

South Dakota State University

Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

1972

Carlyle's Literature of Heroism and its Contemporary Model--Mao

Kang-I Eleanor Chang

Follow this and additional works at: <https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Chang, Kang-I Eleanor, "Carlyle's Literature of Heroism and its Contemporary Model--Mao" (1972).
Electronic Theses and Dissertations. 4636.
<https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/4636>

This Thesis - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact michael.biondo@sdstate.edu.

164

CARLYLE'S LITERATURE OF HEROISM
AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MODEL--MAO

BY

KANG-I ELEANOR CHANG

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts, Major in
English, South Dakota
State University

1972

CARLYLE'S LITERATURE OF HEROISM
AND ITS CONTEMPORARY MODEL--MAO

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree, but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Advisor *J* Date

Head, English Department Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My special thanks are to Dr. J. W. Yarbrough to whom I owe an intellectual debt for his original suggestion of the subject and his constant guidance of the writing of the thesis, and to Dr. Jack W. Marken, Head of the English Department, for his generous and helpful suggestions.

Acknowledgments are extended to Mr. Shih-Kang Tung, Curator of the Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University, who generously provided me with important Chinese originals, and to the librarian Miss Iping King who helped me locate and identify relevant Chinese bibliographical sources.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

All texts are from the Centenary Edition of The Works of Thomas Carlyle in Thirty Volumes, edited by H. D. Traill, 1896-1901.

- CL Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with
Elucidations
- E Critical and Miscellaneous Essays
- FG History of Friedrich II of Prussia called
Frederick the Great
- FR The French Revolution: A History
- HH On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in
History
- LDP Latter-Day Pamphlets
- PP Past and Present
- SR Sartor Resartus

Understand it well, this "of hero-worship"
was the primary creed . . . and will be the
ultimate and final creed of mankind; indestructible,
changing in shape but in essence unchangeable;
whereon politics, religions, loyalties and all
highest human interests have been and can be built,
as on a rock that will endure while man endures.

--Thomas Carlyle

Only because so many sacrificed themselves
did our wills become strong.
So that we dared command the sun and moon
to bring a new day.
I love to look at the multiple waves of rice
and beans,
While on every side the heroes return through
the evening haze.

--Mao Tse-tung

CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
PART I "WORK, AND DESPAIR NOT"	
I. Introduction to Hero-Worship	2
II. From Byron to Goethe	18
III. Retailoring the World View	35
PART II HEROES AND HERO-WORSHIP	
IV. Carlyle's Literature of Heroism	53
V. Modern Revolutionist: The Modern Hero as King	80
VI. Beyond Good and Evil	95
PART III SARTOR CALLED CHINESE RESARTUS	
VII. The Confucian Superior Man	105
VIII. Mao as a Carlylean Social Hero	116
IX. Conclusion	153
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	157

PART I

"WORK, AND DESPAIR NOT"

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO HERO-WORSHIP

Carlyle's great prominence started with the success of The French Revolution in the year of the accession of Queen Victoria (1837). But he is better known as a worshiper of heroes. His lecture series On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History was immensely famous, and his Past and Present, Cromwell, and Frederick the Great explain his evolving concept of heroism. However, Carlyle did not originate the hero concept. In his development of the hero concept, Carlyle moves from Byronism, which represents the hero as a wanderer, a rebel against society, and sometimes a Promethean figure, to Goetheism, which emphasizes duty, work, self-renunciation, and order, and then finally to modern revolutionary heroism. The author of this thesis attempts to explore the origins of the Carlylean hero, to trace and define the hero's development, and finally in the last part to analyze Mao Tse-tung as an example of the Carlylean hero and as a pragmatic demonstration of the power of Carlyle's ideas. The title of this thesis, Carlyle's Literature of Heroism and Its

Contemporary Model--Mao, thus suggests a new angle of vision on Carlyle. First, it verifies the viability of Carlyle's prophecy concerning hero-worship. Second, it signifies the possibility of applying Carlyle's theory of the hero to an oriental society. This approach will illuminate Carlyle's position as a universal prophet.

It appears that heroism is diminishing in modern English-speaking society, and most people deny Carlyle's role as a modern prophet. The reason for this is not hard to find. After World War I the old heroism seemed to melt away, while Fitzgerald and Hemingway began to fashion an anti-heroism. The loss of faith, the disillusionment with the American dream, and the rise of bourgeois democracy gradually intensified the cult of the common man. In Fitzgerald's This Side of Paradise, Amory complains that the war has killed the old values and that life has become "too huge and complex." When his friend D'Invilliers asks whether he thinks "there will be any more permanent world heroes," Amory replies firmly: "Yes--in history--not in life. Carlyle would have difficulty getting material for a new chapter on 'The Hero as a Big Man.'"¹ Besides this

¹ Scott Fitzgerald, This Side of Paradise (New York: Scribner's, 1920), p. 195.

postwar listlessness, Marxism continued to promote the proletariat. With the rise of the common man and that of the proletariat, literature in the twentieth century naturally belongs to the age of the anti-heroic.

Even in 1845 when Carlyle urged Emerson to "take an American hero," one whom Emerson really admired, and give "a History of him,--make an artistic bronze statue . . . of his life,"² Emerson was unable to find a potential hero, and his Representative Men turns out to be a history of European heroes: Plato, Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Napoleon, and Goethe. The fact that Carlyle did not entirely admire Napoleon and that he had to look back to the seventeenth century to choose Cromwell as a model of modern revolutionist may suggest the absence of modern heroes. But it also shows Carlyle's great desperation to find and justify his hero as modern king. Eric Bentley observes that "the paradox of Carlyle's vision of the present is that it is all past and future."³ LaValley in his Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern says that Carlyle

² Theodore L. Gross, The Heroic Ideal in American Literature (New York: Free Press, 1971), p. 3.

³ Eric Bentley, A Century of Hero-Worship, 2nd ed. (1944; rpt. Boston: Bacon, 1957), p. 77.

"retreats into admiration for the heroes of the past as a way of evading the present."⁴ David Wilson remarks that Carlyle was more akin to Buddha or Confucius than to a modern man in his ideas.⁵ Northrop Frye also criticizes Carlyle for anachronously reverting to "the older conception of the hero as the center of society."⁶ These critics seem to forget that Carlyle's idea of history is one of living, perpetual continuity. In Carlyle's world "the Past is a dim indubitable fact: the Future too is one, only dimmer. . . . For the Present holds it in both the whole Past and the whole Future;--as the Life-Tree Igrasil, wide-waving, many-toned, has its roots down deep in the death-kingdoms, among the oldest dead dust of men, and with its boughs reaches always beyond the stars. . . ." (PP, 38) Carlyle's idealization of hero-worship does not imply that heroes should be present all the time. Carlyle was simply disappointed in his turbulent era and believed that the future hero should come as "the hero as king." His emphasis

⁴ Albert J. LaValley, Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968), p. 252.

⁵ David A. Wilson, Carlyle to "The French Revolution," 1826-1837. Vol. 2 of Life of Carlyle (London: Trubner, 1924), p. 293.

⁶ Northrop Frye, A Study of English Romanticism (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 39.

is more on the indestructibility of hero-worship than on the omnipresence of the hero. He does admit the possible decline of divine quality of modern heroes; he believes, however, that hero-worship will never die:

The Hero taken as Divinity; the Hero taken as Prophet; then next the Hero taken only as Poet: does it not look as if our estimate of the Great Man, epoch after epoch, were continually diminishing? . . . It looks so; but I persuade myself that intrinsically it is not so. If we consider well, it will perhaps appear that in man still there is the same altogether peculiar admiration for the Heroic Gift, by what name shall soever called, that there at any time was. (HH, 84)

Carlyle is right in believing that heroism never ceases to exist. Although it seems that modern English-speaking society is dominated by an anti-heroic fashion, hero-worship never disappeared in China. Today when millions of Chinese people are shouting, "Long Live Chairman Mao" and waving their red books with flaming, uncontrollable enthusiasm, one wonders whether the worship is genuine, and whether this is the kind of worship which Carlyle means. To many westerners this semi-religious worship may become a subject of great embarrassment. But if one considers the

fact that for centuries the Chinese were reciting the Confucian sayings with the same unquestionable reverence, one begins to see that Chinese hero-worship is more complex than it appears. Since hero-worship exists in such a "collective form" in modern China, it is worthwhile to examine the extent of its sincerity and authenticity and its possible relationship to Carlyle's theory of heroism. Though Marxists advocate the destruction of the old Chinese concept that history is the Diary of Emperors, Generals, and Statesmen (歷史是帝王將相的歷史), they are actually idolizing Mao as though he were a god. Mao's words and his mere presence have become the object of religious piety. There is no doubt that Mao enjoys such collective worship. The traditional Chinese image of a sage king and his surrounding mass supporters still persists today.⁷

However, the main emphasis of this thesis is on Carlyle's concept of heroism. Carlyle was greatly obsessed with the heroic ideal. After he was disappointed with the lack of modern heroes in America, he longed for a heroic nation to admire. Thus Carlyle, after a long pilgrimage,

⁷ James C. Hsiung, Ideology and Practice: The Evolution of Chinese Communism (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 3.

became the good friend of Germany and the worshiper of German great men. He liked Germany, considering it a "deep-thinking" country as compared to the practical English society (SR, 1). In return Goethe gave him a flattering approval, saying: "he is, indeed, a moral force of great significance."⁸ Carlyle was drawn to Goethe for he was extremely enchanted with Goethe's doctrine of Entsagen, the idea of self-renunciation. It may be that Carlyle interprets Goethe after his own Puritan fashion, for the ideas of renunciation, silence, reverence, work and duty which Goethe emphasizes so consistently are equally common to the Puritans. But Goethe was the person who provided Carlyle with the beginning of a positive state of mind, from which a new path of action and world view would have to be slowly and gradually constructed. Carlyle was so drawn to Goethe that he wrote to Emerson: "On the whole, I suspect you yet know only Goethe the Heathen (Ethnic); but you will know Goethe the Christian by and by, and like that one far better."⁹ In "The Everlasting Yea" of Sartor Resartus Teufelsdröckh's sudden regaining of "Selbst-

⁸ Edward Flügel, Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development. Trans. Jessica Gilbert Tyler (New York: Holbrook, 1891), p. xix.

⁹ Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle, ed. Charles E. Norton (London: Macmillan, 1883), I, 40.

töldtung" or "Annihilation of Self" (SR, 149) obviously symbolizes Carlyle's important conversion from the Byronic despair to Goethe's doctrine of Entsagen. Only later did he shift from a Goethean heroism to the social and revolutionary heroism which Mao appears to exemplify.

Although Mao, in his "Promethean will to mold nature to the purposes of man"¹⁰ may appear to have more of the characteristics of the Byronic hero--a descendant of volcanic Prometheus-Satan, his passion for organization, duty, and labor is Carlylean. Mao may perhaps best be described as a Byronic hero in temperament and a Carlylean revolutionist in action. In the Carlylean sense the hero at the crisis should represent "the Divine Idea of Duty, of heroic Daring" in the disguise of "military Banners" (SR, 178). "As for Mohammed," said Mao approvingly in 1917, "holding the Koran in his left hand and a sword in his right, he subjugated the whole world."¹¹ Mao with his fervent, revolutionary enthusiasm and portentous manner was a product of Chinese Teufelsdröckhian chaos. The rise of Mao coincided with the country's need for an "editor" to collect and reorganize the chaotic material, a task which he accomplished

¹⁰ Stuart R. Schram, "On the Quotations," Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung (New York: Bantam, 1967), p. xx.

¹¹ Ibid., p. vii.

successfully. At this point a problem of moral judgment arises. Are the means used to achieve order always justified by the end? Carlyle has long been criticized for his implicit approval of dictatorship. To be objective, the most that can be said of Mao is that he has certain qualities of the Carlylean hero and that his somewhat dictatorial character might not be morally wrong in Carlyle's estimation. Although it is always risky to speculate, it seems likely that if Carlyle were living today, he might place Mao alongside of Cromwell and Frederick. However, the study of Mao as Carlylean social hero begins with the fact that hero-worship exists in China today, and Mao is its object.

The fact that hero-worship still continues to exist in China indicates that man does have a natural respect for the great man. Carlyle believes firmly that man has a "natural reverence" for heroes, and that "hero-worship exists for ever and everywhere: from divine adoration down to the common courtesies of man and man" (HH, 251). However, Carlyle is not the only philosopher who believes in the ultimate value of hero-worship. Emerson holds that heroism "is an obedience to a secret impulse of an individual's

11

character,"¹² that "we are born believers in great men,"¹³ and that "it is natural to believe in great men."¹⁴ Hegel had his Weltgeschichtliche Mann and once greatly admired Alexander and Caesar. All these indicate that man has a natural reverence for heroes who are bigger than common men, with greater powers and dignity. There are heroes who are saying "yes" or "no" loudly to the process of history. In analyzing Nietzsche's tenet of the superman, Aiken says in The Age of Ideology, "Essentially, his doctrine is an ethical or religious call to action, a demand that men of superior capacities, by disciplined effort and sacrifice, rise above their animal heritage of routine, herdlike conformity."¹⁵ Even in the twentieth century the historian Hook, though he does not approve of the idea of heroism, defines "the hero in history" as an "individual to whom we

¹² "Heroism," Essays: First Series, Vol. II of The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary ed. (1903; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968), p. 251.

¹³ "Character," Essays: Second Series, Vol. III of The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary ed. (1903; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968), p. 108.

¹⁴ Representative Men: Seven Lectures, Vol. IV of The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary ed. (1903; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968), p. 3.

¹⁵ Henry D. Aiken, The Age of Ideology: The 19th Century Philosophers, (New York: New American Library, 1956), p. 211.

can justifiably attribute preponderant influence in determining an issue or event whose consequence would have been profoundly different if he had not acted as he did."¹⁶

Besides the idea of universal "natural reverence," there is another solid reason for the comparison between Carlyle's concept of the hero and Mao's heroism. In a sense Mao's peasant revolt is contrary to Chinese tradition. The traditional Chinese history was centered upon emperors, not upon peasant rebels. During the revolution Mao and his peasants, as a band of rebels, possessed none of the royal virtues associated with traditional heroic quality. They seemed to be violent, rude, and filled with burning energy like the mobs in the French Revolution. However, Mao served as a dominating force throughout the revolution, while there was no single predominant hero in the French Revolution. Mao's ordered peasant "mobs" were as organized as Napoleon's army. This organizing characteristic may be paralleled to the Carlylean concept of order out of chaos. Thus a Chinese hero who is not classifiable in Chinese tradition may be categorized into Carlylean myth.

¹⁶ Sidney Hook, The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility (New York: John Day, 1943), p. 153.

Furthermore, the kind of hero which Mao personally admires is the revolutionist who fights for the people and fears "no sacrifice."¹⁷ Mao hates "the airs of a self-styled hero" (Quotations, p. 134), the type of hero Carlyle condemns.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to explore Carlyle's influence on Mao. As a matter of fact no important influence of Carlyle on Mao can be proved. But there is an indirect chain of influence which is interesting. The Victorian moralist Samuel Smiles was widely known for his book Self-Help which was translated into Dutch, French, Danish, German, Italian, Japanese, Arabic, Turkish, and several Indian dialects. It is agreed that Carlyle was a great influence on Smiles's gospel of work. It was said that Smiles constantly kept his mind on Carlyle's aphorism: "Perseverance is the hinge of all the virtues."¹⁸

¹⁷

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, p. 102. Henceforth cited as Quotations in the text.

¹⁸

Asa Briggs, "Samuel Smiles and the Gospel of Work," Victorian People (London: Odhams, 1954), p. 129.

To Carlyle, "self-help" is a great virtue of the hero. In praising Mirabeau, Carlyle said, "In that forty years' 'struggle against despotism,' he has gained the glorious faculty of self-help. . . ." (FR, I, 140). The possible chain of influence from Carlyle, to Smiles, and then to Mao has to be bridged by Mao's teacher and greatest inspirer Yang Ch'ang-chi who studied in England, Germany, and Japan. Yang studied Self-Help in England, and later praised Samuel Smiles in Hsin Ch'ing-nien, suggesting that his book Self-Help "is a helpful book to the Chinese" and that the Chinese should learn from Smiles never to borrow money lest they should be ruined.¹⁹ It was Schram who first pointed out that Mao learned from his teacher Yang the exercise of cold baths as a practice in "strengthening the will."²⁰ So what Smiles believed, Yang and Mao turned into practice. Of course, it should be noted that self-help (Tsu-chu) has always been a traditional value in China. Nevertheless, it gradually became a proverb rather

¹⁹ "Chih-sheng P'ien (Essay on Survival)," Hsin Ch'ing-nien, 2 (1917), 399.

²⁰ Stuart R. Schram, The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (1963; rpt. New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 25.

than a general practice until Yang and his radical friends advocated the value of it in the first part of the century. If Mao is not directly influenced by Carlyle in his idea of self-help, he does receive some indirect inspiration from Carlyle via Smiles. Despite his very Chinese qualities, Mao, through reading, is greatly influenced by Hegel's philosophy of history. His "struggle for struggle's sake" is enforced by Hegel's idea of progress in history. Carlyle's dynamic concept of society as a living organism as exemplified in the chapter of "Organic Filaments" in Sartor Resartus is very Hegelian. It is generally agreed that Carlyle was very much stimulated by Hegel's Philosophy. This does not show any solid relationship between Carlyle and Mao, but it can be said that they are both influenced by Hegel.

To apply Carlyle's theory of the Hero to a Chinese example may appear somewhat incongruous to some people. Nevertheless, it would never seem irrelevant to Carlyle. Carlyle's most noted clothes-philosophy, which holds the universe to be a garment of God, a big suit of clothes which embraces everything in Nature, may be seen as a symbol of Carlyle's idea of universality. His approach

is so universal that the Clothes-Volume can be applied to "the costumes of all mankind, in all countries, in all times" (SR, 29). Even when he specifies the different kinds of clothes in Sartor Resartus, he does not forget to mention "Chinese silks" and "afghaun [sic] shawls" (SR, 29). And in On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History, Carlyle suddenly brings in a traditional Chinese system of providing aptitude tests for potential government officials as an example of the respect for "the men of talents" in China (HH, 168-69). In Past and Present Carlyle praises the Chinese for their religious reverence for the Emperor-Pontiff and their parents. He emphasizes the fact that people accept the common value that "Labour is Worship," that they represent the act of "Practical Hero-Worship" by merely "ploughing and worshipping," that they "visit yearly the Tombs of their Fathers" which impresses Carlyle as a kind of worship, and that they "have fewer Seven-Years Wars, Thirty-Years Wars, French-Revolution Wars, and internal fightings with each other. . . ." (PP, 234-36). All these are to prove that Carlyle is always interested in the universal applications of his ideas. And his interest in China is always notable.

To show Mao as an example of the Carlylean hero is to "clothe" Carlyle's philosophy in a new, oriental form. Although a study of this sort is an enormously challenging task, to which this thesis is but a prelude, the author believes that it will offer great promise for the future research in Carlyle. In view of Carlyle's great influence, it is strange that his age should have neglected so many of his ideas. Carlyle said shortly before he died, "They call me a great man now, but no one believes what I told them."²¹ But he knew that his purpose was to teach, not to please. It takes the genius of a Thomas Carlyle or a Matthew Arnold to persist in the function of teaching.

²¹ James Anthony Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life, 2 vols. in 1 (New York: Scribner's, 1882), II, 386. Henceforth referred to as Froude, The First Forty Years.

CHAPTER II

FROM BYRON TO GOETHE

What Act of Legislature was there that thou shouldst be Happy? A little while ago thou hadst no right to be at all. What if thou wert born and predestined not to be Happy, but to be Unhappy! Are thou nothing other than a Vulture, then, that fliest through the Universe seeking after somewhat to eat; and shrieking dolefully because carrion enough is not given thee? Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe.

--Carlyle,
Sartor Resartus

Sanders in "The Byron Closed in Sartor Resartus" declares that "Closing Byron . . . was not a thing of thunderous finality like Nora's slamming the door at the end of A Doll's House. Not all of Byron was shut out; not all of Goethe was invited in."¹ It is true that any transition in moral development cannot be precisely defined. It is even more true that long after "Byron was shut out," his picture was still treasured by Carlyle. In a letter to his brother, Carlyle wrote: "[The bronze statue of] Napoleon, as too large for his station, has been moved into this library of mine, under his kinsman Byron, and

¹ Charles Richard Sanders, "The Byron Closed in Sartor Resartus," Studies in Romanticism, 3 (1964), 104.

your little Italian verse, with Goethe's medals in it and other etceteras, now stands in his place."² Still it cannot be overlooked that Carlyle constantly longed for new heroes, and that his conversion from Byronism to Goetheism through the years before 1830 was a religious experience.

Carlyle's yearning for great men is related to his religious background. As Eric Bentley remarks, Carlyle was not the first to recognize that the "old God was dead," but "he was the first to see that God's death" was the cause of great disillusionment and wretchedness.³ Unlike the philosophers of the eighteenth century who asked whether "there is God," the nineteenth century thinkers began to question whether "God is dead."⁴ For most of them, God was dead. Carlyle, like Sartre, was extremely concerned with the problem. In the period of "the Everlasting No," the whole universe seemed to him "all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility," like "one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead

² Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (London: Macmillan, 1889), p. 371.

³ A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 78.

⁴ Aiken, The Age of Ideology, p. 25.

indifference, to grind [him] limb from limb" (SR, 133).

What Carlyle feared was God's non-presence and His apparent indifference. Froude once had a notable experience with Carlyle:

I once said to him, not long before his death, that I could only believe in a God which did something. With a cry of pain which I shall never forget, he said, "He does nothing." For himself, however, his faith stood firm.⁵

Froude was right in saying that Carlyle's "faith stood firm" despite his occasional doubt and uncertainty. Though Carlyle was often pessimistic like Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, he attempted to lead man to faith, and to affirm the coming of the new hero. He tried to believe that God had not gone to sleep and that a beneficent God and moral order would eventually triumph. In "Shooting Niagara: And After?" he says: "I hope our Hero will, by heroic word, and heroic thought and ACT, make manifest to mankind that 'Reverence for God and for Man' is not yet extinct, but only fallen into disastrous comatose sleep, and hideously dreaming. . . ." (E, V, 29) Seeing this

⁵ James Anthony Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London. 2 vols. in 1 (New York: Harper, 1885), II, 159. Henceforth referred to as Froude, Life in London.

idealizing habit of Carlyle, his friend Irving often warned him: "You live too much in an ideal world, and you are likely to be punished for it by an unfitness for practical life."⁶

Carlyle was doomed to have a lonely life. He was always wandering, "alone with the Stars" (SR, 17) and detached from the crowd. His life pattern was one of great struggle and incessant frustration. Later in Chapter Four of this thesis the discussion will touch on the similar life pattern of Carlyle's favorite heroes who are endlessly struggling for public recognition in the most "unprophetic times" (HH, 157). As Bentley observed, Carlyle's life consisted of intense conflicts; in 1823 he was still pondering over suicide.⁷ After reading Hume's Essays, his belief was once more shaken by Hume's hard reasoning. That he should look desperately for heroes who might tell him how to resolve his doubts is perfectly natural. His trial was not less serious than Teufelsdröckh's experience: "Not I cannot eat, but I cannot work. . . ."⁸

⁶ Froude, The First Forty Years, I, 73.

⁷ A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 24.

⁸ John MacCunn, Six Radical Thinkers (New York: Russell, 1964), p. 178.

However, since he was unattached to any party or sect, he was free to rebuke others whenever he wanted.

The post-Revolutionary period was one of paralysis. The "Heroic Action" was paralyzed, and the youth was bound into "a sluggish thrall" (E, III, 30). The world was in a crippled listlessness, full of "paralytic-lamed Activity of man" (E, II, 452). Like Byron, Carlyle hoped to apply some chivalric heroism to a modern context. In "The Opera," he asked indignantly, "why heroes are not born now, why heroisms are not done now? I will answer you: It is a world all calculated for strangling of heroisms" (E, IV, 402). Trying to save mankind from this social indolence, Carlyle found that Byron was his immediate savior. Byron opens the first canto of Don Juan with a longing for heroes: "I want a Hero: an uncommon want." And this Carlyle believed was a counterpart of his ideal and dilemma.

It should be noted that Carlyle was born in the same year as John Keats and Matthew Arnold's father (1795), and had many things in common with the Romanticists. He respected Wordsworth but disliked his pure pastoral idealism. To him Coleridge was "a steam-engine of a

hundred horses' power, with the boiler burst,"⁹ but he thought Coleridge supercilious. Though Carlyle celebrated Keats's "negative capability," he could not agree with his theory of "beauty for beauty's sake." As for Scott, his enervated Brummelism was unbearable. Thus Byronic heroism offered the only possibility to cure society, and Byron became his favorite English romantic poet.

Nevertheless, Carlyle's experience in reading Byron was a complex one. Most of his ideas concerning Byron were expressed in his love letters to Jane. In A Century of Hero-Worship Bentley points out that "on the continent of Europe no poet had more influence than Lord Byron, hero and hero-worshiper, rebel and satanist, athlete and cripple."¹⁰ And to most Victorians, as Houghton concludes in The Victorian Frame of Mind, the concept of the hero came from Byron's Childe Harold and from the Napoleonic wars.¹¹ To most Victorians, Byron seemed rather dangerous

⁹ Letter of Carlyle to Thomas Mitchell and Thomas Murray, August 1824. In Moncure D. Conway, Thomas Carlyle (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881), p. 195.

¹⁰ A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 59.

¹¹ Walter E. Houghton, "Hero Worship," The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1957), p. 308.

and immoral, but Carlyle encouraged Jane to read Byron during their courtship.

Jane had been a devoted worshiper of Byron even before she met Carlyle. At the age of fifteen she began to worship Byron and wrote:

Byron, thy noble, lofty mind,
 Has been the sport of passions blind;
 Phrenzy has havocked in thy brain,
 With all her desolating train.
 But that is past--and now you roam
 Far from your wife, your child, your home,
 Joys which might still have been your own.
 But shall I love my Byron less,
 Because he knows not happiness?
 Ah, no! tho' worlds condemn him now,
 The hapless wand'rer still must be
 Pitied, revered, adored by me.¹²

From the age of sixteen Carlyle had been enthralled by Byron's overpowering Childe Harold. Byron's love of truth is overwhelming: "for he loved truth in his inmost heart" (E, I, 69). When Goethe charged Byron with plagiarism, Carlyle was totally for Byron:

We cannot take leave of Faust, without adverting to the controversy which has arisen respecting its connection with Manfred. The charge of plagiarism which Goethe brought forward against Byron, some time ago, in a German Journal--and still more his mode of

¹² From Early Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle, ed. D. G. Ritchie (London, 1889), p. 102n, as cited in Sanders, pp. 84-85.

bringing it forward--gave us pain; we thought it unworthy of Goethe; it shews too much of the author, too little of the man.¹³

On Byron's death, May 19, 1824, Carlyle wrote to Jane:

Poor Byron! Alas poor Byron! The news of his death came down upon my heart like a mass of lead; and yet, the thought of it sends a painful twinge thro' all my being, as if I had lost a Brother! O God! That so many sons of mud and clay should fill up their base existence to its utmost bound; and this, the noblest spirit in Europe, should sink before half his course was run! Late so full of fire, and generous passion, and proud purposes, and now forever dumb and cold! Poor Byron! And but a young man; still struggling amid the perplexities, and sorrows, and aberrations, of a mind not arrived at maturity or settled in its proper place in life. Had he been spared to the age of three score and ten, what might he not have done, what might he not have been! But we shall hear his voice no more; I dreamed of seeing him and knowing him but the curtain of everlasting night has hid him from our eyes. We shall go to him, he shall not return to us. Adieu. There is a blank in your heart, and a blank in mine, since this man passed away.¹⁴

The fact that Byron was "an apostle of action" made a great impact on Carlyle.¹⁵ The stanza in Childe Harold

¹³ Sanders, p. 89. According to Thorslev, "after Goethe had himself written of the influence and complimented Byron on his use of Faust, Byron was not displeased to acknowledge his debt" (The Byronic Hero, p. 171).

¹⁴ Froude, The First Forty Years, I, 173.

¹⁵ Allan Conrad Christensen, "Heroism in the Age of Reform," Diss. Princeton 1970, p. 35.

which Carlyle quoted most often begins with the sentence:
"Could I embody and unbosom now/That which is most within
me. . . ." (Canto III, stanza xvii) What Carlyle hoped
all the time was to say words which were "most within" him
and to convert his potential idleness into action. Despite
his occasional disappointment with Byron, Carlyle wrote
to Jane in 1822: "If I had his genius and health and
liberty, I would make the next three centuries recollect
me."¹⁶ When he condemns Byron's Wertherism in his essay
"Sir Walter Scott," he does not forget to mention that the
languid feelings sometimes expressed in Byron's poetry are
the "feelings which arise from passion incapable of being
converted into action" (E, IV, 59). Carlyle was very much
drawn to Byronic heroism because of its determined, defiant
revolt. He reasoned that the spirit of the Promethean
fire-bringing work would bring about a liberation from
social inertia and a rebirth into an auspicious vitality.
The Promethean revolt with "a firm will, and a deep sense" of
existence would even make "Death a Victory" (Byron,
"Prometheus," Part III). Many of Byron's heroes represent
strong sentiments of defiance against society. The

¹⁶ The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London: John Lane, 1909),
I, 111. Henceforth referred to as Love Letters.

rebellious manner shows an unfulfilled romantic ideal and a strong resistance to the world of reality. Manfred's daring rejection of all the powers of Earth, Hell, and Heaven is not unlike Teufelsdröckh's individualism in the period of the Everlasting No. On the whole Carlyle's "heroic vitalism"¹⁷ began to be "unbosomed" under Byron's influence.

However, as social problems increased, Carlyle became critical of Byron, and was disappointed to see that Byronic revolt led to nowhere except to helpless despair. He believed that his age was "the sickliest of recorded ages," full of "Werterism [sic], Byronism, and other Sentimentalism" (E, IV, 39). Self-worship and despair became the current ritual of his age:

Poor Hazlitt! He, too, is one of the victims to the Moloch Spirit of this Time. . . . When the thing that calls itself God's Church is a den of Unclean Beasts, from which the honest-hearted turns away with loathing . . . and the devout spirit that will not blind itself cannot worship, and knows not what or how to worship, and so wanders in aimless pilgrimages, and lives without God in the world.¹⁸

In "Signs of the Times" (1829) Carlyle criticizes the

¹⁷ A term coined by Bentley in A Century of Hero-Worship.

¹⁸ Carlyle's letter to Mrs. Montagu, October 27, 1830. In Conway, p. 251.

mechanism of the age. By mechanism Carlyle means the mechanized social institutions, rationalized politics and philosophical determinism. The "machine" metaphor is used to symbolize the perturbing "signs of the times" and the moral decadence in the mechanistic society. He says that his age is "not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but . . . the Mechanical Age," an age which "teaches and practices the great art of adapting means to ends" (E, II, 59). Carlyle took pleasure in the dynamics of change and the perspective of a new society, but he mourned for the loss of cultural roots. He knew that the "antique 'Reign of God'" had given place to "modern Reign of the No-God" (C,I,1), and the "noble Heroism had given up to Dryasdust" (C, I, 8).

To Carlyle, Byron was typical of the "modern disease."¹⁹ What Byron was doing all the time was to be "surrounded with the voluptuousness of an Italian Seraglio, chanting a mournful strain over the wretchedness of human life."²⁰ Byron and Burns "accomplish little for others; . . . find no peace for themselves, but only death and the

¹⁹ Christensen, p. 70

²⁰ Letter of Carlyle to Thomas Mitchell and Thomas Murry, July 1818. In Conway, p. 170.

peace of the grave" (E, I, 316). Carlyle even goes so far as to claim that "no genuine productive Thought was ever revealed by [Byron] to mankind."²¹ Thus Byron, whom Carlyle called "a Dandy of Sorrows," finally failed in the estimation of the Victorian sage. Carlyle began to despise all the romantic individualists. When Margaret Fuller went to visit him and told him "I accept the universe," Carlyle rebuked her with the thundering cry, "Gad, you better."²² Romantic individualism seemed to him to become dangerous and selfish. The defects of the romantic heroes, like those of Byron, are the lack of vision and moral strength.

As time went on Carlyle was gradually attracted by Goethe. Though once Goethe was as Wertherian as Byron, he became so mature as to be able to offer a remedy to the Byronic despair. According to Goodheart, Goethe "is

²¹ From the manuscript letters in the British Museum, 34, 615, f. 328, as cited in Sanders, p. 79.

²² Emery Neff, Carlyle and Mill (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1926), p. 382. It should be noted that in spite of this incident, Carlyle said to Emerson in 1852 that Margaret Fuller had "many traits of the Heroic," that her "mountain ME" was unusual, and that "her courage too was high and clear, her chivalrous nobleness . . . great" (The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, p. 478).

the first writer to be aware of the problematic nature of Rousseauism and Byronism."²³ To Carlyle, Goethe represented a hero who had triumphed over his difficulties and had passed his thorny path:

Such a man became, by Heaven's pre-appointment, in every deed the Redeemer of the time. Did he not bear the curse of the time? He was filled full with its scepticism, bitterness, hollowness and thousandfold contradictions, till his heart was like to break; but he subdued all this, rose victorious over this, and manifoldly by word and act showed others that come after, how to do the like. Honour to him who first 'through the impossible paves a road'! Such, indeed, is the task of every great man. . . . (E, II, 379)

Carlyle's attitude toward Goethe was often ambivalent: sometimes he could "fall down and worship him; at other times [he] could kick him out of the room."²⁴ Nevertheless, he believed that Goethe was the greatest poet in his age. It was Goethe the sage who attracted Carlyle. Goethe's first letter came to him "like a message from fairyland," and at first he could not believe "that this was the real hand and signature of that mysterious personage."²⁵ Later

²³ Eugene Goodheart, The Cult of the Ego (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 61

²⁴ Love Letters, I, 195.

²⁵ Froude, The First Forty Years, I, 215.

he told his brother that "the patriarchal style" of the letter pleased him most.²⁶ When Byron died he felt "as if [he] had lost a brother." But when Goethe died, Carlyle said to his brother Alexander, "Alas! alas! I feel as if I had lost a Father: he was to me a kind of spiritual Father."²⁷

To Emerson, Carlyle wrote: "But I will tell you in a word why I like Goethe: his is the only healthy mind, of any extent, that I have discovered in Europe for long generations; it was he that first convincingly proclaimed to me (convincingly, for I saw it done): Behold, even in this scandalous sceptico-Epicurean generation, when all is gone but Hunger and Cant, it is still possible that Man be a Man!"²⁸ What actually drew Carlyle to Goethe was Goethe's doctrine of "Entsagen," which Carlyle interpreted as a creed of self-renunciation. Both Harrold in Carlyle and German Thought and Tennyson in Sartor Called Resartus indicate that Carlyle misunderstood Goethe's "Entsagen" which simply means an exercise of self-control. Yet to

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836, p. 309.

²⁸ The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, ed. Joseph Slater (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964), p. 114.

Carlyle, Goethe performed a work not unlike that of the Holy Spirit. Carlyle believed that faith without works is dead. Goethe was the first one who told him: "whatever our hand findeth to do, do it quickly."²⁹ Thus Goethe made an active, living faith possible for Carlyle. He learned from Goethe that "There is just one man unhappy: he who is possessed by some idea which he cannot convert into action, or still more which restrains or withdraws him from action."³⁰ This reassured his perspective of work, and his translations of German writings were started soon after this. In Past and Present Carlyle includes one of Goethe's poems translated by him, which ends with a note on the doctrine of work:

But heard are the Voices--
Heard are the Sages,
The Worlds and the Ages:
"Choose well; your choice is
Brief and yet endless:

Here eyes do regard you,
In Eternity's stillness;
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
WORK, AND DESPAIR NOT."

29

Two Note Books of Thomas Carlyle, ed. C. E. Norton (New York: Grolier Club, 1898), p. 31.

30

Froude, The First Forty Years, I, 302.

Work, then, is the main philosophical basis of Carlyle's hero-worship: "Work is worship. . . . He that understands it well, understands the Prophecy of the Whole Future. . . ." (PP, 233).

To "Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe" does not imply Byron's inferiority. If Goethe had died in his thirties, his poetry would not have been very different from Byron's. As a matter of fact Goethe was increasingly fascinated by Byron as he grew older and recognized his young self in Byron.³¹ When Carlyle said "Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe" he actually meant: close the young Byron-Goethe, and open the mature Goethe. In "State of German Literature" Carlyle admits that "Our Byron was in his youth but what Schiller and Goethe had been in theirs," and that "With longer life, all things were to have been hoped for from Byron" (E, I, 69). So to credit Goethe with everything is unfair. According to Harrold, Carlyle's doctrine of self-renunciation is closer to Werner's "renunciation of the me" than to Goethe's Entsagen.³² Carlyle's gospel of work is

³¹ Christensen, p. 32.

³² Charles Frederick Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834 (1934; rpt. London: Archon, 1963), p. 222.

influenced by Fichte's ideal of performing heavenly duty.³³

For the Victorians, work always means the accomplishment of man's duty. Arnold once instructed his children: "Work. Not work at this or that, but, work."³⁴ The conviction of the primary nature of work was completely shared by Tennyson: "I tried in my Idylls to teach man these things, and the need of the ideal."³⁵ Furthermore, Carlyle's Calvinist background cannot be overlooked. His doctrine of renunciation, work, and duty originated in his Calvinist environment, only to be strengthened by Goethe. Carlyle's hero-cult seems to be influenced most by his religious conception of the superiority of the chosen few. Because of his religious faith he believes that under the leadership of the hero, society will grow through work, suffering, and obedience. All these are to show that the process of closing Byron and opening Goethe should be treated as a symbolic, manifold pilgrimage rather than a single, "once-and-for-all" finality.

33 Ibid., p. 99.

34 Houghton, p. 243.

35 Ibid., p. 317.

CHAPTER III

RETAILORING THE WORLD VIEW

Find Mankind where thou wilt, thou findest it
in living movement, in progress faster or
slower: the Phoenix soars aloft, hovers with
outstretched wings, filling Earth with her music:
or, as now, she sinks, and with spherical swan-song
immolates herself in flame, that she may soar the
higher and sing the clearer.

--"Organic Filaments,"
Sartor Resartus

Carlyle's process of closing Byron and opening Goethe
is a parallel to the pattern of transition Teufelsdröckh
is to follow in Sartor Resartus: "through the various
successive states and stages of Growth, Entanglement,
Unbelief, and almost Reprobation, into a certain clearer
state of what he himself seems to consider as Conversion"
(SR, 157-58). Before his baptism of fire and his final
commitment to the order of an organic universe, Teufelsdröckh
is a Byronic figure, a Cain, a Manfred, an Ishmael and a
Wandering Jew. His crisis as shown in "The Sorrows of
Teufelsdröckh" is that of a romanticist who constantly
asks "to be or not to be." Actually the story of
Teufelsdröckh's conversion, the theme of Book II of Sartor
Resartus, is familiar: from Wertherism to "grim fire-eyed

Defiance" (SR, 135), and then from "Baphometric Fire-baptism" (SR, 135) to "a new Heaven and a new Earth" (SR, 149). Teufelsdröckh, unlike Faust who surrenders to Evil or Manfred who persists in his defiant position, finally yields to God and sees the beneficent presence of God in nature.

The emphasis of this chapter, however, is not on the conversion itself, but on the evolving social prophecy and the hero myth following Teufelsdröckh's affirmative view of existence. The central theme in Sartor Resartus from which the social vision develops is the dialectic of clothes-philosophy. From the very beginning Carlyle makes clear that "Society [is] founded upon Cloth" (SR, 39), and that "the essence of all Science lies in the PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHES" (SR, 58). Finally Teufelsdröckh, the Clothes-Professor, achieves his spiritual maturity by looking "through the Shows of things into things themselves" (SR, 164). The symbolism Carlyle uses here is not unlike Swift's clothes imagery and Goethe's symbol of the garment. Swift in A Tale of A Tub holds that the globe of earth is "a very complete and fashionable Dress," that the land is "but a fine coat faced with Green," that the sea is "but a Wast-coat [sic] with all its Trimmings," and that man

himself is "but a Micro-coat."¹ As Carlyle notes, the Earth-Spirit in Goethe's Faust calls Nature "the living visible Garment of God":

In Being's floods, in Action's storm,
I walk and work, above, beneath,
Work and weave in endless motion!
Birth and Death,
An infinite ocean;
A seizing and giving
The fire of Living:
'Tis thus at the roaring Loom of Time I ply,
And weave for God the Garment thou seest Him by.
(SR, 43)

But Nature is not just a phenomenon or appearance. And "our little life" is not just "rounded with a sleep."² The world, in Carlyle's conception, is a dynamic expression of God. The doctrine of the "dynamic revelation," as Charles Harrold observes, is the key to Carlyle's conception of history, society, ethics, and heroes.³ Though Carlyle often says "All visible things are emblems, Clothes, and exist for a time only" (SR, 55), his persistent world view

¹ Jonathan Swift, A Tale of a Tub, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), sec. II, 47.

² See the dream-like existence shown in Shakespeare's Tempest: "We are such stuff/As dreams are made on," and "our little life/Is rounded with a sleep." Although Carlyle quotes this passage in On Heroes, p. 111 to explain that "this world is all but a show," his essential conception of the universe is that nature is a visual manifestation of God's power rather than a mere illusion.

³ Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought, p. 85.

is that Nature reflects the divine power ("Nature . . . is the Time-vesture of God" SR, 210). Thus all existent phenomena, including social institutions and heroes, are symbolic:

How all Nature and Life are but one Garment, a "Living Garment," woven and ever aweaving in the "Loom of Time"; is not here, indeed, the outline of a whole Clothes-Philosophy; at least the arena it is to work in? Remark, too, that the Character of the Man, nowise without meaning in such a matter, becomes less enigmatic: amid so much tumultuous obscurity, almost like diluted madness, do not a certain indomitable Defiance and yet a boundless reverence seem to loom forth, as the two mountain-summits, on whose rock-strata all the rest were based and built? (SR, 163)

The organic universe with a concealed moral order, as Carlyle repeats again and again, is the "open secret" of Goethean doctrine. The "open secret," like all symbols, both reveals and conceals. As if it were endlessly putting on and taking off clothes, Nature shifts continually from its old forms to the new ones. Hence history moves "in living movement" (SR, 197), and is in a perpetual growth, decay, and rebirth. Everything in the universe is interrelated, and nothing is isolated. This is especially true of human society in which no one stands alone. Louise Young says that Carlyle's sense of the infinite comes from the "primitive subconscious" because he views life as

"mysterious, anti-rational and anti-mechanic."⁴ This "primitive subconscious" leads to Carlyle's "Natural Supernaturalism," a transcendentalism which embraces the spiritual foundations of society. Energy becomes the essential spirit of the universe, and God is the ultimate, pure energy which transcends time and space.

This transcendental organicism further leads Carlyle to see "Man's History" as "a perpetual Evangel" (SR, 202). History, as the sum of human times, is "the garment of the timelessness of God."⁵ It is obvious that Carlyle's philosophy of history is closely related to his clothes-philosophy which constantly reveals the dynamic human situations. Only in history is the Eternal Power most divinely revealed. For the progressive history of mankind is the manifestation of the Divine Energy. And only from this historical view does Carlyle begin to see the relationship between the clothes metaphor and his social prophecy. In the dynamic movement of society, man

⁴ Louise M. Young, Thomas Carlyle and the Art of History (1939; rpt. Folcroft, Pennsylvania: Folcroft, 1969), pp. 63-64.

⁵ Harrold, p. 169.

becomes the symbol of the Divine Power. But only through heroes, in whom the Divine Idea dwells, does the progressive development of humanity become possible. The hero is "unconscious;" he only intuitively apprehends the will of the divine and becomes an instrument of historical progress. This is also what Hegel means by the "unconscious impulse" of the hero. Hegel says that great men have "no consciousness of the general Idea they [are] unfolding. . . . But at the same time they [are] thinking men who [have] an insight into the requirement of the time," and that the deeds and words of the great men "are the best of the time."⁶ In other words, great men are the instrument of the Absolute and represent the Spirit of the Age. To Carlyle, history is the biography of Great Men. The hero, with his unconscious insight, blends into the mystic stream of the becoming of history and symbolizes the total accomplishment of mankind. Thus history moves forward through the leadership of great men. Carlyle believes that a true hero will triumph in the long run, for he is supported by the

⁶ Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy (1952; rpt. New York: Washington Square Press, 1969), p. 298.

Divine Will. This seems bizarre to most people, though a similar philosophy that the external laws of righteousness always triumph has been accepted in China for thousands of years. In this aspect of heroism Carlyle is very Chinese. Of course, a similar belief had been held by Hegel who believed that "the real is rational" and that every condition supported by the divine right is necessary in the process of history.⁷ And Alexander Pope in his Essay On Man claims that "whatever is, is right." Having a firm belief in the Divine Will (necessity), Carlyle looks at revolution as a necessary process of a dynamic society. However, Hook, seeing Carlyle's apparent optimism, says that "Carlyle is vague about the nature of the limitations" of heroes, whereas the historical determinists "are quite specific about the nature of limitations."⁸ In Carlyle's concept of organicism, the periodicity in history is often caused by revolutions, and society often arises afresh like a phoenix after a volcanic overturn. Hegel, in his philosophy of history as a dialectical movement, seems to

⁷ Lectures on the Philosophy of History, trans. John Sibree (New York: G. Bell & Sons, 1900), p. 30.

⁸ Hook, The Hero in History, p. 14.

embrace similar revolutionary ideas.

The concept of a dialectic runs through every page of Sartor Resartus. The Hegelian dialectical triad, thesis-antithesis-synthesis, can be approximately applied to Teufelsdröckh's progression from the Everlasting No (thesis) and the Center of Indifference (antithesis) to the Everlasting Yea (synthesis, or reconciliation). In the Everlasting No, everything proceeds to "darken into Unbelief" (SR, 129). But in the Center of Indifference, Teufelsdröckh begins to renew hope through contemplating great events and great men, learns to "partly see through" the meaningless wretchedness (SR, 145), and gradually creates a state of mind contrary to that of the Everlasting No, a necessary path through which one passes from "the Negative Pole to the Positive" (SR, 146). Finally in the Everlasting Yea, the world is "no longer a Chaos," but a "Living Garment of God." Thus in the stage of synthesis, all the contradictions are reconciled, sublimated, and changed into a higher unity and totality. But similar to Hegel's synthesis, the Everlasting Yea is not a "once-and-for-all" statement. It is true that after the Everlasting Yea the chaos is changed into an organic whole. However, in a

deeper sense, the dialectical process never ceases, and the possibility of chaos still exists. The duality of order and disorder is implied later in the organic filaments and the phoenix cycle. This constant dialectical movement echoes Hegel's belief that "all things are in themselves contradictory," that "movement is existing in contradiction itself," and that "only insofar as something has contradiction in itself does it move, have impulse or activity."⁹

It should be noted that "Sartor Resartus" both reveals the constructive side and the destructive side of truth. All the old clothes in society which are worn out should be replaced, for "Symbols, like all terrestrial Garments, wax old " (SR, 179). The moment one begins to view institutions as clothing, one begins to see "a World becoming dismantled " (SR, 185). The "Phoenix" chapter in Sartor Resartus establishes the fact that society is dead, that "the Church [has] fallen speechless, from obesity and apoplexy," and that "the State [has] shrunken into a

⁹ From Hegel's Science of Logic, as cited in The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. Paul Edwards (London: Macmillan, 1967), III, 443-44.

Police-Office" (SR, 185). However, Carlyle believes that the old sick society is a burnt phoenix, and that "a fairer Living Society" will arise "Phoenix-like, out of the ruins of the old dead one" (SR, 184). The time required for the phoenix death-birth depends on "unseen contingencies" (SR, 189): it varies from two centuries to a single moment. This is why Teufelsdröckh often complains that "the World [is] a 'huge Ragfair.'" The "rags and tatters of old Symbols" are raining-down everywhere, like to drift him in, and suffocate him" (SR, 187-88). Though painful it is, this condition of nakedness and dismantling provides the key to the essence of man and society.

The name Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, meaning God-born Devil's-dung, forms the philosophical basis of the Carlylean dialectic. Teufelsdröckh sometimes has "a radiant, ever-young Apollo" look (SR, 26), but sometimes resembles an "incarnate Mephistopheles" (SR, 25). The light sparkles in his eyes are both the "reflexes of the heavenly Stars" and the "glances from the region of Nether Fire" (SR, 25). Most of Carlyle's favorite characters have the same duality of angelic and devilish qualities. In The French Revolution, the fair young lady Charlotte Corday who killed

Jean-Paul Marat and was "greater than Brutus" looked "like a Star . . . with half-angelic, half-daemonic splendour" (FR, III, 167). But the Carlylean dialectic is actually based on his Philosophy of Clothes. Carlyle says "Call one Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, and he will open the Philosophy of Clothes" (SR, 70). Since Teufelsdröckh suggests both positive and negative values, his experience symbolizes the conflict between clothing and disrobing, between the death and rebirth of society. It is William Johnson who first points out the Swiftian side and the Fichtean side of Carlyle.¹⁰ Carlyle, in his satirical power to ruthlessly expose shams and strip society bare, Johnson reasons, is Swiftian. On the other hand, his positive, idealistic confrontation with Eternity belongs to Fichte.¹¹ In "Phoenix," though the promise of a new, regenerated society is affirmed, the emphasis is on the destruction, for Teufelsdröckh sees everywhere the rags of a dead society. However, in a later chapter "Organic Filaments," the theme of regeneration becomes dominant. Thus from "Phoenix" (death of society) to "Organic Filaments" (resurrection) there is

¹⁰ William S. Johnson, Thomas Carlyle (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1911), p. 114.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 112, 114.

a transition from the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea.

The level of social vision dominates the last part of Sartor Resartus, and the theme of the phoenix death-birth is its message. The idea of the world as a phoenix ever dying and reviving becomes a very important element in Carlyle's later social thinking. Later in The French Revolution he treats destruction as a phoenix which will eventually bring change: "the world is wholly in such a newfangled humour; all things working loose from their old fastenings, toward new issues and combinations" (FR, I, 68). And "French Revolution means . . . the open violent Rebellion, and Victory, of disimprisoned Anarchy against corrupt worn-out Authority . . . till the frenzy burning itself out, and what elements of new Order it held (since all Force holds such) developing themselves. . . ." (FR, I, 222) In On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History he says "All death . . . is but of the body, not of the essence or soul; all destruction, by violent revolution or howsoever it be, is but new creation on a wider scale" (HH, 119). It is obvious that Carlyle's concept of organicism is the cornerstone of his social myth. The organic filaments of his social thinking are always

"mysteriously spinning themselves" toward the new religion of social gospel. Richard Levine in his "Carlyle as Poet: The Phoenix Image in 'Organic Filaments'" says that the chapter "Organic Filaments" is the most poetical section in Sartor Resartus.¹² The image of the phoenix which builds its own funeral pyre, burns, dies, and rises again runs throughout the whole chapter. Through the phoenix image, the levels of sociological and political ideas are gradually disclosed in Sartor Resartus.¹³

It is not hard, however, to see the sociological level of "Organic Filaments." "Society," as Teufelsdröckh says, "is not dead; that Carcass, which you call dead Society, is but her mortal coil which she has shuffled-off, to assume a nobler; she herself, through perpetual metamorphoses, in fairer and fairer development, has to live till Time also merge in Eternity" (SR, 188). The organic filaments which are continually spinning themselves can always be seen from the mythical union of mankind. All men are inseparable just as all Phoenix-birds are joined together during the "Fire-whirlwind Creation and Destruction" (SR, 195). Even in

¹² Richard A. Levine, "Carlyle as Poet: The Phoenix Image in 'Organic Filaments,'" Victorian Newsletter, No. 25 (Spring 1964), p. 18.

¹³ Ibid.

history, "there is a living, literal communion of Saints, wide as the World itself" (SR, 197). These continuous, organic filaments of universal brotherhood are those powers which make the continuity of civilization possible:

Generations are as the Days of toilsome Mankind: Death and Birth are the vesper and the matin bells, that summon Mankind to sleep, and to rise refreshed for new advancement. What the Father has made, the Son can make and enjoy; but has also work of his own appointed him. Thus all things wax, and roll onwards; Arts, Establishments, Opinions, nothing is completed, but ever completing. (SR, 197)

The Everlasting Yea, the personal affirmation of faith is "ever completing," and has now become a social gospel which will soon be led into the political arena.

The center of the new political order is the hero, because Carlyle believes that man has not lost the faculty of reverence for the great man: "Wonder . . . is the basis of Worship: the reign of wonder is perennial, indestructible in Man" (SR, 53). The hero has two kinds of duty: destroying deteriorated symbols and creating new ones. In joining this dualism of "sartor resartus," the hero becomes a part of the mythmaking of organic filaments. The hero is he who has the ability to see truth beneath the death of the phoenix. His task is to show society where it fails and the direction

it should take. In creating new symbols, he is a tailor and editor who moves ahead of society. The world is fragmentary as seen in Sartor Resartus. Only through the action of the hero can the organic filaments work. To retain truth and order, man must obey the hero because "only in reverently bowing down before the Higher does he feel himself exalted" (SR, 200). In describing the superiority of the hero, Levine has compared the hero to the phoenix, saying that the hero, like the phoenix, rests "on the highest tree" and is respected by "all the other birds."¹⁴ Thus by using the phoenix symbol to signify the heroic quality Carlyle has gradually shifted to the hero myth.

In talking about world titles, Carlyle emphasizes that the only title he respects is that of king. "The king," he says, "rules by divine right . . . carries in him an authority from God, or man will never give it him" (SR, 198). Carlyle's faith in the divine order has led him to believe that "he who is to be [his] Ruler, whose will is to be higher than [his] will, is chosen for [him] in Heaven" (SR, 198). Though modern men have somewhat lost their virtue of obedience, Carlyle believes that hero-worship "will

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

forever exist, universally among Mankind" and will always be "the corner-stone of living-rock" (SR, 200). Within the world of organic filaments nothing will ever perish, because "Before the old skin [is] shed, the new [has] formed itself beneath it" (SR, 201). Now the "World-Phoenix" is burning slow, but the phoenix-hero will always appear. Great men can never disappear from the earth, for they "are the inspired Texts of that Divine Book of Revelation" (SR, 142).

Carlyle's work of "retailoring" never stops. At the end of Sartor Resartus Teufelsdröckh disappears into London society. There is a subtle suggestion hinting that he may have joined the Saint-Simonian Society, a group of French social reformers (SR, 237). However, the editor "guesses he will appear again." In any case, a story without a definite conclusion symbolizes the dynamic movement of human action. Carlyle's emphasis on social vision is as an ongoing activity rather than a finished product. In the course of the story Teufelsdröckh moves from self-realization to social awareness, and then to political consciousness. In the chapter "The Dandiacal Body" he almost presents a philosophy which anticipates Marx by contrasting the dandy, the clothes-wearing

aristocrat, with the pauper, the clothesless "Poor-Slave" in industrial society. And this certainly corresponds to Carlyle's growing interest in social and political themes in his later writings. In the creative act of "retailoring," Carlyle continuously experiences the pattern of progression from self-analysis to social prophecy.

PART II

HEROES AND HERO-WORSHIP

CHAPTER IV

CARLYLE'S LITERATURE OF HEROISM

The Great Man . . . is a Force of Nature: whatever is truly great in him springs-up from the inarticulate deeps.

--On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History

Carlyle's social prophecy in Sartor Resartus (1833-1834) anticipates The French Revolution (1837), "the poetic unrolling of a great historical drama."¹ Although his theory of heroism is not completely developed until later in On Heroes (1841) and Past and Present (1843), Carlyle does show his urgent yearning for modern heroes in The French Revolution. Froude describes the work as Carlyle's most powerful work of art,² and as "the spurting of volcanic fire."³ Carlyle wrote to his wife Jane: "I mean to write with force of fire,"⁴ and "this I could tell the world: You have not had for a hundred years any book that comes

¹ "French Revolution," The Oxford Companion to English Literature, ed. Paul Harvey, 4th rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967).

² Froude, The First Forty Years, II, 336.

³ Froude, Life in London, I, 51.

⁴ Ibid., I, 42.

more direct and flamingly from the heart of a living man."⁵
 This is by no means an exaggeration. Carlyle's epic-mindedness has created a modern epic in such a grand scale that readers are constantly aware of its overwhelming force.

As Carlyle describes it, the French Revolution had a just cause against corrupted leadership, and was a necessary upheaval during the whole historical process. Because of his concept of the organic filaments and the phoenix cycle, Carlyle believed that the French Revolution was "the third act" in history after Protestantism and English Puritanism (HH, 123). The revolution happened when France was "at the right inflammable point" (FR, I, 176), and a battle was "inevitable" (FR, I, 169). Later in Frederick the Great (1858-1865) Carlyle pointed out that "the Eighteenth Century had nothing grand in it, except that grand universal suicide, named French Revolution," which was "a very fit termination . . . for such a century" (FG, I, 8, 9). For him the French Revolution was the "most signal example of 'God's revenge.'"⁶ It was intended

⁵ Ibid., I, 48.

⁶ Ibid., I, 4.

to show mankind that the sum of wickedness is always accumulated in a "Reign of Terror" (FR, III, 202-03). History for Carlyle revealed the will of God, but historical movements progress amidst the conflict between good and evil. Again this organic view of history and the dialectical concept can be compared to Hegel's way of thinking. Hegel regarded the French Revolution as a dialectical unfolding of human progress for it started with human conflict, a conflict between individual needs and social stress.⁷

If conflict arises, Carlyle reasons, it is because of the lack of true leadership. Throughout The French Revolution the image of a strong and irrational mob prevails. The unconscious energy grounded on hunger has become groups of "meal mobs" (FR, I, 53). The mobs are as powerful as whirlpool, fire, volcano, tornado and hurricane. Full of unconscious and natural forces, "the French Mob . . . is among the liveliest phenomena of our world" (FR, I, 250-51), and Carlyle dramatizes that "liveliest phenomena" in these words:

All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: To the Bastille! Repeated "deputations of citizens" have been here, passionate for arms;

⁷ The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, III, 439.

whom De Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through portholes. . . . But outwards, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street: tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the générale: the Suburb Saint-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! (FR, I, 189)

Again, to the same point:

Paris wholly has got to the acme of its frenzy; whirled, all ways, by panic madness. At every street-barricade, there whirls simmering a minor whirlpool,--strengthening the barricade, since God knows what is coming; and all minor whirlpools play distractedly into that grand Fire-Mahlstrom which is lashing round the Bastille. (FR, I, 191)

Thus "fire unquenched and now unquenchable is smoking and smouldering all round" (FR, I, 15). The whole world has become "a roaring fire-chaos" (FR, I, 190). The sound of "outbreaking water" arises like "the voice of all France . . . Immeasurable manifold" (FR, I, 117). And finally the Bastille is fallen under "the fire-deluge."

Following the Siege of Bastille, the most violent action is caused by the insurrectionary chaos. In the "Insurrection of Women," the mob surrounds the palace "like Ocean round a Diving-Bell" (FR, I, 276). Carlyle describes the chaotic movement of the mob in the following words:

Rushing and crushing one hears now; then enter Usher Maillard, with a Deputation of Fifteen muddy dripping Women,--having, by incredible industry, and aid of all the macers, persuaded the rest to wait out of door. National Assembly shall now, therefore, look its august task directly in the face: regenerative Constitutionalism has an unregenerate Sansculottism bodily in front of it; crying, "Bread! Bread!" (FR, I, 262)

He continues to dramatize the insurrection:

For, behold, the Esplanade, over all its spacious expanse, is covered with groups of squalid dripping Women; of landhaired male Rascality, armed with axes, rusty pikes, old muskets, iron-shod clubs (batons ferrés, which end in knives or swordblades, a kind of extempore bill-hook);--looking nothing but hungry revolt. The rain pours: Gardes-du-Corps go caracoling through the groups "amid hisses"; irritating and agitating what is but dispersed here to reunite there. (FR, I, 263)

Explosions like these are everywhere. There are riots at Palais de Justice (FR, I, 34), at Rue St. Antoine (FR, I, 128), at Strasburg (FR, I, 230), at Paris on the Veto (FR, I, 241), at Vincennes (FR, II, 129), and at Paris Théâtre de la Nation (FR, III, 74). Other mobs are gathered on the Nanci affair (FR, II, 98), on the flights of king's aunts (FR, II, 127), on king's proposed journey to St. Cloud (FR, II, 152), and on selling sugar (FR, III, 117). The horror of the riots shows that any institution which

fails to provide for the needs of people is bound to be overthrown. Later in Part III of this thesis Mao's peasant revolt in China will be compared to the mob action in the French Revolution, a movement which "is painful to look on, and yet . . . cannot . . . be forgotten"

(FR, III, 27). Carlyle, in making the mob violence into a dramatic action, describes it as "the Titans warring with Olympus; and they, scarcely crediting it, have conquered: prodigy of prodigies; delirious,--as it could not but be. Denunciation, vengeance; blaze of triumph on a dark ground of terror; all outward, all inward things fallen into one general wreck of madness!" (FR, I, 197)

Here Carlyle has reversed the old myth in which the Olympians win the victory over the Titans. Albert LaValley suggests that by reversing the Titan myth, Carlyle has presented "a heightened version of mock-epic, a true epic-in-reverse."⁸ This "epic-in-reverse" certainly corresponds to Carlyle's organic social myth in which the overturning of society promises a new social order. Carlyle seems to

⁸ Albert J. LaValley, Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968), p. 142.

imply that when the Olympian gods have lost their mythical connections with the cosmic power, it is time for the Titans to revolt and restore a continually progressive society. It is this belief in the organic development that allows Carlyle to contemplate the violent revolution with hope. Believing that a new social order will emerge from the seeming Sansculottic disorder, Carlyle writes:

Sansculottism will burn much; but what is incombustible it will not burn. Fear not Sansculottism; recognise it for what it is, the portentous inevitable end of much, the miraculous beginning of much. One other thing thou mayest understand of it: that it too came from God. (FR, I, 213)

Again:

Behold the World-Phoenix, in fire-consummation and fire-creation: wide are her fanning wings; loud is her death-melody, of battle-thunders and falling towns; skyward lashes the funeral flame, enveloping all things: it is the Death-Birth of a World! (FR, I, 213)

On the other hand, Carlyle never fails to see the destructiveness and meaninglessness of mobs. Terms like "nether fire" and "anarchy" often connote ideas of negative values. The complexity of violence gradually

makes him impatient with the fact that the promised new order has not come into being, and that the hero has not appeared in his true form. The ultimate form of society is that of order and direction. Only the hero, the elect who possesses a sense of divine calling, can bring order out of dark chaos. The hero should have such a "might" as to overcome the tumult. His mission is order and discipline, not killing and destroying.

It is true that in The French Revolution there is no heroic focus, and the released energies are left without direction. Carlyle says later in On Heroes: "Hero-worship would have sounded very strange to those workers and fighters in the French Revolution. Not reverence for Great Men; not any hope or belief, or even wish, that Great Men could again appear in the world!" (HH, 202) However, Carlyle does endeavor to find heroes in the revolution. Mirabeau and Danton, with their volcanic energy and titanic vigor, seem to embrace the same heroic qualities of Cromwell and Frederick the Great. Mirabeau is likened to Hercules, the Greek strongest hero; Danton is likened to Atlas, the god who bears the world on his shoulders. Mirabeau is described as a "self-sufficing" hero, "a born

king of men" (FR, I, 40), and "a man of insight . . . with resolution, even with manful principle" (FR, I, 56). In On Heroes Carlyle also praises his true insight and superior vision (HH, 79, 191). But Mirabeau's life is too short to secure a success. And Danton does not have the heroic potency to bring order out of chaos. Lafayette, who is a potential "hero and perfect character" and a "Cromwell-Grandison" (FR, I, 145), and is once claimed by "the fair palace Dames" to be "their savior" (FR, I, 275), turns out to be a failure. His attempt to defend the king and promote his liberal principles cause the gradual decline of his popularity, and he finally flies to Holland (FR, II, 307). Napoleon is the only one who shows some characteristic of Carlyle's ultimate hero. His army pacifies the turmoil, and consequently accords with Carlyle's ideal soldiery: "Not as a bewildered bewildering mob; but as a firm regimented mass, with real captains over them. . . ." (PP, 275).

Nevertheless, the section on Napoleon near the close of The French Revolution fails to create a heroic focus in the work. Of course, the fact that Carlyle treats Napoleon as Danton's possible successor to end the chaos represents his constant search for heroes and foreshadows "the Hero as

King" in On Heroes.

Thus, in May 1840, when Carlyle delivered the lectures on great men (later compiled as On Heroes in 1841), he projected a model of heroism based on his strong belief in the necessity of the hero and the indestructibility of hero-worship. In describing the lectures to Emerson on July 2, 1840, he wrote: "I meant to tell them, among other things, that man was still alive, Nature not dead or like to die; that all true men continued true to this hour. . . ."⁹ As Archibald MacMechan points out in his eighty-eight pages of introduction to On Heroes, "hero" in 1840 simply meant "soldier" to most Englishmen.¹⁰ When Carlyle divided his heroes into six kinds (the Hero as Divinity, the Hero as Prophet, the Hero as Poet, the Hero as Priest, the Hero as Man of Letters, and the Hero as King), the audience, "with open mouth and flashing eyes," accepted his novel definition of heroism as a new gospel.¹¹ Since Carlyle's tone was one of a preacher, the ethical value of the lectures was

⁹ The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, p. 274.

¹⁰ On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History, ed. Archibald MacMechan (Boston: Ginn, 1901), p. lxxii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii.

immediately recognized. He would have included other types of heroes (e.g. Hero as Man of Science, Hero as Man of Music, Hero-Artist) were it not because he was scheduled to deliver two lectures a week for three weeks.

After the lectures were put into book form, Carlyle became even more famous for his theory of heroism. Many critics believe that On Heroes is Carlyle's "literary microcosm," for it includes most of the major ideas in his writings from Sartor Resartus to Frederick the Great.¹²

David Delaura in "Ishmael as Prophet: Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Self-Expressive Basis of Carlyle's Art" emphasizes that On Heroes is "the most prophetic book in the nineteenth century in England."¹³ However, many critics would not agree to this kind of praise. John Lindberg argues that Carlyle shows a gradual decadence of style in On Heroes, Past and Present, and finally in Latter-Day Pamphlets, in that he pays more attention to the social role of literature than to the artistic refinement

¹² Augustus Ralli, Guide to Carlyle (London: Allen and Unwin, 1920), I, 296.

¹³ In Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 11 (1969), 705-32.

of literary style.¹⁴ He further explains that Carlyle's decadence of style corresponds to the decadence of heroic quality in modern society. This criticism seems to have some truth in it. Although the style of On Heroes may not be inferior to Sartor Resartus or The French Revolution, Carlyle does present an interesting phenomenon of heroism. In the order of the lectures, from Odin to Mahomet, Shakespeare, Luther, Johnson, and then to Cromwell and Napoleon, a descending scale of heroic quality is clearly presented. To describe it in Byron's words: "The Hero [has] sunk into a King" ("Ode from the French"). The hero is first a divinity, then a prophet, a poet, a priest, a man of letters, and then a king. In other words, the heavenly hero has become an earthly one in our modern revolutionary epoch. And "in the history of the world there will not again be any man, never so great [as Odin] , whom his fellowmen will take for a god" (HH, 42). This is why Lindberg says that the arrangement of the chapters in On Heroes illustrates a phenomenon of moral decay as people gradually fail to worship their heroes.¹⁵

¹⁴ John Lindberg, "The Decadence of Style: Symbolic Structure in Carlyle's Later Prose," Studies in Scottish Literature, 1 (January 1964), 183.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 184.

Northrop Frye criticizes Carlyle's anachronism in treating modern heroes in mythological terms.¹⁶ But Elliot Gilbert argues that "the anachronistic essence of Carlyle's prophecy" is a precious feature in literary art, and that Carlyle wants to make people love those "heroes who once really lived but who, more important, go on living, contemporary with all other men," and become "inspirations and models in a timeless present."¹⁷ The title of Past and Present can best express Carlyle's philosophy. When he uses the twelfth century monk as an example of heroic worker in Past and Present, his purpose is to suggest the timelessness of heroism. Confucius said "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge so as continually to be acquiring the new, he may be a teacher of others" (溫故而知新，可以為師矣--論語). Carlyle, as a teacher of the Victorian people, never neglects the importance of the present when he refers to the past. On July 19, 1840, he wrote to Emerson: "There is no use in writing of things past, unless they can be made in

¹⁶ Frye, A Study of English Romanticism, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷ Elliot L. Gilbert, "'A Wondrous Contiguity': Anachronism in Carlyle's Prophecy and Art," PMLA, 87 (1972), 442.

fact things present."¹⁸ Froude praises Carlyle's "special gift . . . to bring dead things and dead people actually back to life; to make the past once more the present."¹⁹ Thus his "anachronism" is not a chaotic device but a key to his organic philosophy.

The fact that Carlyle divides his heroes into six kinds seems to imply that each age calls for a special kind of hero. The chronological pattern under which the heroes are distributed may represent both retrogressive and progressive phenomena. Carlyle is conscious of the decline of hero-worship in modern society, but he also regards "the Hero as King" as the ultimate hero in that history moves not only chronologically but progressively. To return to the old heroism is impossible because of the change in time and historical movement. Nevertheless, the essential qualities of heroes have never been changed: "For at bottom the Great Man, as he comes from the hand of Nature, is ever the same kind of thing: Odin, Luther, Johnson, Burns . . . are all originally of one stuff; that only by the world's

¹⁸ The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, p. 325.

¹⁹ Froude, Life in London, II, 126.

reception of them, and the shapes they assume, are they so immeasurably diverse" (HH, 43). As for "the outward shape" of a hero, it depends upon "the time and the environment he finds himself in" (HH, 115).

Most of Carlyle's heroes have a similar pattern of background, that is, they are self-made men who originate from humble families. Froude explains that it is because Carlyle himself was from a peasant home that he was drawn to the humble man who became great. Being a workingman's son, "his sympathies were with his own class."²⁰ Due to his disadvantageous origin, the hero is always struggling. Each has somewhat experienced a transition from the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea. In spite of struggle, poverty, and oppression, each has a fervent will to deliver his message to the world. He may not come when the time calls for him ("we have known Times call loudly enough for their great man; but not find him when they called!" HH, 13), but when he appears, he is "as lightning out of Heaven" (HH, 77). For he is "the living light-fountain . . . which enlightens . . . the darkness of the world" (HH, 2). When a reformer is needed, he embodies

²⁰

Ibid., I, 95.

"the fierce lightning of the Reformer" (HH, 117). When there is a prolonged chaos, he often thinks "good to end it by fire" (HH, 132). Such a man is "to flame as the beacon over long centuries and epochs of the world," and history is always waiting for him (HH, 128). The image of the loadstar (lodestar) is often associated with him.

Carlyle describes Dante as a burning "pure star, fixed there in the firmament, at which the great and the high of all ages kindle themselves" (HH, 100). The certainty of the coming of heroes and hero-worship "shines like a polestar through smoke-clouds, dust-clouds, and all manner of down-rushing and conflagration" (HH, 202). In Past and Present, a lodestar, which is "shining through all cloud-tempests and roaring billows," shows the perspective of the "Heroic Promised Land" (PP, 37).

Nietzsche is indeed biased when he comments on Carlyle's lack of spiritual vision: "What was lacking in England, and always has been lacking there, was known well enough to that semi-actor and rhetorician, the insipid muddlehead Carlyle, who tried to conceal behind passionate grimaces what he knew of himself--namely, what was lacking in Carlyle: real power of spirituality, real profundity of

spiritual perception; in brief, philosophy."²¹ Carlyle's consistent emphasis on an immediate relevancy between the hero and the universe exactly evinces his great spiritual power, his philosophic model of a moral dialectic. He defines the hero as one who "lives in the inward sphere of things" (HH, 155), one who sees "through the shows of things into things" (HH, 55), and one who has "such a power of vision" to look into the "unfathomable sea" (HH, 103). This is what he means by "sincerity," the first characteristic of the great man. To be sincere is to have the "seeing eye" to penetrate truth, to discern the real disorder under the seeming order, to know that "smooth falsehood is not order" but "the general sumtotal of Disorder" (HH, 150). Thus "sincerity" implies more than mere earnestness, candor and frankness. The hero should possess insight and a power of vision. As the Chinese proverb says, his "sincere thought can move both Heaven and Earth." For Carlyle, sincerity is the power of the genuine confrontation of the actual and the ability to recognize what is sham ahead of the time. Thus the hero always comes

²¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. with commentary, Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1966), p. 190.

"back to reality," stands "upon things, and not shows of things" (HH, 123). And this, Carlyle says, is the primary quality of Mirabeau, Mahomet, Cromwell, Napoleon and other great men (HH, 181-82). The hero is usually unconscious of his sincerity, especially during the titanic warfare. He often inherits "a sort of savage sincerity" (HH, 192) to tear down the falsehood in society. This is why "there is something of the savage in all great men" (HH, 193). In this sense, the Carlylean hero seems very Promethean, for he often comes "like a sacred Pillar of Fire" (HH, 157). However, the Carlylean hero not only brings fire to mankind but creates order out of blazing chaos.

It is obvious that sincerity as defined above is the measure of heroic power. The high moments in Carlyle's heroes are all full of sincere vision. The young Mahomet asks, "What am I? What is the unfathomable Thing I live in, which men name Universe? What is Life; What is Death?" (HH, 54). He later refuses to stop preaching "even if the sun stood on his right hand and the moon on his left, ordering him to hold his peace" (HH, 59). Luther at the Diet of Worms shouts, "Here stand I; I can do no other" (HH, 135). Cromwell's final words before the second

Parliament are "God be judge between you and me" (HH, 234). Napoleon, despite his many quackeries, looks up "into the stars" and challenges the atheistic logicians who could not prove God's existence: "but who made all that?" (HH, 239). "Sincerity," in the Carlylean sense, thus implies a moral insight and a power of originality. A hero must also be a thinker. For "Not a brick [is] made but some man [has] to think of the making of that brick" (HH, 165). He must be a seer and "original man" who "awakes the slumbering capability of all into Thought" (HH, 21). But he is often silent except on urgent occasions ("Speech is great; but Silence is greater" HH, 108). It seems that his true silence is participating in the unconscious organic growth of humanity in history.

The metaphor of the Tree Igdrasil (The Ash-Tree of Existence) is repeatedly used in On Heroes to symbolize the historical vitality of heroes. Through the "tree of life,"²² Carlyle sees the organic growth of heroic life, the basis of world history. The image of the Tree Igdrasil is borrowed from Norse mythology to suggest the timelessness

²² The Tree Igdrasil may be compared to the "Tree of Life" in Genesis, 3:22.

of human existence:

I like, too, that representation they have of the Tree Igdrasil. All Life is figured by them as a Tree. Igdrasil, the Ash-tree of Existence, has its roots deep-down in the kingdoms of Hela or Death; its trunk reaches up heaven-high, spreads its boughs over the whole Universe: it is the Tree of Existence. At the foot of it, in the Death-kingdom, sit Three Nornas, Fates,--the Past, Present, Future; watering its roots from the Sacred Well. Its "boughs," with their buddings and disleafings,--events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes,--stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act or word? Its boughs are Histories of Nations. The rustle of it is the noise of Human Existence, onwards from of old. It grows there, the breath of Human Passion rustling through it;--or stormtost, the stormwind howling through it like the voice of all the gods. It is Igdrasil, the Tree of Existence. It is the past, the present, and the future; what was done, what is doing, what will be done; "the infinite conjugation of the verb To do." (HH, 20-21)

For Carlyle, the "Tree" suggests a series of implications. It signifies the interrelationship between men and world history (biographies=leaves, history=boughs), the immortality of human history, and the dialectical value of existence (The Tree "has its roots down in the Kingdoms of Hela and Death" and its "boughs overspread the highest Heaven" HH, 102). During the dialectical process of human history, the hero brings hope to the world. Therefore, the "Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished

in this world is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here" (HH, 1), and "In all epochs of the world's history, we shall find the Great Man to have been the indispensable saviour of his epoch;--the lightning, without which the fuel never would have burnt" (HH, 13).

In other words, "History is the essence of innumerable Biographies" (E, II, 86). Apart from the lives of the great men, there is no history. Or as Bentley says:

"History is the new theology, the hero is the new god."²³

Carlyle insists that a great man must be a man of action. He once said that the fault with Louis XV was that he "did nothing" and was therefore a "King Donothing" (FR, I, 22). He wrote to Jane: "The theory of happy living grows plainer to me everyday: Let thought be turned to action, or dismissed entirely."²⁴ Action often suggests progress, work, struggle, and the fulfillment of the ideal. It is a religious creed and practical guideline for the great man. But Carlyle thinks that self-renunciation is the entrance into the life of action. Teufelsdröckh commits himself to the doctrine of work only after the

²³ Bentley, A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 67.

²⁴ Love Letters, II, p. 130.

process of self-denial. In "The Hero as Prophet," Carlyle emphasizes that Mahomet's annihilation of self is the soul of Islam and that of Christianity (HH, 57). In the essay "State of German Literature," he praises Fichte "as a man, approved by action and suffering, in his life and his death" (E, I, 77).

This emphasis on action is in accord with the gospel of work. In Past and Present, Carlyle says "All work, even cotton-spinning, is noble; work is alone noble: be that here said and asserted once more. And in like manner too, all dignity is painful; a life of ease is not for any man, nor for any god" (PP, 153). In a world of heroes and common men, each has the duty to labor for all. Thus duty, which Wordsworth in "Ode to Duty" calls the "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," becomes an ethical bond among mankind. Let men devote themselves to their duty, and the rest "would be added to them."²⁵ For "What is the use of health, or of life, if not to do some work therewith?" (SR, 63). Carlyle defines his doctrine of work as a "chivalry of labor," for work is a medieval virtue and source of social order; he hopes to see it revive in the

25

Froude, Life in London, II, 158.

modern world. The reason he was sympathetic to the French Saint-Simonians was that they had an attractive motto:

"tous les hommes doivent travailler."²⁶

To have a society based on the doctrine of work, men must obey their heroes: "Wise command, wise obedience: the capability of these two is the net measure of culture, and human virtue, in every man" (LDP, 167). As Harrold points out, what Carlyle longs for is "the old spiritual bond between the ruler and the ruled."²⁷ The ideal society is one which has strict and orderly discipline. Since men are not created equal, most men need a wise leader to guide them. Their only chance of self-improvement lies in their total submission to order and command. All things considered, the majority is always in the wrong:

Considerable tracts of Ages there have been, by far the majority indeed, wherein the men, unfortunate mortals, were a set of mimetic creatures rather than men; without heart-insight as to this Universe, and its Heights and Abysses; without conviction or belief of their own regarding it, at all;--who walked merely by hearsays, traditionary cant, black and white surplises, and inane confusions;--whose whole Existence accordingly

²⁶ David B. Cofer, Saint-Simonism in the Radicalism of Thomas Carlyle (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1931), p. 23.

²⁷ Harrold, Carlyle and German Thought, p. 193.

was a grimace; nothing original in it, nothing genuine or sincere but this only, Their greediness of appetite and their faculty of digestion. (C,I,83)

This view of the common man naturally makes Carlyle an opponent of democracy. In "The Hero as Priest," he says with bitterness, "All this of Liberty and Equality, Electoral suffrages, Independence and so forth, we will take, therefore, to be a temporary phenomenon, by no means a final one" (HH, 127).

However, what Carlyle really means here is that modern men have been ruined by the decline of hero-worship. Hume's theory of the deification of "mortals superior in power, courage, or understanding"²⁸ seems to be obsolete in modern society. But the lesson one learns from Tennyson's Idylls of the King is that natural reverence is the foundation of social order. Only when all the citizens participate in an ethical commitment can the community survive. The ethical decline of Lancelot, Tristram, and other knights causes the complete decadence of social structure. Like Tennyson, whom he seems to have influenced,

²⁸ In his discussion of "polytheism" in Section V of The Natural History of Religion, Hume says, "The same principles naturally deify mortals, superior in power, courage, or understanding, and produce hero-worship."

Carlyle wants to see an ethical kingdom founded on hero-worship. He believes that hero-worship is a requirement of human heart. He continuously emphasizes that "Hero-Worship is the deepest root of all," (HH, 11) that it is "the germ of Christianity itself" (HH, 11), that "The manner of man's Hero-Worship . . . determines all the rest" (PP, 123), and that reverence for our superiors is "an indestructible sacredness" (FR, I, 9). In other words, a believing nation requires a sincere people: "A world all sincere, a believing world: the like has been; the like will again be,--cannot help being. That were the right sort of Worshippers of Heroes: never could the truly Better be so revered as where all were True and Good!" (HH, 127) In Carlyle's concept of hero-worship, "The sincere alone can recognize sincerity," for "Not a Hero only is needed, but a world fit for him" (HH, 216). Nevertheless, the sincerity of the common man is different from that of the great man. As Lehman explains, "The ordinary man's sincerity is . . . relative, since he looks merely on things not into things."²⁹ A common man is merely required to have true reverence so

²⁹B.H. Lehman, Carlyle's Theory of the Hero (Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press, 1928), p. 55.

that he can distinguish between the real hero and sham hero. In Past and Present, Abbot Hugo is a sham hero with no power of vision; but Abbot Samson, the true phoenix-hero, is a hero by divine right. Carlyle then concludes: "Have true reverence, and what indeed is inseparable therefrom, reverence the right man, all is well; have sham-reverence, and what also follows, greet with it the wrong man, then all is ill, and there is nothing well" (PP, 123). Again, to the same point: "It is written, 'if we are ourselves valets, there shall exist no hero for us; we shall not know the hero when we see him';--we shall take the quack for a hero" (PP, 83). Actually the distinction between the true and sham hero has already been indicated in Sartor Resartus: "I can choose my own King Popinjay, and play with farce or tragedy I may with him; but he who is to be my Ruler, whose will is to be higher than my will, was chosen for me in Heaven" (SR, 198). Thus Carlyle has indicated his concept of the most important thing in the modern political world--a true hero-king. A true hero is not a Popinjay or a Hugo who cannot see through the world phenomenon, but a man of action and divine vision. As it has been said before, the organic filaments are always

spinning, and the hero-king will appear when the time comes. The details of "the Hero As King" (or the modern revolutionist) will be the subject of the following chapter.

I feel myself drawn towards an end that I do not know, but even as I shall have reached it, as soon as it is necessary, an atom will exist, and I shall see. Till then, not all the forces of the world can do anything against me.

--Napoleon

The hero-king as "Napoleon" and "Cromwell over Men" is the summary of the revolutionist. In the modern chaotic ages, "the Hero as King" has become the modern revolutionist. In a sense, it is the hero-king in the guise of a Napoleon, a Cromwell, a Washington, etc. both controls and coincides with the historical wave, and is what Sidney Smith called a "successful man." And it is this kind of man who crosses the problems in the study of the French Revolution. Carlyle admits that "It is a successful man who is the man to work in revolutions." Carlyle also believes that "some Cromwell" is necessary in the revolution which of Sansculottism. The hero-king as "Napoleon" is "the

CHAPTER V

MODERN REVOLUTIONIST: THE MODERN HERO AS KING

I feel myself . . . driven towards an end that I do not know. As soon as I shall have reached it, as soon as I shall become unnecessary, an atom will suffice to shelter me. Till then, not all the forces of mankind can do anything against me.

--Napoleon

The hero-king as "Ableman" and "Commander over Men" is the summary of the Carlylean heroes. In the modern chaotic ages, "the Hero as King" has become the modern revolutionist. Such a hero appears in the guise of a Napoleon, a Cromwell, or a Frederick. He both controls and coincides with the direction of the historical wave, and is what Sidney Hook would call an "eventful man."¹ And it is this kind of eventful man that creates the problems in the study of the Carlylean hero. Carlyle admits that "It is a tragical position for a true man to work in revolutions" (HH, 203). But he also believes that "some Cromwell or Napoleon is the necessary finish of Sansculottism" (HH, 204), and that hero-worship is "the

¹ Hook, The Hero in History, p. 170.

most solacing fact one sees in the world at present" (HH, 202). Carlyle is somewhat romantic in his persistent belief in the solid relationship between the hero and his worshipers. Thorslev suggests that "Carlyle's Romantic conception of the political 'hero' in general" may have been influenced by the irremovable tie between the noble outlaw and his band.² In spite of the obvious differences of situations, it is worthwhile pointing out that in China, Mao's revolutionist concept is largely drawn from the heroic code of the noble bandits shown in the old Chinese fiction Water Margin (水滸傳). It seems difficult to retain an ideal case of hero-worship today without the help of the old loyalty bond between master and slave and between the noble outlaw and his followers.

It is obvious that Goethe's ideal manhood to which Carlyle was once so fervently drawn does not completely fit in the era of modern revolution. As time goes on Carlyle's hero tends to be more Byronic than Goethean, although the emphasis on work, duty, and organization still prevails. Houghton, Sanders, LaValley, and Christensen all agree that Carlyle in the end remains more like Byron than Goethe.

² Peter L. Thorslev, Jr., The Byronic Hero (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1962), p. 69.

His modern revolutionists are often fiery, daring, self-willed, and at the same time Promethean. In his discussion of symbols, Carlyle maintains that a modern hero should be "Prometheus-like," should "shape new symbols, and bring new Fire from Heaven" (SR, 179). The Promethean fire-symbol is ever present in Carlyle's literature of heroism. But as Blake said that Milton was "of the Devil's party without knowing it," one may say that Carlyle was all the time unconsciously embracing "the bad conscience of the nineteenth century."³ Carlyle's revolutionary tone is almost Orc-like when he asks, "Are not all true men that live, or that ever lived, soldiers of the same army, enlisted, under Heaven's captaincy, to do battle against the same army, the empire of Darkness and Wrong?" (HH, 120). For him the reforming upheaval is always needed in the process of human history. To use a Chinese proverb: "To dig up a tree, you must begin with the root."

Carlyle chooses Napoleon as one of his modern heroes.

Louis Awad claims that Napoleon is one of the liberators of mankind, and that his revolutionary battles can be compared

3

Bentley in A Century of Hero-Worship, pp. 59-60, claims that "Byron is the bad conscience of the nineteenth century."

to Prometheus' struggles.⁴ Bentley declares that "it was Napoleon who composed the tune that all Europe had to sing."⁵ For Carlyle, Napoleon is the God-sent hero in the French Revolution, as Cromwell is in the English Puritan Revolt. Emerson in his Representative Men recalls Napoleon's words: "My son can not replace me; I could not replace myself. I am the creature of circumstances."⁶ However, in Carlyle's estimation, Napoleon is less great, less sincere, and less spiritual than Cromwell. Of course, it is because "Napoleon lived in an age when God was no longer believed" (HH, 238). Napoleon falls also because he finally yields to false ambition, believes "too much in the Dupeability of men," and sees "no fact deeper than Hunger. . . ." (HH, 241) But his "heart-hatred for anarchy" (HH, 240) is what Carlyle always treasures as a great virtue. Although Carlyle chooses Napoleon as one of his heroes, he is reluctant to receive him as a totally favored model. In his diary and his letter to John Carlyle right after the lecture series on heroes, he commented on Cromwell only without even mentioning Napoleon's name.

⁴ Louis Awad, The Themes of Prometheus in English and French Literature: A Study in Literary Influence (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1963), p. 475.

⁵ A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 61.

⁶ Emerson, Representative Men, pp. 231-32.

should Cromwell is the only hero-king he accepts without reservation. He prefers Cromwell to Napoleon because of his religious and moral consciousness. For Carlyle, Cromwell is a scrupulous political leader sent to reform the unheroic age. The problem is that Cromwell does not really belong to the modern era. Why does Carlyle go back two hundred years to find Cromwell? It may be that Cromwell is merely used as a specimen of modern heroes. But Carlyle must have been conscious of the gap between his own age and Cromwell's. On August 29, 1842, he wrote to Emerson: "One of my grand difficulties I suspect to be that I . . . cannot be in the seventeenth century and in the nineteenth century at one and the same moment. . . . For my heart is sick and sore in behalf of my own poor generation; nay I feel withal as if the one hope of help for it consisted in the possibility of new Cromwells and new Puritans."⁷ It is quite obvious that the new Cromwells and new Puritans are what Carlyle longs for in the modern era of revolution, but it is most ironic to see that a great hero like Cromwell as described by Carlyle

⁷ Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, p. 328.

should have been rejected by his own age (The valet "does not know a Hero when he sees him" HH, 208).

Carlyle repeatedly emphasizes that Cromwell is a sincere political hero and his organized officers the "armed Soldiers of Christ"(HH, 218). The sword and the Bible are the emblems of Cromwell's valor and faith (HH, 241). He is a believer, and his hypochondria is a natural result of "an excitable deep-feeling nature," not a "symptom of falsehood" (HH, 212). For a man's "misery" often comes from his greatness (HH, 217) and his sincere "struggling to see" with his whole being (HH, 218). As for Cromwell's participation in the King's death, Carlyle explains: "It is a stern business killing of a King! But if you once go to war with him, it lies there; this and all else lies there. Once at war, you have made wager of battle with him: it is he to die, or else you. Reconciliation is problematic; may be possible, or, far from likely, is impossible" (HH, 214). In a sense Cromwell is forced to kill the king, for "The unhappy Charles, in those final Hampton-Court negotiations, shows himself as a man fatally incapable of being dealt with" (HH, 214). What Cromwell has is a laudable kind of ambition to work for people rather than to fulfill his own

desire for political power. Being a real hero, his penetrating insight has seen through the corruption of the establishment.

Seeing Carlyle's quibble about the apparent destruction caused by Cromwell, Emerson immediately showed his strong disapproval. In his letter to George S. Phillips, Emerson described his argument with Carlyle: "I differed from him . . . in his estimate of Cromwell's character, & he rose like a great Norse giant from his chair--and, drawing a line with his finger across the table, said, with terrible fierceness: Then, sir, there is a line of separation between you and me as wide as that, & as deep as the pit."⁸ Carlyle was once very depressed and said that nobody would believe his report. But much to his surprise, Cromwell was received with applause in 1845. From Carlyle's historical viewpoint, Cromwell revealed the divine law of God as The French Revolution did. By using Cromwell's own letters to illustrate his points, Carlyle shows his seemingly objective attitude as a true historian. The burning enthusiasm to search for verifiable facts is also a virtue of great scholar. To convince readers of the value of the

letters, he almost shouts his plea: "O modern reader, dark as this Letter may seem, I will advise thee to make an attempt toward understanding it. There in it a 'tradition of humanity' worth all the rest. Indisputable certificate that man once had a soul; that man once walked with God,-- his little Life a sacred island girdled with Eternities and Godhoods. Was it not a time for heroes? Heroes were then possible" (C, I, 103).

After Carlyle finished with Cromwell, he started to look for another modern revolutionist. This time Frederick the Great was his object, and the book was to be in eight volumes. It is generally agreed that Carlyle did not admire Frederick with his whole heart. Carlyle openly admits in Frederick the Great: "My hopes of presenting, in this Last of the Kings, an exemplar to my contemporaries, I confess, are not high" (FG, I, 17). His uneasy feeling about the book may come from his lack of certainty about the integrity of Frederick's character.

Many critics think that he has overestimated the Prussian King. Traill in the introduction to Frederick the Great says that Frederick does not deserve "treatment at such portentous length" (FG, I, xiii). Bentley feels

offended by Carlyle's "frank acceptance of power and wrong doing."⁹ René Wellek criticizes Carlyle's lack of insight in his misinterpretations of Frederick's disposition and motives and his ridiculous exaltation of Frederick to a hero of sincerity and truth.¹⁰ It is likely that Carlyle has overstated his case to make his point. Actually Carlyle's tendency to exaggerate is well-known. Froude jokingly describes Carlyle's exaggerating tendency, saying that "when he cried 'murder' he was not always being killed."¹¹

Nevertheless, it is unfair to disregard the value of Frederick the Great which covers a period ten times as long as the French Revolution. For many years the book was used as a textbook by the students of military history in Germany. In the treatment of Frederick the man, Carlyle is not without objectivity. He says in the beginning of the book:

Friedrich is by no means one of the perfect demigods; and there are various things to be

⁹ Bentley, p. 71.

¹⁰ René Wellek, "Carlyle and the Philosophy of History," Confrontations (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965), p. 109.

¹¹ Froude, Life in London, I, 106.

said against him with good ground. To the last, a questionable hero; with much in him which one could have wished not there, and much wanting which one could have wished. But there is one feature which strikes you at an early period of the inquiry, That in his way he is a Reality; that he always means what he speaks; grounds his actions, too, on what he recognises for the truth; and, in short, has nothing whatever of the Hypocrite or Phantasm. (FG, I, 14)

So Frederick is by no means a hero of perfection; he is an example of the mixture of good and bad. In Carlyle's estimation, he is inferior to Cromwell because of his lack of religious piety. But his practicality, action, power of organization, and nationalistic zeal are great. His powerful leadership has brought great promise to the Prussian monarchy, a symbol of national stability and social order. Thus Carlyle sees in Frederick the promise of a new commander in modern society. Napoleon is not as great as Frederick, for he "never, by husbanding and wisely expending his men and gunpowder, defended a little Prussia against all Europe, year after year for seven years long. . . ." (FG, I, 7). Besides, Napoleon is "too much of a gamin" for Carlyle's taste (FG, I, xv).

Louise Young rightly points out that Frederick the

Great represents "the final expression of Carlyle's theories of social biography" and the "social history of a people struggling to establish its right of existence, symbolized in the lives of its successive leaders and even more in its army."¹² Carlyle greatly admired the Prussian soldiers in Frederick the Great. On May 13, 1853, Carlyle wrote to Emerson, "Truly and really the Prussian Soldiers, with their intelligent silence, with the touches of effective Spartanism I saw or fancied in them, were the class of people that pleased me best."¹³ An echo of this idea is Mao's philosophy that "the [organized] masses are the real heroes" (Quotations, p. 65). Gradually Carlyle seems to imply that the army is not merely to stop the chaos as Napoleon's soldiers do but to anticipate the coming of the new social order. In order to solve current social problems, the modern hero needs the total participation of collective, organized soldiers. The soldiers should be united, obedient, and loyal to the leader. This apparent approval of state control seems to

¹² Young, Thomas Carlyle and the Art of History, p. 127.

¹³ Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, pp. 490-91.
See also p. 484.

embrace the Marxian socialistic reforms. Nevertheless, Carlyle is more idealistic than socialistic. In reality he is more an artist like Blake than a theorist like Marx.

On the other hand, Carlyle's approval of dictators and contempt for democracy may seem be proto-fascist. But what he really preaches is that men cannot govern themselves without the leadership of the hero. He says pungently in Latter Day Pamphlets: "Glorious self-government is a glory not for you [the common people],--not for Hodge's emancipated horses, nor you" (LPD, 40). In Past and Present he emphasizes that the answer to man's future is not universal suffrage or any "Morrison's Pill" but the national leadership by a hero (PP, Chapter IV). It is this kind of heroism that causes the polemic issue of "might" and "right."

Carlyle has long been accused of preaching the use of mere force. Margaret Fuller visited Carlyle in London, and later said: "All Carlyle's talk that evening was a defence of mere force; success the test of right. If people would not behave well, put collars round their

necks. Find a hero, and let them be his slaves. It was very Titanic and AnticelestiaI."¹⁴ It is true that Cromwell, Napoleon, and Frederick all have to use military force for some purposes. Does Carlyle think might makes right? Ralli explains that what Carlyle actually means is that right makes might.¹⁵ The right will triumph in the long run; he who exists on the base of injustice will eventually lose his might as well as his right. In The French Revolution, the Versailles Government is described as a government which exists "for its own behoof: without right except possession; and now also without might" (FR, I, 118). Again, to the same point: "Divine right, take it on the great scale, is found to mean divine might withal!" (HH, 204) The hero who possesses the divine right will use his moral force and vision to bring about might. Thus his victory does not come from mere force but from the divine strength of right.

It is undeniable that Carlyle's glorification of the modern revolutionist could lead to a gospel of pure

¹⁴ Froude, Life in London, I, 245.

¹⁵ Ralli, Guide to Carlyle, I, 220.

militarism. Actually he cares little "about the sword" itself, but he "will allow a thing to struggle for itself in this world, with any sword or tongue or implement it has, or can lay hold of" (HH, 61). The man who does not have the divine right will "in the long run, conquer nothing which does not deserve to be conquered" (HH, 61). For "Nature herself is umpire, and can do no wrong" (HH, 61). But the hero must first get the sword, for "there is one man against all men," and "Every new opinion, at its starting, is precisely in a minority of one" (HH, 61). That Carlyle is not an apostle of mere military power is quite clear. As G. B. Tennyson points out, "Those who profess a distaste for Carlyle on the grounds of his incipient Naziism have seen only the Devil's-dung in Sartor and have shut their eyes to the fact that it is God-born."¹⁶ But a problem still remains: how can one discern the true hero when he first starts to use the sword? Perhaps Carlyle could never give a definite answer. There is in this world some moral power which belongs to a

16

G. B. Tennyson, Sartor Called Resartus (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965), p. 328.

sphere "beyond good and evil" that men find hard to justify. This is also why Hegel claims that the deeds of great men cannot be judged by the worldly standards of common men.¹⁷

good and
The cap-
he is
becomes
For the
Early
comfort
we trust
Man does
will, or
evil be
which
in the

¹⁷ Hook, p. 64.

CHAPTER VI

BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL

My brother, are war and battle evil? But this evil is necessary; necessary are the envy and mistrust and calumny among your virtues.

--Nietzsche,

Thus Spoke Zarathustra

It is often said by the Chinese that "the reward of good and evil is like the shadow following the substance." The emperor is sent by Heaven, and he will rule as long as he is righteous. But he will lose his divine right when he becomes unworthy. This is exactly what Carlyle believes. For the Chinese, it is a traditional way of thinking. For Carlyle, it is a Christian faith, a faith which the comforting voice in Tennyson's In Memoriam shares: "O yet we trust that somehow good/Will be the final goal of ill." Man does not have the capability to discern the divine will, because God judges in a higher moral law. Good and evil belong to a supreme eternity, and "the Morality by which [the hero] could be judged has not yet got uttered in the speech of men" (FR, II, 145). The divine right of

the hero always comes from nature's force, a universal energy which continually inspires the heroic impulses.

Since only force can overcome force, a modern hero with a vital mission will be inevitably involved in revolution.

This is always the general law of Nature. Blake is more explicit in exploring this universal complex of forces:

"The roaring of lions, the howling of wolves, the raging of the stormy sea, and the destructive sword, are portions of eternity too great for the eye of man."¹

Like Blake, Carlyle often presents his theory of contraries. The dual sense of vision prevents him from judging things from a narrow point of view. But it also makes him sympathetic to radical causes which are generally repellent. Thus to many people he is "morally dangerous,"² and his theory of heroism irrelevant. But Thorslev in The Byronic Hero says: "Heroes are almost never found to be 'pure' and unalloyed in their conformity to a type except perhaps in works of the most minor literary figures."³

¹ "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," Blake, Complete Writings, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1966; rpt. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), p. 151.

² Bentley, A Century of Hero-Worship, p. 5.

³ The Byronic Hero, p. 23.

Carlyle never claims that his heroes are easily defined, for "there is always the strangest Dualism" (SR, 149). The demonic impulse is as strong as the angelic element in man. Nietzsche says, "Man is a rope, tied between beast and overman--a rope over an abyss. A dangerous across, a dangerous on-the-way, a dangerous looking-back, a dangerous shuddering and stopping."⁴ Since man lives between two different worlds, his life is full of contradictions and conflicts. Again on the first page of Ecce Homo, Nietzsche claims that he knows "both sides," because he is "both sides." This dialectic of contraries explains why heroes are never perfect, and are merely the models of greater human beings.

Carlyle finds no greater power on earth than good and evil, because they are "the two polar elements of this creation, on which it all turns" (HH, 97). Moral standards are ceaselessly established according to men's sense of good and evil. However, as Nietzsche says, "Much that was good to one people was scorn and infamy to another: thus I

4

Friedrich Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra. Trans. with preface, Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 14.

found it. Much I found called evil here, and decked out with purple honors there. Never did one neighbor understand the other."⁵ In Beyond Good and Evil, Nietzsche again says, "There are master morality and slave morality-- I add immediately that in all the higher and more mixed cultures there also appear attempts at mediation between these two moralities, and yet more often the interpenetration and mutual misunderstanding of both, and at times they occur directly alongside each other--even in the same human being, within a single soul"⁶ The real moral value thus belongs to the absolute world of energy. The hero moves by an instinct of right, a power which common men do not comprehend. Consequently, he is often rejected by current moral systems. But the hero makes history, and history is the handwriting of God. The hero is the servant of Good rather than of Evil. While Carlyle's heroes may seem to be "beyond good and evil" to common men, they are actually within God's moral order and serve as God's instruments. Each of Carlyle's books has a definite lesson to offer.

5

Ibid., p. 58

6

Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, p. 204.

The French Revolution is to warn England of the coming consequences of its chaotic social institutions. Cromwell depicts the model of modern leadership. Frederick the Great presents a nationalistic revolutionist who establishes an organized society. For the sake of social order, heroes have to use their military powers. As John Robson explains, "Catastrophe, which threatens anew in each crisis, is final for the individual, but only temporary for society, to which events are history, not life and death."⁷ Since the hero possesses a higher order of power, he can see beyond the market-place value and performs his higher mission as a social savior. But his right is conditional. Take Napoleon for instance; as soon as his quackeries "got the upper hand," he was pronounced as "unjust, a falsehood, and would not last" (HH, 252).

Although both Carlyle and Nietzsche embrace a moral order beyond earthly comprehension, honor great men, and despise market-place mobs, their essential principles are very different. Nietzsche says: "You higher men, go away from the market place!"⁸ But Carlyle would say: Hero, come

⁷ John M. Robson, "Tragedy and Society," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 71 (1964), 429.

⁸ Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra, p. 286.

to the market place and pacify the mob! For Carlyle not only worships the hero but honors the social order. Nietzsche's "overman" (Übermensch), on the other hand, does not have social conscience. To explain in Walter Kaufmann's words: "the overman does not have instrumental value for the maintenance of society," but "he is valuable in himself because he embodies the state of being for which all of us long."⁹ Cazamian, in comparing Carlyle to Nietzsche, calls Carlyle's theory of heroism "moral collectivism" and Nietzsche's "individualism."¹⁰ Therefore, for Carlyle, the hero is an instrument of the divine will to subjugate the world. For Nietzsche, the overman is an end in himself.

The power to control other men as possessed by Carlyle's hero-kings is not Nietzsche's idea of heroism. The word "overman" gives the key to his heroic concept. "Over" means "overcome," and an overman is one who overcomes himself and ultimately becomes free. Zarathustra says in his first speech, "I teach you the overman. Man is

⁹ Walter Kaufmann, Nietzsche, 3rd rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Vintage, 1968), p. 313.

¹⁰ Louis Cazamian, Carlyle (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 178.

something that shall be overcome. What have you done to overcome him?"¹¹ For Nietzsche, the man who overcomes his instinctive impulses has the will to power, a quality which transvalues all moral standards. Thus the "power" is different from any military power or social control. In a way Nietzsche's overman is similar to Byron's Manfred who has the power to control spirits with his superman faculty. As for Napoleon, he is great for what he is. Unlike Carlyle who admires Napoleon because of his termination of the chaotic France, Nietzsche praises Napoleon for his being able to make himself a great human being. To quote Kaufmann's words again: "In fact, what Nietzsche admired were not, strictly speaking, 'great men,' but 'great human beings'. . . . Greatness, as conceived by Nietzsche, entails superior humanity, and that is also the connotation of Übermensch."¹²

That Carlyle's "moral collectivism" differs from Nietzsche's "individualism" is quite obvious. One may say that Nietzsche's concept of heroism is one phase of European

¹¹ Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra, p. 12.

¹² Kaufmann, p. 314.

romanticism which has never been a value in the Orient. Carlyle's "moral collectivism," however, seems to fit in the Chinese idea of a good society. As Hegel says in The Philosophy of History: "The Chinese in their patriarchal despotism need no such connection or mediation with the highest Being; for education, the laws of morality and courtesy, and the commands and government of emperor embody all such connection and mediation as far as they feel the need of it. The emperor, as he is the supreme head of the state, is also the chief of its religion. Consequently, religion is in China essentially State-religion."¹³ This "state-religion" centers in the universal will, a divine fixity of moral order which governs mankind through the leadership of emperors. So "The Chinese regard themselves as belonging to their family, and at the same time as children of the state."¹⁴ They do not struggle to be overmen; they want to worship virtuous leaders as their teachers. Thus self-realization is never their goal. A solid, indissolvable country is what they long for. In

¹³ Great Books of the Western World (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), XXXVI, 216.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 211.

other words, Carlyle's vision of "moral collectivism" has accidentally contained the gist of a Chinese social creed. It seems most appropriate to apply Carlyle's theory of heroism to Chinese society. To clothe Carlyle's philosophy in a Chinese form is a "sartor called Chinese resartus." Hegel says, "The sun--the light--rises in the east," and "The history of the world travels from east to west . . . for Asia [is] the beginning."¹⁵ But now the west returns to join the east, and a new, combined outlook will be the concern of Part III which follows.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 203.

PART III

SARTOR CALLED CHINESE RESARTUS

CHAPTER VII

THE CONFUCIAN SUPERIOR MAN

He who exercises government by means of his virtue, may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it.

--Confucius,
Analects

The image of the hero as a lodestar which Carlyle uses so often has been ever present in Chinese literary tradition since Confucius' time. Even today in Mao's China when most of the old Confucian concepts are assumed to have disappeared, people still compare Mao to a lodestar. The song entitled "A Lodestar in the Sky" reads as follows:

天上有個北斗星，
地上有個毛澤東。
他好比一盞燈，
照住咱們把路行
齊心努力奔前程！

Alodestar in the sky,
 A Mao Tse-tung on the earth!
 As the flame of a lamp,
 He enlightens our journey;
 Hasten! Let's put forth a united effort to go!¹

This song shows that Mao's heroism is not completely divorced from traditional Chinese value. John Fairbank says, "It would be exceedingly foolish to maintain that the older Chinese image of world order has totally disappeared."² The Mao who teaches through his Red Book is like the old emperor who "teaches and transforms" (chiao-hua 教化)³ the rest of the barbarian world. John Haughey in his "From Mao-ology to Mao-olatry and Back Again" emphasizes that Mao's Red Book has created an effect on people similar to the effect of Confucius' Analects, that the shaping of a communist society is made possible by the people's idea of a Confucian Utopia, that Mao's "code of

¹ Translated by the author of this thesis from Chung-Kuo ch'u liao ko Mao Tse-tung: Ko yao chi, ed. Chung-Kuo min chien wen i yen chiu hui (Peking: Jen min wen hst'eh ch'u pan she, 1951), p. 13. This title may be translated as: A Mao Tse-tung Is Brought Forth in China: An Anthology of Songs. Subsequent translations done by the author of this thesis will be indicated in the text with the abbreviations "KC."

² John King Fairbank, The Chinese World Order (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), p. 284.

³ Ibid., p. 286. I am reminded of this point by Fairbank's book, although the concept is quite familiar in China.

self-discipline owes as much to Confucius as it does to Marx," and that the idea of the "Great People's Communes" is derived from the Confucian idealism.⁴ In the poem "Swimming," Mao even quotes from Confucius' Analects: "Standing at a ford, the Master once said: 'Thus life flows into the past.'"⁵

Since Carlyle's hero seems to share the qualities of the Confucian hero, it will be relevant to examine Confucius' theory of the superior man as an introduction to a discussion of Mao as a Carlylean modern hero.

Lehman chooses "the Superior Man of Confucius" as one of the four "fluid" sources of Carlyle's theory of the hero.⁶

Wilson believes that the similarity between Carlyle and Confucius is much more than that between Carlyle and

⁴ John C. Haughey, "From Mao-ology to Mao-olatry and Back Again," America, 4 March 1972, p. 233.

⁵ All Mao's poems are from Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution, with thirty-seven poems by Mao Tse-tung, trans. Michael Bullock and Jerome Ch'en (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965).

⁶ See Lehman, Carlyle's Theory of the Hero, Ch. 1. The other three "fluid" sources are the Hebrew Messiah, Plato's Philosopher King and Plutarch's Politician.

Mahomet.⁷ Sincerity, duty, and conscience are repeatedly emphasized in The Four Books: Analects, Great Learning, Doctrine of the Mean, and Mencius. Carlyle's prescription of the hero as king can also be compared to Confucius' frequent warnings of the corrupted princes in China. Thus Wilson concludes that in political theories Carlyle's "method of righteous plain-dealing seems the same as that of Confucius, and in strange contrast to the ways of Western politicians. . . ." ⁸

In China the conception of the superior man is part of the education. Confucius taught his disciples first to distinguish the superior man from the mean men. In quality, manners, tendencies, and influence, the superior man is far different from the ordinary man: The superior man is one who "acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his action" (Analects, II, xiii).⁹ Again: "The superior man is catholic and no partizan. The mean man is a partizan and not catholic" (Analects, II, xiv).

⁷ Wilson, Carlyle to "The French Revolution," 1826-1837, p. 226.

⁸ Ibid., p. 233.

⁹ All quotations from The Four Books are from The Chinese Classics, trans. James Legge. 2 vols. (London: Trubner, 1875, 1887).

Again: "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours which he may receive" (Analects, IV, xi). Again: "The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease" (Analects, XIII, xxvi).

Again: "The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downward" (Analects, XIV, xxv).

Again: "The superior man cannot be known in little matters; but he may be intrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be intrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters" (Analects, XV, xxxiii).

Like Carlyle, Confucius stresses "sincerity" as the first quality of the superior man. In The Doctrine of the Mean, he repeatedly says that "Sincerity is the end and beginning of things," that "the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing" (XXV, 2), and that the action of "the entirely sincere man . . . will be right" (XXV, 3). "Sincerity" to Confucius, as to Carlyle, means the power of vision rather than mere honesty and earnestness:

It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family

is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit. (The Doctrine of the Mean, XXXIV)

Thus "Sincerity is the way of Heaven. . . . He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought" (The Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 18). The superior man is a sage who "naturally and easily embodies the right way . . . chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast" (The Doctrine of the Mean, XX, 18). Being totally sincere, he is able to "assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth" (The Doctrine of the Mean, XXXII). Naturally he would ultimately become a leader, for "Never was there one possessed of complete sincerity who did not move others" (Mencius, Bk. IV, Pt. i, Ch. xii, 3).

To maintain a peaceful society, the ordinary man owes to the superior man his complete obedience. For those "who keep the Mean" must "train up those who do not," and "those who have ability" should "train up those who have not"

(Mencius, Bk IV, Pt ii, Ch vii). The common men should treasure their leaders, because "talents are difficult to find" (Analects, VIII, xx, 3). Moreover, if they are "led by virtue . . . they will have the sense of shame, and . . . will become good" (Analects, II, iii, 2).

Everything rests in the ordering of Heaven, and it is not people's responsibility to judge their governors. Heaven alone is the judge, and "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray" (Analects, III, xiii, 2). Since the great man has used "his utmost endeavours" in everything (Great Learning, II, 4), it is people's responsibility to bow down to the authority as the grass bends to the wind. But Heaven will always give signs to people through the phoenix. The "fung," which is the male of mythical bird and is traditionally called the Chinese phoenix, is expected to appear with its female bird "huang" when a virtuous man becomes a king. Of course the fable has nothing comparable to Carlyle's organic filaments of the phoenix. But it is significant that "phoenix" is used in both cultures to symbolize some mysterious force which participates in the movements of human life. Confucius apparently liked the "phoenix fable." Once he said despairingly, "The Fung bird

does not come . . . it is all over with me" (Analects, IX, viii).

Similar though it is to Carlyle's theory of heroism, Confucius' doctrine of the superior man has nothing to do with revolutionary actions. It is this crucial difference that makes Carlyle divergent from the Chinese sage, and makes Mao a Carlylean hero but an outcast in the Confucian domain. Confucius would have been appalled by Carlyle's advocacy of the modern revolutionist and his apparent sanction of military force. Once the Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about military affairs. Confucius was so offended that he replied, "I have not learned military matters," and then left Wei the next day with great displeasure (Analects, XV, i, 1). It is apparent that Confucius' stress on intact harmony, plain virtue, and complete submissiveness is not at all to Mao's taste. Moreover, as Holmes Welch points out, "the rationalism of Confucianists has never been shared by the Chinese masses."¹⁰ As time went on Confucianism gradually became an exclusive

¹⁰ Holmes Welch, "Deification of Mao," Saturday Review, 19 September 1970, p. 50.

means of securing power for the elite. This Mao began to see as a disease of the social establishment when he was a young student. In his radical, Promethean ways, Mao always prefers to strip man down to his nakedness for the sake of total change. His faith in the remaking of human nature through force is certainly too revolutionary and dangerous from the traditional Confucian viewpoint. Peasant revolt in China has always been regarded as bandit outbreak. Until Mao's time, no rebellion of this sort had ever succeeded. The "daemonic element that lurks in all human things" as Carlyle describes in The French Revolution (I, 39) is for the first time ever released from the repressed masses in China.

Actually at the turn of this century, many Chinese intellectuals started to feel that Confucianism had become useless in a nationalistic modern age.¹¹ China was full of warlords, and the constant threats from foreign countries continued. Angry with both the foreigners and his own country, Mao rose up for his peasant revolt. His "mystical faith" in the peasant masses is quite unusual.¹² In his

¹¹ Hsiung, Ideology and Practice, p. 20.

¹² Robert J. Lifton, Revolutionary Immortality (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 83.

speech entitled "The Chinese People Has Stood Up," Mao said: "We have a common feeling that our work will be recorded in the history of mankind, and that it will clearly demonstrate that the Chinese, who comprise one quarter of humanity, have begun to stand up."¹³ As a Chinese, Mao must have always remembered the old Chinese proverb which says: "The conquerors are kings; the defeated are bandits." Due to his sympathetic attitude toward peasants, he prefers to turn the old value upside down and transform the peasants into conquerors of the Confucian literati. In human history, there is nothing more revolutionary than this. Even more un-Chinese than this is his philosophy of progressive history which he has borrowed from Hegel. He believes that human nature can be completely reformed, "transformed, and rectified without limit."¹⁴ History progresses as men are unitedly transformed into historical tools. In his struggling process of changing China, Mao almost shares Blake's idea in Milton:

¹³ From Stuart R. Schram, The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (1963; rpt. New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 167.

¹⁴ Lifton, p. 70.

I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green & pleasant Land.

It is obvious that Mao's strong nationalism and his organized peasants can be put alongside of Frederick's patriotism and his Prussian soldiers, a proposition with which a consideration of Mao as a Carlylean modern revolutionist begins.

... of the party.
... the Yang-tze
... of Chinese is quite
... a leader, steadily,
... national
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze

... of the party
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze

... the Yang-tze
... the Yang-tze

CHAPTER VIII

MAO AS A CARLYLEAN SOCIAL HERO

The Great River flows east;
Its waves have washed away
All the princely men of the past.

--Su Tung-p'o
(1036-1101)

What makes him formidable is that he is not just a Party boss but by millions of Chinese is quite genuinely regarded as a teacher, statesman, strategist, philosopher, poet laureate, national hero, head of the family, and the greatest liberator in history. He is to them Confucius plus Lao-tzu plus Rousseau plus Marx plus Buddha.

--Edgar Snow

The "princely men of the past" really are washed away by the Great River in China when thousands of people begin to shout: "The East is red; the sun rises;/China has brought forth a Mao Tse-tung." Today Mao is apparently raised to a status which is more than human. In the song "Chairman Mao the Sun," the image of the hero as enlightener is suggestive of religious awe:

毛主席像太陽
照到哪裏就那裏亮，

沒有你
我們怎能得解放
寨外田地早變荒！

毛主席像太陽
照到哪裏就那裏亮，
有了你
我們才能有今日
爸媽孩子不用去流浪！

毛主席像太陽
照到哪裏就那裏亮，
感謝你，
你的陽光
永遠照在邊疆上！

Chairman Mao the sun
Enlightens everywhere.
Without you,
We cannot be liberated.
And the frontier would be forever deserted!

Chairman Mao the sun
Enlightens everywhere.
Without you,

We could not live till today;
Our family would be homeless vagrants!

Chairman Mao the sun
Enlightens everywhere.
How grateful we are
To your sunshine
Which shines forever upon the frontier. (KC)

Most westerners are stunned by such a fervent, collective hero-worship. Even the ancient "emperor worship" in China never had such a mass participation.¹ The adulation of Mao becomes so ritualistic that most critics describe it as a "religious worship." Since there has never been a single profound religion in China, this collective reverence for Mao is a radical departure from the Chinese tradition. Taoism and Confucianism are regarded as philosophical schools rather than religious sects. Even Buddhism is largely treated as the guide of festival rituals. If there has ever been a religion, it is a "Religion of the People" which has "a strong element of superstition called wu shu, or divination and

¹ Schram, "On the Quotations," Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, p. xxi.

witchcraft."² This "Religion of the People" is "based on the belief that the Great Ultimate (t'ai chi), ying yang, or the negative and positive cosmic forces, the Five Elements (wu hsing), and the Eight Trigrams (pa kua) could be coordinated and controlled as to bring about good fortune."³ Thus witchcraft, palmistry, and fortunetelling all play an important part in this popular religion.

John Haughey points out the fact that Mao endeavors to destroy the deep-rooted "superstitious supernaturalism" among the people.⁴ Mao believes that superstition is one of the obstacles of the modernization of China. The "four olds" he decided to drive away from Chinese society were old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits (including superstitions). But after Mao had demolished the old order, the Chinese needed something else to have faith in. And in the absence of the old superstitious

² "Chinese Terminology," An Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library), 1945, p. 143. It is called "the Religion of the People" because the Chinese follow "a general religion, which antedates, combines, and overshadows all the so-called 'three religions' [Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism]."

³ Ibid., p. 144.

⁴ Haughey, "From Mao-ology to Mao-olatry and Back Again," p. 232.

belief, they chose what seemed to them the best substitute--a revolutionary hero who saved them from poverty. Inevitably the people transformed Mao into a god out of their urgent need for a spiritual support in the contemporary chaotic era. An athlete confessed in a tone which could only belong to a religious convert: "For a time I suffered seriously from a nervous breakdown. . . . However, the thought of Mao Tse-tung gave me unlimited strength. It gave me a greater courage to overcome difficulties. . . . With such strength I finally surmounted all difficulties. . . ." ⁵ A woman destroyed a picture of a bodhisattva for she believed that it was Mao rather than the idol who helped her during an earthquake. ⁶ A lama from the Chinese frontier said that Mao for him was a buddha or bodhisattva. ⁷ The Red Guards praised Mao's superiority to a god for he actually solved problems for the people. ⁸ Right after the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960's, Mao's portrait started to take the place of the ancestors'

⁵ Lifton, Revolutionary Immortality, p. 77.

⁶ Welch, "Deification of Mao," p. 25.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

tablets which for centuries had dominated Chinese ancestor worship in each family. And since then three services are to be performed each day in front of Mao's portrait.⁹

This kind of hero-worship might have surprised Carlyle as an incredible idolatry. However, the Chinese always have a tendency to deify their heroes.¹⁰ As Welch puts it, "the cult of Mao stands squarely in the Confucian tradition."¹¹ For centuries Confucian altars were built in some families, and semi-religious rituals were held regularly. To westerners, these Confucian rituals would seem equally mysterious. But the services in China which seem religious to outsiders are actually signs of hero-worship. For to the Chinese, religious worship serves "to fulfill human relations."¹² Thus the heart-felt reverence for heroes which Carlyle praises so often appears in China as a combination of cultural and religious practice.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "The New Religion in Mao's China," America, 10 Oct. 1970, p. 250.

¹¹ Welch, p. 50.

¹² An Encyclopedia of Religion, p. 143.

Though "a vexing mystery" to some people,¹³ this peculiar hero-worship seems quite usual for the Chinese. It is traditional for the Chinese people to compare their hero to the sun and shout, "Long live our great teacher, leader, commander and helmsman."¹⁴ As pointed out by Edgar Snow, "the cult built around Mao is . . . no new phenomenon," for before him "there were the emperors and emperor worship."¹⁵

However, Mao as a revolutionist is different from former emperors. Lifton points out that the most distinctive trait of Mao's heroism is his "revolutionary romanticism."¹⁶ Schram speaks of Mao's "military romanticism," and Haughey of Mao's "revolutionary humanism." These phrases indicate that Mao's heroism has its revolutionary and romantic aspects. Carlyle's modern heroes are all revolutionary on the one hand and romantic on the

¹³ "The New Religion in Mao's China," p. 250.

¹⁴ See Wei ta ti tao shih, ling hsiu, t'ung shuai, to shou, Mao chu hsi wan sui (Hong Kong: Chung yüan t'u shu kung ssu, 1969), p. 1. This title may be translated as: Long Live Our Great Teacher, Leader, Commander and Helmsman, Chairman Mao.

¹⁵ Edgar Snow, The Other Side of the River (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 122.

¹⁶ Lifton, p. 81.

other (romantic in the Byronic sense). As it has been pointed out, the Carlylean modern revolutionists have certain Byronic characteristics, and they all seem to quest for impossible tasks at the expense of their lives. Lifton sees Mao as a "death-conquering hero" who becomes "the embodiment of Chinese immortality" and as a man who courts death "in order to alter the meaning of both life and death."¹⁷ For this reason, Lifton says again and again that "Mao frequently impressed others as a man with a heroic mission."¹⁸ After the meeting with Mao in 1936, Snow wrote: "Undeniably you feel a certain force of destiny in him . . . nothing quick or flashy, but a kind of solid elemental vitality. . . . Mao Tse-tung may possibly become a very great man."¹⁹ This "certain force of destiny" in Mao would greatly attract Carlyle. Cromwell, Napoleon, and Frederick are all symbols of the tremendous heroic forces of mankind. As Morse Peckham says in his Victorian

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), p. 80.

Revolutionaries, "Revolution . . . and heroes fascinated him [Carlyle]" for such forces reveal "the only truth man can know."²⁰ Thus Mao's great power to accomplish his heroic mission belongs to the "revolutionary romanticism," a quality which can be used to summarize the Carlylean hero's energy, force, idealism, and radicalism. A Carlylean revolutionist should first possess titanic power, and Mao is such a figure. When Mao was young, he once went out intentionally during a tempest and then swiftly ran down from a mountain in order to experience the heroic quality characterized by a famous sentence in the Book of Documents (Shu-ching): "Trapped in mountains, but not bewildered by a sudden tempest" (KC; 納於大麓、烈風雷雨弗迷).²¹ Mao's revolutionary and romantic sentiments can best be portrayed by his own poem "Yellow Crane Tower":

In wine I drink
a pledge to the surging torrent.

²⁰ Morse Peckham, Victorian Revolutionaries (New York: Braziller, 1970), p. 81.

²¹ Yu-ch'uan Huang, Mao Tse-tung shen p'ing tzu liao chien pien, 1893-1969 (Kowloon: Yu lien yen chiu so, 1970), p. 31. The English title is Mao Tse-tung: A Chronology of His life, 1893-1969.

The tide of my heart
rises as high as the waves.

Mao's Promethean desire to transform society and his romantic search for adventure were first stimulated by Chinese novels. As a child he read the San-kuo yen-yi (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) and the Shui-hu chuan (Water Margin), and was inspired by the heroic deeds portrayed in the novels. The noble outlaws, rebels, warrior-statesmen, and patriotic heroes appealed to his imagination. He was especially drawn to Wu Sung, a noble outlaw in Shui-hu chuan, who strangled a tiger with his bare hands and practiced a "righteous" deed by beating the rich and helping the poor. In the poem "Winter Clouds," Mao echoes the heroism of Wu Sung: "Alone, a hero drives away tigers and leopards./The brave have no fear of bears." Besides Wu Sung, he admires Ts'ao Ts'ao (A.D. 220-280), the defiant Martial Emperor of Wei,²² whose rebellious heroism is described in detail in the historical novel San-kuo yen-yi. The poem "Peitaiho" recalls Ts'ao Ts'ao's heroic warfare against the Wuhuan Tartars and his passing

²² Wei was one of the three states which divided China from A.D. 222 to 265.

Chiehshih near Peitaiho:

A storm of rain
 falls on this northern land,
 White breakers leap to the sky.
 Of all the fishing boats
 from Ch'inhuangtao
 There is not one to be seen on the ocean.
 Where have they gone?

More than a thousand years ago
 The Martial Emperor of Wei
 cracked his whip.
 "Eastwards to Chiehshih," his poem remains.
 "The autumn wind" still "sighs" today--
 Yet the world has changed!

From Carlyle's standpoint, Ts'ao Ts'ao would be a better hero than most of the traditional Chinese heroes. However, Ts'ao Ts'ao was never regarded as a righteous leader in Chinese history before Mao's reign because the Confucian code does not approve of rebellious actions. Lu Hsün, the greatest revolutionary writer and the "forerunner of cultural revolution," said in September 1927: "Whenever we talk of Ts'ao Ts'ao, we are reminded of the villainous character of Ts'ao Ts'ao in San-kuo yen-yi. But this is not a right way of judging him. . . . As a matter of fact, Ts'ao Ts'ao was a most able man, a hero. Though I don't belong to his party, I admire him

exceedingly" (KC).²³ Mao advocated a movement of rejustifying Ts'ao Ts'ao's historical position and gradually changed Ts'ao Ts'ao into the greatest hero. Mao found in Ts'ao Ts'ao the reflection of himself, and he was afraid to be classified as a villain in Chinese history. Therefore, he was determined to change people's conception of history by denying the traditional view of history which was always centered upon emperors.²⁴ In order to re-evaluate Ts'ao Ts'ao's historical position, Mao had to use the Hegelian dialectic.²⁵ From the traditional viewpoint, Ts'ao Ts'ao was a rebel and failed to be a hero (thesis). But as a revolutionist he defeated the Wuhuan Tartars and therefore can be viewed as a patriotic hero (antithesis). So the conclusion is that Ts'ao Ts'ao was actually a hero for his positive contribution in history is undeniable (synthesis). Thus through Mao's effort the dialectical sense of history is for the first time

²³ See I-shih Yang, "Chung-kuota lu ti Ts'ao Ts'ao fan an" (Ts'ao Ts'ao's Case Reopened in China), Ming Po Monthly, 7, No. 1 (January 1972), p. 53.

²⁴ Ts'ao Ts'ao, a rebel, never unified the whole Chinese empire as Ch'in Shih Huang-ti and Han Wu-ti did.

²⁵ I-shih Yang, p. 57.

established in China. Mao understands that szu-hsiang (thought) is always the most important thing in society, so he wants to change the mentality of the people before anything else. Carlyle's great interest in "the cultural revolutionary who achieves cultural transcendence"²⁶ would lead him to admire Mao's power in changing the Chinese cultural systems.

The marriage of the east and the west was developed through Mao's enthusiasm for western ideas. A book called Heroes of the World which portrays the lives of George Washington, Napoleon, Wellington, and Peter the Great interested Mao tremendously while he was a little boy.²⁷ The fact that Washington fought for his country's independence with "admirable patriotism and military value" for eight long years touched his heart.²⁸ He came to know western philosophy through the Chinese translations of

²⁶ Peckham, Victorian Revolutionaries, p. 72.

²⁷ "Mao Tse-tung," Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, ed. Howard Boorman (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967), III, 3.

²⁸ Ibid.

Thomas Henry Huxley's Evolution and Ethics, John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, and Charles Darwin's Origin of Species.²⁹ The theory of "the survival of the fittest" struck him as an interesting new value judgment, for the traditional Chinese view is that the new is always inferior to the old (今不如古).³⁰ The Hegelian dialectic came to influence him through Marxism. Mao's understanding of Hegelian dialectic was first enkindled by the traditional Chinese yin-yang (negative-positive) perception. He says, "The yin is yang, the high is low, the impure is the pure, the thick is the thin, the substance is the words, that which is multiple is one, that which is changing is eternal,"³¹ and "without life, death is nonexistent; without death, life is nonexistent. Where there is no top, there is no bottom; where there is no bottom, there is no top. If not for the existence of bad fortune, nothing can be known as good fortune; if not for good fortune, nothing can be known as

³⁰ Huang, pp. 19-20.

³¹ From "Power of the Mind" (1919). See Schram, The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung, p. 12.

bad fortune."³² So the traditional Chinese culture and the Hegelian dialectic seem to reinforce each other. But Hsiung wisely points out that the yin-yang reasoning differs from the Hegelian dialectic "in that yin is not an antithesis to yang but its temporary deflection. Progress is couched in terms of a return from this deflection to the perfect state represented by yang."³³ The idea of "becoming" in the Hegelian or Carlylean sense had never been understood by the oriental world until after Mao's revolution. As Levenson puts it, Mao and his followers "wanted to create (and destroy): to make their own history, not to be politically stricken by forces from abroad, or culturally sterile at home. . . ."³⁴ Mao endorses an undying heroic art, the idealism of striving for the best and of continual revolution. He embraces Hegel's dynamic notion of history, and sees every development as something new under the sun. The idea of society as a phoenix would

³² Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, I (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966), 302. Henceforth cited as Selected Works.

³³ Hsiung, Ideology and Practice, p. 30.

³⁴ Joseph R. Levenson, Revolution and Cosmopolitanism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1971), p. 1.

have attracted Mao had he known of such a symbol. Carlyle's idea that "a fairer Living Society" will arise "Phoenix-like, out of the ruins of the old dead one" (SR, 184) would have appealed to Mao's historical consciousness. In "On Contradictions" (August 1937) Mao says, "it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the supersession of the old society by the new" (Quotations, p. 5).

Levenson mentions that Byron is China's patriot bard; his "The Isles of Greece" has at least five Chinese translations.³⁵ So the name of Byron is not unknown in China. In defining Mao's heroic nature, one may say that Mao is a Byronic hero in his defiant sentiment and a Carlylean revolutionist in action. His "romantic sense of self and history" and his "heroic confrontation with the powers of heaven and earth," as Lifton emphasizes so much in Revolutionary Immortality,³⁶ may be compared to the heroic quality of Manfred. Mao's Satan-Prometheus temperament is very distant indeed from Confucian moral

³⁵ Levenson, p. 43.

³⁶ Lifton, p. 92.

order. In the poem "Mountains," his titanic characteristic is totally revealed:

Mountains!
 Faster I spur
 my coursing horse,
 never leaving the saddle.
 I start as I raise my head
 For the sky is three foot three above me!

Mountains!
 Like surging, heaving seas
 with rolling billows,
 Like a thousand stallions,
 rearing and plunging
 In the thick of battle.

Mountains!
 Piercing the blue of the sky,
 their peaks unblunted!
 The heavens would fall
 If their strength did not support them.

Again the poem "Snow" in which "The mountains are dancing silver serpents" which challenge "heaven with their heights" may symbolize Mao's titanic revolt against the social establishment. His anger is like that of Manfred and Byron. But to qualify as a Carlylean hero, one should not stop at this stage. He must be so mature as to practice Goethe's saying: "The end of man is not a thought but action."³⁷ He should be like Frederick the Great who

³⁷ Peckham, Victorian Revolutionaries, p. 69.

became "a Captain of Work to his nation" (FG, II, 50) in "a century so opulent in accumulated falsities" (FG, I, 8). Or in Peckham's words, a Carlylean revolutionist should be like Frederick the Great who "in an increasingly inorganic culture" strengthened his country and disciplined "his people into work."³⁸ And in his development as hero, Mao has moved from Byronic melancholia to Carlylean action.

Mao's Byronic exasperation was first stimulated by the invasions of foreigners, and he was soon led to action. Schram in his book Mao Tse-tung recalls the famous incident in 1924 in which Mao was angered by a sign at the entrance to a municipal park in Shanghai which read "Chinese and dogs are not allowed."³⁹ Thus Mao's patriotism gradually led to his revolutionary actions. The Prussian nationalism which Carlyle admired in Frederick the Great was no stronger than Mao's Chinese nationalism. Mao emphasizes "self-help" by calling people's attention to the old Chinese virtue "tsu-li keng-sheng." He says, "We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we

³⁸ Ibid., p. 80.

³⁹ Stuart R. Schram, Mao Tse-tung (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 64.

depend on our own efforts. . . ." (Quotations, p. 110)

In "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountain," Mao tells the old story of "self-help":

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. . . . We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?" (Quotations, p. 114)

So the gospel of "self-help" which Samuel Smiles preached so fervently in Victorian England has started to affect modern China. It becomes a new religion which aspires to conquer nature and overcome difficulties. Although the concept of

"self-help" is not new in China, Mao's emphasis on the human will in history is alien to the Chinese people who traditionally expected to adapt to nature. As Jerome Ch'en points out, Mao realized early that "China could not become powerful and wealthy until she was free from imperialist . . . bondage."⁴⁰ In advocating the importance of "self-help," Mao was able to face the real situation of China and inspire people to work. The power to face the actual was what Carlyle admired in his heroes. As Peckham points out, Carlyle would agree that "a desperate innovation is required of the man in power; but that innovation, to be meaningful, must be directed by his perception and comprehension of the actual state of affairs he is dealing with."⁴¹

Due to the apparent danger the country was facing, military strength and heroism were proposed to save China during the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Consequently, as Hsiung says, "there was a surge of interest [among the Chinese intellectuals] in such diverse social doctrines as

⁴⁰ Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution, p. 8.

⁴¹ Peckham, Victorian Revolutionaries, p. 51.

the utopian socialism of Saint-Simon."⁴² In a sense socialism is not new in China. The ching-tien chih-tu in which a piece of land is divided into nine portions like the "well" character (井), and cultivated by eight families, was once a Chinese socialistic practice. The Taipings (1850-1864) were the agrarian reformers who meant to change China but failed. Mao's six hundred million peasants appeared as the modern Taipings, only more energetic and violent. Mao said of them: "Never before have the masses of the people been so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present" (Quotations, p. 19). Considering the fact that Carlyle was sympathetic to the sufferings of the Victorian working class, one may assume that Carlyle would approve of Mao's peasant revolt. But as it has been indicated in Chapter IV of this thesis, Carlyle in The French Revolution longs for social order, although he admits that disorder also reveals certain true natural forces. In their horrid revolutionary action, Mao's followers were like the mobs in the French Revolution who were "the Titans warring with Olympus" (FR, I, 197). In

⁴² Hsiung, p. 27.

China peasants (Titans) were never expected to overthrow the Confucian elite (Olympus). By reversing the traditional Chinese order, Mao has actually turned the world upside down ("the sky is inverted, the earth upside down"--Mao's "The Occupation of Nanking by the PLA"). Mao says in "Revolution" (1927): "A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class. Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. The rural areas need a mighty revolutionary upsurge, for it alone can rouse the people in their millions to become a powerful force."⁴³ However, Mao's peasants are different from the mobs in the French Revolution. They are an organized body which is ready to perform anything together. This is why Mao dares to say in his "Revolutionary Potentials of the Peasants" (1927) that the peasant revolt, though it looks "terrible," "is a marvellous feat never before achieved . . . in thousands

⁴³ From Guide Weekly, No. 191, pp. 2063-64, as cited in Ch'en, ed., Mao (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 87.

of years."⁴⁴ He believes that "Were the goddess still alive/She would be amazed by the changes on this earth" ("Swimming").

The Carlylean style of "moral collectivism" begins to work among Mao's organized masses. And the gospel of work for the first time in China completely triumphs. Joseph Needham says, "there is no question that at the present time a great mystique of manual work has grown up in China," and "this is a true expression of the mass feeling of the people."⁴⁵ Carlyle's advocacy of toil as a relief from mental stress would have been welcomed by Mao. In Sartor Resartus Carlyle says: "Two men I honour, and no third. First, the toilworn Craftsman that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse; wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet . . . toil on, toil on: thou art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou

⁴⁴ From Guide Weekly, No. 191, pp. 2062-63, as cited in Ch'en, ed., Mao, p. 88.

⁴⁵ Joseph Needham, Within the Four Seas (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), p. 48.

toil for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread" (SR, 181). It is interesting to note that what Carlyle says of "toilworn craftsman" is especially a value Mao would applaud. Today in China the total participation in physical labor on the part of intellectuals reflects Mao's belief that labor is honorable. Mao's revolutionary heroism which emphasizes "courage in battle," "sacrifice," and "continuous fighting" (Quotations, p. 102) is actually developed from a similar work ethic. Mao believes that "work is struggle" (Quotations, p. 113), and that China "has always had a traditional style of hard struggle" which should be developed (Quotations, p. 80).

Mao's stress on action, practice, unity, and discipline meets the basic requirement of Carlylean heroism. Mao says, "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world" (Quotations, p. 119). He believes that "Knowledge begins with practice, and theoretical knowledge which is acquired through practice must then return to practice" (Quotations, p. 118). He is a man who may be "careless in personal habits and appearance but meticulous

about details of duty."⁴⁶ To promote people's awareness of duty, Mao frequently emphasizes the importance of discipline. To strengthen the collective discipline, he maintains that "the individual is subordinate to the organization" and that "the minority is subordinate to the majority" (Quotations, p. 144). In the "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," Mao repeats that all the soldiers "must heighten their sense of discipline and resolutely carry out orders . . . and permit no breach of discipline" (Quotations, p. 146). This kind of discipline is very similar to the Prussian army order for which Carlyle once showed his great admiration. However, this also implies a contradiction in both Mao and Carlyle. They admire the collective discipline, but at the same time believe that the hero must break the established discipline. Carlyle explains it away with the concept of natural reverence for the hero. Nevertheless, Mao, as a hero himself, has never tried to touch on the question.

As it has been pointed out, sincerity as a power of vision is the first characteristic of a Carlylean hero. Of course one may argue that Mao's sincerity is relative and

⁴⁶ Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, III, 13.

that there is no way to find out what is inside of a hero's mind. A Chinese aristocrat would have to deny that Mao's revolution is justifiable. But Mao seems to possess the "seeing eye" to penetrate into the great problems of China. From the beginning he realized that in China big changes could only work on the great masses alone. He perceived the problems of peasants, the majority in China who had suffered for centuries. He shared the voice of the peasant who cried:

窮人家，
 真是難，
 無地又無田；
 鋤人家二八吃碗飯
 越想越是難呀，嘜嗨啲，
 越想越是難呀！⁴⁷

Poor me!
 Everything goes against the grain.

⁴⁷ Chung-kuo chu liao ko Mao Tse-tung: Ko yao chi
 (A Mao Tse-tung Is Brought Forth in China: An Anthology of
 Songs), p. 13.

Without soil, without land,
 I till fields for a bowl of rice.
 Oh, oh! The more miserable the more I think;
 The more miserable the more I think. (KC)

The fact that Mao discerned a fundamental dishonesty (disorder) among the privileged Chinese elite also shows that he does have a power to see into "the inner sphere of things." His "savage sincerity" is such that he decides to "Unfurl the red flags into the east wind/To turn the world scarlet" ("Reply to Ku Mo-ji"). He believes that "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history" (Quotations, p. 38). It appears that Mao is "bending what is crooked in the endeavor to make it straight" (矯枉過正). However, any revolutionist, rebel, or reformer would always appear to overstress the evils of the time. As William Hazlitt says in The Spirit of the Age, Byron "ponders to the spirit of the age, goes to the very edge of extreme and licentious speculation, and breaks his neck over it."⁴⁸ But Carlyle would have to disapprove of Mao's radical communism, though he would agree with the need of a

⁴⁸ The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, ed. P. P. Howe (New York: AMS, 1967), XI: 76.

Chinese revolution. In On Heroes Carlyle criticizes Napoleon's failure to see things "deeper in man than Hunger" (HH, 241), a weakness which Mao is notorious for. Mao's most un-Carlylean characteristic is his failure to regard the importance of the true artist. Although Carlyle says in Sartor Resartus that he honors "the toilworn Craftsman," he also says that he honors the artist "still more highly" (SR, 181). Both the artist and "the toilworn Craftsman" are indispensable to society. But the artist is more important, for he toils "for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the bread of Life" (SR, 181-82). He works "toward inward Harmony . . . through outward endeavours" (SR, 182). He is an "inspired Thinker, who with heaven-made Implement conquers Heaven for us" (SR, 83). In Carlyle's view, it is a tragedy to see anyone "die ignorant who [has] capacity for Knowledge" (SR, 182-83). In view of Mao's overemphasis on labor, class politics, and his disregard of the value of the true artist ("There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics," Quotations, p.172), one may conclude that Mao's revolutionary change has run to

extremes. And in this respect, Mao is not Carlylean.

As Christensen points out, Carlyle is against the sickness of "self-consciousness," "narcissism," and "self-worship."⁴⁹ And today the Chinese begin to disprove Nietzsche's philosophy of the superman.⁵⁰ For them, the theory of the superman belongs to the "self-worship" which they endeavor to destroy. What they want is revolutionary heroism, the nationalistic heroism which Mao encourages. Mao defines the revolutionary hero as one who fights to the end "no matter what the difficulties and hardships" are (Quotations, p. 102). Such a hero will fight "successive battles in a short time without rest" (Quotations, p. 102). Cromwell, Frederick, and Napoleon all fought on battlefields with their greatest courage and power. What Carlyle admired in his revolutionary heroes was actually a similar kind of heroism which Mao advocates today. Peckham says again and again that revolution was Carlyle's subject and that "all the figures he was most interested in and devoted

⁴⁹ Christensen, "Heroism in the Age of Reform," pp. 17-18.

⁵⁰ Hua Chu, Shin mo shih ko jen ying hsiung chu i (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu kuan, 1952), p. 5. This title may be translated as: What is Self-Worship?

his greatest energies to comprehending were revolutionary figures."⁵¹

Though a revolutionary figure, Mao is quite romantic in his love of landscape. In his famous poem "Snow," he says: "Such is the beauty of these mountains and rivers/That has been admired by unnumbered heroes." He loves landscape but wants to conquer it. In the poem "K'unlun," he writes:

Towering aloft
 above the earth,
 Great K'unlun,
 you have witnessed
 all that was fairest
 in the human world.
 As they fly across the sky
 the three million dragons
 of white jade
 Freeze you with piercing cold.
 In the days of summer
 your melting torrents

Fill streams and rivers
 till they overflow,
 Changing men
 into fish and turtles.
 What man can pass judgment
 on all the good and evil
 You have done
 these thousand autumns?

But today
 I say to you, K'unlun,

⁵¹ Peckham, Victorian Revolutionaries, p. 62.

You don't need your great height,
 you don't need all that snow!
 If I could lean on the sky
 . I would draw my sword
 And cut you in three pieces.
 One I would send to Europe,
 One to America,
 And one we would keep in China.
 Thus would a great peace
 reign through the world,
 For all the world
 would share your warmth and cold.

Mao's dream of world peace in "K'unlun" signifies his longing for order despite his revolutionary fervor. In another poem "Lushan" he symbolizes his "longing for a land of peace and happiness in a turbulent age"⁵² by referring to the great poet and recluse T'ao Ch'ien (372-427) and his famous work T'ao-hua-yuan-chi (The Land of Peach Blossoms): "Who knows where Magistrate T'ao has gone?/Could he be farming in the Land of Peach Blossoms?" The Carlylean value of order out of chaos seems to fit in this situation. In the eyes of aristocrats, Mao's destructive action is similar to the burning of the books by Ch'in Shin Huang-ti in 213 B.C., but Mao argues that his revolutionary action is constructive, and that his

⁵² See the note to "Lushan" in Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution, p. 351.

nationalism differs from either Japanese or German aggressors because China "is the victim of aggression" (Quotations, p. 98). His seemingly destructive manner, he continues to argue, is inevitable because "Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted."⁵³

Mao may be denied as a Carlylean hero on the basis of his atheism. In 1965 he confessed to Edgar Snow that he did not believe in God.⁵⁴ Haughey describes Mao as one who "has never been formally exposed to any of the world's great religions."⁵⁵ It is true that Mao does not believe in the Judaic-Christian God, but all Chinese including Mao know that there is a Heaven (Tien), the universal energy which governs the natural order. Carlyle's "God" is more than the Christian God; He is a transcendental force which may be roughly compared to Tien which controls human history. In many ways Mao is against social

⁵³ From Guide Weekly, No. 191, pp. 2063-64, as cited in Ch'en, ed. Mao, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Haughey, p. 233.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 231.

institutions, not against God. In his "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," Mao emphasizes that people should work hard in order to "touch God's heart," though of course he does not define God and is probably using the word metaphorically to suggest either Tien or the dialectical necessity.

All things considered, Mao is a Carlylean modern revolutionist in his social consciousness; his emphasis on work, discipline, sacrifice, and duty; his nationalistic zeal; and his role as a leader and prophet. The fact that he uses both his military power (sword) and Red Book (Koran) to organize a big country would greatly interest Carlyle. The power of organization is particularly a Carlylean value. The editor in Sartor Resartus who organizes Teufelsdröckh's chaotic material symbolizes the Carlylean hero who brings order out of chaos and finally solves human problems. It is true that Mao's heroism seems somewhat Byronic in his "revolutionary romanticism," his Promethean desire to bring fire from heaven, and his rebellious fury. But so are Carlyle's revolutionists. It is generally agreed that Carlyle's modern heroes tend to be somewhat Byronic although Carlyle did try to close his

Byron. But in Carlyle's hero mythos, the ultimate value really lies in the hero's power to conquer anarchy, the sustaining of a solid social order, and the persistence of hero-worshipping. In view of these, one may conclude that Carlyle would have put Mao alongside of Cromwell, Frederick, and Napoleon if he were living today.

However, as it has been pointed out, Mao's over-emphasis on class spirit and his mistrust of the value of pure literature is not a Carlylean value. It is hard to believe that a person who writes poetry as beautiful as that of Mao should have said that there is "no such thing as art for art's sake" (Quotations, p. 172). The theory that literature should be subordinate to party spirit and that its essential purpose is to educate the masses certainly creates disputes. Mao says, "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use" (Quotations, p. 172). For Mao, literature is a political function, because "proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause" (Quotations, p. 172). His purpose

is "to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part" (Quotations, p. 173). When literature exists merely for class politics and mass politics, will literature be still true to life? Carlyle would have found little to admire in proletarian literature, although he does not agree that literature is for the sake of entertainment. Carlyle believes that literary man is "a perpetual priesthood" who interprets the "Divine Idea" in his writings (E, I, 58). An artist is one who supplies the world "with high-painted scenes, with sequences of stirring action" (E, IV, 57). A poet is "an Orpheus whose Lyre tames the savage beasts, and evokes the dead rocks to fashion themselves into palaces and stately inhabited cities" (E, II, 369). Goethe has an "all-piercing faculty of Vision" which common men do not expect to have (E, II, 437). Shakespeare, too, has the power of vision to comprehend the incomprehensible (E, II, 437). Thus "Hamlets, Tempests, Fausts, and Mignons" are glimpses of a "wonder-encircled" world and "revelations of the mystery of all mysteries" (E, II, 437). That true literary art for Carlyle can never be proletarian in nature is quite obvious. A revolutionary heroism based on

the Red Book alone leads one to question its real value. However, it seems that proletarian literature has little to do with the promotion of hero-worship in China. Hero-worship has never disappeared from the Chinese society, and the cult built around Mao is merely an extension of emperor worship, only now with more collective enthusiasm. As Snow says, "the mantle of national patriarch would inevitably have descended on the shoulders of any leader in a country not far removed from ancestor worship and emperor worship."⁵⁶ Snow also suggests that "Some of the hero worship of Mao may express much of the same kind of national self-esteem as British idolatry of Queen Victoria in days when the Empire was shouldering the white man's burden."⁵⁷ The Victorian sage might not completely agree with the comparison which Snow has made, but he would believe that man's natural reverence for heroes is indestructible. Whether it is a collective hero-worship or not, man will never cease to respect superior personalities. Who can say that the Kennedy "image" in

⁵⁶ Snow, pp. 150-51.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

today's America is not the object of a certain hero-
worship, a phenomenon comparable to the Chinese worship of
Chairman Mao?

The answer is yes, and the reason is that the American people have a hero-worship of their own. This hero-worship is not based on a single individual, but on a group of individuals who have been elevated to the status of heroes by the American people. These heroes are the presidents of the United States, and their actions and words are followed by the American people with a devotion that is comparable to the devotion of the Chinese people to Chairman Mao. The American people believe that their presidents are the best of men, and they look to them for guidance and inspiration. This hero-worship is a natural result of the American political system, which places a great deal of emphasis on the role of the president. The president is the highest office in the land, and his actions have a profound impact on the lives of all Americans. Therefore, it is not surprising that the American people have developed a hero-worship of their own.

The American hero-worship is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it provides a sense of unity and purpose for the American people. It allows them to identify themselves with a group of heroes who are working for the good of the country. On the other hand, it can also lead to a lack of critical thinking and a willingness to follow the lead of the heroes without question. This can be dangerous, especially in a democracy where the people are supposed to be the ultimate source of power. The American hero-worship is a complex phenomenon that has shaped the American political system in a profound way. It is a phenomenon that is unique to America, and it is one that has made a significant contribution to the American way of life.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In common with all human ideals, heroism and hero-worship require certain basic social qualities to flourish. Duty, work, order, and discipline are the main points which Carlyle emphasizes in his literature of heroism. Carlyle believes that there is no other remedy for human crisis than hero-worship, a special message he has to deliver to mankind. The hero is an actual leader of society and a window through which men see the hidden ways of God. Unfortunately Carlyle was disappointed to see the lack of hero-worship in the modern era. He was similarly disturbed that no modern hero, at least no totally satisfactory one, seemed to have appeared to be worshiped.

This thesis has tried to apply Carlyle's theory of heroism to Mao's China to show that hero-worship does not altogether disappear from the modern scene. It is true that an ordered, disciplined, and unified society would help sustain the existence of natural reverence, and vice versa.

Part I (the first three chapters) of this thesis gives an introduction to the meaning of heroism in general, traces the development of Carlyle's hero concept from Byronism to Goetheism, and explores the social gospel of the "organic filaments." Carlyle's gradually emerging social consciousness is traced through his progression from self-realization to social prophecy.

Part II (Chapters IV, V, VI) analyzes the basic characteristics of the Carlylean hero, discusses the nature of the modern revolutionists Cromwell, Napoleon and Frederick the Great, and then distinguishes between the Carlylean hero and the Nietzschean superman. Carlyle's social consciousness leads him to conclude that the ultimate hero-type is "the hero as king" who appears as modern revolutionist. To be revolutionary is to destroy and construct. Thus it naturally involves serious moral problems. A comparison between the Nietzschean superman and the Carlylean hero reaches the conclusion that morality is relative, and that Nietzsche's theory of heroism belongs to "individualism," but Carlyle's pertains to "moral collectivism," a traditional Chinese social value.

The last two chapters of this thesis present the

nature of a Confucian superior man, Mao's divergence from the Confucian heroism, and his overwhelming Carlylean qualities. Mao cannot be justified as a traditional Chinese hero because of his peasant-oriented revolution. But as a modern revolutionist he seems to fit in Carlyle's pattern. His revolutionary vigor, nationalism, and social consciousness are not too different from Cromwell's and Frederick's heroic dispositions. His gospel of duty, work, and discipline is Carlyle's teaching. That Mao is a Carlylean social hero is quite irrefutable.

Many China experts have observed that while Mao is still an object of hero-worship, a decline of the cult of Mao has been noticeable since 1970. It might be that as Mao is growing old his image as a leader diminishes. However, it does not mean that hero-worship will disappear in Chinese society. A hero like Mao eventually will be washed away by the Great River, but another hero in another form will appear in the future. The future society may not choose the form of communism, but an ordered, Carlylean system will still prevail. For the Chinese love order as the Victorian sage does. Who would deny that China, "the name of a big land/Is known for better things than wealth"

(韋應物: "方知大藩地,豈曰財賦強")?

The persistence of hero-worship is certainly its changeless glory.

BRUCE, JAMES. "All Virginia's Heroes and All Virginia's Men." *The Historical Magazine*, 9 (1870), 211-22.

BUCKLEY, JOHN. *A Century of the American West: A History of the West as Revealed in English and American Literature, with Notes on History, Geography, Social Conditions and the West's Literature*. New York: Macmillan, 1907.

BRUCE, JAMES. "General Taylor and the Legend of 'Old Bluster'." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 18 (1912), 1-11. London: Victoria University Press, 1917.

BURTON, DEWEY. *The Ten Cent Store*. New York: Doubleday, 1911.

CARLILE, THOMAS. *Early Lectures of Thomas Carlyle: His Charles Eliot Norton, a study*. London: Macmillan, 1908.

_____. *Lectures of Thomas Carlyle: 1827-1830*. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. London: Macmillan, 1909.

_____. *The Lectures of Thomas Carlyle in His Sixties*. Ed. Alexander Carlyle with related essays by Edward Davis, W. Morris, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1908.

_____. *Lectures of Thomas Carlyle in His Sixties*. Ed. Alexander Carlyle, 1812, rpt. New York: Macmillan, 1909.

_____. *The Last Lectures of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin*. Ed. Alexander Carlyle. London: John Lane, 1910.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

CARLYLE

- Beaty, Jerome. "All Victoria's Heroes and All Victoria's Men." New Literary History, 1 (1970), 271-92.
- Bentley, Eric. A Century of Hero Worship: A Study of the Idea of Heroism in Carlyle and Nietzsche, with Notes on Wagner, Spengler, Stefan George and D. H. Lawrence. 2nd ed. Boston: Bacon, 1957.
- Briggs, Asa. "Samuel Smiles and the Gospel of Work." Victorian People: Some Reassessments of People, Institutions, Ideas, and Events, 1851-1867. London: Odhams, 1954.
- Burdett, Osbert. The Two Carlyles. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931.
- Carlyle, Thomas. Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1886.
- _____. Letters of Thomas Carlyle: 1826-1836. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. London: Macmillan, 1889.
- _____. The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to His Brother Alexander with Related Family Letters. Ed. Edwin W. Marrs, Jr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- _____. Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling and Robert Browning. Ed. Alexander Carlyle. 1923; rpt. New York: Haskell, 1969.
- _____. The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh. Ed. Alexander Carlyle. London: John Lane, 1909.

- _____. On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History. Ed. Archibald MacMechan. Boston: Ginn, 1901, pp. i-lxxxviii.
- _____. On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History. Introd. by Carl Niemeyer. Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1966, pp. vii-xxv.
- _____. Two Note Books of Thomas Carlyle. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Grolier Club, 1898.
- _____. The Works of Thomas Carlyle in Thirty Volumes. Ed. H. D. Traill. Centenary ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1896-1901.
- Cassirer, Ernest. The Myth of the State. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1946, pp. 189-223.
- Cazamian, Louis. Carlyle. New York: Macmillan, 1932.
- Chandler, Alice. "Faith and Order: Carlyle." A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature. Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1970, pp. 122-51.
- Chapman, Raymond. The Victorian Debate: English Literature and Society, 1832-1901. New York: Basic Books, 1968, pp. 77-89.
- Christensen, Allan Conrad. "Heroism in the Age of Reform: Byron, Goethe, and the Novels of Carlyle." Diss. Princeton, 1968.
- Cockshut, A. O. J. Unbelievers: English Agnostic Thought, 1840-1890. London: Collins, 1964, pp. 130-36.
- Cofer, David B. Saint-Simonism in the Radicalism of Thomas Carlyle. Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1931.
- Conway, Monroe D. Thomas Carlyle. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881.

- Correspondence Between Goethe and Carlyle. Ed. Charles Eliot Norton. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1883.
- The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle. Ed. Joseph Slater. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964.
- Deen, Leonard W. "Irrational Form in Sartor Resartus." Texas Studies in Literature and Language, V (1963), 438-51.
- DeLaura, David J. "Ishmael as Prophet: Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Self-Expressive Basis of Carlyle's Art." Texas Studies in Literature and Language, 11 (1969), 705-32.
- Downs, R. B. Molders of the Modern Mind. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961, pp. 244-46.
- Ebel, Henry. "'The Primeval Fountain of Human Nature'" Mill, Carlyle, and the French Revolution." Victorian Newsletter, No. 30 (Fall 1966), 13-18.
- Flügel, Edward. Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development. Trans. Jessica Gilbert Tyler. New York: Holbrook, 1891.
- Froude, James Anthony. Thomas Carlyle: A History of the First Forty Years of His Life: 1795-1835. 2 vols. in 1. New York: Scribner's, 1882.
- _____. Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London, 1834-1881. 2 vols. in 1. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885.
- Frye, Northrop. A Study of English Romanticism. New York: Random House, 1968, pp. 39-40.
- Garnett, Richard. Life of Thomas Carlyle. London: Walter Scott, 1887.
- Gilbert, Elliot L. "'A Wondrous Continuity': Anachronism in Carlyle's Prophecy and Art." PMLA. 87 (1972), 432-42.

- Goodheart, Eugene. The Cult of the Ego: the Self in Modern Literature. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 61-89.
- Grierson, Herbert J. C. Carlyle and Hilter. Cambridge: The University Press, 1933.
- Harrold, Charles Frederick. Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834. 1934; rpt. London: Archon, 1963.
- Holloway, John. The Victorian Sage: Studies in Argument. 1953; rpt. London: Archon, 1962.
- Houghton, Walter E. "Hero Worship." The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1957, pp. 305-40.
- Johnson, William Savage. Thomas Carlyle: A Study of His Literary Apprenticeship, 1814-1831. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1911.
- Jones, Joseph. "Carlyle, Whitman, and the Democratic Dilemma." English Studies in Africa, 3, No. 1 (March 1960), 179-97.
- Kusch, Robert W. "Pattern and Paradox in Heroes and Hero-Worship." Studies in Scottish Literature. 6 (January 1969), 146-55.
- LaValley, Albert J.. Carlyle and the Idea of the Modern: Studies in Carlyle's Prophetic Literature and Its Relation to Blake, Nietzsche, Marx, and Others. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968.
- Lehman, B. H. Carlyle's Theory of the Hero: Its Sources, Development, History, and Influence on Carlyle's Work--A Study of a Nineteenth Century Idea. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1928.
- Levine, George. "Sartor Resartus and the Balance of Fiction." Victorian Studies, 8 (1964), 131-60.

- Levine, Richard A. "Carlyle as Poet: The Phoenix Image in 'Organic Filaments.'" Victorian Newsletter, No. 25 (Spring 1964), 18-20.
- Lindberg, John. "The Decadence of Style: Symbolic Structure in Carlyle's Later Prose." Studies in Scottish Literature, 1 (January 1964), 183-95.
- Lippincott, Benjamin E. Victorian Critics of Democracy. New York: Octagon, 1964, pp. 6-53.
- MacCunn, John. Six Radical Thinkers. New York: Russel, 1964.
- McMaster, R. D. "Criticism of Civilization in the Structure of Sartor Resartus." University of Toronto Quarterly, 37 (April 1968), 268-80.
- Martin, Peter E. "Carlyle and Mill: The 'Anti-Self-Consciousness' Theory." Thoth, 6 (Winter 1965), 20-34.
- Mendel, Sydney. "Carlyle: Notes toward a Revolution." English Studies in Africa, 10, No. 2 (March 1967), 11-21.
- Metzger, Lore. "Sartor Resartus: A Victorian Faust." Comparative Literature, 13 (1961), 316-31.
- Mitford, Nancy. "Tam and Fritz: Carlyle and Frederick the Great." History Today, 18 (1968), 3-13.
- Miyoshi, Masao. The Divided Self: A Perspective on the Victorians. New York: New York Univ. Press, 1969, pp. 138-51.
- Moore, Carlisle. "The Persistence of Carlyle's 'Everlasting Yea.'" Modern Philology, 54 (February 1957), 187-96.
- _____. "Sartor Resartus and the Problem of Carlyle's Conversion.'" PMLA, 70 (1955), 662-81.
- Neff, Emery. Carlyle and Mill: An Introduction to Victorian Thought. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1926.

- _____. Carlyle. New York: Norton, 1932.
- Peckham, Morse. Beyond the Tragic Vision: the Quest for Identity in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Braziller, 1962, pp. 177-89.
- _____. Victorian Revolutionaries: Speculations on Some Heroes of a Culture Crisis. New York: Braziller, 1970, pp. 44-83.
- Ralli, Augustus. Guide to Carlyle. London: Allen & Unwin, 1920, I, 278-304.
- Reed, Walter Logan. "Meditation on the Hero: Narrative Form in Carlyle, Kierkegaard, and Melville." Dissertation Abstracts International, 31 (1970), 1288A (Yale).
- Robson, John M. "Tragedy and Society." Queen's Quarterly, 71 (1964), 419-33.
- Roe, Frederick William. The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin. 1921; rpt. New York: Kennikat, 1969.
- Sanders, Charles Richard. "The Byron Closed in Sartor Resartus." Studies in Romanticism, 3 (Winter 1964), 77-108.
- Sharrock, Roger. "Carlyle and the Sense of History." Essays and Studies, by Members of the English Association, 19 (1966), 74-91.
- Sussman, Herbert L. Victorians and the Machine. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- Symons, Julian. Thomas Carlyle: the Life and Ideas of a Prophet. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952.
- Tennyson, G. B. Sartor Called Resartus: The Genesis, Structure, and Style of Thomas Carlyle's First Major Work. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965.

Wellek, René. "Carlyle and the Philosophy of History." Confrontations: Studies in the Intellectual and Literary Relations between Germany, England, and the United States in the Nineteenth Century. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, pp. 82-113.

Wilson, David Alec. Carlyle to "The French Revolution." 1826-1837. London: Trubner, 1924.

Young, Louis M. Thomas Carlyle and the Art of History. 1939; rpt. Folcroft, Penn.: Folcroft, 1969.

Young, Norwood. Carlyle: His Rise and Fall. New York: Morrow, 1927.

LITERATURE OF HEROISM AND RELATED SUBJECTS

Acton, H. B. "Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich." The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Ed. Paul Edwards. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Aiken, Henry D. The Age of Ideology: The 19th Century Philosophers. New York: New American Library, 1956.

Awad, Louis. The Themes of Prometheus in English and French Literature: A Study in Literary Influence. Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1963.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Centenary ed. Vols. II, III, IV, 1903; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968.

Gross, Theodore L. The Heroic Ideal In American Literature. New York: Free Press, 1971.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Trans. John Sibree. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1902.

Hook, Sidney. The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility. New York: John Day, 1943.

Kaufmann, Walter. Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist. 3rd rev. and enl. ed. New York: Vintage, 1968.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. Beyond Good and Evil. Trans. with commentary, Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage, 1966.

_____. Thus Spoke Zarathustra. Trans. with preface, Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage, 1966.

Thorslev, Peter L., Jr. The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1962.

MAO AND CHINA

Works in English

C [han] , W [ing] -t [sit] . "Chinese Terminology." An Encyclopedia of Religion. Ed. Vergilius Ferm. New York: Philosophical Library, 1945.

Ch'en, Jerome, ed. Mao. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

_____. Mao and the Chinese Revolution. With thirty-seven poems by Mao Tse-tung, trans. by Michael Bullock and Jerome Ch'en. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965.

The Chinese Classics. Trans. James Legge. 2 vols. London: Trubner, 1875, 1887.

Davie, Donald. "On Translating Mao's Poetry." Nation, 28 June 1965, pp. 704-05.

Devillers, Philippe. Mao. Trans. Tony White. New York: Schocken, 1967.

- Fairbank, John King. The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- Haughey, John C. "From Mao-ology to Mao-olatry and Back Again." America, 4 March 1972, pp. 231-33.
- Hsiung, James Chieh. Ideology and Practice: The Evolution of Chinese Communism. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Levenson, Joseph R. Revolution and Cosmopolitanism: the Western Stage and the Chinese Stages. With a forward by Frederic E. Wakeman, Jr. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1971.
- Lifton, Robert J. Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. New York: Random House, 1968.
- "Mao Tse-tung." Biographical Dictionary of Republican China. Ed. Howard Boorman. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967. III: 1-22.
- Mao, Tse-tung. Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Ed. Stuart R. Schram. New York: Bantam, 1967.
- _____. Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. 4 vols. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965-1967.
- Needham, Joseph. Within the Four Seas: The Dialogue of East and West. London: Allen & Unwin, 1969.
- "The New Religion in Mao's China." America, 10 October 1970, pp. 249-50.
- Schram, Stuart R. Mao Tse-tung. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.
- _____. The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung. 1963; rpt. New York: Praeger, 1969.
- Snow, Edgar. The Other Side of the River. New York: Random House, 1962.

Red Star Over China. London: Victor Gollancz, 1937.

Welch, Holmes. "Deification of Mao." Saturday Review, 19 September 1970, pp. 25-50.

Works in Chinese

Anon. Wei ta ti tao shih, ling hsiu, t'ung shuai, to shou, Mao chu hsi wan sui 偉大的導師、領袖、統帥、舵手, 毛主席萬歲 (Long Live Our Great Teacher, Leader, Commander and Helmsman, Chairman Mao). Hong Kong: Chung yüan t'u shu kung ssu, 1969.

Chang, Ju-hsin 張如心. Mao Tse-tung lun 毛澤東論 (On Mao Tse-tung). Hong Kong: Hsin min chu ch'u pan she, 1949.

Chao, Tzu-yang 趙紫陽. Ta kao hsüeh hsi Mao chu hsi chu tso ti ch'un chung yün tung 大搞學習毛主席著作的群眾運動 (To Stir up Mass Movement in Learning Chairman Mao's Writings). Peking: Jen min ch'u pan she, 1966.

Chou, Pai-yün 周白雲. K'uang jen she hui 狂人社會 (The Madmen's Society). Taipei: Huan yü chü pan she, 1968.

Chou, Yang 周揚. Chien chüeh kuan ch'e Mao Tse-tung wen i lu hsien 堅決貫徹毛澤東文藝路線 (To Persist in Mao Tse-tung's Literary Movement). Peking: Jen min wen hsüeh ch'u pan she, 1952.

Ch'u, Hua 儲華. Shih mo shih ko jen ying hsiung chu i 什麼是個人英雄主義 (What Is Self-Worship). Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu kuan, 1952.

Chung-kuo ch'u liao ko Mao Tse-tung: Ko yao chi 中國出了個毛澤東: 歌謠集 (A Mao Tse-tung Is Brought Forth in China: An Anthology of Songs). Ed. Chung-kuo min chien wen i yen chiu hui 中國民間文藝研究會編. Peking: Jen min wen hsüeh ch'u pan she, 1951.

- Hei-ti-tzu, pseud. 黑帝子 . Mao Tse-tung chih ming yün
毛澤東之命運 (The Future of Mao Tse-tung).
 Hong Kong: Jen ch'un ch'u pan she, 1950.
- Hsiao, San 蕭三 . Mao Tse-tung ti ch'ing nien shih tai
毛澤東的青年時代 (The Young Mao Tse-tung).
 Hong Kong: Hsin min chu ch'u pan she, 1949.
- Hsüeh-wei, pseud. 雪葦 . Lun wen hsüeh ti kung nung ping
fang hsiang 論文學的工農兵方向 (On the
 Laboring, Agricultural and Military Functions of
 Literature). Shanghai: Hai yen shu chü, 1949.
- Huang, Yü-ch'uan, comp. 黃雨川編 . Mao Tse-tung sheng
p'ing tzu liao chien pien, 1893-1969 毛澤東生平
資料簡編 (Mao Tse-tung: A Chronology of His
 Life, 1893-1969). Kowloon: Yu lien yen chiu so, 1970.
- Jen, Cho-hsüan 任卓宣 . "Mao Tse-tung yü lu" p'i p'an
毛澤東語錄, 批判 (Criticism on Quotations from
 Chairman Mao Tse-tung). Taipei: Kuang hua ch'u pan
 she, 1968.
- Lu, Ch'iang 盧強 . Ching-Kang shan shang ti ying
hsiung--Mao Tse-tung wai shih 井崗山上的英雄:
毛澤東外史 (Hero of the Ching-Kang Mountain--
 An Anecdote of Mao Tse-tung). Kowloon: Tzu yu ch'u
 pan she, 1951.
- Lun chi shih fen tzu huo hsueh huo yung Mao chu hsi chu
tso. 論知識分子活學活用毛主席著作
 (On the Intellectuals' Learning and Practicing Mao's
 Words). By Kuang ming jih pao, Peking. Hong Kong:
 San lien shu tien, 1966.
- Mao, Tse-tung, et. al. 毛澤東等著 . Lun ssu hsiang 論思想
 (On Thinking). Peking: Ch'un chung shu tien, 1949.
- 毛澤東等著 . Ssu hsiang chih nan 思想
指南 (A Guide to Thoughts). Pei fang ch'u
 pan she [Publisher's place unknown; probably in
 Hong Kong], 1949.

- Mi, Ku 米谷 . Shao nien Mao Tse-tung 少年毛澤東
(Mao Tse-tung's Childhood). Hong Kong: Hsin min
ch'u pan she, 1949.
- Shintani, Akio (日) 新谷明生 . O k'an tao ti
hsin chung-kuo 我看到的新中國 (The New
China I Saw). Trans. Yüeh-jih Wu 吳越人譯 .
Hong Kong: Chao yang ch'u pan she, 1971.
- Wang, Ssu-ch'eng 王思誠 . Mao fei Tse-tung cheng
chuan 毛匪澤東正傳 (Biography of an Outlaw--
Mao). Taipei: Chin jih ta lu she, 1955.
- Wei ta Mao Tse-tung shih tai ti ying hsiung chi t'i 偉大
毛澤東時代的英雄集 (The Great Heroic
Collectivism in Mao Tse-tung's Era). Ed. and pub.
by Peking: Jen min ch'u pan she, 1966.
- Yang, Ch'ang-chi 楊昌濟 . "Chih-sheng P'ien" 治生篇
(Essay on Survival), Hsin Ch'ing-nien 新青年, 2
(1917), 393-400.
- Yang, I-shih 楊亦時 . "Chung-kuo ta lu ti Ts'ao Ts'ao
fan an" 中國大陸的「曹操翻案」 (Ts'ao Ts'ao's
Case Reopened in China.) Ming Pao Monthly 明報月刊,
7, No. 1 (1972), 53-58.