeterita. For instance, in one letter, Ruskin implies that some Latin should be known to working men for the assistance it furnishes in the un-

108. Fors, I, 113.

109. Ib., IV, 379-80.

110. Ib., IV, 382.

111. Unto this Last, preface, pp. 111-12.

112. Fors, II, 263; Ib., III, 250.

derstanding of words.¹¹³ On the other hand, according to his statements, education need not necessarily include "arithmetic, writing, or reading."¹¹⁴ These subjects would be included, however, for practically all children, since he says, "Then as they get older, they are to learn the natural history of the place they live in, - to know Latin, boys and girls both, - and the history of five cities; Athens, Rome, Venice, Florence, and London."¹¹⁵ The facts of geology, botany, and zoology, suitable for school boys and girls, Ruskin put into what he called grammars, Daucalion, Proserpina, Love's Meinie, to¹¹⁶ be used in the Guild schools. The suggested reading from theological and secular writers, included Moses, David, Hesiod, Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, and St. John."¹¹⁷ Reading, properly regulated, was to be the great source of improvement.

"You must read, for the nourishment of your mind, precisely under the moral laws which regulate your eating for the nourishment of the body. That is to say, you must not eat for the pleasure of eating, nor read, for the pleasure of reading. But, if you manage yourself rightly, you will enjoy your dinner, and your book....The vices and virtues of reading are more harmful on the one side, and higher on the other, as the soul is more precious than the body." 118.

The study of such subjects by such means will give, according to Ruskin, the intellectual education necessary to develop the "faculties of admiration, hope, and love." 119

113. Ib., I, 16.

114. Ib., I, 229.

115. Ib., I, 110.

116. Ib., III, 243.

117. Ib., III, 109-110.

118. Ib., III, 110.

119. Ib., III, 250.

The educational theories of Ruskin overlap his social theories in the insistence on vocational training. Since the desirable vocation for most people is agriculture, "every parish school was to have garden, playground, and cultivable land round it, or belonging to it, spacious enough to employ the scholars in fine weather mostly out of doors." 120 Since hand work secures the highest development of the individual, manual training is emphasized.

"There shall not be on St. George's estate a single thing in the house which the boys don't know how to make, nor a single dish on the table which the girls will not know how to cook." 121

Vocational training should be compulsory and adapted to the locality; "agricultural schools inland, and naval schools by the sea, the indispensable first condition of such education being that the boys learn either to ride or to sail"; everywhere are "the girls to spin, weave, and sew, and at the proper age to cook all ordinary food exquisitely." 122 The following passage contains a general statement of the idea of the adaptability of the school to individual vocational needs:

"Of course, schools of this kind cannot be in large towns, - the town school must be for townspeople; but I start with the general principle that every school is to be fitted for the children in its neighborhood who are likely to grow up and live in its neighborhood....There are, indeed, certain elements of education which are alike necessary to the inhabitants of every spot of earth. Cleanliness, obedience, the first laws of music, mechanics, and geometry, the primal facts of geography and astronomy, and the outlines of history, should evidently be taught alike to poor and rich, to sailor and shepherd, to labourer and shopboy. But for the rest, the efficiency of any school will be found to increase exactly

120. Ib., IV, 369.

121. Ib., II, 310.

122. Ib., I, 110.

in the ratio of its direct adaptation to the circumstances of the children it receives; and the quality of knowledge to be attained in a given time being equal, its value will depend on the possibilities of its instant application. You need not teach botany to the sons of fisherman, architecture to shepherds, or painting to colliers." 123.

Both intellectual and vocational training should contribute to the end of all education, moral development. The relative importance is shown by the comparison in the following passage:

"In the school itself, the things taught will be music, geometry, astronomy, botany, zoology to all; drawing, and history to children who have gift for either. And finally, to all children of what ever gift, grade, or age, the laws of Honour, the habit of Truth, the Virtue of Humility, and the Happiness of Love." 124

Just as manual labor was compulsory so "the laws of virtue and honour are, indeed, to be taught compulsorily to all men." 125

Definite suggestions for this education include:

"Moral education begins in making the creature to be educated, clean, and obedient. This must be done thoroughly, and at any cost, and with any kind of compulsion rendered necessary....Moral education consists next in making the creature practically serviceable to other creatures, according to the nature and extent of its own capacities; taking care that these be healthily developed in such service...Moral education is summed when the creature has been made to do its work with delight, and thoroughly; but this cannot be until some degree of intellectual education has been given also." 126.

Worship, "with that stoop of the soul, which in bending upraises it too", would grow out of studies worthy of inspiring "Admiration, Hope, and Love", in the line of Wordsworth which furnished Ruskin guidance in his ideas of moral education.

A summary of the social ideas of Ruskin need not be

123. Ib., IV, 379.

124. Ib., IV, 369-70.

125. Ib., IV, 382.

126. Ib., III, 250.

long, because he repeated, in a variety of forms, the same fundamental conceptions. These social ideas are to be understood, first, through mysticism, which explained the basic principles of life for him and gave the grounds of hope by which individuals might develop into a richer life through renunciation, work, and obedience. A socialistic conception of society required denial of special privileges to any class and demanded equal industrial opportunity for all. Secondly, the particular social theories of Ruskin are revealed through his criticisms of popular political economy of his time in his denial that the ultimate consumer paid for the product without any account of the cost in labor; that money and riches constituted the wealth of the nation; that supply and demand controlled production sufficiently to warrant assumption of the "economic man" who labored as any universal force to contribute to commercial prosperity; that competition was the basis for industrial progress. The change which Ruskin wished to introduce was revolutionary; means became ends. The laboring man became the element of value; the product and mercantile prosperity sank into comparative insignificance. Minimum government was no longer sufficient while people suffered. Thirdly, the social ideas which furnished Ruskin the hope of social reconstruction were amplified in the letters which were addressed to working men, in connection with the Guild of St. George. Proposed remedies included improvement of conditions of work, of home, of leadership, of education.

CHAPTER IV

EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF CARLYLE UPON THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF RUSKIN

Estimates of any influence, particularly literary influence, cannot be absolute. The borrowing of material, as in the case of Coleridge and Schlegel, proves indebtedness in a concrete way. Similarity of thought, on the other hand, is an indication of influence, not final proof; for the likeness may be due to common sources, or, with contemporaries, to the spirit of the age. When, however, resemblance in thought is maintained through several volumes, and obligation is admitted, the fact of influence may be regarded as established. These latter conditions are met in the problem of Carlyle's influence on the social ideas of Ruskin. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the extent of the influence. In Section I, the method of determining the extent of this influence is to answer three questions which naturally arise. (A) Does Ruskin quote from Carlyle frequently, or at length? (B) Does Ruskin refer often to Carlyle? What is the nature of the references? (C) Do passages from the books which are considered show the effect of particular ideas of Carlyle? In Section II, conclusions as to the extent of the influence of Carlyle upon the social ideas of Ruskin are stated.

I

An outline, including references to all the quotations of Carlyle used by Ruskin, follows:

No quotations from Carlyle occur in Unto this Last.

Three quotations from Carlyle appear in Munera Pulveris:

p. 154, from Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 227, ----- 10 lines

p. 201, from Past and Present, pp. 182-3, ----- 10 lines

p. 203, from Past and Present, p. 182, ----- 8 lines

In Fors Clavigera, Ruskin uses four quotations from Carlyle:

Vol. I, p. 31, from Frederick the Great, Bk. IV, Ch. 3, ...13 lines

p. 44, from Frederick the Great, Vol. I.7½ lines

Vol. II, p. 146, from a conversation with Carlyle 1 line

Vol. III, p. 423, from a letter of Carlyle about Darwin.....13 lines.

Ruskin makes (B) references to Carlyle by name as authority. These references are of two sorts: (1) incidental, as when Carlyle's name is given in a list of names, in connections not related to social ideas, in letters from correspondents who refer to Carlyle; (2) probative, in that these references have a direct bearing on social ideas and name Carlyle, unqualifiedly, as the source and inspirer of Ruskin's social ideas. Carlyle is not mentioned in Unto this Last. A list of incidental references follows:

Munera Pulveris, foot note p. 152.

Fors Clavigera I, p.221: "While Mr. Carlyle is just now issuing a cheaper edition" etc., in a letter from a correspondent.

p.299: "In which function his lady, as you have heard now often enough (first from Carlyle)....."

Fors Clavigera II, p.183: "(We will look at Carlyle's statement of it another day)"...

Fors Clavigera III, p.20: "I saw in one of Carlyle's works, that I might do some good, if I had

two fingers and a pen," in a letter of R.G. Sillar.

p.98: "For truly I have always loved my masters, Turner, Tintoret, and Carlyle, to the exclusion of my own thoughts."

p.138: "My Freethinking acquaintances say that with Carlyle the last of the great dreamers who have impeded the advance of science will pass away." Letter from a correspondent.

p.173: "(The clay must ~~be~~ fallow in wind and sun two years before you touch it, my master Carlyle tells me)..."

p.244: "I was first driven into literature that I might defend the fame of Turner; since that day I have been explaining the power, or proclaiming the praise, of Tintoret, - of Luini, - of Carpaccio, - of Botticelli, - of Carlyle; - never thinking for an instant of myself."

Fors Clavigera IV, p.261: "It is now nearly two years since Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Froude, and several other men of 'creditable' (shall we say) name, gathered together at call of Mr. Gladstone....The people of England answered by the mouths of their journals, that Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude knew nothing of history."

p.262: "Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude gave you theirs 'gratis' "(counsel)

p.279: "People would have understood my falling crazy if they had heard that the manuscripts on which I had spent seven years of my life had all been used to light the fire with, like Carlyle's first volume of the French Revolution."

p.327: Carlyle is mentioned in a list of vegetarians.

p.340: Carlyle is mentioned in a list of Scotch geniuses.

References to Carlyle which are (2) probative in establishing influence follow:

Munera Pulveris, preface, page XXXV, ¹ page 171, and in the appendix.

"I should dwell, even in these prefatory papers, at

1. Preceding chapter, p. 55.

more length on this subject of slavery, had not all I would say been said already, in vain, (not, as I hope, ultimately in vain), by Carlyle, in the Latter-Day Pamphlets, which I commend to the reader's gravest reading; together with that as much neglected, and still more immediately needed, on model prisons, and with the great chapter on Permanence (fifth of the last section of Past and Present), which sums what is known, and foreshadows, or rather forelights, all that is to be learned of National Discipline." (p. 171)

"I have not attempted to support, by the authority of other writers, any or the statements made in these papers... Even in the scattered passages referring to this subject in three books of Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, Past and Present, and the Latter-Day Pamphlets, - all has been said that needs to be said, and far better than I shall ever say it again." (p.211)

Fors Clavigera, I, pp. 139-41: "A good law is one that holds, whether you recognize it or not; a bad law is one that cannot hold, however much you ordain and pronounce it. That is the mighty truth which Carlyle has been telling you for a quarter of a century - in the third book of Past and Present..... Read it until you know it by heart, and from that day to this, whatever there is in England of dullest and insolentest may be always known by the natural instinct it has to howl against Carlyle..... Now I tell you once for all, Carlyle is the only living writer who has spoken the absolute and perpetual truth about yourselves and your business... Read your Carlyle, then, with all your heart, and with the best of brain you can give; and you will learn from him first, the eternity of good law, and the need of obedience to it: then, concerning your own immediate business, you will learn farther this, that the beginning of all good law, and nearly the end of it, is in these two ordinances, - That every man shall do good work for his bread; and secondly, That every man shall have good bread for his work."

Pp. 174-5: "Ever since Carlyle wrote that sentence about rights and might, in his French Revolution, all blockheads of a benevolent class have been disclaiming against him, as a worshipper of force. What else in the name of the three Magi, is to be worshipped? Force of brains, Force of heart, Force of hand;- will you dethrone these, and worship apoplexy? - despite the spirit of Heaven, and worship phthisis? Every condition of idolatry is summed in one broad wickedness of refusing to worship Force;- denying the Almighty, and bowing down to four-and-two pence with a stamp on it. But Carlyle never meant in that place to refer you to such final truth. He meant but to tell you that before you dispute about what you should get, you would do well to find out first what is to be gotten. Which

briefly is, for everybody, at last, their deserts, and no more."

p. 177: "Mr. W. Riddle, C. E., fearlessly states 'that all property must be taken under control;' which is, indeed, precisely what Mr. Carlyle has been telling you these last thirty years."

p. 247: "But your business is to choose and pay your superintendent for his sense, and not for his money, which is exactly what Mr. Carlyle has been telling you for some time."

Fors Clavigera II, p. 137: "That it should be left to me to begin such a work, with only one man in England - Thomas Carlyle - to whom I can look for steady guidance" etc.²

Conclusive results as to the extent of the influence are revealed by (C) a comparison of passages which show similarity of ideas. The large number of such passages makes complete transcription impossible for the length of this investigation. Suggestive passages have been quoted in preceding chapters. The following extracts show the basis of arriving at the conclusions. Ruskin followed Carlyle in teaching the superiority of the inner spiritual truth over the material fact or semblance.

"Had they (unhappy men and nations) known Nature's right truth, Nature's right truth would have made them free...They have forgotten the right inner True, and taken up with the Outer Sham-True....Foolish men imagine that because judgment for an evil thing is delayed, there is no justice, but an accidental one, here below. Judgment for an evil thing is many times delayed some day or two, some century or two, but it is as sure as life, it is as sure

"And neither with respect to things useful or useless can man's estimate of them alter their nature. Certain substances being good for his food, and others noxious to him, what he thinks or wishes respecting them can neither change, nor prevent, their power. If he eats corn, he will live; if nightshade, he will die....No commercial arrangement, no painting of surfaces, nor alloying of

2. Ib., p. 57.

as death! In the centre of the world-whirlwind, verily now as in the oldest days, dwells and speaks a God." 3

substances, will avail him a pennyweight. Nature asks of him calmly and inevitably, What have you found, or formed - the right thing or the wrong? By the right thing you shall live, by the wrong you shall die." 4

They agree, too, in renunciation as the right attitude of man toward worldly pleasures.⁵ They place unbounded hope in honest work, which they consider a means of health, of dignified self-respect, and of worship. They deplore the futile attempt to place, on beneficial labor, a money value.

"All works, each in their degrees, are a making of madness sane;- truly enough a religious operation; which cannot be carried on without religion. You have not work otherwise; you have eye-service, greedy grasping for wages, swift and ever swifter manufacture of semblances to get hold of wages...No man has worked, or can work, except religiously; not even the poor day-labourer, the weaver of your coat, the sewer of your shoes. All men, if they work not as in a Great Taskmaster's eye, will work all wrong, work unhappily for themselves and you. Industrial work, still under bondage to Mammon,

"I found, and have always since taught, and shall teach, I doubt not, till I die, that in resolving to do our work well, is the only sound foundation of any religion whatsoever; and that by that resolution only, and what we have done, and not our belief, Christ will judge us." 7 'Employers'. It is a noble title. If, indeed, they have found you idle, and given you employment, wisely, - let us no more call them mere 'Men' of Business, but rather 'Angels' of Business; quite the best sort of Guardian Angel." 8 "The labour producing useful result was educa-

3. Past and Present, p. 8.

4. Munera Pulveris, pp. 7-9; for other passages on the same subject, see quoted in preceding chapters, Past and Present, pp. 126-148, quoted on p. 21, and Unto this Last, p. 190, quoted on p. 58, Fors, III, 215; quoted on p. 58. Cf. Past and Present, pp. 26, 48, 78, 137, 153, 189, 190, 232; Latter-Day Pamphlets, pp. 109, 200-1, 256-7, with Fors, I, 70-1, II, 121, IV, 48, 206.

5. See chapters I¹ and III for quotations from Past and Present, pp. 204; 154; and Unto this Last, p. 126 ff; Fors IV, 51.

6. Past and Present, pp. 206-7. See pp. 146, 153, 156, 158, 196, 200, 232-3. Latter-Day Pamphlets, pp. 43, 45-6, 195.

7. Fors, IV, 8, quoted in preceding ch. p. 60. See other passages there.

8. Fors, I, 18.

the rational soul of it not yet awakened, is a tragic spectacle.. Labour is not a devil, even while encased in Mammonism; Labour is ever an imprisoned god, writhing unconsciously or consciously to escape out of Mammonism!..Blessed and thrice-blessed symptoms I discern of Master - Workers who are not vulgar men; who are Nobles, and begin to feel that they must act as such: all speed to these, that they are England's hope at present!" 6

They deplore the futile attempt to place, on beneficial labor, a money value.

Not to be supported by roundsmen systems, by never so liberal parish doles, or lodged in free and easy workhouses when distress overtakes him; not for this,...but for something far different does the heart of him struggle. It is 'for justice' that he struggles; for 'just wages', - not in money alone! An ever-toiling inferior, he would fain (though as yet he knows it not) find for himself a superior that should lovingly and wisely govern: is not that too the 'just wages' of his service done? It is for a manlike place and relation, in this world where he sees himself a man, that he struggles. At bottom, may we not say, it is even for this, That guidance and government which he cannot give himself, which in our so complex world he can no longer do without, might be afforded him?" 10 "Wages, it would appear, are no index of well-being to the working man: without proper wages there can be no well-being: but with them also there may be none." 11

tional in its influence on the temper. All such labour is. And the first condition of education, the thing you are all crying out for, is being put to wholesome useful work. And it is nearly the last condition of it too; you need very little more."

"It has been shown that the chief value and virtue of money consists in its having power over human beings; that, without this power, large material possessions are useless, and to any person possessing such powers, comparatively unnecessary. But power over human beings is attainable by other means than by money. As I said a few pages back, the money power is always imperfect and doubtful; there are many things which cannot be reached with it, others which cannot be retained by it. Many joys may be given to men which cannot be bought for gold, and many fidelities found in them which cannot be rewarded with it." 12

9. Ib., 25.

10. Chartism, p. 134.

11. Ib., p. 143.

12. Unto this Last, p. 142.

Compare the following expressions on the duty and privilege of obedience:

"No man is justified in resisting by word or deed the Authority he lives under, for a light cause, be such Authority what it may. Obedience, little as many consider that side of the matter, is the primary duty of man. No man but is bound indefeasibly, with all force of obligation, to obey. Parents, teachers, superiors, leaders, these all creatures recognize as deserving obedience. Recognized or not recognized, a man has superiors, a regular hierarchy above him; extending up, degree above degree, to Heaven itself and God the Maker, who made His world not for anarchy but for rule and order!.....Rebel without due and most due cause is the ugliest of words; the first rebel was Satan." 13

"The fool, whatever his wit, is the man who doesn't know his master- who has said in his heart- there is no God- no Law. The wise man knows his master. Less or more wise, he perceives lower or higher masters; but always some creature larger than himself- some law holier than his own. A law to be sought- learned, loved- obeyed; but in order to its discovery, the obedience must be begun first, to the best one knows. Obey something and you will have a chance some day of finding out what is best to obey. But if you begin by obeying nothing, you will end by obeying Beelzebub and all his seven invited friends." 14

That the attitude of laissez-faire was fundamentally wrong Carlyle maintains because it permitted unrelieved injustice. That justice should be shown by a different treatment of the lower classes from that which they received by those in authority, is the theme of Chapter II of Past and Present. When this chapter as a whole is compared with the first chapter of Munera Pulveris, especially sections one to eleven, the influence of the former is evident. Carlyle's figurative treatment of Nature as the Sphinx and of justice as her question makes a detached quotation more or less meaningless unless the ideas are

13. Chartism, p. 189, quoted in chapter II, p. 25, with other references on the same subject.

14. Fors, II, 420-1, quoted in chapter III, p. 61, with other references on the same subject.

understood. Freed from the figures, the ideas are those for which in chapter one of Munera Pulveris, Ruskin is giving definitions. The specific criticism which Carlyle makes is: that justice was not being done according to the system prevalent; his conviction is that justice would have to be done in order to save the Nation. In an appendix, Ruskin's statements show that the basis for his definitions is found in these two ideas of Carlyle. A comparison of the following passages reveals the similarity of the thought:

"What is Justice? that, on the whole, is the question of the Sphinx to us....The clothed embodied Justice that sits in Westminster Hall, with 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. The impure ignoble gaze with eyes, and she is not there. They will prove it to you by logic, by endless Hansard Debatings, by bursts of Parliamentary eloquence. It is not consolatory to behold! For properly, as many men as there are in a Nation who can withal see Heaven's invisible Justice, and know it to be on Earth also omnipotent, so many men are there who stand between a Nation and perdition. So many, and no more, Heavy laden England, how many hast thou in this hour? The

"The greatest of all economists are those most opposed to the doctrine of laissez-faire, namely the fortifying virtues, which the wisest men of all time have arranged under the general heads of Prudence, or Discretion (the spirit which discerns and adopts rightly); Justice (the spirit which rules and divides rightly)....Thus, precisely according to the number of just men in a nation, is their power of avoiding either intestine or foreign war. All disputes may be settled, if a sufficient number of persons have been trained to submit to the principles of justice, while the necessity for war is in direct ratio to the number of unjust persons who are incapable of determining a quarrel but by violence. Whether injustice takes the form of the desire of dominion, or of refusal to submit to it, or of lust of territory, of lust of money, or of mere irregular passion and wanton will, the result is economically the same; - loss of quantity of

Supreme Power sends new and ever new, all born at least with hearts of flesh and not of stone;- and heavy misery it-
self, once heavy enough, will prove didactic!" 15

power and life consumed in repressing the injustice." 16

Compare their reason for opposing the tenets of political economy which counted material possessions the basis of the well-being of a nation.

"The condition of the great body of people in a country is the condition of the country itself: this you say is a truism in all times; a truism rather pressing to get recognized as a truth now, and be acted upon, in these times." 17

"Another thing, which the British reader often reads and hears...is...That Society 'exists for the protection of property'...For the protection of property, in very truth, and for that alone! And now what is thy property? That parchment title-deed, that purse thout buttonest in thy breeches-pocket, is that thy valuable property? Unhappy brother, I without parchment at all, with purse oftenest in the flaccid state...have quite other property than that! I have the miraculous breath of Life in me, breathed into my nostrils by Almighty God. I have affections, thoughts, a god-given capability to be and do; rights, therefore,-----But my soul, breathed into me by God, my Me and what capability is there; that is mine, and I will resist the stealing of it." 18

"Perhaps it may even appear after some consideration, that the persons themselves are the wealth - that these pieces of gold with which we are in the habit of guiding them, are, in fact, nothing more than a kind of Byzantine harness...In fact, it may be discovered that the true veins of wealth are purple - and not in Rock, but in Flesh - perhaps even that the final outcome and consumation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures....I desire....to leave this one great fact clearly stated, THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, joy and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possession over the lives of others." 19

15. Past and Present, pp. 13-4.

16. Munera Pulveris, Appendix I, pp.

17. Chartism, Op. Cit., p. 121.

18. Ib., Pp. 163-4.

19. Unto this Last, pp. 143-4; 185, quoted in ch. III, p. 67.

The idea of Ruskin follows that of Carlyle in comparative indifference to the form of government; the obedient attitude of the people toward government is essential.

"Government can do much, but it can in nowise do all. Government, as the most conspicuous object in Society, is called upon to give signal of what shall be done; and, in many ways, to preside over, further, and command the doing of it. But the Government cannot do, by all its signaling and commanding, what Society is radically indisposed to do. In the long-run every Government is the exact symbol of its People, with their wisdom and unwisdom; we have to say, Like People like Government.- The main substance of this immense Problem of Organizing 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. Of all that can be enacted by any Parliament in regard to it, the germs must already lie potentially extant in those two Classes, who obey such enactment." 20

...."Though it is not absurd to quite the same extent to believe that a nation depends for happiness and virtue on the form of its government, it is more difficult to understand how so large a number of otherwise rational persons have been beguiled into thinking so. The stuff of which the nation is made is developed by the effort and the fate of ages: according to that material, such and such government becomes possible to it, or impossible. What other form of government you try upon it than the one it is fit for, necessarily comes to nothing; and a nation wholly worthless is capable of none." 21

Cook suggests that "Fors Clavigera may be described, under one aspect of it, as a resumption, at the latter part of the century, of the contrast between Past and Present which Carlyle had drawn three decades before." 22 In Ruskin's work the ideals of the past are evident. Comparison of passages shows that Ruskin answers the call of Carlyle for individual response to the task of organizing labor.

20. Past and Present, p. 270.

21. Fors, I, 178.

22. Cook, Op. Cit., II, 321.

"It is with the hope of awakening here and there a British man to know himself for a man and a divine soul, that a few words of parting admonition, to all persons to whom the Heavenly Powers have lent power of any kind in this land, may now be addressed. And first to those same Master-Workers, Leaders of Industry; who stand nearest and in fact powerfulest, though not most prominent, being as yet in too many senses a Virtuality rather than an Actuality. The Leaders of Industry, if Industry is ever to be led, are virtually the Captains of the World! if there be no nobleness in them, there will never be an Aristocracy more. But let the Captains of Industry consider: once again, are they born of other clay than the old Captains of Slaughter; doomed forever to be no Chivalry, but a mere gold-plated Doggery...Captains of Industry are the true Fighters, henceforth recognizable as the only true ones:..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 they country."23

"It is indeed because I have seen you to be capable of co-operation, and to have conceived among yourselves the necessity of severe laws for its better enforcement, that I have determined to make the first essay of St. George's work at Sheffield. But I do not think you have learned that such unity of effort can only be vital or successful when organized verily for the 'interests' of England' - not for your own...How long is it to be before these virtues of loyalty and obedience shall be conceived as capable of development, no less in employments which have some useful end, and fruitful power, than in those which are simply the moral organization of massacre, and the mechanical reduplication of ruin?....You are called into a Christian ship of war;- not hiring a corsair's hull, to go forth and rob on the high seas. And you will find ~~the~~ engagements you have made only tenable by a continual reference to the cause for which you are contending,- not to the advantage you hope to reap...You will have only to consider, each day, how much, with an earnest day's labour, you can produce, of any useful things you are able to manufacture."24

Carlyle speaks of the 'Chivalry of Labor', its 'Captains of Industry', and 'Soldiers of Industry'. Ruskin replies, "Soldiers of the Ploughshare as well as soldiers of the Sword."

The similarity of their ideas on the (a) importance

23. Past and Present, p. 271-2.

24. Fors, IV, 62-3.

of controlling land, the idea of rent, (b) of permanency of contract, (c) of overproduction, (d) of sanitation, and of (e) education, is also to be observed.

(a) "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..Properly speaking, the Land belongs to these two: to Almighty God; and to all His Children of Men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell Land on any other principle: it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it." 25

(b) "Let us here hint at simply one widest universal principle, as the basis from which all organization hitherto has grown up among men, and all henceforth will have to grow; The principle of Permanent Contract instead of Temporary. Permanent not Temporary:- you do not hire the mere red-coated fighter by the day, but by the score of years! Permanence, persistence is the first condition of all fruitfulness in the ways of men." 27

"Tenants, I say, and at long lease, if they behave well; with power eventually to purchase the piece of land they live on for themselves, if they can save the price of it; the rent they pay, meanwhile, being the tithe of the annual produce, to St. George's fund. The modes of the cultivation of the land are to be under the control of the overseer of the whole estate, appointed by the Trustees of the fund; but the tenants shall build their own houses to their own minds, under certain conditions as to materials and strength; and have for themselves the entire produce of the land, except the tithe aforesaid." 26

"What are you to do then? First, - the act which will be the foundation of all bettering and strength in your own lives, as in that of your tenants, - fix their rent; under legal assurance that it shall not be raised; and under moral assurance that, if you see they treat your land well, and are likely to leave it to you, if they die, raised in value, the said rent shall be diminished in proportion to the improvement; that is to say, providing they pay you the fixed rent during the time ~~of~~ lease, you are to leave to them the entire benefit or whatever increase they can give to the value of the land." 28

25. Past and Present, pp.174-5.

26. Fors, II, 134-5.

27. Past and Present, p. 277.

28. Fors, II, 262.

They agree over-production is not the cause of social ills.

(c) "But what will reflective readers say of a Governing Class, such as ours, addressing its Workers with the indictment of 'Over-production'!. Over-production runs it not so? Ye miscellaneous, ignoble manufacturing individual, ye have produced too much! We accuse you of making above two-hundred thousand shirts for the bare backs of mankind...Too many shirts? Well, that is a novelty, in this intemperate Earth, with its nine-hundred millions of bare backs! But the Community commanded you, saying, 'See that the shirts are well apportioned, that our Human Laws be emblem of God's Laws'; and where is the apportionment? Two million shirtless or ill-shirted workers sit enchanted in Workhouse Bastiles, five million more (according to some) in Ugolino Hunger-cellars; and for remedy, you say, what say you?—Raise our rents!" 29

"We can neither give anybody a beating courteously, nor take one in good part, or without screaming or lying about it: and finally, we add to these perfected follies of Action more finely perfected follies of Inaction; and contrive hitherto unheard-of ways of being wretched through the very abundance of peace; our workmen, here, vowing themselves to idleness, lest they should lower Wages, and there, being condemned by their parishes to idleness lest they should lower Prices; while outside the workhouse all the parishioners are buying anything nasty, so that it be cheap; and, in a word, under the seraphic teaching of Mr. Mill, we have determined at last that it is not Destruction, but Production, that is the cause of human distress." 30.

(d) "Again, are not Sanitary Regulations possible for a Legislature? The old Romans had their Aediles; who would, I think, in direct contravention to supply and demand, have rigorously seen rammed up into total abolition many a foul cellar in our Southwarks, Saint-Gileses, and dark poison-lanes; saying sternly, 'Shall a Roman man dwell there?' The Legislature, at whatever cost of consequences, would have had to answer, 'God forbid!' - The Legislature, even as it now is, could order all dingy Manufacturing Towns to cease from their

"But everywhere, and all day long, you are vitiating it (the air with foul chemical exhalations; and the horrible nests, which you call towns, are little more than laboratories for the distillation into leaven of venomous smokes and smells, mixed with effluvia from decaying animal matter, and infectious miasmata from purulent disease. On the other hand, your power of purifying the air, by dealing properly and swiftly with all substances in corruption;

29. Past and Present, pp. 170-1.

30. Fors, I, 55.

soot and darkness; to let-in the blessed sunlight, the blue of Heaven, and become clear and clean; to burn their coal-smoke, namely, and make flame of it. Baths, free air, a wholesome temperature, ceilings twenty feet high, might be ordained." 31

by absolutely forbidding noxious manufactures; and by planting in all soils the trees which cleanse and invigorate earth and atmosphere, - is literally infinite." 32
 "No true luxury, wealth, or religion is possible to dirty persons; nor is it decent or human to attempt to compass any temporal prosperity whatever by the sacrifice of cleanliness. The speedy abolition of all abolishable filth is the first process of education." 33

(e) "Who would suppose that Education were a thing which had to be advocated on the ground of local expediency, or indeed on any ground? As if it stood not on the basis of everlasting duty, as a prime necessity of man. It is a thing that should need no advocating; much as it does actually need. To impart the gift of thinking to those who cannot think: this, one would imagine, was the first function a government had to set about discharging. Were it not a cruel thing to see, in any province of an empire, the inhabitants living all mutilated in their limbs, each strong man with his right arm lamed? How much crueller to find the strong soul, with its eyes still sealed, its eyes extinct so that it sees not!" 34

"We have, it seems, now set our opening hearts much on this one point, that we will have education for all men and women now, and for all boys and girls that are to be. Nothing, indeed, can be more desirable, if only we determine also what kind of education must be good." 35
 "By sensibility I mean its natural perception of beauty, fitness, and rightness; or of what is lovely, decent, and just: faculties dependent much on race, and the primal signs of fine breeding in man; but cultivatable also by education, and necessarily perishing without it. True education has, indeed, no other function than the development of these faculties, and of the relative will. It has been the great error of modern intelligence to mistake science for education. You do not educate a man by telling what he knows not, but by making him what he was not." 36.

31. Past and Present, pp. 264-5.

32. Fors, I, 68.

33. Ib, III, 250.

34. Chartism, Op. Cit., pp. 192-3.

35. Fors, I. 42.

36. Munera Pulveris, 130.

Neither Carlyle nor Ruskin thinks that advertising or the newspaper is a helpful agency in social improvement.

"We take it for granted, the most rigorous of us, that all men who have made anything are expected and entitled to make the loudest possible proclamation of it, and call on a discerning public to reward them for it. Every man his own trumpeter; that is, to a really alarming extent, the accepted rule.....I answer, once for all, that the fact is not so. Nature requires no man to make proclamation of his doings and hat-makings; Nature forbids all men to make such. There is not a man or hat-maker born into the world but feels, or has felt, that he is degrading himself if he speaks of his excellencies and prowesses, and supremacy in his craft....He feels that he is already a poor braggart; fast hastening to be a falsity and speaker of the Untruth." 37.

"Here, certainly enough is a Parliament that will do no business except such as can be done in sport; and unfortunately, it is well known, almost none can be done in that way. To which Parliament, in the centre of such a Nation, introduce now assiduous Newspaper Reporters, and six yards of small type laid on all breakfast-tables every morning; alas, are not the Six-hundred and fifty-eight miscellaneous gentlemen, who sit to do sovereign business in such circumstances, verily a self-contradiction, a solecism in Nature, - Nature having appointed that business shall not be done in that way? Incapable of doing business; capable of speech only, and this none of the best. Speech

"The prospectus of the Boardmen's and General Advertising Co-operative Society, invites... 'a small sum of money by way of capital', to set the members of the society up in the profitable business of walking about London between two boards. Here is at last found for us, then, it appears, a line of life!....To lounge at the East End about the streets, with one Lie pinned to the front of you, and another to the back of you, will pay, in time, only with proper preliminary expenditure of capital. Tradesmen are beginning to find it difficult to live by lies of their own; and workmen will not find it much easier to live, by walking about, flattened between other people's." 38.

"Belgravia declared, by way of coup-de-grace to Blackwood, that something which Blackwood had spoken of as settled in one way had been irrevocably settled the other way, - 'settled', said triumphant Belgravia, 'in seventy-two newspapers.' Seventy-two newspapers, then, it seems- or, with a margin, eighty-two, - perhaps, to be perfectly safe, we had better say ninety-two- are enough to settle anything in this England of ours, for the present. But, irrevocably, I doubt, If, perchance, you workmen should reach the level of understanding scholar's English instead of newspaper's English, things might even

37. Past and Present, p. 142.

38. Fors, i, 28.

which, as we can too well see, whether it be speech to the question and to the wise men near, or 'speech to Buncombe'....to the distant constituencies... will yearly grow more worthless as speech, and threaten to finish by becoming burdensome to gods and men!" 39

unsettle themselves again; and, in the end, might even get into positions uncontemplated by the ninety-two newspapers, - contemplated only by the laws of Heaven, and settled by them, some time since, as positions which, if things ever got out of, they would need to get into again." 40.

The extent of Carlyle's contribution to Ruskin is thus revealed by a comparison of the statements of their books; the influence of the ideas of Carlyle is not shown to any great extent, either in length or in frequency of quotation. In fact, Ruskin quotes, counting actual paraphrases, more from Mill or from Plato than from Carlyle. The social ideas of Carlyle do not appear in the majority of references to him, which are merely incidental in their nature. In a few significant references, however, Ruskin names Carlyle as the source of inspiration in the field of social problems. Judging from internal evidence, the reader decides that there is sameness of thought in the works of Carlyle and Ruskin, but not the similarity of phrasing which would characterize Ruskin as deficient in capacity for thinking. The ideas of Carlyle stimulate Ruskin to an elaboration of the original suggestion. There are no borrowings without authority; no coincidences have to be explained; no use of Carlyle's striking illustrations or figures of speech appear.

Section II

Although Ruskin's method of expression is unlike that of Carlyle, the (A) conclusions reached are the same. Other passages from Ruskin show that (B) he differed from Carlyle in some

39. Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 226.

40. Fors, I, 142.

particulars, which Ruskin developed independently, or under other influences.

Ruskin followed Carlyle in (A) the fundamental principles of his teaching. Ruskin maintains, as does Carlyle, (1) the improvement of all people can be attained only in and by the leadership of the best people.⁴¹ For this reason neither valued enlarged suffrage, though neither solved the problem of selecting the best leaders and making them responsible.

Ruskin followed Carlyle (2) in denying the efficiency of truth of the popular laws of economy in governing economic social relations.⁴² Ruskin emphasized the mechanical nature of the economic system; it had taken joy out of work for the laboring man. This evil is his expression of Carlyle's denunciation of the idea that the mechanical bond of cash could or should be the sole connection between employer and employed.⁴³ They agree as to the remedy for modern dislike of labor: "that social reform must begin with the internal and moral reform of the individual, and need not be looked for, or expected from any mechanical reconstruction of society."⁴⁴

41. See quoted in ch. II, p. 25, Chartism, p. 189; Latter-Day Pamphlets, p. 23. See quoted in ch. III, p. 73., Fors I, pp. 189-90; p. 131. Ruskin advised educational qualifications for voting, and a kind of evaluation of votes, according to the age of the voters, a system of plural voting. Munera Pulveris, p. 161 ff. For other points of difference, see later discussion.

42. Claus, Paul, Op.Cit., V. 16, p. 473: "Und als er dann durch ein einfluss Carlyles sich etwas mit diesen unheimlichen gegenstand zu beschäftigen begann... V.17, p. 285: "Hier (gegen nationalökonomie) hat er in einer weise für das von ihm als recht erkannte gekämpft, dass Carlyle dazu kam von der, göttlichen wut (divine rage) Ruskins in der verteidigung der wahrheit zu reden." V.17, 288; "Mit Carlyle ist Ruskin der überzeugung, dass alles dauernde in der geschichte der menschheit ergebnis angestrengter arbeit ist."

43. See quoted in ch. II, Past and Present, p. 19; in ch. III, Fors, IV, 8; I, 113.

44. Gibbins, Henry De Beltgens, English Social Reformers, p. 213.

Ruskin followed Carlyle in (3) believing that the form⁴⁵ of Government was comparatively unimportant but that the fact of strong Government was a means of social improvement. For that reason, they urged Government control of workshops, of employment, of old age pensions, of housing of the poor, and land for the workers on it.⁴⁶

Ruskin followed Carlyle (4) in the idea that the opportunity for education should be universal.⁴⁷ As a result of general enlightenment, social improvement will follow the teaching of right ideas about organization of labor, control of land, sanitary conditions.⁴⁸

In an estimation of the extent of influence the question arises (B) whether Ruskin differed from Carlyle, and, if so, in what particulars. Cook discusses the question in a general way:

"Are there Ruskinians as well as Darwinians? Mr. Ruskin's own answer is a decided negative. Many men, he says, have 'hope of being remembered as the discoverers of some important truth, or the founders of some exclusive system called after their own names. But I have never applied myself to discover anything, being content to praise what had already been discovered; so that no true disciple of mine will ever be a Ruskinian'. The 'Gospel according to Ruskin' is one of glad tidings, but not of 'news'....He took the Gospel of Truth, Sincerity, and nobleness as he had learned it from Carlyle, and applied it to a new sphere untouched by Carlyle." 49

Hobson says: "Turner made him an art critic; Carlyle, a social reformer." 50 Such general statements, however, do not preclude important differences on the part of Ruskin.

45. See references above, 17 and 18.

46. Past and Present, p. 174 ff. in ch. III, p. 71. Unto this Last, preface, pp. 111-2.

47. See references above, 34; 35; 36.

48. See references above, 25; 24; 27; 28; 31; 33.

49. Cook, E.T., Studies in Ruskin, pp. 2-4.

50. Hobson, J. A., Op. Cit., p. 36.

Since the purpose of the preceding search has been to find whether Ruskin followed the ideas of Carlyle, dissimilarities have not been pointed out. To show the differences in emphasis and in detail is the purpose of the rest of this study. The social ideas of Ruskin differ from those of Carlyle (1) in being more technical in the presentation of opposition to popular theories governing social relations; (2) in revealing their significance in a concrete attempt to put theories into practice in the Guild of St. George.⁵¹ The analytic power of Ruskin is shown in his treatment of the prevailing theories of economy and of government in their relation to society.⁵² The first two chapters of Munera Pulveris compare the definitions of authorities on political economy. Contrast the following passages of Carlyle and Ruskin which state the same idea about the injurious effect of making money the basis of social relations. Where Carlyle is highly figurative, Ruskin is often matter-of-fact.

"A poor Working Mammonism getting itself 'strangled in the partridge-nets of an unworking Dilettantism', and bel-
lowing dreadfully, and already black in the face, is surely a
disastrous spectacle! But of a Midas-eared Mammonism, which
indeed at bottom all pure Mammonisms are, what better can you
expect? No better;- if not this, then something other equally
disastrous, if not still more disastrous. Mammonism, grown
asinine, have to become human again, and rational; they have,
on the whole, to cease to be Mammonisms, were it even on com-
pulsion, and pressure of the hemp round their neck! - my friends
of the working Aristocracy, there are now a great many things
which you also, in your extreme need, will have to consider." 53

51. Gaines, Francis, Social Criticism of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.60:
"This, then, is the great distinction in the lives of the two;
when Carlyle had delivered his message, he left it for society
to accept it or leave it; Ruskin not only delivered the mes-
sage, but undertook to force it on society."

52. Sizeranne, M. de la, Ruskin and the Religion of Beauty, p.131,
quotes Mazzini: "Ruskin's is the most analytic mind in Europe
at this moment."

Chesterton, Op. Cit., p. 63: "He was not so great a man as
Carlyle, but he was a much more clear-headed man."

53. Past and Present, p. 182.

"And it is quite possible for the simplest workman or labourer for whom I write to understand what the feelings of a gentleman are, and share them, if he will; but the crisis and horror of this present time are that its desire of money and the fulness of luxury dishonestly attainable by common persons, are gradually making churls of all men; and the nobler passions are not merely disbelieved, but even the conception of them seems ludicrous to the impotent churl mind." 54

While Carlyle emphasized the general falsity of making 'cash the sole nexus', and of trusting the laws of competition and of supply and demand, Ruskin analyzes these so-called laws that he may state the fallacies. They agree, for instance, in the conviction that human choice is related to economic law and that moral facts should affect economic relations. The following passages show the general nature of Carlyle's statement and the analytic quality of Ruskin's, on the subject of inequality of wealth.

"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 enchanted wealth, and belongs yet to nobody. We might ask, which of us has it enriched? We can spend thousands where we once spent hundreds; but can purchase nothing good with them. We have sumptuous garnitures for our life, but have forgotten to live in the middle of them. It is enchanted wealth; no man of us can touch it. The class of men who feel that they are truly better off by means of it, let them give us their name!.... To whom, then, is this wealth of England wealth? Who is it that it blesses; makes happier, wiser, beautifuler, in any way better?....As yet no one. We have more riches than any nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls, and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. Workers, Master workers, Unworkers, all men, come to pause; stand fixed, and cannot farther." 55

54. Fors, II, 195.

55. Past and Present, pp. 5-6.

"Now the establishment of inequality cannot be shown in the abstract to be either advantageous or disadvantageous to the body of the nation. The rash and absurd assumption that such inequalities are necessarily advantageous, lies at the root of most of the popular fallacies on the subject of political economy. For the eternal and inevitable law in this matter is, that the beneficialness of the inequality depends, first, on the methods by which it was accomplished, and, secondly, on the purposes to which it is applied. Inequalities of wealth, unjustly established, have assuredly injured the nation in which they exist during their establishment; and, unjustly directed, injure it yet more during their existence. But inequalities of wealth justly established, benefit the nation in the course of their establishment; and, nobly used, aid it yet more by their existence. That is to say, among every active and well-governed people, the various strength of individuals, tested by full exertion and specially applied to various need, issues in unequal, but harmonious results, receiving reward or authority according to its class and service; while in the inactive or ill-governed nation, the gradations of decay and the victories of treason work out also their own rugged system of subjection and success; and substitute, for the melodious inequalities of concurrent power, the iniquitous dominances and depressions of guilt and misfortune." 56.

Besides this difference in analysis or emphasis on particulars, Ruskin expresses his ideas in greater detail. For instance, Carlyle in Chartism, mentions universal education as one of the two 'great things' needed, and follows the statement with five paragraphs on the difficulties; in Past and Present, he suggests that an effective Education Service is possible; in Latter-Day Pamphlets, he proposes a Minister of Education. In all these references not more than eight pages are used. On the other hand, with the exception of pages given to reports of the Master of the Guild and to letters from correspondents, the two thousand pages of Forrs are written for the purpose of educating the working men to whom they are addressed and of suggesting better means of education for children.

Perhaps the most striking differences between the social ideas of Carlyle and Ruskin grow out of (2) Ruskin's attempts to put their theories into practice in the Guild of St. George. For instance, Ruskin worked out a system of education in such detail in order to establish the right kind of schools in connection with the experiment. In the letters to workingmen he emphasized the bad effect of machinery in greater detail than Carlyle ever did. Some explanation was necessary for the absence of machinery, other than that run by natural power, on the Guild land.

Since compensation for improvements would encourage tidiness and thrift, Ruskin urged recognition of payment for progress rather than of increased taxation. He came to the conclusion, independent of Carlyle, that taking interest on loans of money was wrong.⁵⁷

Besides expressing, elaborately and technically, the ideas which Carlyle suggested, Ruskin developed certain ideas from other sources and from independent thinking. His constant study of Plato accounts for some of the details of the St. George scheme, which could not have come from Carlyle. Ruskin's previous study of art and his appreciation of the beauties of nature, quite independent of Carlyle or of Plato, explain some of the suggestions for social improvement. The points of departure from Carlyle in this scheme of social reconstruction are mainly (a) the influence of Plato, and (b) the influence of art.

57. Fors, I, 247; III, 269, 307.

Ruskin studied Plato constantly in connection with the social problems.⁵⁸ In the government regulations planned for the Guild, Ruskin applies some of the doctrines of Plato. Cook says that in politics he followed the theories of Plato and "sought to reconstruct society on the Platonic conception of Justice - assigning to each man his due place."⁵⁹ Although Ruskin was more concerned with presenting principles of sound social relations than with the practical aspects, he followed in his instructions to the members of the Guild Plato's sense of obligation on the part of community authorities to watch the public health by preventing adulteration of food, impurities of all sorts, and unhealthful conditions. The idea of participation in most of the activities necessary to life by each person, or opposition to over-specialization, is an application of the Greek philosopher's thought.

"For, if I may venture to say a ridiculous thing, if we were to compel the best men everywhere to keep taverns for a time, to carry on retail trade, or do anything of that sort: or if, in consequence of some necessity, the best women were compelled to take to a similar calling, then we should know how agreeable and pleasant all these things are. And if they were carried on according to pure reason, all such occupations would be held in honour."⁶⁰

Some of Ruskin's educational ideas were similar to those of Plato, or were the result of Ruskin's training and observation. The unconscious effect of majestic external surroundings for the school and suitable pictures for the walls inside

58. Cook, E.T., The Life of Ruskin, II, p.34: in 1861 Ruskin was studying Plato in connection with social problems.

Letters of Ruskin to Norton, Vol. II, p.139: in 1876, he was translating Plato's Laws.

Fors., I, 227.

Fors., IV, 368. In 1879, he refers to Plato, as authority.

59. Cook, Op. Cit., p. 140.

60. Plato, Laws (Jowett's translation), quoted in Cook, Op. Cit., compare, Fors, I, 122; II, 130 ff.; III, 235 ff. IV, 141, ff.

was, to Ruskin, a part of the educational process. Music and dancing received even more attention:

"Music and dancing. They are quite the two primal instruments of education...In St. George's schools, reading, writing, and accounts may be spared where pupils show no turn to any of these scholarships; but music and dancing, never." 61

Ruskin is like Plato, too, in fearing the disastrous effect of improper music and poetry. Noble rhythmical productions became an important instrument of cultural education. Bell-ringing received some attention.⁶² Committing good poetry to memory and hearing well-read selections from books were a part of the educational process.⁶³

Ruskin gave more attention in his schemes for social improvement to stimulating and satisfying a love of the beautiful⁶⁴ than any suggestion from Carlyle would warrant. This emphasis came from Ruskin's careful attention to art and to the conditions which fostered it. The search for proper conditions for pure art, which caused Ruskin to turn to Carlyle for a solution of social problems, was never entirely abandoned. The natural interconnection of art and social economy, in Ruskin's plans, explains some of the conditions which the Guild met in its practice of his well-known saying that "life without industry is guilt; industry without art is brutality." Ruskin taught that simplification of life on a just basis should precede any formal instruction in art; then, art might come not for its own sake, but to make life richer.

61. Fors. III, 24-5.

62. Ib. IV, 383.

63. Ib., IV, 374-384.

64. Ib., III, 215.

Formal art does not have a place in the curriculum of the
 St. George schools.⁶⁵ Some attention was to be given to
 the making of artistic maps, but the content value con-
 sisted in the historical and geographical facts represented.⁶⁶
 With Ruskin, the purpose of education was to furnish train-
 ing in admiration, hope, and love. With Carlyle, the most
 that life can teach is the value of reverence or worship,
 work, which may result in blessedness, and renunciation or
 sacrifice. The ideas are not so different in their final
 analysis, but, as has been said, the tone of Ruskin is more
 tender than that of Carlyle in teaching men the principles
 which should control their social relations.⁶⁷ The same in-
 terpreter of Ruskin called him a representative of the Vic-
 torian Art attitude in its change from indifference to hu-
 manity to the service of mankind by art:

"The change in Ruskin is the change of the century.
 From Modern Painters to Rors Clavigera, - this is the great
 transition of the age. We began the Victorian era with art:
 with high theoretic enthusiasm, with romantic devotion to the
 past, with reverence for beauty yet often with complacent
 content in our elaborate society. We end with social science:
 with a strenuous, practical earnestness, with consecration to
 human needs, with deepening humility. Beauty is not forgotten
 nor despised. It is ours, a precious possession forever. But
 it has led us to something beyond itself, - to the conception
 of that perfect state where alone it can be perfectly realized.
 It is because John Ruskin, more than any other one man in Eng-
 land, felt these two influences of Art and Humanity, that we
 are eager to study him." 68

In conclusion, the present investigation shows that
 the social ideas of Ruskin ~~were~~ influenced by those of Carlyle,

65. Rors, I, 110 ff. See also ch. III.

66. Ib., IV, 386-8.

67. Scudder, vida, An introduction to the writings of Ruskin,
 p. 255.

68. Ib., p. 15.

in that Ruskin accepted practically all of Carlyle's principles of social criticism and all of his suggestions for social improvement; that Ruskin made entirely proper use of the ideas which he got from Carlyle in that Ruskin gave frequent and unqualified statements as to his indebtedness; that Ruskin made practically no use of the literary material of Carlyle after understanding the thought; that Ruskin differed from Carlyle in emphasis and in detail. Ruskin agreed with Carlyle in the reality of spiritual forces, which revealed a mysticism out of sympathy with the scientific modes of thought in the Victorian period. In fact, logic they scorned in dealing with such questions as the rights of man. Accordingly, there is no agreement with utilitarian tests for every detail of life; nor is there any sympathy with the sceptical attitude toward the value of intuition. Similarly, there is definite opposition to the whole drift and pressure of modern days towards exalting popular opinion and popular movements as oracles to be valued above the judgment of the wise, the strong, and the good. Ruskin differed from Carlyle in making greater use of analytical processes of thought and in formulating definitions; in finding in Plato and in his art experience suggestions for the experiment in social reconstruction which he made in the St. George Guild.

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Preliminary Note

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