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**HYPERBOREAN AUTHORITIES:
THE CARLYLEAN HERO
AND
THE GERMANIC RACIST DISCOURSE
OF
GÖTTINGEN**

**by
IAN BROCKIE B.A.**

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Department of English Language and Literature

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
September 22, 1992
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submitted by Ian Brockie, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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Abstract

The manipulation of ethnically determined self-identity by political institutions is a conventional means of propagandising a population. Thomas Carlyle was already immersed in nationalist racist discourse by the time he wrote his major works.

Enthralled by the discourse of German self-identity, he shifted from a British Protestant ideological base, Anglo-Saxonism, to that of German ideological self-formation, Aryanism. This myth of German racial purity and ethnic superiority was constructed in the discourse of Classics, expressed through cultural anthropology, predominantly by Göttingen scholars and intellectuals. Having come to regard Goethe, Fichte, and scholars such as Christian Gottlob Heyne as supreme spiritual and philosophical authorities, Carlyle tailored a hierarchy hero based on their ethnically biased ideology but intended for a British audience. Carlyle's model hero, a product of alien discourse, failed to inspire the reformation of the social hierarchy for which Carlyle wished. The Carlylean hero nevertheless subsequently influenced cultural and political figures of considerable significance.

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Key to Primary Source Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in accordance with the parenthetical citation method of the MLA Style Sheet. Abbreviations are used where more than one work by the same author is cited. This key is provided to distinguish primary sources only.

Carlyle's Works 16 vols ——— Works

On Heroes and Hero-worship
and the Heroic in History ——— HH

Past and Present ——— PP

Sartor Resartus ——— SR

This thesis is dedicated to

Robert C. Brockie

and

Walter I. Blackmore

**My Grandfathers who encouraged me during my schooling with love,
confidence and cheer.**

Chapter 1: Racist Self-formation and Authority

The necessity of the "König", the man who has an intimate knowledge of his fellows' spiritual state and the power to act on a genuine desire to better his fellows' condition, was his myth. In his chief political works Thomas Carlyle spelled out the shared etymology of the English word "King" and its German counterpart: "King is Kön-ning, Kan-ing, Man that knows or cans" (HH 15). Carlyle saw historical evidence that such individuals possessed a preternatural disposition to be exceptional leaders; these were his heros. As a writer Carlyle promulgated this natural-supernatural authority in all its manifestations, as god, king, prophet, poet, and scholar.

This thesis investigates the relationship between Teutonic¹ imagery and political power in the writings of Thomas Carlyle. Why did a rural Scots farm owner become a proponent of the Aryan myth that there is physical, mental and spiritual superiority in the descendants of racially pure Europeans? Carlyle is the product of several streams of racist discourse and in maturity came to contribute to such discourse. In his era it was often the language of educational and religious institutions. Carlyle was one of the chief conduits by which the more extreme Aryanism from the Continent entered British culture. He adapted the Continental discourse to justify the political and cultural ideology of Great Britain.

In order to examine the dynamic between power and mythology

that Carlyle used, it will be helpful to adopt the system of analysis devised by Michel Foucault. In works such as Madness and Civilization, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, and The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, Foucault describes the formations linking discourse and the pursuit of political power. Language is a tool allowing semantic nuances, pronunciations and vocabularies to reinforce ideologies. Foucault investigates how these phenomena can become formalized and ritualized. Foucault sees discourse as affecting spatial and ideological architecture. It entails the manipulation of perceptions that the spatial choreography of architecture can generate. Language and architecture establish hierarchies which limit human interaction. He exposes the institutionalization of the control mechanisms found in cultural expression.

The chief feature of cultural control in Foucault's analysis is objectification of groups or of an individual subject. Paul Rabinow in his introduction to The Foucault Reader describes the three modes of objectification:

The first mode of objectification of the subject is somewhat cryptically called "dividing practices." ... modes of manipulation that combine the mediation of a science (or pseudo-science) and the practice of exclusion--usually in a spatial sense, but always in a social one (Rabinow 7).

This mode can depend on architecture and language. The first creates spatial exclusion, or division; the second uses language

to label and thereby exclude or divide a subject from a larger group or society.

The second mode, "scientific classification," arises "from 'the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences'" (7). This mode attaches values to a theme or topic that are founded in the conclusions of that mode's discourse. Disciplines in this mode name and catalogue phenomena with each discipline using its own sub-discourse. This ultimately leads to a fracturing of general scientific discourse and a differentiation of the scientific disciplines in the western tradition.

Foucault shows that historically individuals using different discourses, moving in different intellectual disciplines, lose their connection with each other, and forget the goal of natural philosophy, answering life's fundamental questions. There is a loss of general purpose; natural philosophy becomes fractured with the adoption of sectarian creeds by particularized disciplines. Simultaneously, such discourses hinge on their status as scientific intellectual truths, yet if need be, recoil into their own abstract nature. Such discourses create plastic words that can be easily turned to reflect any ideological view.

The final mode, as Rabinow describes it, has the most relevance to the argument made here:

Let us call it "subjectification." It concerns the "way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject." ... Foucault is primarily concerned with

isolating those techniques through which the person initiates an active self-formation. ... These operations characteristically entail a process of self-understanding but one which is mediated by an external authority figure (11).

This also applies to any group or individual that tries to achieve authority based on morally self-justifying beliefs. It is therefore a powerful tool for propaganda: any act can be sanctioned once a population believes in its own authority. The best way to control a population is through institutions that help to justify acts subjectively. The authority figure is an agent of the institution that guides individuals in "self-formation" until they automatically inculcate the ideology upon others and themselves.

The relationship between a society's institutions and its ideology is what interests Edward W. Said. In his book Orientalism, Said examines the control modes, as described by Foucault, to show how European States achieved domination of Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa, drawing upon examples from the history of Great Britain, France, Germany, and The United States of America as imperialist powers.

Said detects and exposes what he terms "Orientalism". This is not a symptom of direct political will. It is, in Said's opinion, a field of knowledge that not only perpetuates itself, but adds impetus to particular political goals. Orientalism is

not restricted to any one discipline or nation; its fragmentary nature allows it to go undetected in a variety of forms. Yet it is most effective in an institutional setting. Said believes that

political imperialism governs an entire field of study, imagination, and scholarly institutions--in such a way as to make its avoidance an intellectual and historical impossibility. Yet there will always remain the perennial escape mechanism of saying that a literary scholar and a philosopher, for example, are trained in literature and philosophy respectively, not in politics or ideological analysis (Said 14).

Discursive institutions foster or create attitudes about objectified colonial subjects. Once this capacity is recognized by the politically empowered, more institutions are set up with the unspoken expectation that they expedite the colonizing process. The discourse becomes a vehicle for political hegemony.

Discursive institutions play a dual role in the mode of subjectification. Such institutions govern the "self-formation" of societies. They supply the authority figures for individuals outside the institution itself but within a given society. Their status and credibility supports or validates any conclusive information that they release through the media to the public. The public depends upon them to do its intricate or esoteric thinking and to supply it with useful information. At the same time an institution is itself a group of individuals, and as such

provides authority figures to its members. Scholars, clerics, and students rely on the collective for personal validation.

This ideological self-sufficiency is aided by the confusion created by the fractured nature of Western thought. Each discipline justifies its own existence, methods and conclusions. Each depends on internally justified answers and occasionally on umbrella disciplines such as philosophy. Each may also depend on tangible effects it provides to those outside the institution. Engineering and medicine provide luxury technologies; safety and behavioural reform are rendered by prisons and asylums; and spiritual significance and, at times, serenity are provided by temples or churches. Within the body of an institution a discipline must rely on ambiguous mediators to cut through barriers created by specialized discourse: the language of mathematics, for instance, is difficult to reconcile directly with that of literary criticism.

Said shows that the different disciplines nonetheless have discourses that can be turned to similar ideological purposes. It is the dual nature of discursive knowledge, its status as "fact" and, simultaneously, its general ambiguity, that allows it to be manipulated and to manipulate.

It is not this paper's aim to present a detailed discussion of the general nature of discourse and how it is affected by ideology through institutional means. Yet to understand Carlyle one must examine how one kind of institution, the European

university, and in particular one discipline, Classics, was involved in subjectification. Carlyle was a journalist of academic bearing who wished to influence culture.

Historically, Classics was the basis for all élite education in Europe down to the present century, and it was from this root that the major intellectual movements of Europe burgeoned. Martin Bernal in Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization demonstrates that 19th century Classical studies was pervaded by increasingly racist discourse. The overall scope of Bernal's project is to examine the details of how racist discourse assisted and was aided by different national ideologies. Much of Bernal's volume is concerned with the rewriting of history. Bernal argues that historically the ancient Greeks and their language were the product of the mixing of peoples from Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, the latter two having tremendous influence, as evidenced by archaeology, literature, and linguistics. He contends that European Classical scholarly discourse systematically all but eradicated the awareness of the importance of Africans and Asians in the evolution of Greek culture. Bernal shows how scholarship and the universities replaced what he calls the Ancient Model with first, the Aryan Model and then, in the 19th century, the Extreme Aryan Model. This made efficacious the construction of an Ancient Greece that was ideally white and completely Aryan. This image of a racially pure Greece was then used as propaganda to subjectify the modern European and objectify non-Europeans.

Of specific interest to this paper is Bernal's detailed tracing of this trend in German universities and in particular, Göttingen. Several institutions and discourses influenced Carlyle but it was Göttingen that constructed his racism. I propose that Carlyle, in his search for guidance, depended upon institutionalised authority, and as suggested by Chris Vanden Bossche in Carlyle and the Search for Authority, wished to become a cultural authority himself so as to entrench his views in British culture. However, his religious and educational experiences immersed him in discourses that stressed spirituality and, unfortunately, also a racist mythology, specifically Aryanism.

Chapter 2: Early Discursive Institutions and Authorities

The principle vehicle of Continental racist discourse for Carlyle was institutionalized higher learning, directly the University of Edinburgh, and indirectly Göttingen. Carlyle was not in an ideological vacuum before he entered school at Edinburgh. Therefore it will be useful to examine briefly the structures that held authority over him and directed his opinions and character until 1809.

Throughout his life, Carlyle maintained a strong connection to his early years in Annandale. He was deeply affected by the values of his family and its religion. There is a strong sense that he was perpetually wrestling with every contradiction to these core sentiments that experience and education offered. Though as an adult he managed to shed the dogmas of his religion, it could not have been easy for him to reject these attitudes.

He inherited from his father, James Carlyle, dogmatism and irascibility, and a zealous reverence for daily labour, a value he never abandoned. Fred Kaplan in his recent Thomas Carlyle: a Biography succinctly describes their religious outlook:

The tradition of the Covenanters was strong in Annandale, ... James himself would "not tolerate anything fictitious in books," sternly forbidding "his children to read the Arabian Nights--'those downright lies,' he called them."² Becoming "grimly religious," he attempted to live every moment of his life as if

salvation, the most important aim of a man's existence, were to be approached only through a complete fulfilment of the rules and spirit of the Burgher Seceder Church (Kaplan 21).

Spirituality, behaviour, and ritual were emphasised. Through his father Carlyle was exposed to the theology of Calvin and Knox:

Each day James Carlyle read the Bible to himself and his family. Calvin he knew indirectly through the Confession of Faith and the catechisms, Knox through the covenant and through echoes of The Book of Discipline and The Book of the Universal Kirk heard in the life of the meeting house (21-2).

Carlyle never completely disavowed the Calvinist belief in spiritual election or predestination. His protagonists in On Heroes and Hero-worship were all supposed evidence of spiritual election.

For all his suspicion of worldly books, Carlyle's father followed the Scots custom and saw to it that his son was educated. By his third year at Annan Academy, which affordably prepared him for university, Carlyle received recognition for his intelligence. Kaplan shows that his family's support was benevolent but vested:

in Tom's case the possibility that he would be a minister demanded support. Moreover, it would cost no more to go to the university than to attend Annan Academy. Carlyle later remembered that his father was

"always GENEROUS to me in my school expenses; never by grudging look or word did he give me any pain"³ (27).

As a student at the University of Edinburgh he was poor but not destitute; the "twenty pounds on which he maintained himself from November to April represented at least one-fifth of his family's cash income" (29). Familial authority spliced authority to a particular kind of knowledge, religious.

By his second year at Edinburgh he had warmed to mathematics instructor, Professor John Leslie, who "devoted particular attention to bright students who could keep up with him. The young man [Carlyle] had finally found a teacher he could admire" (31) and later as a journalist Carlyle's inclinations remained scientific. He preferred the new anthropological "objectivity" and scientific approach to social phenomena that was being promoted largely by scholars at German and continental institutions.

In 1813 Carlyle, following his father's inclinations, entered classes at Divinity Hall of the National Church. After a year, Kaplan writes, Carlyle was "soon finding that his professors were part of the clerical conspiracy to make religion spiritless and learning dull" (34). He abandoned Divinity Hall and with a shining recommendation from John Leslie he secured a position teaching Classical languages and mathematics at Annan Academy. In the rural intellectual desert "Carlyle attempted to create his own stream, reading Defoe, Sterne, Byron, Tasso, Cervantes, Scott, Burns, Hume, and Horace" (37). Burns would

become the object of emotional sympathy and Hume would eventually come to represent the high intellectual standard Carlyle awkwardly worked towards. Carlyle engaged in typical self-formation in the discursive tradition that his peers, educators, and institution recommended.

Mentors such as Leslie exerted authority--effectively, by way of influence and praise--over an acquaintance of Carlyle's, Edward Irving. They helped both students get teaching positions in Kirkcaldy where, by the end of 1816, the two became fast friends. Regarded highly even by the normally cranky Carlyle, Irving was theologically minded and a charismatic orator. Here was proof that a religiously oriented person could have vitality. More importantly Irving, the avenue for the knowledge and intellectual life Carlyle craved, "urged his friend to use his large personal library as if it were his own" (49-7). In 1818 it was Irving who supplied Carlyle with a copy of Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, which countered many of Carlyle's assumptions about Christianity. He saw truth in history, but began to believe that it could lie both in and outside the Christian experience.

Although he was no longer a student of the university, the institution continued to have an influence upon him. Carlyle made trips to the city to visit Leslie and while in the country cultivated his own intellect by surrounding himself with educated acquaintances, who could stave off the liberal theological discourse that Carlyle was developing. This same discourse would

soon be supplemented. The potential for new discursive structures opened in 1817 when he agreed to teach a schoolmate, Robert Jardine, French in return for instruction in German. Carlyle had already read Madame de Staël's influential De l'Allemagne, which excited his interest in things German. During the next two year his investigations and interest in German blossomed. Charles Frederick Harrold states that by 1819 Carlyle read "a history of Frederick the Great" (German 40).

Carlyle's interest in German is not surprising when seen in historical context. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Byron had popularized the affinity for Germanic things and many of the trappings of English Romanticism were garnered from themes in German Romantic Racist discourse. It seems almost odd that so few other Britons had more than superficial interest in German writing, or that so many of them held much of it in disdain. The key to the atypical change Carlyle underwent rested in the fact that the change to an alien discourse carried with it a shift towards the foreign ideology that originated the new discourse. Carlyle began to stray from the pervasive ideologies of the British academic and journalistic world. During the next decade Carlyle's public image would shift from that of the stable protestant minister to that of suspicious German mystic.

Carlyle's departure from the dominant ideology can be described as the recognition of an external authority. Carlyle's conversion did not occur overnight; it was a gradual and at times

trying shift. For not only did he shift ideology, he simultaneously moved from one discipline to another. He moved from the conventional discourse of Scottish religious pedagogy into what was then the eccentric and alien discourse of German romantic poetry and transcendentalism.

Although his original attempts to read Goethe while first learning German in 1819 were unsuccessful, Carlyle tried again in 1820 with greater reward. Kaplan writes,

He was impatient with much, but persevered with German and by the following spring was able to read Goethe's Faustus. Suddenly he was ecstatically enthusiastic, almost exalted. He caught sight of a distant glow, "a New Heaven and new Earth which a slight study of German literature has revealed to me--or promises to reveal"⁴ (Kaplan 66).

That same year Carlyle started to explore works by Schiller. In these new and exciting writers Carlyle detected elements of his own experience: "he searched for inspiration and confirmation of his distinctiveness, he was carried even further away from English affairs by his discovery of German Literature" (68). Much of his mental life was consumed by Goethe's Faustus and Wilhelm Meister. By 1821 he added Fichte to his diet. Carlyle in private conversation was a new proponent of the superiority of German Literature as a touchstone of inspiration. Carlyle even steeped his growing affection for Jane Welsh in the light of his Germanophilia. He describes her to Irving as "certainly the most-fit to read German of any creature I have met with" (74)⁵.

By late 1821, his spirits climbing, Carlyle accepted a position as tutor to the son of the wealthy Charles Buller, and with the generous salary he found time to complete a review of Faustus (78) that was published in April of the following year.

His literary reputation grew. In the early months of 1822 he was given the opportunity to spread his germanophilia to a wider British readership. The London Magazine asked him to write an article on Schiller's life. He also "boldly proposed to an Edinburgh publisher that he ... 'undertake ' a translation of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister" (84). The publication of the translation brought him £150. The article on Schiller grew to a sufficient length to fill a book, which he sought to publish on his 1824 trip to London.

Carlyle was as yet by no means a heavyweight, but his connections, the Bullers and Irving, served him well and in time he began to receive recognition from prominent figures such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge⁶, who, like the younger man, was captivated by German Transcendentalism. Irving's social position assisted Carlyle in meeting people like Henry Crabb Robinson and Charles Lamb. The next two years saw Carlyle engage in numerous projects with diverse degrees of success. His reputation had grown enough that he began to receive recognition as a skilled journalist. In fact, he nearly became the editor of a new journal, a project which neither he nor partner David Brewster saw to fruition. By the end of 1824, "with books procured from a number of sources in Edinburgh, London, and Germany, he finally

got to work in the winter, translating Richter, Musaeus, Fouqué, Tieck, and Hoffmann" (112). He began to dabble in the prospect that he might write a novel in the fashion of Wilhelm Meister, but more directly suited to the British reader.

In 1827 Carlyle was introduced to Lord Jeffrey. If there was anyone whom Carlyle met who symbolised literary authority it was the editor of the Edinburgh Review. Francis Jeffrey was unique in British Literary history as the man who almost single-handedly invested the Review editor with respectability.⁷ The two men began regular meetings and a review of the life of Jean-Paul Richter was produced and published. The article's subject was unfamiliar to the readership and Carlyle was spared any significant criticism; no one could challenge his authority. Carlyle promised Jeffrey that a longer article on German Literature would be ready by autumn. Thanks to Jeffrey, Carlyle became a regular contributor to the Edinburgh Review and would remain so until 1829 when Macvey Napier became editor (Vanden Bossche 93). However, even with the growing respect of the literary community, Carlyle was unable to obtain a position in an academic institution⁸. His discourse was too alien for his audience, and even his peers. His status as an authority was growing, but he was not yet able to exploit his prominence to cultivate his beliefs in the mainstream.

In the following years Carlyle continued to promote the ideology he acquired from the German texts he read. In 1828 he

published "The Life and Writings of Werner", "The Life of Hayne", "Goethe" and a year later "Novalis" in the Foreign Review. In the Edinburgh Review, in 1828, "Burns" and in 1829, a less typical article, "Signs of the Times" were published. In the latter article Carlyle's opinions drifted away from the purely abstract literary zone and into that of politics. Carlyle foregrounded non-German themes and Jeffrey approved, but the article's core ideas were cohesive with German Romanticism.

Carlyle was recommending decisively that transcendentalism was the natural evolution of spirituality and the recognition of transcendental truths should supersede traditional religion. By 1830 he had developed the notion that priests, poets and prophets served parallel functions in their respective societies. He also had come to see authors, journalists and educators as participating in this scheme. Moreover, in "Signs of the Times" he hinted at symptoms of imbalance in industrial society between spiritual and material life. Industrialism deprived people of gratifying daily work. The slavish conditions in factories or the alternative misery of unemployment were getting worse. Any spiritual amelioration he proposed would have to address these woes.

Napier asked Carlyle for an article on Bentham, whom the Scotsman loathed. Romanticism had, after all, arisen in response to an industrial capitalism which relied upon the Classical Political Economy of Adam Smith and David Ricardo in alliance with the Utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham. Romantic

transcendentalism was a counter-discourse which strove to release the cultural and spiritual tensions that Utilitarian repression had generated. Carlyle had been examining his ideas in a two-part article with the projected title of "Teufelsdröck", meaning "Devil's-shit", to attack the notion that revolutionizing the social-material order would improve the common person's life. He wanted to balance two extreme views, tyrannical utilitarianism and bloodthirsty anarchic democratism, the harbinger of Zeitgeist.

This article came to him with unusual fluidity and grew throughout 1831. He connected the status of author to spiritual authority. The editor or translator who made the transcendental message accessible appeared to be the solution. Turning away from immediate real people, he looked for authority figures in remote authors such as Goethe, whose foreign existence was more textual than actual. Authority had become a type worthy of emulation.

By 1833 "Teufelsdröck" had grown to book length and been renamed Sartor Resartus. In Carlyle and the Search for Authority, Chris Vanden Bossche describes the process:

Although he could represent others recovering authority, he could not recover authority himself until he created his own authoritative text. Sartor Resartus was especially important as an attempt to break out of the bounds of political economy. With it, Carlyle not only enacted the mythology of the literary career by

producing a narrative in which the hero becomes an author, he also succeeded in creating his first original work of literature. In addition to representing the recuperation of authority in the career of Teufelsdröckh, Carlyle hoped this work would establish his own authority as a man of letters (32-33).

Carlyle's publications just prior to Sartor firmly and confidently rejected Jeffrey's guarded conservative position and lauded German Literature. Carlyle in his own opinion had irrevocably come to view German discourse as supreme⁹. He drew on ideas from the German tradition but, in order to utter his own distinctive discourse, adapted the German ideology to suit the metaphysical and social conditions in Britain.

Chapter 3: Göttingen and Racist Discourse

Although his audience could criticise him for his alien values, Carlyle nevertheless became more and more widely read, gaining a reputation as an expert. The terms Carlyle used to support his arguments were essentially outlandish; they were translated from a foreign language and lost their natural connotations and denotations and picked up others when translated. Furthermore, any position Carlyle espoused was virtually in a vacuum because readers in Britain generally did not have ready access to any counter-discourse from the German tradition. National, political and cultural taste were the only limitations. Carlyle softened the wording that their direct translation sometimes yielded. This process probably took the edge out of some of the works, bleaching them of their native character. Moreover, Carlyle often put himself in the position of raconteur, interpreting transcendental characteristics rather than reporting bare facts. This fit Carlyle's creed, in which the role of interpreter was more spiritual than that of rudimentary critic.

Not all the ideas Carlyle fostered were foreign to the British idiom; they were just presented in an entirely new way and unorthodox mode. Yet some of the ideas Carlyle adopted and adapted were originally derived from political and ideological structures that served anything but British hegemony. These frequently racist ideas, the result of centuries of German

thought, had evolved to suit German political and cultural objectives.

Black Athena's purpose is not to detail the course of German racism in particular, but the information Bernal provides and his overall argument both complement and support that of this paper. It can be argued that there are two important figures that serve to show the trends of German racial philosophy in Carlyle's experience. As has already been mentioned, Carlyle had a direct correspondence with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The second figure, Christian Gottlob Heyne, represents a textual connection with the established ideology of German intellectual institutions. By tracing some of the figures who played a role in promoting the extreme sort of Aryanism in German Classical discourse directly to Heyne and by showing Goethe's role in this tradition, Carlyle can be shown importing German Aryan racism into Britain.

Hugh MacDougall's Racial Myth in English History traces how the perception of the mythical origins of the British was used to argue religious and then political positions in propaganda. MacDougall asserts that in Norman times the nobility exploited the myth of Aeneas' grandson Brutus, the Trojan progenitor of Britain, through Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain, which described Brutus' successors down to the mythical King Arthur. By establishing an ethnic or genealogical connection to these mythic personae, nobles justified their right to rule. MacDougall draws attention to Edward I (13), who

promoted himself as a new Arthur, linking his image to that of the ideal "historical" hero.

This Norman/Celtic racial myth was eventually supplanted in the time of Henry VIII, who encouraged a Saxonism rooted in the belief that the ancient Anglo-Saxon Church was independent of Rome to justify the Reformation. The Norman conquest was seen as the triumph of Pope Gregory (37). By the next century the idealized Anglo-Saxon era was mythologized as the source of native English law and racial character. For supporters of the Long Parliament in the early 1600s, the Anglo-Saxon's Witenagemot was used to historically justify constitutional reform during the Civil Wars (59). Some 17th century writers flaunted a Teutonophilia with a notable feature, ethnic hierarchy: MacDougall quotes John Hare's St. Edward's Ghost: "... we are a member of the Teutonick Nation ... such is the transcendent quality of our Mother Nation ... she sufficiently appears to be the chiefe and most honourable nation of Europe...[sic]" (59-60). By the 18th century writers of the Enlightenment frequently equated race and power in political discourse.

Idolising Hume, whose history elevated the Anglo-Saxons' inherent Germanic love of liberty (81), and enthralled by Goethe and the German Transcendentalists, Carlyle directed his attention to Germany. Unlike the United Kingdom, Germany spent the larger part of its history as independent small states. In Carlyle's era the Germans did not have a national identity whereby the subject group was culturally within one political border. Bernal

analyses how the belief flourished that a group that shared supposed genetic distinction coupled with military and cultural genius should be politically unified. During the 18th century there was little to develop effectively the idea of Germany as a nation-state; propaganda concentrated on Germans as a race. Lacking the security nationhood provided, individuals attached inordinate significance to what they saw as the tested and true racial ideology.

France acted to prevent German unification by various means, including cultural linguistic hegemony in elite educational institutions. Bernal traces German cultural insecurity back to the dominance of French at the aristocratic level. He shows the early institutionalization of the subjectification process by intellectuals like Leibniz:

The language and culture of the German courts, including that of Frederick the Great in Prussia, was French; most of the books published in the first half of the [18th] century were in Latin and French. Thus there was a reasonable fear, voiced by the late-17th century philosopher Leibniz and later patriots, that German would never develop into a language capable of being used for cultural and philosophical discourse; it might even, like the Germanic Frankish language spoken by the early rulers of France, disappear altogether in the face of French. German culture and the German People were seen as being in mortal danger (206).

This perceived inadequacy generated an intellectual movement towards preserving and popularizing German culture and promoted the sort of Xenophobia on which such movements feed. Many scholars and thinkers concentrated on the connections between National character and language; an example is Johann Gottfried Herder, who "believed that all peoples should develop their particular genii, [Herder]--connected Neo-Hellenistic Romanticism and Linguistics" (206).

Volume I of Black Athena is concerned with showing that through literature and then archaeology the Greeks were promoted as wholly or largely Aryan. This made them a suitable model for propagandists. This was furthered by two related perceptions: 1) linguistically like German, Greek was agglutinative (forming compounds) and thus became the favoured Classical tongue; 2) Greek was the language of the New Testament and thus the better language for Protestant Germans than the Latin of Catholicism. "In the 18th century," Bernal writes,

the threat to Germany was from Paris, a 'new Rome', and from French, a Romance language. In addition to the revival of this old cultural alliance between Greek and German, there was a new motive for the identification of Germany as the New Hellas. By the 1770s it was becoming clear that Germany had the potential to be a major cultural centre; however, this was not reflected politically. The wars of Frederick the Great could not unite Germany and the Austrian Empire was equally

incapable of this. The combination of cultural strength with political weakness and disunity seemed to indicate that while Germany could not become a new Rome she could be the new Hellas (214).

The Neo-Hellenism that pushed German nationalism was promoted in popular culture and educational institutions. Bernal cites Goethe's admiration for the ancient Greeks and mentions his deep respect for "The greatest champion of Greek youth and purity in the mid-18th century" (212), Johann Joachim Winckelmann. The specifics of Winckelmann's Hellenism were not as strictly connected to race as those of Herder, and like Herder, Winckelmann was somewhat more liberal than many of their intellectual successors. Winckelmann's chief contribution to the discourse was the misguided conviction that the ancient Greeks were singularly "liberal, serene and youth-loving" (213). He also promoted the belief that Greek culture had "tragic and Dionysian qualities" (213), a notion that affected later Romantic thinkers in their promotion of the notion of Zeitgeist. Bernal connects Winckelmann to later 19th century figures such as Heine and Nietzsche.

Popular literary figures like Goethe and Lessing helped to spread the Winckelmann myths to the public at large. Most German Romantic writing evoked sympathy for ancient Greece and the perception of the "German Race" as worthy of epos in song and poem. Bernal states,

The two purest essences of a 'race' were seen as being

its language and folksong. As sounds they were temporal, not spatial. They were not stable but moving, if not 'living', and they were seen as communicating feeling, not reason. Furthermore, they were felt to be expressions not merely of the whole race but of its most characteristic and vital period, its 'childhood' or primitive stage [sic] (206).

It is not surprising that much of the cultural influence on Germany in this regard came precisely from Carlyle's turf, Scotland. The Act of Union in 1707, the elimination of the Stewarts by 1745, and "the destruction of the Gaelic culture of the Highlands forced a major realignment of the old nationalism. Upper-class English-speaking Scots," of mainly Saxon-Germanic heritage,

very quickly developed a safe literary sublimation of nationalism, in which there was a cult of the simple, the backward and the remote combined with a nostalgia for a lost innocence (207).¹⁰

This theme is present in the writings of Walter Scott and English Romantics such as Blake, Wordsworth, and Coleridge. So too, Germans like Winckelmann and Goethe adopted the Scots premise.

Although Goethe recognized the value of Winckelmann's scholarship, it was not accepted with the same credibility in the newly established universities of the eighteenth century, which at Bern and elsewhere, diversified and professional universities. It was established in 1734 by George II, King of England and

Elector of Hanover, was well endowed, and as a new foundation was able to escape many of the medieval religious and scholastic constraints that persisted in other universities. With its British connections it was a conduit of Scottish Romanticism as well as for the philosophical and political ideas of Locke and Hume... (215)."

Bernal believes that "despite the Göttingen professors' insistence on their academic high standards and detachment, they were inevitably influenced by such popular writers as Winckelmann, Goethe and Lessing" (215).

Generally it was the 'scientific' nature of its approach that drew people to Göttingen. The professional scholars held the notion of objectivity in high esteem. Nonetheless, in retrospect Göttingen's commitment to objectivity seems grossly prejudiced. Bernal characterises the geo-ethical ideology of one of the university's founding scholars, Kristophe August Heumann:

There is little doubt that Heumann's views ... were linked to his German nationalism and his Europocentrism. He advocated, and tried to practise writing Philosophy in German when this was almost unheard of ... According to Heumann, philosophy arose in Greece because it could not flourish in climates that were too hot or too cold; only the inhabitants of temperate countries like Greece, Italy, France, England and Germany could create true philosophy (216).

Certainly by the 1770s there was definitely a racially oriented

tone to the establishment's discourses. "One professor there, Gatterer, started a project of writing histories not kings and wars but 'biographies of peoples" (217). Bernal also isolates a man who would be venerated by the Nazis "as a founder of racial theory" (217). Christian Meiners fathered the concept of Zeitgeist personally. His notion of the 'genius of the age' became instrumental in Romantic racism and Carlyle certainly shared it.

Meiners also popularized the technique of "source criticism", in which the credibility of a historical theory was determined by analysing the texts upon which the theory drew. Meiners exploited this strategy to rationalise racial hierarchies in

'progressive' Romantic histories of peoples whom he divided categorically into the white, courageous, free, etc., and the black, ugly, etc. The spectrum ranged from chimpanzees through Hottentots and others to Germans and Celts (218-19).

Meiners' hierarchical approach was matched and complemented by the work of another Göttingen scholar. In 1775 the natural historian Johann Blumenbach published De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa. Blumenbach was the first scholar to use "Caucasian" as a term for fair-skinned Europeans. By situating their origins in the Caucasus he integrated classical mythology and Biblical descriptions of the origins of humanity¹². Blumenbach saw racial variety as a result of deviation from the original and

best type. "According to him the white or Caucasian was the first and most beautiful and talented race, from which all the others had degenerated to become Chinese, Negroes, etc." (219). Blumenbach held tremendous sway politically and intellectually. His notions were shared by other Göttingen scholars such as Christian Gottlob Heyne and Christian Bunsen, who was secretary to Barthold Niebuhr and who eventually was appointed Prussian ambassador to Britain.

Winckelmann's disciples were many; among them were Friedrich August Wolf and Wilhelm von Humboldt, both of whom, along with Schiller, were responsible for the institutional and popular spread of Neo-Hellenism and German nationalism in the early 1800s. The first figure, Wolf, studied under Heyne at Göttingen in the mid-1770s and matriculated in 1777. Although he initially called himself a "student of philology", Wolf eventually called his discipline Alterumwissenschaft, derived from Kant, to describe what he saw as the best academic study. His inclination was to reject the Polytechnique French education, with its concentration on maths and logic, and to achieve a finer line between logic and imagination. He saw this in terms of studying the culture of the ancient Greeks.

According to Black Athena Wolf aligned himself with a young Prussian aristocrat, Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt's intellectual leanings were typically Neo-Hellenistic. He, like Winckelmann, saw Greek as a transcendent language, "not as an Ursprache, or 'original language' like Sanskrit, but as a

perfect balance between youthful vitality and philosophical maturity" (287). This man, who agreed with Wolf's Bildung ideology and saw it as an essential part of moral education, was eventually to become Prussian Minister of Education.¹³ Oddly for radical thinkers, their creed was anti-revolutionary; they promoted the notion of an intellectual élite which conformed to the Philhellenistic mode:

Thus, while early-19th-century Philhellenism--though consistently racist--had both radical and reactionary aspects, the discipline of Classics was conservative from the start. The educational reforms of which it formed the centrepiece were systematic attempts to avoid or prevent revolution (288).

Humboldt and Wolf did not go unchallenged by other Göttingen scholars but the basic racism of the institution prevailed. A good example is that of Barthold Niebuhr. Niebuhr was not the Philhellene that Wolf, Winckelmann, or Humboldt were and was frequently at odds with Wolf, his senior, over precise details, such as the importance of Greece in comparison to Rome. Publicly they were not allies, but they were ideologically.

His father Carsten Niebuhr "employed by the Danish court and Göttingen" (298), was an Anglophile and had a not un-Carlylean disdain for "the French, and political disturbances of any sort" (300). Also like Carlyle, "Coming from peasant stock himself, Carsten had great sympathy with that class in his native Dithmarsch, which of course fitted the Romanticism of the times"

(300). He passed these values on to his son.

Barthold Niebuhr's early studies were informally swayed by the Göttingen intellectuals M.H. von Voss, M.C. Boie and Heyne, who urged him to come to Göttingen. He ultimately gained the shining reputation as one who applied methods of "scientific" analysis to history. Niebuhr, who cultivated Whig friends in Britain, where he had been schooled in part, idealized the British revolutionary period of the late 1680s. Bernal writes that, for Niebuhr, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was "the model of political change with minimal disorder. In his youth he had believed that this kind of event could take place only among superior northern races..." (299). Niebuhr was an opponent of what he saw as French Revolutionary subversion of Roman history. Niebuhr's theories were frequently racially oriented; Bernal writes,

he introduced his third major new theory, which was that the Patricians and the Plebeians were not merely different classes but different races. The idea that class differences originated from race differences--which Niebuhr applied to other situations as well--had been used earlier in France; there the belief that the nobility were the descendants of the Germanic Franks, while the third estate were native Gallo-Romans, had played a significant role in the development of the Revolutions of 1789 and 1830 (303).

Niebuhr also participated in the dissemination of Aryanism:

"another pattern that is likely to have influenced Niebuhr is the Indian caste system, which is supposed to have originated from the Aryan conquest and to have been an attempt to maintain the purity of the conquerors" (303).

At the base of almost all Niebuhr's beliefs is that race is expressed physically. This allowed him the flexibility to pass judgments over different social groups that share the same language and geography; in other words he was able to "scientifically" validate cultural elitism and support of racial purity¹⁴, and the superiority of northern Europeans, especially their aristocracy.

Niebuhr likewise continued the Scottish Enlightenment belief that folksongs integrally bond nations together in their early formation. He influenced Carlyle's friend and contemporary, Thomas Arnold, who praised Niebuhr's methods, and therefore Matthew Arnold. Like Humboldt's, Niebuhr's influence was more than intellectual. Bernal makes the point

that the intellectual and academic developments have to be seen together with the social and political ones.

It is striking to note that some of the key leaders on linguistic and historical issues ... played active roles not only in setting up the new discipline [Alterumwissenschaft] but in the establishment of the new university system as a whole. They were also important politicians on the national scene (282).

The key figure that links Meiners, Winckelmann, Goethe,

Blumenbach, Humboldt, Wolf, Bunsen, and Niebuhr is the subject of Carlyle's 1828 essay in the Foreign Review, "The Life of Heyne". Christian Gottlob Heyne, the brother-in-law of Blumenbach, "dominated" Alterumwissenschaft. He wrote to the Neibuhrs and Bunsen, and in youth knew Winckelmann at Dresden. Like his inheritors, Wolf and Niebuhr, Heyne was concerned with maintaining the status quo. In 1789 he virtually disowned his favourite son-in-law, Georg Forster, when the latter went to Paris to join the Revolutionary forces. Bernal indicates that "many of Heyne's students and followers worked for Prussia in the struggle against France and revolutionary ideas" (223).

Carlyle's distaste for violent political change was confirmed by Heyne and his peers. The cranky Scot, like Heyne and Niebuhr, had working class origins and broke into the intellectual and cultural élite through education and a belief that this was the inevitable product of his racial heritage. The views espoused by Carlyle in his subsequent works would correspond to the new exotic values he saw in German Literature and scholarship. Bernal confirms that Heyne,

the acknowledged ancestor of Alterumwissenschaft, later transposed to Britain and America as the new discipline of 'Classics', was a typical product of Göttingen--with its desire for reform rather than revolution, its profound concerns with ethnicity and race, and its exhaustive scholarship. Furthermore, both the ancestor and the discipline itself shared the reaction against

the French Revolution and its challenge to the traditional order and religion and the concern with the differences and inequalities between different races (223).

These are values that moulded Carlyle just prior to his most creative period from 1827 to 1831. The values of Heyne, Niebuhr, Goethe and ultimately the discourse of Alterumwissenschaft left their imprint upon Carlyle.

Chapter 4: Sartor Resartus and Anti-revolutionary Authority

In July of 1830 Carlyle was among those in Europe who witnessed the revolution in France that removed the Bourbons from power. Three months later his own nation's parliament bid farewell to Wellington and opened the door for the Whigs to pass parliamentary reform. Though the Tories believed the proposals were unacceptably extreme, Carlyle felt they fell short of the radical reforms he supported.

Chris Vanden Bossche, in Carlyle and the Search for Authority, notes that by January 1831, "Carlyle read the first of a series of articles in the Examiner, entitled 'Spirit of the Age,' an article that echoed many of the ideas he expressed in 'Thoughts on Clothes'" (40). The article's title connoted Meiners' idealized "Zeitgeist". Contrary to Carlyle's hopes, the spirit of the age was revolution, not reform. In Sartor Resartus Carlyle tried to ease the growing spiritual anxiety he saw in society and thereby sway revolutionary sentiment to his own purpose.

Sartor Resartus is predominantly a philosophical text, but its ideology has implications for social and intellectual authority and therefore edifies a political creed. Carlyle had to dismantle social authority figures and ensconce those he found in German erudition:

as in so many other cases, Germany, learned,
indefatigable, deep-thinking Germany comes to our aid.

It is, after all, a blessing that in these revolutionary times, there should be one country where abstract Thought can still take shelter; that while the din and frenzy of Catholic Emancipations, and Rotten Boroughs, and revolts in Paris, deafen every French and every English ear, the German can stand peaceful on his scientific watch-tower; and to the raging, struggling multitude here and elsewhere, solemnly from hour to hour, with preparatory blast of cowhorn, emit his Höret ihr Herren und lasset's Euch sagen (SR 2-3).

In doing so he endorsed much of the Göttingen racist ideology, which appeared to revolutionize institutional structure but in essence sought to subvert the meaning of revolution to maintain hegemony. The best control apparatus is one that can evolve with the demands of its era.

Sartor Resartus is an expression of an initial set of ideas which show the shift in the authorities its author recognized. Carlyle's self-formation had completed a stage. He had recognized the importance of submitting to authority and he had chosen one he could intrinsically relate to. He allowed the authority to authenticate his ideology, so, like Goethe or Heyne--whose "best teacher was himself" (Works 14: 327)--he could guide his own formation until he was equipped to disseminate it. Carlyle's was a self-propagating ideology which depended on the existing system of hierarchical expertise and the myth of its

humanitarian conscience. Revolution was a threat to this system as it would undermine institution and authority. To oppose revolutionary social change would have put him in parallel with the Tories, and to agree to the obviously condescending Whig reforms was worse. Carlyle needed to harness the rhetorical tone of revolution but not its iconoclastic or, worse still, anarchic tendencies.

The first element of rhetorical prose is style. In "Revolution and Authority: The Metaphors of Language and Carlyle's Style", Vanden Bossche states that

Carlyle's style does not merely reflect his meaning, it makes his meaning. He does not create "organic" style to reflect an organicist conception of the world in opposition to the mechanical balance of neoclassicism. Rather, as Morse Peckham suggests, he uses style as a tool, as a lever for prying us out of linguistic systems that limit our apprehension; ... his style is eccentric, causing us to re-vise the models that we use to apprehend the world. (Revolution 274).

Vanden Bossche suggests that Carlyle was trying to supplant the notions of style set out in the 18th century to achieve a revolutionary timbre without endorsing insurrection. Carlyle's style was adapted "as a strategy for decentring literary authority" (274). Carlyle exploited the correspondence between literary and political authority. He provided a myriad of German words, caricatured to dismantle his reader's biases which,

nevertheless, establish his expertise. He tailored a structure that used metaphor to foreground the author's ontological authority as stemming from racist German Romantic discourse.

Through etymological proficiency he introduced his readers to an assortment of remarkable terms. In Carlyle's pre-Saussurean era, where the folk-song, the Lieder and such were believed to hold a language's core signifiers, it was assumed that words had deep etymological meanings. He used this idea to practice division, to guide the reader's self-formation, the self-perception of racial and linguistic distinction. In an effort to highlight the linguistic intimacy between English dialects and their Germanic ancestry, Carlyle offered his British audience an unprecedented density of German in Sartor. In its initial pages the work's quixotic tone is best isolated by translating German terms. "Teufelsdröckh", "Weissnichtwo'sch Anzeiger", and "Hofrath Heuschrecke" to an anglophone sound typically German, but how typical was the "Don't-know-where Review" or a surname like Heuschrecke which means "Locust". Carlyle also provides snippets of phrases for which translations are given; "rugged independent Germanism and Philanthropy (derber Kerndeutscheit und Menschenliebe)" (SR 5); "Die Sache der Armen in Gottes und Teufels Namen (The Cause of the Poor, in Heaven's name and--'s!)" (10); "Aus der Ewigkeit, zu der Ewigkeit hin: From Eternity onwards to Eternity" (15). He also provided samples of mock-German, "Gukguk" (10) meaning ale or "Professor der Allerly-wissenschaft ... 'Professor of Things in General'"

(12), manifestly a corruption of Wolf's and Heyne's Alterumwissenschaft.

The average reader had a condescending attitude towards German culture and a more refined Briton might even have sneered at the notion of "German Culture" altogether. Carlyle's amusing depiction of Herr Professor Teufelsdröckh superficially reinforced readers' biases. His Editor echoed the reader's and even at times Carlyle's own misgivings about German culture. At the same time Carlyle was perpetually pushing German Transcendentalism.

The stylistic and thematic bridge, of course, was the durability of the symbol and the strength symbols have to communicate tacit and ageless truths; "Sprechen ist silbern. Schweigen ist golden (Speech is silvern, Silence is golden); or as I might rather express it: Speech is of time, Silence is of Eternity" (SR 164). Teufelsdröckh's symbols, fabrics and clothes, were Carlyle's metaphoric locus: in Sartor words are the "Garments of Thought". Charles Frederick Harrold, in "The Mystical Element in Carlyle (1827-34)", writes that Carlyle

realized that it is the essence of symbolism to suggest the inexpressible, just as it is the essence of mysticism to believe, as Carlyle did, that everything we see and know is symbolic of something greater ... as Novalis had said before him, "Der Mensch hat immer symbolische Philosophie seines Wesens in seinen Werken und in seinem Thun und Lassen ausgedrückt." (Mystical

470).¹⁵

Carlyle's philological approach made his prose reverberate with seeming profundity. His style supported his theme and created a tone of transcendent authority.

Carlyle used his new style and tone to link the British cultural sphere to that of Germany. In propaganda, the "Golden Age" of the mutable past is the supreme place to harness a reader's nationalistic passion. Nationalism rests on the subject's beliefs about the history of his particular group: in Foucault's terms, it is a dividing practice. The present was a place where there was tangible civil, class, or sectarian conflict, so to fastidiously romanticize daily life was difficult. Thus it was the past that Carlyle chose as a setting. He believed that there was a truth in history; "Friend, thou seest here a living link in that Tissue of History which interweaves all Being" (SR 15). Histories, biographies, and reminiscences all seemed suitable modes for exposition.

To change the understanding of the readers' ethnic history Carlyle had to foreground the intrinsic linguistic fraternity and, consequently, cultural unity of Germans and Britons. He induced the English to recall their Anglo-Saxon past in Sartor by having Teufelsdröckh link the Editor's and readers' time to the 4th century, "when Hengst and Horsa overran thy island" (15). Furthermore, he connected the Saxon's language to that of their rural Scots descendants: "the four Orte, or as the Scotch say, and we ought to say, Airts" (14). Carlyle also creates a sense

of German sympathy to the simple and yet noble earnestness of Scots history.

In many of the works there was constant glorification of the rustic straightforwardness of provincial life that derived from a historic integrity. This belief no doubt arose from Carlyle's education in the Scottish Enlightenment tradition, and his core albeit abstracted Calvinism reinforced this tendency. His English and Scots readers responded positively to sentimentality. Moreover, he drew on childhood nostalgia and the sympathetic justification for it he found in German Romanticism. Much of the information Carlyle used to typify "Weissnichtwo" and "Entepfuhl" came from his own reminiscences and from his knowledge of people like Goethe and Göttingen's A.H.L.Heeren¹⁶. The latter authored his father-in-law's biography, Christian Gottlob Heyne biographisch dargestellt von Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren, the volume upon which Carlyle based his "Life of Heyne".

There is evidence that Göttingen scholars, including Humboldt, figure satirically in Sartor Resartus. Teufelsdröckh, who covets scientific objectivity in anthropological pursuits, expresses a belief in animal hierarchy in terms of species, race, and ethnicity:

Man is called a Laughing Animal: but do not the apes also laugh or attempt to do it ... Still less do we make of that other French Definition of the Cooking Animal; which, indeed, for rigorous scientific purposes is as good as useless. Can a Tartar be said to cook,

when he only readies his steak by riding on it? Again, what Cookery does the Greenlander use, beyond stowing up his whale-blubber as a marmot ... Or how would Monsieur Ude prosper among those Orinocco Indians, who according to Humboldt, [my italics] lodge in crow-nests, on the branches of trees; and, for half the year, have no victuals but pipe-clay ... on the other hand, show us the human being of any period or climate, without his Tools: those very Caledonians, as we saw, had their Flint-ball and Thong to it such as no brute has or can have (30-31).

Teufelsdröckh's examples are absurd and his logic flawed, but the essential assumption was that intellectual sophistication increases from ape to Tartar to Greenlander (presumably Inuit) and thence to Caledonian (Neolithic inhabitants of Britain). Tool-use, synonymous with symbol-use, denotes intellectual complexity. Environmental limitations or overriding cultural philosophies never account for complexity. Tools are indicators of the intellectual limitations of an ethnic or racial group. It explicitly appeared that Carlyle believed Germanic was the best language family for symbolic expression.

There is even a vestige of Göttingen Philhellenism in Sartor Resartus. In the discussion of symbols the voice of Teufelsdröckh approaches Carlyle's own. In a passage that would be at home in On Heros and Hero-worship, the fictitious scholar describes the place of Homer in his Philosophy;

Homer's Epos has not ceased to be true; yet it is no longer our Epos, but shines in the distance, if clearer and clearer, yet also smaller and smaller, like a receding star. It needs a scientific telescope, it needs to be reinterpreted and artificially brought near us, before we can so much as know it was a Sun. So likewise a day comes when the Runic Thor, with his Eddas, must withdraw into dimness; and many an African Mumbo-jumbo and Indian Pawpaw be utterly abolished. For all things, even Celestial Luminaries, much more atmospheric meteors, have their rise, their culmination, their decline (169).

Through Teufelsdröckh, Carlyle conveys serious respect for the value of Greek art. There is no derision in the expression "Runic Thor" but there is definite prejudice in the description of African and Indian spirituality as "Mumbo-jumbo" or "Pawpaw".

Sartor Resartus divulges the core racism of Göttingen erudition. Carlyle presents a portrait of the German mystic intellectual that, by means of hyperbole and caricature, is stripped of any menace, thereby creating sympathy in his readers for the character and his linguistic culture. Carlyle validates the views of the character by establishing his own authority as 1) a writer in the tradition of scribal authority, Foucault's "Author function", and 2) his own particular expertise in an area his reader could not contest, German philology and philosophy. The reader depends on the editor's prowess to clarify alien terms

and to explicate the mystical philosophy. He presents a philosophical testimony disguised as dramatic characterization in a non-linear plot. Carlyle exploits his readers' trust of editorial authority to dissolve the barriers between text and reality.

Once the readers' biases against Germany have been domesticated, the philosophy formed by the discourse of Göttingen and its satellites is presented. Sartor Resartus reveals Göttingen ideology as fitted to racial prejudice and the hallucinations of Aryanism. Essentially, Carlyle has provided the superficial trappings of revolutionary discourse in a new style and exotic terms, and a protagonist with whom the reader could empathise, but the core message supports the institutionalized beliefs of racial and national superiority typical of European Colonialism.

Chapter 5: On Heroes and Hero-worship: Germanising the Intellectual

In the years between the publication of Sartor Resartus in Fraser's Magazine, 1832-4, and the delivery of his lectures "On Heroes and the Heroic" in the spring of 1840, Carlyle gradually shifted from the apparently philosophical to the historical and then to the political sphere. Many of his boyhood attitudes and heroes were disappearing¹⁷ and he could not ignore pressing social issues. In the months before the publication of Sartor, Carlyle's interest in the French Revolution peaked. With the advice and assistance of John Stuart Mill, he embarked upon the composition of "the grand Poem of our Time", (Kaplan 203) a history of the Revolution, which saw publication in 1837. While writing The French Revolution his sensitivity was raised by his analysis of the dynamic of revolution and he ascertained that things were not getting better in Britain: he felt that he had to find some universal spirituality that could assuage the epidemic of despair or face lawlessness and riot¹⁸.

In 1836 Carlyle became acquainted with Robert Browning, who shared the fears about the breakdown of society and the individual. Carlyle also developed friendships with John Forster in 1837, with Tennyson in 1839, and by the 1840's, Charles Dickens. Dickens too saw violence lurking in urban social disparity. The literary and intellectual community began to seek Carlyle's opinion as his reputation grew.

Just prior to his lectures Carlyle wrote the article on the working class that would be published as Chartism. As in "Signs of the Times" ten years before, Carlyle was turning his pen towards political issues. Still, he was not about to enter the realm of established political discourse. His appetite for historical revolution drew him towards the English Civil war and Oliver Cromwell. By 1840 he considered drafting his ideas on the role of secular, spiritual, and intellectual innovators in political history. Kaplan describes the genesis of the lectures:

Working through the winter and spring, he had sensed that "On Heroes and the Heroic" would synthesize ideas and feelings he had been developing for a long time. ... Drawing his heroic figures from disparate cultures, he would have the opportunity to delineate the underlying forces of personality and nature, whose basis was the unconscious and the mysterious (264).

Published under the name On Heroes Hero-worship and the Heroic in History the lectures, like Sartor Resartus, were a vehicle for Carlyle's desire to change the paradigm to which British readers compared themselves, and introduce elements of German Romanticism, including assumption of white European superiority.

Carlyle's lectures bore a striking resemblance to views expressed by one of Carlyle's contemporaries. As mentioned, Christian Bunsen had been the secretary to Barthold Niebuhr and eventually "became the Prussian Ambassador to Great Britain at a critical time in the 1840's" (Bernal 254). Although not

particularly Philhellenic, and promoting the significance of Egypt when it was not fashionable, nonetheless he propagated the racist discourse of Göttingen's ideology.

His views on racial genius were strikingly similar to Carlyle's:

Although he wrote the work in the 1840s, Bunsen claimed that his basic ideas on the subject had in fact been developed long before ... at Göttingen in 1812. Thus they can be traced back to the intellectual world of Heyne, whom Bunsen met, and Blumenbach, under whom he studied (254).

For Bernal Bunsen is important because he tried to show that Egyptian was the common root language to the Semitic Aramaic tongue and those of the Indo-Germanic languages. He may not be guilty of trying to prove that Asians and Africans were inferior to Europeans, but he was culpable of categorizing races based on their cultural stereotypes: "he made this point in another form: 'If the Hebrew Semites are the priests of humanity the Helleno-Roman Aryans are, and ever will be, its heroes'" (255)¹⁹. This theme was passed to Niebuhr and on to the Arnolds. Carlyle also promoted and reinforced it, specifically referring to Barthold Niebuhr.

An analysis of theme and style in On Heroes and Hero-worship will support the assertion that Carlyle's works validate racism while introducing his beliefs to the mainstream intellectual community of Britain. He selected a stylistic mode that would

prove effective rhetorically and he manipulated his theme to draw maximum sympathy from the audience. Like Sartor Resartus the lectures supported anti-revolutionary sentiment, substituting a kind of reform. As his audience had liberal inclinations, On Heroes and Hero-worship for Carlyle's purpose chiefly highlighted the Briton's place in Teutonic culture. It also emphasized his own role as authoritarian mentor.

Carlyle's small select audience was generally sympathetic. Kaplan writes, "Free tickets had gone to John and Edward Sterling, Cavaignac, Forster, Mazzini, Thackeray, Hunt, and the Pelpolis" (Kaplan 265). Browning was also in attendance. If Carlyle was going to build a reputation as a philosophical authority, these were the sort of people he would initially have had to impress; they were the people who could strengthen his reputation. He spoke to them directly.

Of all Carlyle's writings, On Heroes was one of the few texts that represented his own voice. Lacking the inscrutable irony and hyperbole of Sartor and the more sincere poetic tone of The French Revolution, On Heroes was by Carlylean standards frank and neither so convoluted nor so cryptic as to have confused the audience. Carlyle's imagination was not, however, reined in. He opted for a tone reminiscent of a sermon to compliment his topic, the solution to spiritual deficit.

Carlyle argued for the ability of the elect-personality to "enlighten", to give meaning to eternal unfathomable verity: "the thing a man does practically lay to heart and know for certain,

concerning his vital relations to this mysterious Universe" (HH 3). There was little point in pervasively employing foreign terms to describe the essentially transcendental theme; to do so may have, like Sartor, reinforced a sceptical listener's opinion of Carlyle as mystic.

British puritan ideology had to be supplanted without jeopardizing Carlyle's reputation. Therefore he refrained from diction dominated by German terminology in particular. Yet Heroes still stands out as the most pan-Germanic of Carlyle's works. The explanation to this seeming contradiction lies in the fact that he relied heavily on the English historical connection to Scandinavian myth. Carlyle used offbeat, but not patently obscure, Germanic words to highlight the Germanic nature of the British. Barry V. Qualls, in "Idolatry for the English: Carlyle's Lecture on Paganism" writes,

his focus on the Scandinavians is singular, reflecting as it does his attempt to establish that past as an organic part of England's present. No matter how sketchy his knowledge of Norse mythology ... nor how fanciful his etymologies, Carlyle needs Odin, Thor, and company to establish his hero's proto-English environment (Qualls 76).

Carlyle's sincere faith in symbols becomes a tool by which his readers could be convinced of their Germanic heritage. The perceived boundaries between Scandinavian, German and British cultural history had to be dissolved in order that a calculated

cultural-racial understanding might be established. He believed that etymologically cognate words held tacit intellectual and cultural identities. He highlighted Norse elements in the Scottish vernacular: "Frost the old Norse Seer discerns to be a monstrous hoary Jötun, the Giant Thrym, Hrym; or Rime, the old word now nearly obsolete here, but still used in Scotland to signify hoar-frost" (HH 23). He mentioned "Balder ... the White God, the Beautiful, the just and benignant (whom the early Christian Missionaries found to resemble Christ)" (23-4). Moving his focus south he connected his English audience to their Scandinavian past,

Of the other Gods or Jötuns I will mention only for etymology's sake, that Sea-tempest is the Jötun Aegir, a very dangerous Jötun;--and now to this day, on our river Trent, as I learn, the Nottingham Bargemen, when the River is in a certain flooded state ... call it Eager; they cry out, 'Have a care, there is the Eager coming' Curious; that word surviving, like the peak of a submerged world! The oldest Nottingham bargemen had believed in the God aegir. Indeed our English blood too in good part is Danish, Norse or rather at bottom, Danish and Norse and Saxon have no distinction, except a superficial one [my italics] ... From the Humber upwards, all over Scotland, the Speech of the common people is still in a singular degree Icelandic; its Germanism has still a peculiar Norse tinge. They too

are 'Normans,' Northmen,--if that be of any great beauty! (24-5).

Carlyle sincerely believed this and "he could never dismiss his belief that the ancestors of his own [late 18th century] Scots childhood had somehow been Teutonic rather than Celtic" (Kaplan 508). Indeed, Carlyle's comments were true of Faeroe or Shetland, but like his friend Thomas Arnold, racism would not allow him to acknowledge any value in Gaelic, a Celtic language.

Carlyle's lecture on Islam, "The Hero as Prophet", bears all the trappings of Said's Orientalism and its implicit racism. Said contends that Orientalism comprises a field of institutionalized knowledge, authority, and the general notions they proliferate, all aimed at justifying colonialism and making it efficacious. The objective of this thesis is to investigate Carlyle's racism in terms of self-formation and cultural subjectification; it argues the premise that Carlyle was a product of racist institutions. He echoed Göttingen when he wrote of Arabs: "They are, as we know, of Jewish Kindred: but with that deadly terrible earnestness of the Jews they seem to combine something graceful, brilliant, which is not Jewish" (63). Carlyle confirms Orientalism and institutionalized racist discourse.

A lengthy analysis of Carlyle's Orientalism would not be appropriate but he may be seen as generally following the pattern that Said sets out. He uses the word "Arabs" without any

receptiveness to the distinctions between individuals in Arabic countries. To suggest summarily that a Syrian and Moroccan are as similar as a Tuscan and a Lombard is insensitive. He nonetheless described "the Arabs" as "Oriental Italians" (63). In typical Orientalist fashion he collects an entire group of nations and peoples and qualifies them as somehow lesser Europeans. The whole point of the lecture is to create an acceptance for the transcendental, ergo Western, qualities of the Islamic hero. The lecture, although it tries to foster a respect for Islam, depicts Moslems Eurocentrically: "Mahomet's Creed we called a kind of Christianity ... I should say a better kind than that of those miserable Syrian Sects" (82). The Koran itself is described as essentially the book of noble savages: "it is the confused ferment of a great rude human soul; rude, untutored, that cannot even read; but fervent, koran, struggling vehemently to utter itself in words" (86-7); it is a book of "natural uncultivation" (87). This suggestion displays gross ignorance of the tradition of Asian and African scribes.

Ultimately this lecture, a bit of a shocker to Carlyle's public, had implications that earned On Heroes the label "not a Christian book." The collection of lectures was supposed to show a hierarchy of cultural-spiritual sophistication, evolving throughout history. In this hierarchy Islam was at best strong in innate truth but not quite disciplined enough, a weakness resulting from racial and linguistic inadequacy. For the public, favourably comparing Islam to Christianity was farfetched or at

worst heretical. They may have been prepared to accept what he wrote about Odin and Thor, but not Allah.

Carlyle's goal was not to make the English reader into a German; he wished only to establish the Germanic character of Britain as pertaining to the evolution of the hero. By the third lecture, on poetry, he retreated to the definitely European spheres of Dante and Shakespeare. Rhetorically his next step was to ennoble a more identifiably German figure who would not evoke hostility in an English audience. Native British Saxonism had been born out of the English Reformation, why not exploit the German parallel? The ideal personae materialized in the fourth lecture, "The Hero as Priest: Luther; Reformation: Knox; Puritanism".

If Martin Luther, Father of the Reformation, with the emphasis on reform, was not reassurance enough for the English reader that spiritual amelioration could also come out of Germany, then who was? Simply put, once the notion of the priest was introduced into the hierarchy of heroism and Luther was identified as a reputable example of the "Hero-Teacher" (160), he could be portrayed as a sympathetic and scrupulous character. As with Teufelsdröckh, Carlyle epitomized Luther by showing his simple earnest parents, "poor mine-labourers" (167). In a sentimental almost maudlin passage describing Luther's mother, Carlyle tugs the readers' heartstrings:

This poor Frau Luther, she had gone with her husband to

make her small merchandisings; perhaps to sell the lock of yarn she had been spinning, to buy the small winter-necessaries for her narrow hut or household;...(168).

Young Luther is portrayed as honest and bright and ambitiously gifted: "Hardship, rigorous Necessity was the poor boy's companion ... his task was to bring the whole world back to reality" (169). Carlyle's tone remained sincerely sentimental while his prose glides precariously towards hyperbole;

A youth nursed-up in wintry whirlwinds, in desolate darkness and difficulty, that he may step-forth at last from his stormy Scandinavia, strong as a true man, as a god: a Christian Odin,--a right Thor once more, with his thunder-hammer, to smite asunder ugly enough Jötuns and Giant monsters! (169).

Doubtless this irony created enough mirth to allay any hostile feelings his insinuation might have aroused. At the end of this portion he allowed a little German to slip out, putting the words in his character's mouth; Luther says of himself that, "he was a pious monk, ich bin ein frommer Mönch gewesen" (170).

The passages about Knox serve to stress a similarity to Luther, proving that Britain was apt to produce its own heroic reformer. Carlyle flatters, making Knox and his peers into people of courage, honesty and conscience. He compared Knox to "an Old Hebrew Prophet". No doubt the ecclesiastical tone of the text reinforced the lecture's strength.

Only by the next-to-last lecture was he openly prepared to

promote his German philosophical authorities ardently. By lecture V, "The Hero as a Man of Letters: Johnson, Rousseau, Burns", he writes

Fichte the German Philosopher delivered, some forty years ago at Erlangen, a highly remarkable Course of Lectures on this subject: 'Ueber das Wesen des Gelehrten, On the Nature of the Literary Man.' Fichte, in conformity with the Transcendental Philosophy, of which he was a distinguished teacher ... (205).

Carlyle outlined Fichte's concept on the Divine Idea, and then searches for similarities in the lives of Johnson, Rousseau and Burns. This lecture is principally designed to corroborate transcendentalism. It is also obvious that by ennobling the conscience and integrity of a type of literary man, Carlyle is commending himself.

The final lecture on "The Hero as King" ventures to show how a figure like Cromwell, a ruler from outside the aristocracy, had sought to empower the common people without resorting either to democracy or the French sort of insurrection. Carlyle's residual Calvinism accounts for his promotion of the conscientious unwitting leader, an elect hero. In this lecture Carlyle gives evidence that the scholarly discourse of Göttingen supported his condemnation of political revolution. He insists that the French revolution of 1830 was a product of mass irrationality: "the French Nation had, in those days, as it were gone mad ... the French Revolution was a general act of insanity" (263). Carlyle

insinuates that a sincere intellectual or scholarly "philosopher" would naturally disavow revolution, providing a contemporary German as example:

To philosophers who had made-up their life-system on that 'madness' quietus, no phenomenon could be more alarming. Poor Niebuhr, they say, the Prussian Professor and Historian, fell broken-hearted in consequence; sickened, if we can believe it, and died of the Three Days! (264).

In On Heroes and Hero-worship and the Heroic in History

Carlyle tailored his text to a particular audience. As an expert conforming to his own description of the hero-type, Carlyle himself implicitly emerges as a heroic sort of sincere authority. He hoped to inspire orthodox intellectuals, those who write the dogmas of established institutions of government and education. Carlyle yearned to persuade his audience that their intellect and conscience were heroic racial legacies. The argument was substantiated by proposing that throughout history, the domain of inexhaustible truth, the creed of the Hero had been decisively articulated in Germanic dialects--the vernacular of his readers' new ethnic self-consciousness. The argument is circular, resting on the false premise that German and English, Teutonic dialects, are more virtuous than other languages, which is the essential error of racist nationalism.

Chapter 6: Past and Present: Industrialists and Hero-archy

There was no shortage of reasons by 1842 to devote a text to the people of England and Scotland. The Zeitgeist at which Carlyle so often shuddered, revolution, stalked Britain's coal mining and agricultural regions. Popular dissatisfaction with the Tory government showed its symptoms in the form of petitions and, worse still, mass riots. Not since the 1790's had the political climate been so eruptive. The reform of 1832 had proved to be a disappointment to most of the population and unemployment, despondency, and hunger fostered ubiquitous misery.

Carlyle's response to the problem was based in genuine hatred of poverty. He had grown up seeing many of his neighbours, Scots peasant farmers, exploited by the aristocracy. He likewise loathed the poverty and squalor born of urban industrialism. Small business, crafted goods and such, were worst hit because they could not compete with the domestic mass producers, who were slapped hard by international tariffs. Approaching the problem practically, he felt he knew the genuine roots of the problem: the lack of spiritual and effective leadership in people such as the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel. Carlyle thought he grasped the solution: reforming the social apparatus so that legitimate heroic thinkers were empowered to act on their ideas. He therefore had to identify a group that could realistically achieve his end. Detailing as precisely as Carlyle ever would a scheme for reform, Past and Present

addressed the labourers and industrialists of Britain, urging them to stop acting on greed and adopt altruism.

As was the case with Sartor Resartus and On Heroes and Hero-worship, the audience determined style, while Carlyle's persistent ideological conditioning and self-conviction dictated theme. In Past and Present the themes of German Transcendentalism and reform through the Hero type are precisely those expounded in On Heroes and Hero-worship. Teutonic imagery became a rhetorical tool, a political extension of Carlyle's ideology. Thus his text promotes a hierarchical formation that foregrounds conscience and expertise and is reminiscent of religious writing. But simultaneously it relies upon the myth of racial hierarchy and foreshadows 20th century fascist notions of self-formation.

Carlyle chose an audience that he felt could quickly and effectively implement his reforms. Many industrialists were nouveau-riche: they, like Carlyle, had worked hard to breach class restrictions. Moreover, many had their spiritual roots, as he did, in the low church movements of the preceding two centuries; and finally, like Carlyle, many of industrialists had traditional Puritan values, such as piety and hard work. Carlyle sought to bring them into his hierarchical discourse and convince them to act for the good of the nation by inviting them to become heroes.

This audience was not one that participated generally in the

discourse of the scholar or intellectual. Carlyle therefore relies heavily on the language of the sermon as political oration. Past and Present is a return to the verbal convolutions of Sartor but never strives for its complexity. Having mystified enough liberal intellectuals in his day, Carlyle had learned that, although thematic dexterity could be impressive and poetic, he would lose his conservative audience if he bewildered them. Therefore he relied more on puritan exaltation in his tone than on intricate trains of reason.

Generally the text's rhetoric employs a technique of expanding reiteration. Symbols once introduced are connected in a running extended metaphor and later reintroduced in connection with a subsequent related theme until, at the work's end, the reader had passively come to understand a layered complex of metaphor based on basic catch phrases and mnemonics assembled from Germanic signs.

Unlike Romance languages, Germanic languages in their early development did not rest upon a Latin lexicon and they had little and comparatively inefficient codification. Speakers developed the facility to fabricate word-concepts quickly by employing suffixes and affixes. They created compound and portmanteau words. English, Swedish and German all exhibit inclinations to develop extensive technological and scientific vocabularies largely based on compounds or portmanteaus. In Carlyle's time German was a language ripe for turning abstract philosophy into more concrete terms. There is no shortage of polysyllabic German

words on the order of Selbstverstand, Selbsttötung or even newly coined Alterumwissenschaft in German transcendentalism and its scholarship. Carlyle quickly recognized that English does much the same thing, and a hallmark of his style throughout his career was his use of hyphenation and compounds. Throughout most of his texts such terms abound. In Sartor they served as mock-German, but in Past and Present Carlyle invented new English terms like "Unwisdom" (PP 36), the transcendental "Time-Demons" (54), and, remembering Sartor, "Tailor-gods" (273).

As in On Heroes and Hero-worship and Sartor Resartus, Carlyle constantly strove to link his reader's era with the Germanic antiquity of England. In the Chapter "The Sphinx", where the question of spirituality is discussed, Carlyle symbolically incorporated Sir William Wallace, recognizably of the Christian era, with Scandinavian and German paganism:

A heroic Wallace, quartered on the scaffold, cannot hinder that his Scotland become, one day, a part of England: but he does hinder that it become, on tyrannous unfair terms, a part of it; commands still, as with a god's voice, from his old Valhalla and Temple of the Brave, that there be a real just union...(PP 17-18).

Carlyle's audience had an orthodox Christian outlook, so with calculation he quickly mentions the Germanic past but distances his preference by epitomizing it as a time of "Savage fighting Heptarchies ... out of such waste-bickering Saxondom a peacefully

cooperating England may arise" (18). Carlyle also exploited a well-known fictional character to develop a symbol for the modest hard worker: drawing on Scott's Ivanhoe he alludes to "Gurth, a mere swine herd, born thrall of Ulfred the Saxon, [who] tended pigs in the wood, and did get some parings of the pork" (27); likewise he employs the Norse "Jötns" of On Heroes as a symbol of eternal hardship (27).

Carlyle was eager to assimilate the recent ideas he had developed in the lectures so he provided a chapter that summarised much of the lecture material. In the chapter "Hero-Worship" he argues that "Aristocracy of Talent" (34), government by sagacious poetic heroes, a reality in the past, has been lost:

the Burns an Exciseman, the Byron a Literary Lion, are intrinsically, all things considered, a baser phenomenon than the Odin a God, the Mahomet a Prophet of God. It is this Editor's clear opinion, accordingly, that we must learn to do our Hero-worship better (39).

He delves into Norse mythology again for a metaphor to unite the past and present, to represent eternal truth and its inevitability. Carlyle concludes Book I with this passage:

For the Present holds in it both the whole Past and the whole Future;--as the LIFE-TREE YGGDRASIL, wide-waving, many-toned, has its roots down deep in the Death-kingdoms, amongst the oldest dead dust of men, and with its boughs reaches always beyond the stars; and in all

times and places is one and the same Life-tree!

(42).²⁰

The larger portion of Past and Present, recounting the travails of Abbot Samson, is dominated by an ostensibly Catholic theme. Yet Carlyle's Germanophilia accounts for the obvious similarity of Samson to Luther, er ist auch "ein frommer Mönch gewesen" (HH 170): he is also an honest monk. Likewise, Abbot Samson's physical resemblance to Knox is not coincidental,

stout-made, [the Abbot] stands erect as a pillar; with bushy eyebrows, the eyes of him beaming into you in a really strange way; the face massive, grave with 'a very eminent nose;' his head almost bald, its auburn remnants of hair, and the copious ruddy beard, getting slightly streaked with grey (74).

Carlyle incarnates his authority, his Hero-type, in the appearance of an archetypical northern European patriarch.

Samson fits the description of Moses, Noah, Elijah, and but for the Norse god's missing eye, he also resembles Odin or even, for that matter, Thomas Carlyle himself.

In Past and Present Carlyle proffers a substitute for ritual religion in "Laborare est Orare, Work is Worship" (201) appealing through the monastic motto to the protestant work ethic. Another striking feature of Past and Present is that Carlyle sees a parallel between monasticism and his own ideas on reform. He distinguishes both hierarchical systems as jointly founded on conscience, expertise, and submission to authority. He tenders a

cast of enlightened literary and intellectual types as the ultimate authorities: Luther, Knox, Odin--the God who invented runes--and his modern German authorities, Goethe, Schiller, and Fichte. These were to be his Abbot Samsons, but he needed another larger group to organise, motivate, and at times protect, the labourers in the hierarchy. It was the industrialist he wished to enrol by this strategy.

Past and Present is an invitation to the middle and upper-middle class Christian industrialist reader to become "World-soldiers" (200). Carlyle pleads that they avoid being

Plugson of Undershot ... who has indomitably spun
Cotton merely to gain thousands of pounds ... The blind
Plugson: he was a Captain of Industry, born member of
the Ultimate genuine Aristocracy of this Universe,
(193).

Mounting in intensity and irony, Carlyle beckons his reader to join the ranks of the Saxon warriors who first conquered Britain. The Editor invokes the legendary cry of Hengist, "Eu Sachsen nimith euer saches, you Saxons, out with your gulley-knives" (210). He gives his reader the etymology for the word "Lord" and its connection to the function of the Nobility: "If no pious Lord or Law-ward would remember it, always some pious lady ('Hlaf-dig,' Benefactress, 'Loaf-giveress,')" (210-11). His definition of this ruling elect soon sounds like Göttingen Alterumwissenschaft, with assumptions of ethnic supreme destiny:

A conscious abhorrence and intolerance of Folly, of

Baseness, Stupidity, Poltroonery and all that brood of things, dwells deep in some men: still deeper in others an unconscious abhorrence and intolerance, clothed moreover by the beneficent Supreme Powers in what stout appetites, energies, egoisms so-called, are suitable to it;--these latter are your Conquerors, Romans, Normans, Russians, Indo-English; Founders of what we might call Aristocracies (212).

This implies that some races inherently know what's best for others, "The White Man's Burden" no less.

In Past and Present Carlyle's views anticipate German fascism. He prefaces a song by Goethe in a manner that eerily foreshadows 20th century Nazi rhetoric:

To me, finding it devout yet wholly credible and veritable, full of piety yet free of cant; to me joyfully finding much in it, and joyfully missing so much in it, this little snatch of music, by the greatest German Man, sounds like a stanza in the grand Road-Song and Marching-Song of our great Teutonic Kindred, wending, wending valiant and victorious, through the undiscovered Deeps of Time! (234).

Carlyle wants England to participate in the world-epic that he found in Goethe's works. Later in Past and Present, in a passage that preceded a quotation from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, the text is again resonant with the Göttingen fusion of Alterumwissenschaft and nationalism:

Mycale was the Pan-Ionian, rendezvous of all the Tribes of Ion, for old Greece: why should not London long continue the All-Saxon-home, rendezvous of all the 'Children of the Harz-Rock,' (264).²¹

Ultimately, Goethe and his peers serve as the model for the authorities from whom the Aristocrat of Conscience and Ethic ought to entreat advice. Carlyle mentions the Duke of Weimar as a convenient example because,

he improves his lands ... makes river-embankments, maintains not soldiers only but Universities and Institutions;--and in his Court were these four men: Wieland, Herder, Schiller and Goethe. Not as parasites ... but noble Spiritual Men working under a noble Practical Man. ... A new noble kind of Clergy (280).

In Past and Present the tenets under which self-formation is advised are hierarchical. They were intended to substitute for institutionalized religious ritual by expanding the Protestant work ethic. As was the case with the other texts, Carlyle targets an audience and uses his circular argument of authority to persuade people to reform society. And as before, Carlyle draws on the racist discourse of Göttingen scholarship and adapts it to suit his British industrialist audience. Ironically, the class Carlyle targeted as the one with the real capacity to achieve political transformation was the same one that Marx isolated. Unlike Marx, Carlyle believed that this class could be converted to altruism.

Chapter 7: Frederick the Great: Hyperborean Delinquency

In 1856 James Martineau "joined him to Coleridge and John Henry Newman as one of the three major influences on the religious spirit of the age" (Kaplan 412). By the 1860s Carlyle had achieved the authoritative reputation he long desired. "The Sage of Chelsea" associated with intellectuals of calibre. Still a driven, reserved person, Carlyle had become established in the upper-middle class. He cultivated steadfast friendships with Forster, Browning, Lord and Lady Ashburton, Dickens and Tennyson. Carlyle too was a friend of Thackeray. Although their relationship had waned he was still conscious of Mill's influence. Likewise, though his relationship with Matthew Arnold had staled, Carlyle's influence on Arnold and Clough was unmistakeable. But Carlyle had germinated new followers, younger men in their thirties, including Ruskin, Lewes, and Froude.

During the 1850's Carlyle speculated that his musings about the inner qualities of effective leaders needed to be expanded, a model ought to be promoted. He had considered writing a biography of Frederick the Great in the 30's, when he first began to promote Prussian history. Carlyle had, in fact, borrowed a history of Frederick from Irving as far back as 1819. His preoccupation with the Prussian monarch's life hardened his resolve to write something about the man. In 1852 "he and Jane spoke about 'lifting anchor and going over [to Germany] ...for six months'" (Kaplan 387) to research his hero, and soon after he

embarked on just such an excursion.

The composition and publication of the History of Friedrich the Second Called Frederick the Great--originally to have been only a single volume-- was a thirteen year project. Frequently, due to his own and his wife's ill health and other difficulties around this time, the work became Carlyle's personal millstone, at times dragging him into the murky currents of dejection. They were not published simultaneously, but as individual volumes, so that the whole sometimes seems to lack unity. The volumes revealed different qualities and concentration depending on when they were written. Some show a preoccupation with racial destiny and general complicity with the Göttingen discourse of inherent Aryan predestination. Frederick the Great relies on a historically resonant character but fails to confirm the existence of a practical and authentic Carlylean Hero. Not only is Friedrich misconstrued as a vapid soul lacking humane character, but ultimately Carlyle's portrayal of the king as transcendently aware of his subjects' needs as the Hero-model required is unconvincing.

Stylistically Frederick the Great exploits many of the standard Carlylean techniques to give his prose a Germanic hue. He does not, as in On Heroes or Past and Present, refrain from the use of little-known German terms. He used German, both with and without etymologies or translations. When he did unveil a term or name, he routinely ventured to connect German and

English. His associations illustrate assumptions about racial character. He mentions the etymology of the English word slave, which is evidently rooted in notions of ethnic inferiority, "the word Slave, in all our Western languages, meaning captured Sclavonian. What long-drawn echo of bitter rage and hate lies in that etymology!" (Works vol.1, 57). These Slavic people, the Wends, are conquered by a Germanic tribe. Carlyle describes the victory of "grand old Henry, called 'the Fowler' (Heinrich der Vogler)" (56) and how he and his "'Burg of the Brenns" (if there ever was any Tribe of Brenns,--Brennus, there as elsewhere, being name for King or Leader) (56) defeated the Wends, "wolves, wild swine, all alike, dumb to us" (56). Thus Heinrich founds Brandenburg "on the rimy winter morning near a thousand years ago" (56).

Heinrich is represented as the first glorious German to establish the tradition of conscientious progress based on an efficient political hierarchy, with positions such as "his Graf (Count, Reeve, G'reeve, whom some think to be only Grau, Grey, or Senior, the hardest wisest steel-gray man he could discover)" (60). This political era is connected indirectly to British antiquity when Carlyle notes that Heinrich defeated "King Gorm the Hard, our Knut's or Canute's great-grandfather, Year 931" (58). Heinrich's speech is additionally correlated to Anglo-Saxon: Heinrich's "Heergeräthe (Wartackle, what is called Heriot in our old Books)" (60). This sort of technique is constant throughout the first volume, which mythologizes the Germanic

ethnic propensity to rule effectively by offering examples of Germanic Kings whose legacy is justice and prosperity. This quality evolves as the text approaches the era of Friedrich's grandfather, father and Friedrich II himself.

The narrative moves chronologically. Heinrich's kindred prosper because they were, of course, worshippers of Wuotan, or Odin; "Preussen was a vehemently Heathen country ... these Preussen were a strong-boned, iracund herdsman-and-fisher people; highly averse to be interfered with" (64). They accepted Christianity and their civilization evolves in time. The Editor connects this text with Past and Present, mentioning Abbot Samson and St. Edmundsbury as he nears the 12th century. The next major manifestation is the crusading Teutsch Ritters, who were models for the Knights of Industry in Past and Present. The text states, "None of the Orders rose so high as the Teutonic in favour with mankind" (96) and

On the whole Teutsch Ritterdom ... was a grand phenomenon; and flamed like a bright blessed beacon through the night of things, in those Northern Countries (97).

This epic drama of divinely inspired Prussian kings culminates in the system of Electors. To Carlyle this seemed to be an acceptable sort of democracy, where the ruling class appointed the Holy Roman Emperor. It hints at a succession in which only the spiritually elect have franchise.

Friedrich Wilhelm I, Frederick the Great's father, is

portrayed in the Teutonic now austere Prussian tradition²². Though the boy and King Friedrich Wilhelm became estranged, initially young Friedrich, nicknamed Fritz, appreciated his Germanic heritage, "of which the centre is Papa" (317). Carlyle writes: "Born Hyperboreans these others; rough as hemp, and stout of fibre as hemp; native products of the rigorous North" (317). The term "Hyperborean" is notable. Through it he amalgamated the discourse of Göttingen with Friedrich's heritage. As noted, in Chapter 2, Blumenbach's term "Caucasians" connected the Northern Europeans to the purest mythical white race. Carlyle described his Hyperboreans:

So have the Hyperboreans lived from old. From the times of Tacitus and Pytheas, not to speak of Odin and Japhet, what hosts of them have marched across Existence, in that manner (323).

Noah the Arkwright served as a metaphor in Past and Present. As with Blumenbach's "Caucasian", Carlyle's "Hyperborean" now unified the qualities of the Old Testament Prophet, Scandinavian gods, and Classical hero with the anthropological assumptions about Europe's earliest inhabitants.

Carlyle, rather weakly, compares Friedrich's up-bringing to that of other Carlylean heroic paragons. Of the crown prince's meagre allowance he argues melodramatically: "a Robert Burns, remarkable modern Thor, a Peasant-god of these sunk ages, with a touch of melodious runes in him (since all else lay under ban for the poor fellow), was raised on half a crown a week" (384). The

awkward comparison is too conspicuously constructed to be gently ironic: discordant hyperboles and obvious sentimentality abound in the text.

Young Friedrich's empathy for England is dramatically promoted to link English and Prussian nationalism. In another flagrantly sentimental passage the father's rage and Fritz's earnest courage is dramatized. Like James Carlyle, Friedrich Wilhelm discouraged certain books. Caught reading one on England, little Fritz defends his choice:

'I respect the English because I know the people there love me;' upon which the King seized him by the collar, struck him fiercely with his cane, "in fact rained showers of blows upon him; "and it was only by superior strength ... that the poor prince escaped worse" (612).

This overly dramatic tone continues into Volume II. When the adolescent Fritz tries to run away he is captured and punished. The atmosphere of the affair is described Germanically: "this ragnarök, or general 'twilight of the gods' (Works 2: 82).

The first two volumes were intended to disclose the forces which shape a hero. Carlyle assumed that Friedrich II was a recent and sufficiently eminent historical persona to prove that his hero-type was more than theoretical. Carlyle, accepting that there was truth in history, had to demonstrate the heroic figure actually functioning. Friedrich is characterized as having not only the racial heritage but the mental, physical, and spiritual qualities of a principled leader. Although the dramatic action

is painstakingly tailored to portray Friedrich as an exceptionally valiant youth, Carlyle's sentimentality detracts from verisimilitude. The character is too selfless, too much without greed or cupidity. Friedrich II is stripped of humanity; the Prussian hero hungers automatically for justice and national prosperity.

Literally a two dimensional character, Friedrich is given only two conflicting vocations, his militaristic inclinations and his desire for personal tranquillity. While at Reinsberg he enjoyed,

Four Years of Hope, Composure, realizable Idealism: an actual snatch of the Idyllic, appointed him in a life-pilgrimage consisting otherwise of realisms of nest contradictory enough, and sometimes of very grim complexion (329).

Friedrich aspired to practical peaceful creativity. He befriends Voltaire, becomes a Freemason in 1738, and a year later he writes a refutation of Machiavelli's The Prince, his Anti-Machiavel. Portraying more than Friedrich's literary inclinations, Carlyle confirms the king's opposition to a political methodology devoid of conscience. He is oblivious to the fact that a Crown-Prince who is to inherit absolute political control would oppose popular acceptance of Machiavelli's strategy. Carlyle offers an explanation reminiscent of On Heroes:

a King was the "born servant" of his People (domestique Friedrich once calls it), rather than otherwise : this,

naturally enough, rose upon the then populations, unused to such language, like the dawn of a new day; and was welcomed with such applauses as are now incredible ... The actual Hero-Kings were long used to be silent; and the Sham-Hero kind grow only the more desperate for us, ... (416-17).

Displaying social conscience, Friedrich opened "the Corn-magazines" (459) to feed the destitute. He abolished "Legal torture" (459-60) and established an Academy of Sciences: he "Will have Philosophers about him" (461), not unlike the Duke of Weimar in Past and Present.

Immediately after he assumed his throne, the death of the Holy Roman Kaiser without a male heir precipitated events leading to decades of war. Most of the following volumes concern Friedrich's various campaigns, all of which serve the best interests of Prussia. The lengthy and tedious descriptions of Friedrich's war exploits flaunt his abilities as a soldier who was generally an excellent strategist, inspired his troops, faced combat courageously and dispensed merciful, and at times, solemn justice. Friedrich's heroism is stereotyped.

Carlyle pressed too hard to make his character seem enigmatic. The Editor hazards to transform a soldier's pragmatic fatalism into transcendent stoicism:

Truly you will find his [Friedrich's] finesse is a very fine thing; and that it consists, not in deceiving other people, but in being right himself; in well

discerning, for his own behoof, what the facts before him are; and in steering, which he does steadily, in a most vigilant, nimble, decisive and intrepid manner, by monition of the same. No salvation but in the facts. Facts are a kind of divine thing to Friedrich; much more so than to common men: this is essentially what Religion I have found in Friedrich. And let me assure you, it is an invaluable element in any a man's Religion, and highly indispensable, though so often dispensed with! (Works 3: 163-4).

Friedrich's earnest Germanic character is supposed to inspire the reader: he is an authoritative image worthy of emulation.

For all Friedrich's military prowess, only rarely could Carlyle use history to demonstrate any sensitivity on Friedrich II's part for the people of Prussia. When the chance arose Carlyle milked it of all the sentimentality he could. Supposedly in 1770, a Freyherr Baron von Gersdorf in Kay made a fish-pond by damming a brook and depriving a humble miller, surnamed Arnold, of water. Profits fall and the Arnolds become unable to pay rent and fall into greater debt by the time the questionably impartial local court hears the case. In 1775 Frau Arnold petitions Friedrich II, "'Oh, just King, appoint a Military Commission to investigate our business;'" (Works 6: 108) she implores. The court in a "tedious harassing way, decide[s] against Frau Arnold in every point." (108-9). The subsequent report failed to mention a Colonel Heucking's belief that there was an injustice

done. After more petitions Friedrich again relies on his legal system, but corrupt bureaucracy stymies Frau Arnold anew. At long last Friedrich assesses the matter personally, concluding "May a Miller who has no water, and consequently cannot grind, and therefore, not earn anything, have his mill taken from him, on account of his not having paid his rent: is that just?"

(119). After further obfuscation the situation is rectified.

Resembling Abbot Samson, Friedrich is shown as a leader who trusted his system but would reform it when necessary.

Unfortunately, as just and as sober as Friedrich is represented in this incident, there is little else historically to show any intuition that was either transcendental or in any way extraordinary.

Through other characters Frederick the Great furnishes evidence of an explicit ethnic intolerance that conforms to the Göttingen concentration on physical expressions of race. There were connotations that one's race intrinsically limited mental faculties such as intelligence, personality-type, and creativity. Racial classification with its pseudo-scientific methods could be used to justify slavery and, more frequently, anti-Semitism. The Editor, while detailing Voltaire's monetary obligation to Abraham Hirsch, describes the latter as,

a Berlin Jew of the Period; whom one inclines to figure as a florid oily man, of Semitic features, in the prime of life who deals much in jewels, moneys, loans,

exchanges, all kinds of Jew barter; whether absolutely in old clothes, we do not know,--certainly not unless there is a penny to be turned. The man is of oily Semitic type, not old in years,--... seems to be old in Jew art. Speaks French and other dialects, in a Hebrew, partially intelligible manner; ... To all appearance, nearly destitute of human intellect, but with abundance of vulpine instead. Very cunning; stupid seemingly, as a mule otherwise;--and on the whole, resembling in various points of character a mule put into breeches (Works 4: 128).

The repetition of "Semitic type" and the vicious invective in this passage is unusual for Carlyle. The incident is presented because Carlyle had to convey Voltaire's hatred, but the passage nevertheless reinforces a racial stereotype. Carlyle depicted the "Quasi-Christian" Voltaire as only slightly preferable, "'Ha, fined, you Jew Villain!' hysterically shrieks Voltaire: ... hysterically trying to believe, and make others believe, that he has come off triumphant" (142). Carlyle's pro-German bias worked against Voltaire throughout the text, but even though Carlyle recognized Voltaire's crime the philosopher is never described in as vehemently racially prejudiced language as Hirsch. Behind this one can see the conviction that Europeans, even atheists like Voltaire, have a complexity of character above that of a non-European, as Jews were considered to be.

Superficially Frederick the Great offered another, albeit

longer, example of the typical Carlylean text, one that dared to Germanize the British, promoted the political destiny of "Hyperboreans", provided a model of hierarchical authority to satisfy the nation's spiritual needs, and suggested both the author's and readers' places in the paradigm. However, none of the other texts tried to use direct historical interpretation to show the hero-type as an actuality. Though Abbot Samson and for that matter, as Carlyle posited, Odin existed, there was very little concrete evidence to allow a reader to question Carlyle's authoritative interpretation of them. In contrast, Friedrich II was a recent figure about whom there were countless documents in circulation. The author had a harder time bending Friedrich's historical persona around the Carlylean "realizable ideal".

The historical passages that portrayed Friedrich's Carlyle-heroism are only effective if the dramatic interpretation goes unquestioned. The Prussian king's political and military acts at face value were typical of any 18th century Monarch. Opening the "Corn-magazines" would trenchantly diffuse revolutionary pressures from the under-classes. Friedrich's Anti-Machiavel may have condemned The Prince for its abrogation of political conscience, but then again, what hereditary monarch would have promoted Machiavelli? Finally, a King in a post-war state would surely encourage his citizens, like Miller Arnold, to pursue industry rather than protect aristocrats' fishing-ponds. Ignoring sound but commonplace political motives, Carlyle consistently put an obvious slant on his reading of Friedrich's

life.

Essentially Frederick the Great bolsters Carlyle's other works philosophically but lacks the artfulness of Sartor Resartus or Past and Present. It is blatantly a piece of propaganda. Friedrich's sympathy for England was not for Germanic kin; if it existed it was nothing more than a recognition of Britain as a necessary ally. Carlyle's philosophy was constructed from a ethically oriented discourse which was obviously designed by German upper-middle-class intellectuals to sanction Prussian militancy while keeping the domestic population in check. The awkward and unrelenting artificiality of Frederick the Great discouraged the average reader and the inconsistencies left contemporary scholars nonplussed. Carlyle's model of the hero was at best unaccommodating, and at worst, a conspicuous fabrication.

Chapter 8: Ethno-Linguistic Self-formation and Colonialism

With his hero-"König" Carlyle preceded Foucault in the recognition that ethno-cultural self-perception affects political ideology, creating hierarchies of authority. To be politically empowered requires shaping public perception not only of the individual leader's traits but of the discourse that surrounds the notion of leadership. Carlyle recognized that to control these perceptions it is necessary to manipulate the cultural values that support self-formation. From the Scottish Enlightenment he had learnt that the ultimate expression of a culture's subconscious was both its language and the non-linguistic component carried musically in its songs. Music carried an emotional tag that was attached to idiomatic symbols.

It is therefore not surprising that Carlyle made such trenchant use of tone structurally. He plainly hoped to authenticate his new symbolic authorities, reprogramming his audience not just to re-evaluate their culture but to extend their cognizance of its boundaries. He could then construct authority models that drew on the broader ethnic self-perceptions.

Carlyle depended on national symbols--Cromwell, Knox, and Samson--to exhibit characteristics that compare to symbols from the external cultural discourse of Germany--Luther, Friedrich II, the Teutsch Ritters, and Heinrich der Vogler. He utilized a set of intermediary symbols like Odin, Thor, Igdrasil and Gurth.

They appeared to be united in a national discourse, whose ethnicity comprehend speakers of all Germanic languages.

Carlyle correlated not only historical narrative, he established linguistic familial unity. The abundant etymologies realign a subject's perceptions about his or her language and foster an acceptance of the wider Germanic cultural base. Carlyle assumed that a word's ontological origins carry significance for a modern speaker, a notion which Saussure disproved. The very necessity of having to provide translations and etymologies shows Carlyle's error. Carlyle's essential mistake was his core assumption that language could convey a truth that transcends time. His Eurocentric ideology guided his process of national self-formation. Linguistic complexity is not innate to race, nor does it account for cultural sophistication; languages respond to speaker's needs. Despite the Romantic yearnings, word-meaning is a product of environment, individual experience, and chance rather than of etymological root. Ancient languages provide only arbitrary phonetic signs.

Carlyle perpetuates the Göttingen discourse that equated language with ethnicity. Indoctrinated into an authority hierarchy, Carlyle discovered authorities from outside his native culture who promoted a discourse that had non-British political aims. Carlyle could not abide the stricter conclusions about German ideas as born out of linguistic insecurity. He had to extol the virtues of a broader Germanic ideology which gathered English, German, and Scandinavian strains. He subordinated the

political ideology of German nationalism and modified it to British nationalism.

The same ideology promoted anthropological and, inevitably, cultural hierarchy, such as Winklemann's and Blumenbach's. It therefore had political applications, allowing division to be practised by isolating ethnic characteristics as opposed to stricter national ones. Carlyle reinforced a new colonial ideology by which ethnic groups such as Arabs or Jews could be categorized without using national boundaries to delineate them. Once a group can be classified in terms that do not presuppose national political borders, such artificial political boundaries can be manipulated. Division of territory can be made efficacious by the ethnic hierarchy.

Ethnic groups can be constructed as "others"; their cultures can be objectified scientifically as not having the most desirable language or sophisticated enough culture. Corresponding to Foucault's mode of scientific classification, their language determines their race. Once placed in a racial hierarchy, "racial suitability" can be used to argue about the legitimate rights to control territory. Wolf, Humboldt, Niebuhr, Heyne, and Carlyle reinforced the colonial powers' self-formation as "legitimate" rulers.

The established hierarchy lends itself to social analogies. Therefore nations can be labelled "Leader nations" or "Priests of Humanity" or "Slavish" and "Savage", as Bunsen practised. Once values are attached to a culture or race, they can be applied to

individuals. Models to promote ethnic fortitude serve to reinforce self-formation and justify aggression. There were no shortages of stereotypes based on racist syllogisms, which is what Carlyle's hero seems to be--a shallow racist caricature.

The sort of preoccupation with race that Carlyle fostered became a powerful influence. Matthew Arnold, the obvious inheritor of Carlyle's ideology, was one of the chief vehicles by which the Göttingen racism gained a wider conservative audience in the English speaking world. His father was an admirer of Niebuhr and friend of Carlyle. Matthew Arnold's criticism shows a type of Philhellenism not unlike that of Göttingen. He was a noted admirer of Schiller, Herder and especially Goethe. Arnold, like Carlyle, championed English as a linguistic rival to Hebrew, Latin and Greek. He was one of the first scholars to give an inaugural lecture at Oxford in English instead of a Classical language.

Arnold's poems "The Scholar Gypsy", "Oberman" and "To a Gypsy Child on the Seashore" register beliefs about the transcendent roles of particular races. Arnold's early opinions about spirituality and literature developed as a result of interaction with Carlyle. "Balder Dead" obviously draws on "The Lecture on Paganism". For Arnold acceptance of the notion of racial hierarchy and racial childhood is unquestioning. Yet the terms in which he lauded a particular race were not as absolute as Carlyle's Germanism. Arnold, whose heritage contained Welsh

and Cornish ancestry, felt equally the influence of Celtic culture on Britons. He distinguished Britain from Germany, stressing that the Celtic element of British culture was still more Hellenistic. Yet like Wolf and Humboldt, Arnold appeared to advocate Niebuhr's legacy, the preservation of the status quo.

A contemporary of Arnold and Carlyle's biographer, James Anthony Froude was also an inheritor of Carlyle's Germanophilia and anti-Celtic prejudice. Froude, of course, literally inherited Carlyle's notes, letters and unpublished manuscripts. Like Arnold, Froude spread the preoccupation with English and German ethnic nobility to a broad audience. MacDougall describes Froude's magnum opus:

His 12-volume History of England (1865-70), written in a brilliant style, though much controverted proved a highly popular work and established his reputation as an historian. In Froude's judgement it was the Saxons' success in grafting on to their own hardy nature those things of value in the declining Western empire that explains the Anglo-Saxons' triumph" (MacDougall 98).

Carlyle is not without influence on the scholarship of the 20th century. Generally his legacy is considered to be his unique style. Although the specifics of racist scholarship changed, Carlyle's ability to establish a racist ideology was not forgotten. Ironically things came full circle: by the 1930's Fascist scholars sought out Carlyle's writing for its Germanic

ideals. Carlyle had participated in a discourse that began with Meiners and included Blumenbach and Niebuhr, all of whom the Nazis venerated. By 1943 the Nazis had put an interpretation of the life of Frederick the Great on film. As Carlyle's Frederick had embodied its author's opinions on heroism, so did Hitler's.

In Britain Herbert Grierson analyzed the role of Nietzsche in Hitler's philosophy by 1933 in Carlyle and Hitler:

Carlyle led to Nietzsche. His superman is a further development of the Hero. Might is right, says Carlyle, because in the long run, if it is not right, the might will prove illusive (Grierson 28).

Grierson disengages both 19th century thinkers from Hitler but he corroborates their undeniable concern with conscience, ego and authority.

Gross describes Carlyle's influence on subsequent Western European intellectuals, "of the most diverse types, from Thomas Hardy to Havelock Ellis, from T.H. Huxley to Froust" and significant politicians:

[Carlyle] had a way of meaning all things to all men: to go no further than the House of Commons, at different times Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Keir Hardie all claimed that his writings had a decisive effect in reshaping their lives (Gross 33).

More recently scholars Thomas Jeffers, David De Laura, and Rosemary Ashton have begun to examine the nature of Carlyle's misinterpretation of Goethe and other German 19th century

writers, and often their conclusions point to Carlyle's essentially puritan nature.

Carlyle was offering a substitute for the traditional spiritual values that people held. Science had eroded the traditional beliefs so effectively that even the cultural framework that had historically reinforced such values was also outmoded. Writers like Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, and Morris promoted alternative structures, but in fact Goethe's recommended Bildung was, more or less, unstructured self-formation. Carlyle's trepidations about revolution restrained him from adopting this completely. Meeting Goethe only halfway, he reformed the traditional structure for authority figures and thus invented the Carlylean hero.

Endnotes

1. The terms Teuton or Teutonic are used pertaining to their second sense as given by The Oxford English Dictionary: " 2 A German; in the extended ethnic sense, any member of the races or peoples speaking a Germanic or Teutonic language; ... often used like 'Saxon' in opposition to 'Celt' and in avoidance of 'German' in its modern political sense." Therefore it embraces Dutch, English, German and Scandinavian languages and cultures.
2. Kaplan quotes Carlyle's Reminiscences. Ed. C.E. Norton (Ian Campbell). 1972. p 9.
3. Carlyle. Reminiscences p 30.
4. Kaplan quotes a letter from Carlyle to Thomas Murray, October 24th/1820. In vol.1 of The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle. 9 vols. Eds. Charles Richard Sanders and Kenneth J. Fielding. Durham, NC., 1899.
5. Kaplan quotes a letter to Edward Irving, August 14th, 1821, as it appears in the Collected Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh Carlyle. 1, 380.
6. In London Carlyle had an experience that would give him the confidence to bring his ideas into their own. He managed, through Irving, to get an audience with the "Sage of Highgate", Coleridge. The meeting left Carlyle disenchanted; Coleridge's opinions lacked the human sturm und drang that Carlyle felt was essential to the German outlook. Carlyle sought concrete conclusions and Coleridge provided only abstract loose projections. For Carlyle Coleridge's mind was infertile, perhaps desperate, and there was little which corresponded to the imagination of Goethe.
7. John Gross in The Rise and Fall of the Man Of Letters calls him a "reluctant pioneer": in 1802 "he slipped into the editorship of the Edinburgh as unobtrusively as possible. It was no job for a gentleman" (Gross 2). Yet Jeffery, a lawyer by education, "ran the Review for nearly thirty years, investing the whole notion of an editor with a dignity which had been unheard-of at the outset of his career" (2-3). Carlyle was aware of Jeffrey during his early days at the University of Edinburgh, but by 1827 Jeffrey's reputation had matured, and as Gross indicates, spread to the continent.
8. Jeffery took an active interest in Carlyle's life, even assisting Carlyle's brother, Jack, secure money to do postgraduate work in Munich. But both Kaplan and Vanden Bossche agree that when in September 1827 a Professorship opened at

London, Jeffery's moderately reserved influence was not enough to win the position for the unwitting and un-Whiggish Carlyle. Months later in December Thomas Chalmers resigned his position at St. Andrew's and urged Carlyle to pursue the professorship of moral philosophy. Kaplan contends that John Martin, of Carlyle's Kirkcaldy days, David Brewster, Charles Buller, John Leslie, Edward Irving and Lord Jeffery all committed to recommend Carlyle (138). If that were not enough Carlyle stacked his hand by writing to Goethe himself, with whom he had frequent correspondence. Nevertheless Carlyle was rejected for a position in the Puritan establishment because of his mystic German tendencies.

9. Kaplan confirms that the person to whom Carlyle himself felt the most intellectually indebted was Goethe. In

"Characteristics" Carlyle writes,

of modern society in terms that kept the English reader's attention focused on the home front. Nevertheless, he reminded his readers that the answer to the ills of the time had already appeared "in the higher Literature of Germany," in which, "for him that can read it," there is "the beginning of a new revelation of the Godlike" (170).

10. Bernal shows how the public came to make a connection between Homer and the British Isles with James MacPherson's sham-epic Ossian, proposed as the work of a 3rd century Gaelic poet:

before Ossian, Bishop Percy had bought out his Relics of Ancient English Poetry. This collection of genuine Scottish and English Border ballads also had a powerful influence throughout Europe, especially in Germany, where it inspired Herder to promote a new movement to collect and publish folksongs. The folksong movement became integrated with the 'storm and stress' school started by Goethe around novels (Romane in German - from which 'Romanticism' gets its name) (207).

11. Bernal charges that Locke, "who was personally involved with slave owning American colonies, was what we should now call a racist, as was the great 18th-century philosopher David Hume" (202).

12. Blumenbach "believed that the Georgians were 'the finest 'white race'. However, there was much more to it than that. There was firstly the religious belief--given publicity by Vico in the 18th century... that Noah's Ark had landed on Mount Ararat in the Southern Caucasus" (219). Bernal continues:

the Caucasus was the traditional site of the imprisonment and cruel punishment of Prometheus, who was considered the epitome of Europe. Not only was he the son of Iapetos, plausibly identified as the biblical Japhet, third son of Noah and ancestor of the

Europeans; but his heroic, beneficial and self-sacrificing action--of stealing fire for mankind--soon came to be seen as typically Aryan (220).

13. Humboldt was tolerant of minorities, advocating civil rights for Jews, and he maintained Jewish friends and acquaintances, as did his wife. Caroline von Humboldt changed dramatically however after the fury of the 1890's: "by the end of her life Caroline's vehemence against Jews gained her recognition by the Nazis as a pioneer anti-Semite" (339).

14. Bernal points out: "ancient historian Ulrich Wilcken--who flourished under the Nazis--was able to celebrate Niebuhr as a 'founder of critical-genetic historiography' (304).

15. Translation: Man has always expressed symbolic philosophy as his essence, in his works and in his comings and goings.

16. Unimpressed with Heeren, in "The Life of Heyne" Carlyle wrote, "We fear he is something of what the Germans call a Kleinstädter; mentally as well as bodily, a 'dweller in a little town'" (Works 316). No doubt, the irony Carlyle saw in lifestyles, like Heeren's, fuelled the depiction of Teufelsdröckh.

17. In 1832 James Carlyle died, and ironically not soon after Carlyle learned about the death of Goethe, "who," Kaplan tells us,

had lived for him [Carlyle] less as a man than an embodiment of his own hope for the future ... Goethe was "not to be mourned over, but to be viewed with reverence, with solemn awe. 'How beautifully sinks the summer sun! So dies a Hero glorious; to be worshipped!'" (Kaplan 195).

18. Kaplan states, "Carlyle argued that it was the duty of man to maintain as best he could whatever moderately satisfactory institutions he had until he could replace them with something better" (209-10). As with the Göttingen ideology of Wolf or Humboldt, Carlyle's "something better" amounted to revamping education and government, giving intellectuals more authority without empowering the underclass.

19. Bernal quotes Bunsen's God in History, or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World. 3 vols. S. Winckworth, trans., London: Longman. vol I, 210.

20. Igdrasil, the great Ash-tree-of-the-World, becomes a symbol of transcendent verity. It is significant that the Norse fates, the Norns, sat at its base weaving divine and mortal destiny.

21. Bernal explains this tendency in writers like Carlyle: Romantics longed for small, virtuous and 'pure' communities in remote places: Switzerland, North Germany and Scotland. ... the establishment of the Aryan [anthropological model] ... can best be seen as attempts to impose these Romantic ideals of remoteness, cold and purity on this most unsuitable candidate (Bernal 209).

22. Carlyle's imagery echoes On Heroes and Hero-Worship when Friedrich Wilhelm finally dies: "No Baresark of them, nor Odin's self, I think, was a bit of truer human stuff;" (Works 2: 448).

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