

## Carlyle's Unpublished "French Republic"

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**T**HOMAS CARLYLE'S "FRENCH REPUBLIC" IS UNIQUE AMONG his unpublished writings. Many manuscripts of material that he never published survive, but "French Republic" came close to publication, for it was sent up in print, proofed by Carlyle, and a revised proof was prepared before John Forster, editor of the *Examiner*, decided not to publish it.<sup>1</sup> The editors of the Carlyle letters have identified the key factors—Carlyle's discussion of the "labour question" and riots in Glasgow and London—that likely led to Forster's decision (*CL* 22: 262n1).<sup>2</sup> A careful examination of the manuscript and proofs not only confirms their assessment but also reveals more specifically that Forster probably was concerned that the article, which would have appeared as the opinion of the *Examiner* itself, could have been construed as supporting radical social change at a time when fears of social upheaval were rising.

Carlyle was spurred by the events of 1848 to write a series of short newspaper articles on France and Ireland. On 23 February,

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript and proofs are in the Forster Collection of the Victoria and Albert National Art Library. The manuscript is F.48.E.17 item 55, the corrected proof is F.48.E.18 item 189, and the final proof is F.48.E.18 item 192.

<sup>2</sup> They also point toward the change in ownership of the *Examiner*. Michael Goldberg, who published an "abbreviated version" of "French Republic" in this journal's ancestor, the *Carlyle Newsletter*, makes a number of conjectures, but, because the article was in line with the *Examiner's* editorial policy, ultimately deems Forster's decision a "mystery" (22). Volume 22 of the *Collected Letters* (1995) provides important evidence, but it had not yet been published when Goldberg's article appeared.

in response to growing unrest, which had led to riots the preceding days, the ministry of François Guizot resigned and the next day King Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England. Carlyle's letters manifest considerable excitement about these events, which he followed closely. A long-time reader of the *Examiner*, a weekly paper, he now, "for the first time in his life," subscribed to the daily *Times* (CL 22: 257n4). On 26 February, two days after the subscription began, he reported that news had arrived that Louis Philippe was "*deposed*" and that he was beginning "to scribble a little" (CL 23: 86n1, 22: 253-54). A day later, he suggested to Forster that he was "half-inclined to try [his] hand at a little thunder in the *Examiner* on French affairs" (CL 22: 256), and by Wednesday, 1 March, he was ready to submit the manuscript for "*Louis Philippe*" (CL 22: 258), which appeared as an unsigned leader in the next Saturday's *Examiner* ([4 March]: 145-46).

About 2 March, even before "Louis-Philippe" appeared, Carlyle indicated that he had begun a second article, "about 'republic'" (CL 22: 259). As the *Times* reported on 28 February, the Provisional Government had declared its intention to re-establish the French Republic. Evoking the first French Republic and the French Revolution, this declaration prompted worries that both the *Times* and the *Examiner* sought to address, the *Times* in its editorials of 1 and 3 March and the *Examiner* on 4 March in an editorial that preceded Carlyle's "Louis-Philippe." That Carlyle wrote "French Republic" at least in part to respond to these editorials can be seen in the way he addresses two issues that they raise: the risk that the situation in France would lead to armed conflict and the radical social policies of the republic.

Of particular interest is the 3 March *Times* editorial, which assessed how each of the major European powers was likely to respond, noting in particular that while the "most open defiance of the Republic of France might be expected to proceed" from the Russian Czar, the most "imminent danger of the peace of Europe lies in the condition of the Austrian empire" (4). Carlyle fundamentally agreed with its reassuring conclusion that even these powers would not risk war; as he put it, "no country of Europe, not even Austria—Russia is too distant—is likely to have the power, if it had the inclination,

to attack this Republic from without” (46.20–23).<sup>3</sup> Carlyle directly echoes the references to Austria and to the Czar, to whom he refers later in the passage (46.32). Although his view presumably corresponded with that of the *Examiner* also, he did worry, after submitting the manuscript, that there was “a thing about war *with* Russia” that would need to be “softened or cut out” (CL 22: 261). In fact, this passage appears intact in the proof, and it was Carlyle who softened it by changing Russia’s possible response from “crushing down liberty” (43.23–24) to “crushing such an enterprise” (46.35).

The aspect of the *Times* and *Examiner* editorials that he seems to have been most concerned about was their comments on republican government and, in particular, on the economic innovations it was putting into effect. While Carlyle wrote one paragraph on the topic of war, he devoted three paragraphs—out of a total of nine—to the republic and economic reform. The 1 March *Times* editorial dismissed as unrealistic the declaration proposed by Louis Blanc, one of the republic’s new ministers, that “PROPERTY [was to be] respected, but the RIGHT TO LABOUR guaranteed” and pointed out the affiliation between Blanc’s plans to set up national workshops and the “Communist doctrines” of St. Simon and Fourier (5). Likewise, the *Examiner*, after joining in the near universal condemnation of the corruption of Louis Philippe’s government, expressed misgivings about the republic and declared, with reference to its economic program, that “the new state of things has been marked by very bad doctrine in political economy” (145). That Carlyle was responding to these editorials is apparent from the explicit reference to the press in his contention that the republic’s attempt to address the “labour question” (38.23) is not “a sin . . . as certain of our Newspapers seem to apprehend,” but “is a necessity, a duty of life and death!” (38.32–34). Just as directly, he responded to the *Examiner*’s claim that the government had adopted “very bad doctrine in political economy” by replying that “the ghost of Political Economy, and the sublime law of laissez-faire and supply and demand” (39.17–18) must be set aside in order to address the problem of labor.

<sup>3</sup> All quotations from “French Republic” are documented with the page and line numbers from the transcriptions following this introduction.

Carlyle had been interested in Blanc's ideas, as expressed in his *L'Organisation du travail* (1839), for nearly a decade. Blanc was a follower of the St. Simonians, who had seen in him a kindred spirit and with whom he corresponded in the 1830s. Already in *Past in Present* (1843), Carlyle had referred to what "our Continental friends . . . call 'Organisation of Labour'" (3.10.194), and not long after writing "French Republic" he commented that although Blanc did not appear to have a great mind, he was "a truly convinced and sincere man" (*CL* 22: 274). While he did not use the phrase "organization of labour" in "French Republic," he evoked it through his reference to the "labour question," and in letters written in the following weeks and months he linked the organization of labor to the themes he expressed there.<sup>4</sup> While Blanc's "socialism" certainly struck some as radical, his contention that competition harmed workers was in keeping with Carlyle's views, just as it was of the Christian Socialists—Charles Kingsley, Frederick Denison Maurice and company—who railed against competition and experimented, partly inspired by Blanc and the French socialists, with establishing artisan cooperatives.<sup>5</sup> Of course, as the *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (1850) would make clear, Carlyle had a different idea of "organization" than did Blanc, but his comment, written later that year, that "the 'Organization of Labour' is an actual inevitability in every country,—and must be taken up not à la Louis Blanc, but in precisely the opposite manner (by military *command* namely, and death-penalty if needful)" (*CL* 23: 163–64) demonstrates that his views were nonetheless stimulated by the republic and by Blanc.

What probably concerned Forster as much as the implicit endorsement of Blanc's social experiments was Carlyle's insistence that Britain must itself embrace radical social change. Solving the "labour question," he concluded, will require the "*attainment* of totally new habits and arrangements in matters social, as even the ghost of Political Economy has not

<sup>4</sup> See *CL* 22: 277–78; 23: 87, 112, and 163–64; see also 22: 264.

<sup>5</sup> This was not Marxian socialism, which was as yet unknown in Britain. The term socialism was first used in Britain to refer to the doctrines of Robert Owen. In 1848 it was linked to what were deemed similar views of St. Simon and Fourier. All three envisioned utopian communities and new forms of production.

dreamt of. But, for the rest, who would not rejoice to see the |present and| future Gov<sup>ts</sup> of any great Nation reduced at least to the necessity of with their whole soul *trying* this problem?" (39.22–27). In granting Forster permission to "cut out those paragraphs," he acknowledged that his views might not square with those of the paper's owner, Albany Fonblanque, who, as the editors of the letters suggest, may have written the 4 March editorial that preceded Carlyle's "Louis-Philippe":

I see well, by Fonblanque and by all manner of British Editors at present, those paragraphs *wd* involve you in a controversy, which is literally as deep as the world,—which hangs too on the verge of Owenism, Chartism, and all manner of ignominious abysses and cloacas, and ought not to be inconsiderately begun. Begun it must be, I do well believe, and even ended too (some centuries hence!). (CL 22: 260)

At some point over the next few days, Forster decided not to proceed with publication of the article, and two weeks later Carlyle complained that it was found "unpublishable" because he "openly *approved* of at least the *attempt* by France to do something for the guidance and benefit of the workpeople" (CL 22: 274).

The evidence of the manuscript and proofs provides insight into Forster's attempts to modify the article. Of the nine paragraphs in the manuscript, he cut the seventh and eighth in which Carlyle expresses his opinion that Britain must alter its social arrangements, but Forster left the paragraph introducing the "labour question" intact, probably because this paragraph merely articulates the view that the French will not, as during the first revolution, expect a utopian "*millennium*" and that they will address the "labour question . . . in a temper of sane men, not of men driven mad and fighting for their existence" (47.14–16). The corrected proof may also show Forster attempting to trim problematic material, in this case through the deletion of the fourth paragraph. While it is not possible to reach a definitive conclusion, there are some indications that this cut was made by Forster rather than Carlyle. First, Carlyle made changes within the paragraph in proof, which means that it that was not his original intention to omit it. Unlike the insertions that are, with one or two exceptions, recognizably in

Carlyle's hand, the lines cancelling the paragraph cannot, of course, be ascribed to either the author or the editor. However, the cancellation mark is quite different from Carlyle's other cancellation marks. Significantly, this paragraph, which suggests that the "horoscope [future] of England . . . is very doubtful" (42.29–31), resembles the paragraphs Forster cut from the manuscript in that it does not confine itself to France, but applies the situation in France to England.

On 6 March, the day after Forster asked for the excision of paragraphs seven and eight, there were disturbances in London (There also had been disturbances in Glasgow on 4–5 March, but these were not reported in the *Times* until 7 March). Although the exact nature of their involvement was complicated, the press did not hesitate to blame the Chartists, who had been energized by the events in France and were organizing a new push to present their petition to Parliament, which they would do on 10 April. On the day of the disturbances in London, Carlyle believed the article would still appear, albeit with the "dangerous passage cut out," but the events of that day were likely crucial in the decision later that week not to publish (*CL* 22: 262). He hardly intended to do so, but his comments could be read as endorsing the more militant Chartists' demands for radical social reform.

Forster's decision should be seen in the context of the fact that the article would appear not as its author's opinion, but as that of the *Examiner*. When he submitted "Louis-Philippe," Carlyle insisted that it "must go as a Leader [editorial], if at all," because putting his "Name to it" would be "an innovation, rather of a protrusive nature." In any case, he suggested, signing his name would in all probability be "superfluous" (*CL* 22: 258). Each issue of the *Examiner* began with a section, entitled "THE POLITICAL EXAMINER," containing a series of leaders, or editorial statements, which were unsigned. Thus, anyone reading "Louis-Philippe," which followed immediately after the first leader, would have read it as expressing the views of the *Examiner* and such would have been the case with "French Republic." Carlyle's experience on this occasion may explain his suggestion a few weeks later that Forster should "put 'C.'" to his articles on Ireland and preface them with some indication of their authorship (*CL* 23: 24), a suggestion

that Forster accepted by introducing “Repeal of the Union” as follows: “Below will be found a communication on the subject of the Repeal of the Union from Mr Carlyle, whose profound and thoughtful views are entitled respect from even those who may most widely differ from them” (*Examiner* 2100 [29 April 1848]: 275).

Tellingly, the 11 March *Examiner*, in which “French Republic” presumably would have appeared, opened with a leading article entitled “Protection Against Tumult,” which makes clear that the London disturbances, in which “heads and windows have been broken,” had left many Londoners anxious that the events in Paris might lead to similar ones in London. A subsequent editorial expressed gratification that the French provisional government had thus far succeeded in making a peaceful transition, but took no stand for or against it. In sum, sometime between the appearance of “Louis-Philippe” on 4 March and the next issue of the *Examiner*, 11 March, the moment for the publication of “French Republic” had passed. Carlyle said as much himself a few days after it would have appeared when he wrote to Forster: “You did wisely, and like a friend, to abolish that second Article. One was good enough: but as to a second, that was quite another question; and as to a second of such quality, there could be *no* question” (*CL* 22: 270).



### Description of the Manuscript and Proofs

The manuscript of “French Republic” consists of a mix of fair copy and revised manuscript. There are two full sheets (identified as 55/1 and 55/5) and six slips of varying sizes on which Carlyle has written insertions for the text composed on these sheets. He has apparently used whatever scraps of paper he had to hand. The second sheet (55/5) is written on the blank side of a discarded draft of “Louis-Philippe,” as are two of the insertion slips (55/2 slip 1, 55/4 slip 2); another is written on the back of a manuscript fragment not in Carlyle’s hand, possibly a letter from his sister Janet<sup>6</sup> (55/4 slip 1); yet another is blank

<sup>6</sup> A portion of her married name (Hanning) appears at the bottom, and there is a mention of “Alick,” their brother. This could be the letter from Janet that

on the other side. The final two insertion slips have portions of “French Republic” on both sides (55/2 slip 2, 55/3 slip 1).

Like the other Carlyle materials in the Forster Collection, the manuscripts and proofs were mounted between two sheets of paper in which windows have been cut to reveal them; they were then bound into a volume, with the result that the slips were separated from the sheets to which they were attached and the order of the manuscript is not readily observable. The following is a reconstruction of the manuscript in sequence:

- 55/1recto (r): paragraphs 1–2 to “intelligibly indicat-”
- 55/1verso (v): paragraphs 2–3 to “let us not”
- 55/5r: paragraph 3 to “thick-weltering Europe”
- 55/4v slip 1: paragraphs 3–4 to “We ourselves “
- 55/5r: paragraph 4 to “supporters at all?”
- 55/4v slip 2: paragraph 4 to “England itself”
- 55/5r: paragraphs 4–5 to “inevitable Democ’,”
- 55/2v slip 1: paragraphs 5–6 to “a practical”
- 55/3v slip 1: paragraph 6 to “for their existence.”
- 55/3v slip 1: paragraphs 6–7 to “Precisely on their”
- 55/2r slip 2: paragraphs 7–8 to “of Political Economy”
- 55/3r slip 1: paragraph 8 to “great, enormous, and”
- 55/2v slip 2: paragraph 8 to “future Gov<sup>ts</sup> of”
- 55/3r slip 1: paragraph 8 to “by and by!”
- 55/1v bottom of page: paragraph 9 to “The most au-”
- 55/3r slip 2: remainder of paragraph 9.

From this sequence it is possible to reconstruct the following writing process. On 55/1r and the top quarter of 55/1v Carlyle made a fair copy of a (now lost) draft of the first two paragraphs as well as the beginning of the first sentence of the third paragraph. He then switched to a revised draft of 55/5r as the basis for paragraphs three to eight. Rather than making a fair copy of this sheet, he prepared on the slips described above fair

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Carlyle mentions on 26 February, the day he wrote his mother about the events in France (*CL* 22: 252).

copy of particularly messy passages; he also inserted revised draft material on other slips, possibly cut away from an earlier draft.<sup>7</sup> To indicate where the insertions on the two slips on 55/4v should be placed, Carlyle drew lines from the insertion points to the left margin of 55/5r, where presumably he attached them (as indicated above they had to be detached in order to mount them on the volume folios). In the white space below the beginning of paragraph three on 55/1r (see above), Carlyle has written two insertion keys, though not for insertion in this place, the space being blank; instead the first key indicates that the material on 55/2v slip 1 follows from the end of 55/5r, which concludes with the phrase “inevitable Democracy, ~~and with past,~~” and the second key indicates that the text continues next on 55/3v slip 1 after “a practical spirit, in a temper.” Although it is not cancelled, half of the material on the latter slip has been replaced by 55/2r slip 2, which is a fair copy on the verso of the previous insertion. The next paragraph is on 55/3r slip 1, a portion of which is replaced by an insertion on 55/2v slip 2. Carlyle then produced fair copy of the last paragraph on the bottom of 55/1r and on 55/3r slip 2, which follows from it.

The state of this manuscript with its many revisions and inserted slips makes one appreciate the skill of the compositors who worked on newspapers. Although its complexity might suggest that Carlyle made a fair copy that is now lost, the evidence points to the conclusion that this is the manuscript that he sent to the printer. If this manuscript had been replaced by a fair copy, then it would be hard to explain how Forster came to possess the draft and not the fair copy. Moreover, if Carlyle himself had copied over the manuscript, then he would have had no reason to expand words that he had abbreviated. Rather, he must have been certain that whoever was to deal with the manuscript, presumably the printer, that person would be able to discern clearly what he intended.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This does not apply to all of the slips. 55/2r and v slip 2, 55/3r, and 55/4v slips 1 and 2 are fair copy. The other slips have substantial revisions.

<sup>8</sup> There are three instances: F.<sup>h</sup> R<sup>e</sup>public (37.6), advant<sup>age</sup> (37.12), and constit<sup>utions</sup> (37.17). In each of these, Carlyle initially used an abbreviation in which, as he typically did in manuscripts, he indicates the end of the word with superscript. In the last instance, for example, he wrote constit<sup>ms</sup> for constitutions, but subsequently crossed out the initial superscript and

Before turning to the texts themselves, I will conclude with a few observations on what this material reveals about Carlyle's writing practices. Carlyle produced this manuscript much more speedily than he did his longer works, especially his books, even accounting for the difference in length. His haste explains further why he did not make a fair copy of the entire manuscript. The rewriting was substantial, so that in using the revised manuscript of 55/5 he was forced to make insertions on separate slips to replace material that it was no longer possible to make legible on the original sheet. The various insertions and deletions on the first sheet (55/1) demonstrate that even when producing a fair copy he continued to revise.

The corrected proof is of particular interest. The editors of the Strouse Edition of *Sartor Resartus* have noted that "Carlyle was capable of concerning himself with the smallest textual details" (xcvii). For example, because of Carlyle's tendency to capitalize abstract nouns (e.g. Universe), one would expect that if an edition changed a word from uppercase to lowercase it was because a typesetter had intervened; conversely, if an edition Carlyle carefully revised showed a change from lowercase to uppercase, then it seems likely that he made the change. However, in the proofs of "French Republic" Carlyle changed "Hypocrisies," and "Fictions" from uppercase in his manuscript to lowercase in the proofs (41.29). In another instance, the compositor capitalized the lowercase "hope," and Carlyle restored the lowercase in the proof (41.18).<sup>9</sup>

Generally speaking, the proofs conform to Carlyle's other manuscripts and proofs. As he moved from stage to stage of revision (like other nineteenth-century authors he tended to treat proofs as an opportunity not merely to correct but to revise), he tended to expand rather than reduce, though, of course, he did cancel some passages. Many of the changes in

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spelled out the rest of the word in superscript. Similarly, he most likely began by writing "F. R" and then added the superscript *h* and spelled out the full word Republic.

<sup>9</sup> The various collations done for the Carlyle Strouse Edition suggest that in correcting proof Carlyle did not refer to his manuscript, or to a previous edition. It is all the more striking, therefore, when we see him restoring an earlier version. For another example, see 42.26, where he restores a dropped comma after the word "subsist."

the proofs of “French Republic” substitute one word or phrase for another; for the most part these changes show Carlyle seeking to make his meaning more precise or to sharpen his emphasis. When, for example, he replaced “it would behove them now to pack their luggage and march!” (35.33–34) with “it would verily behove them to march and begone!” (41.30–32) he first added an intensification (“very”) and then shifted the emphasis from merely preparing to leave (“pack their luggage”) to exile itself (“begone!”). Similarly, he added to the second paragraph a new concluding sentence fleshing out the idea of the uncertain future of the republic (42.2–3). The longest insertion finds Carlyle unable to resist adding one of his characteristic digs at representative democracy by adding a reference to the “National Palaver.” Aware that this phrase would be recognized as his own invention, he added as well an attribution to himself: “as Carlyle calls it” (43.6). Although Carlyle often quotes himself, I am not aware of any other such cases of self-attribution. It is interesting that the only time he did so the work was never published; one wonders whether this phrase would ultimately have made its way into print.

One of the principal interests of this material is that it allows readers to see Carlyle’s revision process, and as it is a short article, three versions of the text are presented: a transcription of the manuscript with alterations, a transcription of the proof marked up with corrections, and the corrected proof resulting from the markup. The Forster Collection also contains a second, or final proof, which incorporates changes indicated on the corrected proof. This version is not reproduced here, since it contains only four variants from the marked up proof, none of them likely authorial.<sup>10</sup> All variants can be found in the

<sup>10</sup> While it is possible that there was an intermediate proof on which these four changes were marked, it seems unlikely that that is the case. Rather they might all be accounted for as compositor errors, not only because they could be minor slips, but also because all but one involve misreading or failing to take into account alterations Carlyle made on the first proof. There is a comma omitted after *hypocrisies* (45.26). It is not clear why the compositor would have made this change, but it could be a response, albeit unnecessary, to the six other changes in this sentence. Where Carlyle has changed “forecast” to “foretell” the final proof has “foretel,” a spelling no longer in use in the nineteenth century and thus likely a compositor error (45.37). A shift from “can” to “could” occurs in a nineteen-word insertion, and the typesetter

Collation apparatus that follows the transcriptions of the texts. The following symbols are used in the transcription of the manuscript and the corrected proof. Words with a line through them (e.g., ~~over~~) indicate a cancellation. Words enclosed within double slashes (e.g., //over\\) indicate a cancellation within a cancellation. Words enclosed in vertical lines (e.g., |over| ) indicate an insertion; double vertical lines indicate an insertion within an insertion. Words enclosed by double angled brackets (e.g., «over») were mistakenly left uncanceled. Tentative readings of words or letters are enclosed in square brackets (e.g., [over]). The manuscript sources are indicated in square brackets; curly brackets are Carlyle's.

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could easily have made an unconscious slip in transcribing it (46.19). The absence of quotation marks around "labour question" could be the result of the compositor failing to notice that after deleting double quotation marks Carlyle had indicated the insertion of single quotation marks in their place (47.14).

## Manuscript with Alterations

55/1r

### French Republic

From the raging deluges of anarchy in which France was left ~~sunk~~ [weltering], the other day, when its ruler took to his *coucou* and disappeared, there emerges, to the whole world's astonishment, the bodily eidolon of our old friend *République Française* again; a palpable fact, come back out of the realm of shadows [;]:| and, in these and the coming weeks, there goes on at the Hôtel-de-Ville of Paris, a business wh<sup>h</sup> all politicians and all mortals may contemplate with thoughts enough. On the stage of the world there enacts itself nowhere such a drama become real.

The reemerge|nce| of the old Republic took all of us by surprise. [~~As a~~] start of hope, seemingly the one star left, this remembrance rose on the French people, when all else had gone down in darkness. It is strange what things do reemerge; how all things that have ever had heroic vitality in them cling to the loyal memories of men. Kingship itself, after all the Louis Fifteenth and Louis-Philippes, and other Kings of [illegible] shreds and patches, did not quite end [in] France till the other day. As a star of hope, seemingly the one star [left,] arose remembrance of the old Republic, when all else had gone down in darkness. No wonder Frenchmen love their Republic, and would gladly see it back again: it is, ~~the chief heroism of the last hundred years~~ [on the whole, the] noblest feat the French Nation ever achieved; the world's chief heroism for the last [two] hundred years. Right proudly did the poor old Republic rise, and vindicate itself, by miraculous acts|cles| and unsurpassable acts of valour, against the united earth; as having a work to do under this sky,—the work at least of intelligibly indicat[55/1v]ing to Hypocrisies, and hollow Fictions of every figure, that their hour was come[,] that it would behove them now to pack their luggage, and march! Which [This] work, too[,] the old Republic, with

all its sins and shortcomings, somewhat |the noise of  
which once filled the world, [~~another~~] effectually did:

[~~how~~] |so that he i[s] but a deaf and purblind man, ever  
since, who does not know that f|F|alsities, ~~and Injustice~~  
5 and phantasms cannot prosper in this Earth any more,—  
and even Guizot and Louis Philippe now know it again.

How long this new Republic will last endure, and what  
will be its fortune, let us not [~~55/5r~~] a ~~purblind man ever~~  
~~since who does not know that~~ Humbugs cannot prosper  
10 in this Earth, ~~—and even Guizot and L.ouis| P|hilippe|~~  
~~now now~~ it again.

How long the Rep<sup>c</sup> will last and what will be its  
fortune, let «us not» try to forecast. With our whole heart  
we say to it, Last as long as you can! Rep<sup>cs</sup> are not a steady-  
15 going class of objects, especially new rep<sup>cs</sup> in our thick-  
weltering Europe<sup>11</sup> [~~55/4v slip 1~~] Europe: and the worst  
feature of a Republic in these ages is that it has to be a  
*Government of Talkers*; which, alas, as fatal experience is  
fast teaching some of us, means essentially a self-cancelling  
20 Gov<sup>t</sup>,—a Gov<sup>t</sup> that does *not* govern, but ~~me~~ merely produce  
parliamentary eloquence. This is a sad feature; and  
hitherto a plainly incurable one,—of which the cure as yet  
has not even been attempted or practically contemplated.

Nevertheless essentially there are Republics, even  
25 with this sad feature, that keep going for some time.  
We ourselves [~~55/5r~~] ~~nevertheless essentially there are~~  
~~republics that keep going fro some time;~~—«we ourselves»  
are to most practical intents a republic}, or Gov<sup>t</sup> of  
Talkers, and have subsisted as such for some years. A  
30 Rep<sup>c</sup> surmounted by Civil-Lists and various theatrical  
~~appendages~~ |fringings, and inert Heraldic supporters  
animate and inanimate;|, inert all of them:—whether  
||now|| a Rep<sup>c</sup> surmounted and hitherto we subsist, and  
~~pay scot and lot~~ by a bit of red or tricolor bunting (~~M.~~  
35 ~~Lamartine says it shall be tricolor~~ |can subsist|, without  
any fringings or inert heraldic supporters at all? ~~Alas;~~

<sup>11</sup> There is an insertion caret here and a line drawn to the left margin of the sheet indicating that the insertion is on a separate slip. This slip may have been attached but, as discussed above, it would have been necessary to separate it during the process of preparing the manuscript volume.

our horoscope |That is actually the question;—the  
 solution of which will [illegible]<sup>12</sup> [55/4v slip 2] That is  
 verily the question;—the solution of which will now be  
 seen, and certainly with boundless interest by all people. 5  
 Alas, if the horoscope of England «itself» [55/5r] itself,  
 to the thinking man that looks even a few years ahead,  
 is frightful, what may that of this new F.<sup>h</sup> R<sup>epublic</sup> at the  
 Hôtel-de-Ville be! For we [English,] moreover, are used to  
 it [our Gov<sup>t</sup>] of Talkers; are of quiet, even sluggish nature, 10  
 capable of holding on by phantasms generations after the  
 substance has vanished;—all which is much the reverse  
 with our F.<sup>h</sup> [neighb<sup>rs</sup>]

One thing [advant<sup>age</sup>] this [new] Rep<sup>c</sup> will have over its  
 old mother: it will be allowed to try its trade in peace. We 15  
 love to believe, in perfect peace. [Democracy, it cannot  
 henceforth be doubtful to the dullest man, is an inevitable  
 ||universall| fact.] Democracy is rife in all corners of Europe;  
 Europe [is] bristling with constit<sup>utions</sup>, all creatures are  
 determined to have themselves rep<sup>d</sup> in Parl<sup>t</sup>;—and 20  
 [illegible] no country of Europe, not even in Austria,  
 and|—[Russia is too distant,—is likely to have either  
 the power [or the inclination] to attack this repe from  
 without. From [In] England, above all, there is ~~not or is~~  
 like to be but one feeling towards France; that of renewed 25  
 admiration, gratitude, approval[.] and [Gratitude;—for  
 is not our struggle precisely theirs?]<sup>13</sup> e|C|ertainly of all  
 feelings [events] the seemingly impossiblest to be excited  
 among us w<sup>d</sup> be that of ~~any War with~~ hostility France for  
 speculative objects. Our heart's sympathies are genuine 30  
 and warm with France. To go to war with F them because  
 they are trying to cast out their ~~Humbugs~~ Hypocrites,  
 Chimeras and Nightmares that press upon them: ~~from~~  
 end to end of England and there is not such a thought in  
 any heart. [the thought is far from all hearts:—nay rather, 35  
 if the Czar or any| other Friend of Darkness were (what

<sup>12</sup> Once again there is an insertion caret and a line drawn to the left edge of the sheet. See preceding note.

<sup>13</sup> There is no indication of where this sentence should be inserted. The printer has put it in the only logical place, and I follow suit.

need not be expected) to emerge with his [Scythian] myrmidons for the purpose of crushing down liberty in

France,—nearly the one *casus belli* we could imagine in England w<sup>d</sup> be a war not ag<sup>t</sup> France, but by the side of  
 5 France; ~~and~~ |a truly sacred war, in defence| of France, and of her cause and ours! From without there will be no violence to this r|R|epublic; nay all Nations, in spite |[presence]| of their own inevitable Democ<sup>y</sup>, ~~know well that this Re~~ [55/2v slip 1] and with past recollections still  
 10 lively in them, know well that this Republic is not ~~light~~ |nly|<sup>14</sup> attacked.

Another circumstance greatly in favour of this new Rep<sup>c</sup> is that ~~nobody~~ |no Frenchman| now expe[cts] a *millennium* |close| in the rear of it; [~~as~~] which in regard to the old  
 15 Republic all Frenchmen did[. A] |reign of Perfect Felicity to be produced by a Gov<sup>t</sup> of Talkers ~~collected as universal suffrage~~ is not now the problem with anysane man. |This is an immense item. The Republic is not required to be a miraculous [~~one~~], but o[nly] to be a practicable one. E  
 20 Enthusiastic hope is not there, to issue in immeasurable |fierce| disappointment: in no way is fanaticism, with its immeasurable passions, necessarily [~~illegible~~] with it. ~~Already the Prov<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> indicates a clear sense of what the practical requirements from it are:~~ |concerned there|. To  
 25 settle the ‘labour question,’ or so much as begin to settle it: here is the [~~illegible~~] and verily it is work enough: {~~but~~} it can at least be of which the Prov<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> already |but it can at least be attempted in peace, ||with|| «in» a practical  
 [55/3v slip 1] spirit, ~~and without~~ in a temper of sane men,  
 30 not of men driven [mad] and fighting for their existence.

Of this immense problem it is [~~now~~] clear enough the Prov<sup>l</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> have a lively sense; and are doing, not unwisely hitherto, what lies [in] them to prepare for some attempt on it. It is not a sin to attempt it, as ~~some~~ |certain| of our Newspapers seem to apprehend; it is a necessity, a duty of life and death! Precisely on their<sup>15</sup> [55/2r slip 2] success in

<sup>14</sup> Changes here are obscured because they are covered by the pages on which the slip was mounted. This is another unfortunate consequence of the method of preserving the manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> The remainder of 55/3v slip 2 has been replaced by 55/2r slip 2. This is

such attempt can this Provisional Government, or any Gov<sup>t</sup> in France; henceforth, pretend to found itself. A very small success, the smallest perceptible success, will be approved; how welcomely! But no success at all, no attempt at all, will not be endurable longer. [~~illegible~~] Gov<sup>t</sup> by ~~corruption~~ ~~and chican~~ the mode of Louis Philippe, has [and by every such mode, appears to have] ended ~~let us hope, forever~~ [in France]: all Gov<sup>ts</sup>, even Gov<sup>ts</sup> of Talkers, must make a life-and-death effort [actually] to do some portion of the work of governing there!| ~~A most~~ [Surely a] blessed necessity, what fate soever attend it ~~And not in France only, but in all other countries in this~~ [in the first] instance! And not to be limited to France only, but to extend itself by ~~pure~~ [infallible] influence into all countries, we may hope

Neither, in spite of the ghost of Political Economy [~~55/3r slip 1~~] ~~all other countries as we may hope. In~~ «spite of the ghost of Political Economy,» and the sublime law of laissez-faire and supply and demand, we do ~~not~~ [we] believe the problem to be impossible, tho' we know it to be of difficulty great, enormous, and<sup>16</sup> [~~55/2v slip 2~~] to involve such efforts and ~~agonies~~ struggles, [in short] such *attainment* in [~~illegible~~] of totally new habits and arrangements in matters social, as even the ghost of Political Economy has not dreamt of. But, for the rest, who would not rejoice to see the [present and] future Gov<sup>ts</sup>

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the material that has been replaced: “success in ~~accomplishing somewhat towards the~~ [~~illegible~~] ~~solution of this problem~~ [such the attempt,—some success will be [~~endured~~] approved, but no success at all no attempt at all will not be endur[ed]], can this Prov Gov<sup>t</sup>, or any Gov<sup>t</sup> in France henceforth pretend to found itself. A [~~illegible~~] at all Louis-Philippism has ~~rolled off in its ignominious street-cab~~; a [~~words illegible because of foliation~~] [ended: all Gov<sup>ts</sup>, even Go<sup>s</sup> of Talkers, must attempt] And not in France only, but by reflex”.

<sup>16</sup> The following is not cancelled but is replaced by the text on 55/2v slip 2: “to involve [~~illegible~~] [such [~~illegible~~] efforts and agonies, and [~~illegible~~] such *attainment* of] new habits [totally new habits] and arrang<sup>ts</sup> which [in matters social as] even the ghost of Political Ec<sup>t</sup> has not dreamt of. Who would not rejoice to see the Gov<sup>ts</sup> of”. This passage is difficult to sort out—the insertion “totally new habits” occurs below the line and the previous “new habits” is not cancelled, for example—so it is not surprising that Carlyle rewrote it on a separate slip.

of [55/3r slip 1] any great Nation reduced at least to the necessity of with their whole soul *trying* this problem? {It

5 begins to be surmised that without some progress towards solution of this problem no Nation can ~~very much longer have a Gov<sup>t</sup>~~<sup>17</sup> The Gov<sup>ts</sup> of all great 2/Nations// 1/and small//, ~~we believe~~ [one begins to surmise,] will have to try it,—and also, with what diffic<sup>ly</sup> soever, to succeed in it, by and by!

[55/1v] «succeed in it by and by!»

10 For the first few weeks the course of the Prov<sup>l</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup> seems tolerably smooth[.] They will call a Parliament together; collect, by universal voting and scrutinizing, thro' primary and secondary assemblies,—as the old forms of the Constituent or the Convention will well ~~and~~ enable them, for all is by ballot, and the suffrage, [given to all men,] is or may be sincere, ~~and~~—a correct synopsis of what the mind and purpose of France, in this grea[t] emergency, really is. What follows next|—|is 15 ~~as yet~~ hidden in dark clouds. The most au[th][55/3r slip 2]entic ~~universal~~ purpose of [universal] France may prove to be impossible; as has happened, conspicuously enough, before now. We can only say, May it be wise, may it be possible with the given degree of wisdom! From the heart the good citizens of all countries bid it good-speed.



<sup>17</sup> An apparent cancellation mark at the beginning of this sentence together with the brackets indicates that this sentence is to be omitted. This practice has been observed in Carlyle's other manuscripts.

### Proof with Corrections

#### PROSPECTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

From the raging deluges of anarchy in which France was left weltering, on the day when its ruler took to his *toutou* [hackney cab] and disappeared, there emerges, to the whole world's astonishment, the ~~bodily eidolon~~ [figure] of our old friend *République Française* again!|[:]-a [A] palpable fact, come back out of the realm of shadows[:], here it is once more;| and in these and the coming weeks there goes on,| at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, a business which all politicians and all mortals may contemplate with thoughts enough:|! On the stage of the world there enacts itself nowhere such a drama become real.

~~The re-emergence of the old Republic took all of us by surprise.~~ It is strange what things do re-emerge; how all things that have ever had a heroic vitality in them cling to the loyal memories of men. Kingship itself, after all the Louis Fifteenths and Louis-Philippes, and other kings of shreds and patches, [even this] did not quite end in France till the other day. As a star of H[h]ope, seemingly the one star left, arose remembrance of the old Republic, when all else had gone down in darkness:|, among the French.| No wonder Frenchmen love their Republic, and would gladly see it back again: it is, on the whole, the noblest feat the French nation ever achieved; [with all its sins, it is] the world's chief heroism for the last two hundred years. Right proudly did the poor old Republic rise, and vindicate itself, by miracles and unsurpassable acts of valour, against the united earth; as having a work to do under this sky,—the work at least of intelligibly indicating to H[h]ypocrisies, and hollow F[f]ictions of every figure [sort], that their hour was come, that it would [verily] behove them ~~now to pack their luggage and march!~~ [to march and begone!] This work, too, the old Republic, with all its [sins] |[~~the~~gible] stet ~~sins~~ and shortcomings, the noise of which once filled the world, effectually did: so that he is but a deaf and purblind man, ever since, who does not know that falsities and

phantasms cannot prosper on this earth any more[;=];|  
 and even Guizot and Louis-Philippe now know it again.  
 |What else could there be but the Republic! That alone  
 remained, with any loyalty due to it, in the mind of France. |

5       How long this new Republic will ~~endure~~; |last, how it  
 will demean itself,| and what will be its fortune, let us not  
 try to ~~forecast~~|tell|. With our whole heart we say to it, Last  
 as long as you can! Republics are not a steady-going class  
 10 of objects, especially new Republics in our thick-weltering  
 Europe: and the worst feature of a Republic in these ages is,  
 that it has to be a *Government of Talkers*; which, alas, means  
 essentially a self-cancelling Government,—a Government  
 that does *not* govern, but merely produce parliamentary  
 eloquence. This is a sad feature; and hitherto a plainly  
 15 incurable one,—of which the cure as yet has not even  
 been attempted, or practically contemplated: |by the most  
 utopian reformer. Of perils and difficulties, it is very clear,  
 the new Republic will have no lack. |

Nevertheless[, ] essentially there are ~~Republics~~, even  
 20 with this sad feature, that keep going for some time.  
~~We ourselves are to most practical intents a Republic //~~  
~~or Government of Talkers\ and have subsisted as such~~  
~~for some years; a Republic surmounted by civil-lists;~~  
~~and various theatrical fringings, and inert heraldic~~  
 25 ~~supporters, animate and inanimate, inert all of them:—~~  
~~whether now a Republic, surmounted by a bit of tricolor~~  
~~bunting, can subsist[|,|] without any fringings or inert~~  
~~heraldic supporters at all? That is verily the question[;:]~~  
~~the solution of which will now be seen, and certainly with~~  
 30 ~~boundless interest by all people. Alas! if the horoscope~~  
~~of England itself, to the thinking man that looks even~~  
~~a few years ahead, is |very| doubtful, what may that of~~  
~~this new French Republic at the Hôtel de Ville be[?]~~ For  
~~we English, moreover, are used to our Government of~~  
 35 ~~Talkers; are of quiet, even sluggish nature, capable of~~  
~~holding on by phantasms //generations\ //|long years~~  
~~[illegible]\ after the substance has vanished;—all which~~  
~~[several words illegible owing to cancellation].~~

40       One advantage this new Republic |it| will have over  
 its old mother: it will be allowed to try its trade in peace.

We love to believe, in perfect peace. Democracy, it cannot henceforth be doubtful to the dullest man, is an inevitable universal fact. Democracy is rife in all corners of Europe. Europe is bristling with constitutions. All creatures are determined to have themselves represented in P[arliament] and no, and try what a ‘National Palaver,’ as Carlyle calls it, can do for them,—their need being really great! No country of Europe, not even Austria—Russia is too distant—is likely to have the power, if they [it] had the inclination, to attack this Republic from without. In England, above all, there is but one feeling towards France; that of renewed admiration, gratitude, approval. Gratitude;—for is not our struggle precisely theirs? Certainly, of all events [dispositions], the seemingly impossiblest to be excited among us would be that of hostility to France for speculative objects [on such grounds]. Our heart’s sympathies are genuine and warm with Frenchmen. To go to war with them because they are trying [also are struggling] to cast out their hypocrites, chimeras, and nightmares [intolerable nuisances] that press upon them: the thought is far from all hearts. [us.] Nay rather, if the Czar, or any other Friend of Darkness, were (what need not be expected) to emerge with his Scythian myrmidons for the purpose of crushing down liberty [such an enterprise] in France[:],—nearly the one *casus belli* we could imagine in England would be a war, not against France, but by the side of France; a truly sacred war, in defence of France, and of her cause and ours! From without there will be no violence to this Republic; nay all nations, in presence of their own inevitable democracy, and with past recollections still lively in them, know well that this [French]<sup>18</sup> Republic is not a thing to be lightly or sudden[needless]ly attacked.

Another circumstance greatly in favour of this[e] new Republic is, that no Frenchman now expects a *millennium* close in the rear of it, which in regard to the old Republic all Frenchmen did. A reign of Perfect Felicity to be produced by a Government of Talkers is not now the problem with any

<sup>18</sup> This insertion may not be in Carlyle’s hand.

sane man. The Republic is not required to be a miraculous,  
 but only to be a practicable one. Enthusiastic hope is not  
 there, to issue in fierce [frantic] disappointment. In no way  
 is fanaticism, with its ~~innumerable~~ [immeasur]able passions,  
 5 necessarily concerned there. To settle the “[‘labour  
 question,²]” can at least be attempted in peace, with a  
 practical spirit; in a temper of sane men, not of men driven  
 mad and fighting for their existence.

For the first few weeks the course of this Provisional  
 10 Government is tolerably smooth. They have called a  
 parliament together; and may be able to collect, by ~~universal  
 voting and scrutinizing, through primary and secondary  
 assemblies,=~~ as the old forms of the Constituent or the  
 Convention will well enable them, for all is by ballot, and  
 15 the suffrage given to all men[, ] is or may be sincere, = [such  
 methods as they have,] a correct synopsis of what the mind  
 and purpose of France, in this great emergency, really is.  
 What follows next—is hidden in dark clouds. The most  
 authentic purpose of universal France may prove to be  
 20 impossible, as has happened, conspicuously enough, before  
 now. We can only say, May it be wise, may it be possible with  
 the given degree of wisdom! ~~From the heart~~ [Heartily do]  
 the good citizens of all countries bid it good-speed.



**Corrected Proof**

## FRENCH REPUBLIC.

From the raging deluges of anarchy in which France was left weltering, on the day when its ruler took to his hackney cab and disappeared, there emerges, to the whole world's astonishment, the figure of our old friend *République Française* again! A palpable fact, come back out of the realm of shadows, here it is once more; and in these and the coming weeks there goes on, at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, a business which all politicians and all mortals may contemplate with thoughts enough! On the stage of the world there enacts itself nowhere such a drama become real. 5

It is strange what things do re-emerge; how all things that have ever had a heroic vitality in them cling to the loyal memories of men. Kingship itself, after all the Louis Fifteenths and Louis-Philippes, and other kings of shreds and patches, even this did not quite end in France till the other day. As a star of hope, seemingly the one star left, arose remembrance of the old Republic, when all else had gone down in darkness, among the French. No wonder Frenchmen love their Republic, and would gladly see it back again: it is, on the whole, the noblest feat the French nation ever achieved; with all its sins, it is the world's chief heroism for the last two hundred years. Right proudly did the poor old Republic rise, and vindicate itself, by miracles and unsurpassable acts of valour, against the united earth; as having a work to do under this sky,—the work of intelligibly indicating to hypocrisies, and hollow fictions of every sort, that their hour was come, that it would verily behove them to march and begone! This work, too, the old Republic, with all its sins and shortcomings, the noise of which once filled the world, effectually did: so that he is but a deaf and purblind man, ever since, who does not know that falsities and phantasms cannot prosper on this earth any more; and even Guizot and Louis-Philippe now know it again. What else could there be but the Republic! That alone remained, with any loyalty due to it, in the mind of France. 10 15 20 25 30 35

How long this new Republic will last, how it will demean

itself, and what will be its fortune, let us not try to foretell.

With our whole heart we say to it, Last as long as you can! Republics are not a steady-going class of objects, especially new Republics in our thick-weltering Europe: and the  
5 worst feature of a Republic in these ages is, that it has to be a *Government of Talkers*; which, alas, means essentially a self-cancelling Government,—a Government that does *not* govern, but merely produce parliamentary eloquence. This is a sad feature; and hitherto a plainly incurable one,—of which  
10 the cure as yet has not even been attempted, or practically contemplated by the most utopian reformer. Of perils and difficulties, it is very clear, the new Republic will have no lack.

One advantage it will have over its old mother: it will be allowed to try its trade in peace. We love to believe,  
15 in perfect peace. Democracy, it cannot henceforth be doubtful to the dullest man, is an inevitable universal fact. Democracy is rife in all corners of Europe. Europe is bristling with constitutions. All creatures are determined to have themselves represented in parliament, and try what a ‘National Palaver,’ as Carlyle calls it, can do for them,—their need being really great! No country of Europe, not even Austria—Russia is too distant—is likely to have the power, if it had the inclination, to attack this Republic from without. In England, above all, there is but  
20 one feeling towards France; that of renewed admiration, gratitude, approval. Gratitude;—for is not our struggle precisely theirs? Certainly, of all dispositions, the seemingly impossiblest to be excited among us would be that of hostility to France on such grounds. Our heart’s  
25 sympathies are genuine and warm with Frenchmen. To go to war with them because they also are struggling to cast out the intolerable nuisances that press upon them: the thought is far from us. Nay rather, if the Czar, or any other Friend of Darkness, were (what need not be expected)  
30 to emerge with his Scythian myrmidons for the purpose of crushing such an enterprise in France,—nearly the one *casus belli* we could imagine in England would be a war, not against France, but by the side of France; a truly sacred war, in defence of France, and of her cause  
35 and ours! From without there will be no violence; nay all  
40

nations, in presence of their own inevitable democracy, and with past recollections still lively in them, know well that this French<sup>19</sup> Republic is not a thing to be lightly or needlessly attacked.

Another circumstance greatly in favour of the new Republic is, that no Frenchman now expects a *millennium* close in the rear of it, which in regard to the old Republic all Frenchmen did. A reign of Perfect Felicity to be produced by a Government of Talkers is not now the problem with any sane man. The Republic is not required to be a miraculous, but only to be a practicable one. Enthusiastic hope is not there, to issue in frantic disappointment. In no way is fanaticism, with its immeasurable passions, necessarily concerned there. To settle the 'labour question,' can at least be attempted in peace, with a practical spirit; in a temper of sane men, not of men driven mad and fighting for their existence.

For the first few weeks the course of this Provisional Government is tolerably smooth. They have called a parliament together; and may be able to collect, by such methods as they have, a correct synopsis of what the mind and purpose of France, in this great emergency, really is. What follows next—is hidden in dark clouds. The most authentic purpose of universal France may prove to be impossible, as has happened, conspicuously enough, before now. We can only say, May it be wise, may it be possible with the given degree of wisdom! Heartily do the good citizens of all countries bid it good-speed.



<sup>19</sup> This insertion may not be in Carlyle's hand.

### Collation

The following abbreviations are used in the collation:

MS = manuscript in its final version (alterations not listed here)

UP = uncorrected proof as reconstructed from the corrected proof

CP = corrected proof

FP = the text of the second, or final proof, not transcribed here

45.0	French Republic PROSPECTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.	MS UP
45.2	weltering, the other day, weltering, on the day	MS UP → FP
45.3	coucou hackney cab	MS CP → FP
45.4	bodily eidolon figure	MS CP → FP
45.5	again; a again[;] a again! A	MS UP CP → FP
45.6	shadows: shadows[:]	MS UP
45.6	and, and	MS UP → FP
45.7	weeks, weeks	MS UP → FP
45.7	on on,	MS CP → FP
45.7	Hôtel-de-Ville Hôtel de Ville	MS UP → FP
45.8	wh <sup>h</sup> which	MS UP → FP

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45.9	enough. enough!	MS CP → FP
45.10	real. ¶The reemergence of the old Republic took all of us by surprise. It real. ¶It	MS CP → FP
45.10	reemergence re-emergence	MS UP
45.11	reemerge; re-emerge;	MS UP → FP
45.14	Kings kings	MS UP → FP
45.15	patches, did patches, even this did	MS CP → FP
45.15	[in] in	MS UP → FP
45.16	hope, Hope,	MS UP
45.16	[left,] left,	MS UP → FP
45.18	darkness. darkness, among the French.	MS CP → FP
45.20	Nation nation	MS UP → FP
45.21	achieved; the achieved; with all its sins, it is	MS CP → FP
45.25	work at least of work of	MS CP → FP
45.26	Hypocrisies, hypocrisies, hypocrisies	MS CP FP



- 45.36 endure, MS  
last, how it will demean itself, CP → FP
- 45.37 forecast. MS  
foretell. CP  
foretel. FP
- 46.2 Rep<sup>cs</sup> MS  
Republics UP → FP
- 46.3 rep<sup>cs</sup> MS  
Republics UP → FP
- 46.4 is MS  
is, UP → FP
- 46.5 alas, as fatal experience is fast teaching some of us, means MS  
alas, means UP → FP
- 46.6 Gov<sup>t</sup>,—a Gov<sup>t</sup> MS  
Government,—a Government UP → FP
- 46.9 attempted MS  
attempted, UP → FP
- 46.10 contemplated. MS  
contemplated by the most utopian reformer. Of perils and  
difficulties, it is very clear, the new Republic will have  
no lack. CP → FP
- 46.12 ¶Nevertheless essentially there [passage from 36.22 to  
37.10] our F<sup>h</sup> [neighb<sup>rs</sup> ¶One MS  
¶Nevertheless[,] essentially there [passage from 42.18 to  
42.37] [several words illegible owing to cancellation].  
¶One UC  
¶One CP → FP

42.18	feature, feature	MS CP <sup>20</sup>
42.20	republic, Republic	MS UP → CP
42.21	Gov <sup>t</sup> of Talkers, Government of Talkers[,] of Gov <sup>t</sup> by Talking or [illegible] kinds	MS UC CP
42.22	years. A years; a	MS UP → CP
42.22	Rep <sup>c</sup> Republic	MS UP → CP
42.22	Civil-Lists civil-lists,	MS UP → CP
42.23	Heraldic supporters heraldic supporters,	MS UP → CP
42.25	Rep <sup>c</sup> Republic,	MS UP → CP
42.25	of red or tricolor of tricolor	MS UP → CP
42.26	bunting bunting,	MS UP → CP
42.27	subsist, subsist	MS UP
42.27	question;—the question[;] the question the	MS UP CP
42.29	Alas,	MS

<sup>20</sup> There are two stages of correction of this paragraph. Carlyle first made corrections, and then the entire passage was cancelled, so the page number references for this portion of the collation point to the “Proof with Corrections.”

	Alas!	UP → CP
42.31	is frightful, is doubtful, is very doubtful,	MS UP CP
42.32	F <sup>h</sup> French	MS UP → CP
42.32	Hôtel-de-Ville Hôtel de Ville	MS UP
42.32	be! be[ʔ]	MS UP
42.33	Gov <sup>t</sup> Government	MS UP → CP
42.37	is much the reverse with our F <sup>h</sup> [neighb <sup>rs</sup> ] [several words illegible owing to cancellation].	MS UP → CP
45.36	this new Rep <sup>c</sup> it	MS CP → FP
45.36	Rep <sup>c</sup> Republic	MS UP
46.16	Europe; Europe.	MS UP → FP
46.17	constitutions, all constitutions. All	MS UP → FP
46.18	rep <sup>d</sup> represented	MS UP → FP
46.18	Parlt;—and no Parliament[;—]and no parliament, and try what a ‘National Palaver,’ as Carlyle calls it, can do for them,—their need being really great! No could do for them	MS UP CP FP

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46.21	Austria,—Russia Austria—Russia	MS UP → FP
46.21	distant,—is distant—is	MS UP → FP
46.22	either the power or the inclination the power, if they had the inclination,	MS UP → FP
46.23	rep <sup>c</sup> Republic	MS UP → FP
46.25	approval[.] approval.	MS UP → FP
46.26	Certainly Certainly,	MS UP → FP
46.26	events events, dispositions,	MS UP CP → FP
46.27	w <sup>d</sup> would	MS UP → FP
46.28	hostility France hostility to France	MS UP → FP
46.28	for speculative objects. on such grounds.	MS CP → FP
46.29	France. Frenchmen.	MS UP → FP
46.30	are trying also are struggling	MS CP → FP
46.31	their the	MS CP → FP
46.31	Hypocrites, Chimeras and Nightmares	MS

	hypocrites, chimeras, and nightmares	UP
	intolerable nuisances	CP → FP
46.32	all hearts:—nay	MS
	all hearts. Nay	UP
	us. Nay	CP → FP
46.32	Czar	MS
	Czar,	CP → FP
46.33	Darkness	MS
	Darkness,	CP → FP
46.35	down liberty	MS
	such an enterprise	CP → FP
46.35	France,—nearly	MS
	France[: ]—nearly	UP
46.36	w <sup>d</sup>	MS
	would	UP → FP
46.33	war	MS
	war,	UP → FP
46.37	ag <sup>t</sup>	MS
	against	UP → FP
46.39	violence to this Republic;	MS
	violence;	CP → FP
46.40	Nations,	MS
	nations,	UP → FP
46.40	[presence]	MS
	presence	UP → FP
46.40	Democ <sup>y</sup> ,	MS
	democracy,	UP → FP
47.2	this Republic	MS
	this French Republic	CP → FP

47.2	nly a thing to be lightly or suddenly	MS <sup>21</sup> UP
	a thing to be lightly or needlessly	CP → FP
47.4	this the	MS CP → FP
47.5	Rep <sup>c</sup> Republic	MS UP → FP
47.5	is is,	MS UP → FP
47.5	expe[cts] expects	MS UP → FP
47.6	it; it,	MS UP → FP
47.7	did[. A] did. A	MS UP → FP
47.8	Gov <sup>t</sup> Government	MS UP → FP
47.10	o[nly] only	MS UP → FP
47.12	fierce frantic	MS CP → FP
47.12	disappointment: in disappointment. In	MS UP → FP
47.13	immeasurable innumerable	MS UP
47.14	'labour question,' or so much as begin to settle it: here is the [illegible] and verily it is work enough: but it	MS

<sup>21</sup> A combination of cancellations and concealment of the manuscript by the folio obscures the text.

	“labour question,”	UP
	labour question,	FP
47.15	spirit, spirit;	MS UP → FP
47.16	[mad] mad	MS UP → FP
47.16	existence. ¶Of this immense problem [passage from 38.29 to 39.14] by and by! ¶For existence. ¶For	MS UP → FP
47.17	the this	MS UP → FP
47.17	Prov <sup>l</sup> Gov <sup>t</sup> Provisional Government	MS UP → FP
47.18	seem is	MS UP → FP
47.18	smooth[.] smooth.	MS UP → FP
47.18	will call have called	MS UP
47.19	Parliament parliament	MS UP → FP
47.19	together; collect, together; and may be able to collect,	MS UP
47.19	by universal voting and scrutinizing, thro’ primary and secondary assemblies,—as the old forms of the Constituent or the Convention will well enable them, for all is by ballot, and the suffrage, given to all men, is or may be sincere, —a by such methods as they have, a	MS CP → FP

47.19	thro' through	MS UP → FP
47.19	suffrage, suffrage	MS UP
47.19	men, men[,]	MS UP
47.19	sincere, —a sincere,—a	MS UP
47.21	grea[t] great	MS UP → FP
47.23	au[th]entic authentic	MS UP → FP
47.24	impossible; impossible,	MS UP → FP
47.26	From the heart Heartily do	MS CP → FP