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A CURIOUS SENTENCE IN MORE'S *UTOPIA*

BY KASHI PRASAD

WE LEARN from More himself that a large part of *Utopia* was written in 1515 in the Netherlands where he had gone as a member of Henry VIII's mission to negotiate with the representatives of Prince Charles. This is evident from More's dedicatory letter to Giles and the first few pages of *Utopia* itself. It is also known that the book was completed in England in September 1516, when the finished manuscript was sent by the writer to Erasmus to see it through the press.¹ It is Erasmus who gives us the information regarding the composition of *Utopia* that it was Book II of the published work that was written first in the Netherlands. Describing to Hutton how More went about putting the published version together, Erasmus says:

He had written the second book at his leisure, and afterward because of a particular situation he added the first part on the spur of the moment.²

Erasmus's statement about the composition of the book raises an important issue. Now, if More wrote Book I after having written Book II, it clearly follows that what he wrote first was a complete work. The first book, as we learn, was only added off-hand to what was already there, on account of a 'particular situation'. Book II, we find, begins without a prefatory remark with a physical description of the Island of Utopia. Such an abrupt beginning is hardly possible for an independent work and it is but natural that More, after adding Book I to the previously written work, rearranged the entire matter to provide the desired unity to his published work. Should we take the statement of Erasmus to be literally accurate that the whole of Book II, as it stands, was written in the Netherlands and, in like manner, was it the whole of Book I that More wrote on his return to England? Here we are indebted to Professor Hexter³ who, by a careful examination of the text of *Utopia*, tries to make a convincing guess

regarding the frontiers of the original discourse of Hythloday and the later dialogue which do not coincide exactly with the division between the two books. But I feel that the learned Professor has overlooked certain changes which More possibly incorporated in the earlier complete work, later on, with the object of hooking to it his later written dialogue.

In Book I of *Utopia*, at the very outset, More speaks of the mission to Flanders sent by the 'most victorious and triumphant king of England, Henry the Eighth', in which he, under the leadership of Cuthbert Tunstall, was sent as an ambassador to negotiate with King Charles of Castile on 'weighty matters of great importance'. We have then the eulogy of Tunstall and a reference to his becoming the Master of Rolls. Then after mentioning the commissioners sent by Charles who were all 'excellent men', More informs us how at Bruges when no agreement could be reached and the commissioners had to leave Brussels to consult their prince, he left for Antwerp to while away his time. These few prefatory lines were certainly written in England after More's return from the Netherlands as is evident from the fact that Tunstall became the Master of Rolls only after the mission returned from the Netherlands. More then goes to relate how in Antwerp he met his friend Peter Giles who introduced him to Hythloday and who, in the course of his preliminary talk with him, told him how he and his fellows visited strange lands in South America on being left there at Gulike by Amerigo Vespucci.

Now from the author's journey to Antwerp to the point where Hythloday mentions of the reactions among the natives to the presented lodestone, we see no break in a homogeneous account, and then we come across, what Professor Hexter calls, 'a curious paragraph'. The paragraph runs thus:

But what he told us that he saw in every country where he came, it were very long to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehearsal thereof. But peradventure in another place I will speak of it, chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be known, as in special be those decrees and ordinances that be marked to be well and wisely provided and enacted among such peoples as do live together in a civil polity and good order. For of

such things did we busily inquire and demand of him and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no news, of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found than the barking Scyllas, ravening Celacons, and Laestrygons, devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new found lands, so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take examples to amend their faults, enormities and errors. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will entreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only what he told us of the manners, customs, laws and ordinances of the Utopians.⁴

The paragraph is indeed curious as it makes many assertions. (i) Hythloday visited other lands besides Utopia; (ii) it would be very long to describe all the countries he visited; neither is it his purpose to do so; (iii) but at *another place* he would speak of such things, as would be profitable to be known, especially the decrees and ordinances of those people who live an ideal social life; (iv) Hythloday was asked to tell not only of incredible monster tales but of such governments as might serve as examples to the existing governments; (v) Hythloday, besides marking many 'fond and foolish laws' in those parts, gave an account of 'divers acts and constitutions' which may well be taken as examples by the present day countries and kingdoms to amend their faults; (vi) but this account More would give at *another place*; (vii) but at this moment More only wishes to tell what Hythloday told of the manners, customs, and laws and ordinances of the Utopians.

Now, from this analysis of the subject-matter of the paragraph we clearly notice a contradiction in (vi) and (vii). Immediately after mentioning that he is for the present postponing the rehearsal of the many acts and constitutions which he will certainly 'treat at another place', More, in the very next sentence, says that he is at the moment only going to tell of the manners, customs, and laws of the Utopians. But what

follows after is not what is announced in the sentence. For the rest of Book I we hear very little of the manners, customs, laws, ordinances, and institutions of the Utopians. To resolve this difficulty, Professor Hexter has given his own explanation. He says:

The inconsistency between the prospectus in the curious paragraph and the subject matter that follows in the printed version of Utopia becomes intelligible if we make a few assumptions about the development of the book's composition. In what he wrote in the Netherlands, More had launched Hythloday in his description of Utopia just after our curious paragraph. After all, as a prospectus of what appears in Book II that paragraph is quite accurate, for Book II 'rehearses only what Hythloday told of the manners, customs, laws and ordinances of the Utopians.' When More came back to London he wrote his later additions and then had to find a place for it. So he pried open a seam at the place where Hythloday's discourse originally had begun and inserted the addition there. He hooked the addition into the previously written introduction—weakly enough it seems to me—by the sentence, 'But first I will repeat our former communication by the occasion and...drift whereof' Hythloday came to mention Utopia. On this hypothesis Book I from the end of the curious paragraph on would be what More later added to Utopia.⁵

Now, according to Prof. Hexter the 'curious paragraph' belongs to the Introduction part of the finished book of Utopia written first when More had no idea whatsoever of adding anything to the already completed work. Then why is it that More was led to mention in it that it is at some other *place* that he will be mentioning about what Hythloday had said regarding such customs, laws, and ordinances which may serve as examples to the society of More's day? The word *place* in the paragraph is significant. It is mentioned thrice in the paragraph—'Peradventure in another place I will speak of it'; again, 'In another place, as I said, I will treat of these.' The word 'place' here does not refer to some other subsequent work

that More proposed to write, otherwise he could have used the word 'time'. More could have made such a statement (postponement of the narration of Utopia) only after having written the additional part, i.e. the preliminary dialogue contained in Book I, and on feeling the necessity of properly hooking the later dialogue to the former discourse.

The discrepancy becomes intelligible if we make the assumption that the whole of the 'curious paragraph' of Prof. Hexter, as it stands in Book I, is not the same as it stood in More's first complete work and More inserted here (the concluding introductory paragraph of the earlier complete work) at relevant places, later on, certain sentences telling of the postponement of Hythloday's account for the present and then hooked to this altered paragraph, the later written dialogue by inserting the sentence 'But first I will repeat our former communication by the occasion and (as I might say) the drift whereof he was brought into the weal public'⁶ immediately after the last sentence of the original paragraph in the earlier written work—'Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians.' But when he added the new sentence—'But first I will . . . the mention of that weal public.'—More failed, it appears, to notice that the earlier sentence—'Now at this time . . . ordinances of the Utopians'—after which Hythloday's account of Utopia was to begin in his earlier complete work, still continued to be there and glaringly contradicted the newly added sentence. Evidently More forgot to score it out. There seems to be no other way to explain the contradictory nature of the two sentences occurring one after the other.

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1. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Epistles of Erasmus*, ed. and tr. F. M. Nichols, 3 vols. London, 1901-1918.
2. *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 398.
3. Hexter, J. H., *More's Utopia—The Biography of an Idea*, Princeton, 1952.
4. *Utopia* (Everyman's), p. 18.
5. Hexter, J. H., *op. cit.* pp. 21-2.
6. *Utopia* (Everyman's), p. 18.

JOHNSON'S INTEREST IN INDIA

BY PREM NATH

'... wake from ignorance with Western World'

Irene, IV. ii. 123

OWING to the advent of the Britishers in India for the purposes of trade in the early seventeenth century, and their gradually occupying the Indian territory, British literary authors since then have shown a continual interest in this country. In some cases the interest is merely of a 'romantic' nature; we have Belinda's 'glowing gems' from India, and also the 'charming Indian screen' which is coupled with 'the British queen'.¹ In his usual heroic style Dryden had already written his play on Aurengzebe. There are quite a few references to the nabobs and the Indian wealth in Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*.² Cowper also wrote about India in his correspondence. Hazlitt's 'Indian Jugglers' is too well known to be missed by anybody. In our own times E. M. Forster, Aldous Huxley and others have written in some detail on India. ✓

✓ Johnson's interest in British India is like his literary principles in that like the latter it is not extensively treated at one place; it is sporadic and that too mainly in his conversation, as recorded by Boswell, and letters. It finds no place in Prof. Hardy's book *The Political Writings of Dr. Johnson*.³ ✓

Late in his life Johnson expressed a wish to visit India, but this wish remained unfulfilled.⁴ Unlike Huxley and Forster who personally saw India, Johnson formed his opinions on this ✓ country and the then administrators here on the basis of the reports that he got in his own country. But, nonetheless, his observations on this country and its people and their political and social problems are by and large realistic and reveal his interest in this country that has hitherto remained unexplored. ✓ I will attempt in this paper to show that the so-called literary dictator of the eighteenth century condemned, at least in his heart, the excesses of the Hastings administration in India. Johnson's interest in India may conveniently be studied under two broad heads, viz. (i) political and (ii) cultural and social.

It may be questioned here that how could the 'true-born Englishman',⁵ as he has always been popularly known, who was notoriously averse to any people other than the English, whether French, Scottish or American, extend his mental vision from London to Calcutta. Boswell records⁶ that Johnson had 'discernment' and 'candour' to censure even the English for their 'cold reserve'. Thus Johnson was 'prejudiced' even against England. This is being said not to placate any rigid nationalists, but to point out that a person prejudiced against all nations, including his own, is really not prejudiced against any, not even against America. It should also be pointed out that whatever type and quality of interest Johnson displayed in India fits in squarely with his conception of man and politics in the abstract. Johnson often plainly says, both in his conversation and writing, that an average person's routine life is not affected by the turns of political events.⁷ Johnson's interest in India was, therefore, purely academic; he nowhere claims to be affected by the happenings in India, even though he was a friend both to Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of India, and of Robert Chambers, a judge of the British Court at Calcutta. In fact there is evidence to suggest that Johnson wanted the British nation to be an empire-builder, but he at the same time expected the rulers to be humane. In a letter⁸ to John Taylor, written in 1784, Johnson is critical of the then political instability in England because one of its consequences is that 'empires are broken down', and he adds, 'the King and parliament have lost even the titular dominion of America, and the real power of Government everywhere else.' Obviously Johnson expected the King and Pitt to behave better in 'national interest'. In the same letter Johnson shows his aversion to the great 'profits of administration' because 'ambition is satisfied with obtaining them, and he that aspires to greatness needs do nothing more than talk himself into importance'. With these guidelines in mind we now proceed to a study of Johnson's political attitude towards India.

In a letter,⁹ written in 1776, Johnson wrote that he lived 'in a reciprocation of civilities with Mr. Hastings' and, therefore, could not 'properly diffuse a narrative, intended to bring upon him [Hastings] the censure of the public.' It is a matter of regret that Johnson's civilities perhaps prevented him from

giving a more comprehensive account of his political attitude towards the Hastings administration in India; it is probable that Johnson otherwise might have given posterity some sort of a treatise of the type *Taxation, No Tyranny*. Perhaps the most cruel event of Hastings administration was what has ever since been known as the Nand Kumar case. Nand Kumar was a brahmin of high caste who held an important position in the government of the Nawab of Calcutta. Hastings and Nand Kumar had grudges against each other and in 1775, Nand Kumar was tried for some charges brought against him by one Mohan Parsad, a creature of Hastings who influenced the judicial decision against the accused. Besides, 'the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over the indigenious population was doubtful.'¹⁰ 'There is no doubt that Nand Kumar did not receive a fair trial and there was a miscarriage of justice at least in respect of the capital punishment inflicted on him.' Sir James Stephen states that if 'he had to depend upon the evidence called for the prosecution, he would not have convicted the prisoner.' Johnson heard of this glaring act of British iniquity as he says in a letter¹¹ written on April 19, 1783, but it appears that his civilities weighed too heavily with him and, therefore, curbed his expression of resentment that he inwardly must have felt. From the tone of what Johnson wrote about this happening, it is evident that he was pleading his uneasy helplessness to do anything about it. This is what he wrote: 'Of the death of the unfortunate man (i.e. Nand Kumar), I believe Europe thinks as you think; but it was past prevention; and it was not fit for me to move a question in public which I was not qualified to discuss; as the enquiry could then do no good, and I might have been silenced by a hardy denial of facts, which, if denied, I could not prove.' Johnson seems to blink at the event, maybe partly because he was nearing his death,¹² but mainly because he wanted to avoid the Governor General-in-Council's being seen in a suspect light. Not that Johnson had any deep regard for Hastings but he did not want to throw away the external appearance of formal respect. William Cowper, who studied with Hastings in school, wrote thus of the Governor-General:

Hastings! I knew thee young, and of a mind,

While young, humane, conversable and kind,
Nor can I believe thee gentle THEN,
Now grown a villain, and the worst of men.
But rather some suspect who have oppress'd
And worried thee as not themselves the BEST.¹³

Cowper, with the fondness of a school mate, extenuates Hastings's faults, but, nonetheless, he does point out directly the degeneration of the man. Johnson is nowhere so unequivocal about the doings of Hastings and his associates in India, but several times he expresses indirectly his discontent in varying degrees about them.

In a letter¹⁴ to John Taylor Johnson wrote: 'I believe corruption and oppression are in India at an enormous height, but it has never appeared that they were promoted by the Directors, who, I believe, see themselves defrauded, while the country is plundered.' Johnson places the responsibility for the corruption and oppression squarely on Hastings and his associates without naming them, which, of course, is diplomatic. Warren Hastings's Oudh policy and the Ruhela War was one of the main points of attack on him in Parliament in 1786, and his conduct in the Chait Singh Affair was 'cruel, unjust and oppressive', as Pitt observed at the time of his impeachment. Similarly, Hastings's behaviour towards the Begams of Oudh has been described by Sir Alfred Lyall as 'an ignoble type of undertaking'. It is acts like these that Johnson described as oppressive. Whereas Burke expressed himself publicly and strongly against the oppressive acts of Hastings, the elderly Johnson (Burke was younger than Johnson by two decades) confined his opinions on the matter to his letters and conversation. In a letter¹⁵ to Robert Chambers, one of the judges at the Calcutta Court, Johnson wrote: 'You are going where there will be many opportunities of profitable wickedness, but you go with good principles, a confirmed and solid Christian. I hope to see you come back with fortune increased, and Virtue grown more resolute by contest.' This is one of the early references to the India of Hastings's time, and the same concealed or diplomatic condemnation of the British administration is unmistakably seen till the close of his life.¹⁶ Johnson also implies here that India had become a land rampant with

corruption and it needed some strength of character to keep oneself unsullied by the mire that was endemic. It is revealing to compare this with what Johnson wrote to Hastings in a letter sent through Chambers exactly six months afterwards (i.e. March 30, 1774): 'I am now going to take leave, perhaps a very long leave of my dear Mr. Chambers. That he is going to live where you govern, may justly alleviate the regret of parting.'¹⁷ The tone here is one of high praise for Hastings as if he made India an enviable place to live in. In none of the other two letters that Johnson wrote to Hastings does he give the slightest indication of his displeasure at the state of affairs in India which he expresses in his letters to other people or in his recorded conversation. On the other hand, Johnson writes all his three letters to Hastings elevating his nobility of character. The content of Johnson's letters to Hastings then clashes sharply with what he otherwise had to say about this country and its administration. Hastings, as can be seen from his letter to Boswell, was convinced that Johnson's letters to him displayed 'an uncommon warmth of private friendship'.¹⁸ Hastings is certainly right on the face of it, but Johnson's generalized thoughts on the British India of Hastings's time, do not seem to have reached Hastings, and they were not designed to reach him. This probably is the only instance where Johnson showed lack of personal courage and curbed his real feelings though for only three brief spells of letter-writing. But Johnson's view of the British administrators generally may be gathered from what he said to an Irishman during 1779: 'Do not make an UNION with us, Sir, We should unite with you, only to rob you. We should have robbed the Scotch if they had had any thing of which we could have robbed them.'¹⁹ At the same time, as was said earlier, Johnson was not against maintaining the English empire, though he believed that 'all distant power is bad.'²⁰ The remedy then, as he saw, lay in giving India a despotic government. 'I am clear,' said Johnson in 1783, 'that the best plan for the government of India is a despotick governour; for if he be a good man, it is evidently the best government; and supposing him to be a bad man, it is better to have one plunderer than many. A governour, whose power is checked, lets others plunder, that he himself may be allowed to plunder; but if despotic, he sees that the

more he lets others plunder, the less there will be for himself, so he restrains them; and though he himself plunders, the country is a gainer compared with being plundered by numbers.²¹ Again no direct reference to Hastings is made, quite in keeping with the mutual civilities. One thing is clear: Johnson did feel that India was being plundered, and his true feelings as to what sort of governor Hastings was have been brought out here by studying the references that he makes to the India of 1774-85, i.e. of the Hastings's period.

If not more, at least an equally interesting aspect of Johnson's attitude towards India is viewed from the social and cultural angle. Socially, of course, Johnson thought of India as a historical entity and not merely as a part of the British empire; he wrote to Hastings in 1774 that he did not 'want curiosity after either the ancient or present state of regions'²² which he governed. In this letter Johnson dwells on the conventional image of Indian 'regions' where 'have been seen all the power and splendour of wide-extended empire; and which, as by some grant of natural superiority, supply the rest of the world with almost all that pride desires and luxury enjoys.' The free availability of the desired things was the major reason which tempted the British settlers here. Johnson thought India to be replete both with natural materials and man-made goods, even though, as he himself says, his personal knowledge of these regions was 'too scanty'. Johnson envies Hastings's location because he will have the chance 'to enquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture. I shall hope that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country by the introduction of the Persian language will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East; that he will survey the wonders of its edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities; and that, at his return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men, from whom very little has hitherto been derived.' Johnson regarded the wonders of edifices as a useful part of human knowledge; this is quite the reverse of what Imlac, the philosopher, in *Rasselas*,²³ says about the pyramids, that they are an appeasement of 'hunger of imagination' only. In some of the sciences Johnson thought India to be quite ahead of the Europeans of those

times. Johnson, in fact, hopes that Hastings would benefit England by bringing a knowledge of those sciences into that country. It is here that Johnson's assertion about his scanty knowledge of this part of the world seems partly to be correct. 'You, Sir, have no need of being told by me,' wrote Johnson to Hastings on March 30, 1774, 'how much may be added by your attention and patronage to experimental knowledge and natural history. There are arts of manufacture practised in the countries in which you preside, which are yet very imperfectly known here, either to artificers or philosophers. Of the natural productions animate and inanimate, we yet have so little intelligence, that our books are filled, I fear, with conjectures about things which an Indian peasant knows by his senses.'²⁴ Johnson possibly is alluding here to the art of manufacture of fine cloth in this country which had won wide fame. India's reputation for fauna and flora is well founded, but what Johnson means by 'experimental knowledge' in the present context is anybody's guess. Besides regarding India intellectually in the vanguard of countries Johnson considered India a very suitable place to live in because his Tory principles were then followed here in the social hierarchy. Those who call themselves progressives are likely to dub Johnson not only conservative but reactionary. Johnson firmly defended the caste-system in India by giving an argument the validity of which appealed to him personally, but which perhaps will not find many supporters at least in the present set-up of the world. Johnson's argument runs thus: 'We see [said he] in metals that there are different species; and so likewise in animals, though one species may not differ very widely from another, as in the species of dogs,—the cur, the spaniel, the mastiff. The Bramins are the mastiffs of mankind.'²⁵ It must be remarked that Johnson regarded the Brahmins as the highest not only among the Indians, but in the entire world. Johnson instinctively knew that he was a Brahmin according to the Indian categorization of human beings. Little wonder, then, that for the country where the Brahmins have been regarded as the watch-dog of humanity Johnson used the epithet 'illustrious'.²⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *The Rape of the Lock*, canto III, ll. 303-4.
2. III.iii & IV.i, *passim*.
3. *The Political Writings of Dr. Johnson*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
4. 'If I had money enough, what would I do? Perhaps, if you and master did not hold me, I might go to Cairo, and down the Red Sea, to Bengal, and take a ramble in India.' So wrote Johnson to Mrs. Thrale in a letter dated 11 July 1775. The text of Johnson's letters used in this article is that of R. W. Chapman: *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, first published in 1952, hereafter referred to only as *Letters*.
5. *Life*, Modern Library ed., p. 71.
6. *Ibid.* p. 1035.
7. e.g. 'The good or ill success of battles and embassies extends itself to a very small part of domestic life.' *Ibid.* p. 231.
8. *Letters*, vol. III, pp. 126-7.
9. *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 495-6.
10. The brief historical data given here have been taken from Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta: *An Advanced History of India*, Macmillan; and James H. Gense: *A Concise History of India*, Macmillan.
11. *Letters*, vol. III, p. 15.
12. *Ibid.* vol. III, pp. 105 and 127.
13. *The Poetical Works of William Cowper*, Oxford, p. 416.
14. *Letters*, vol. III, pp. 104-5.
15. *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 374.
16. *Ibid.* vol. III, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 404.
18. *Life*, p. 952.
19. *Ibid.* p. 883.
20. *Ibid.* p. 1050.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Letters*, vol. I, p. 402.
23. Chapter XXXII.
24. *Letters*, vol. I, p. 403.
25. *Life*, p. 966.
26. *Letters*, vol. I, p. 420.

SPAIN IN ROMANTIC LITERATURE

BY T. PRABHAKAR

The French Revolution

Those were the tumultuous years from the destruction of the Bastille to the battle of Waterloo—years during which successive shocks and reversals excited men's minds and imaginations. It was an extraordinary epoch in the world's history. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey began their schooling in pre-revolutionary times and grew into manhood among the agitations of 1789-94. They fell under the spell of the French Revolution. The cause of the Revolution seemed to them to be the cause of humanity. They accepted its radiant promises. But their admiration cooled as the Revolution progressed. Its heinous enormities began to disturb their democratic views. As days passed, they found it more and more difficult to sustain their faith in the Revolution.

Meanwhile the Republic was transformed into a military despotism. France attacked the neighbours in aggressive wars of conquest and became Europe's chief offender. When the vast tyranny of one ruler was established over Europe and when England stood alone against the world in defence of freedom and humanity, the public spirit of these young men was again roused. They found themselves restored to their native land. Filled with pride and patriotism they were now reconciled to the national interests and threw themselves heart and soul to oppose Bonaparte whom they now saw in the doubly villainous role of the enemy of England and dictator over the former republic of liberty, equality and fraternity. Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey followed roughly the same course of development in their revulsion of feeling against the revolutionary excesses. This change was the natural reaction of a generation that had exulted to the full in the first joys of the Revolution, had been harrowed by the excesses it produced, and finally disillusioned by the emergence, from the revolutionary ranks, of a dictator whose ambition seemed to them to rival that of the greatest of the Bourbon monarchs.

The Peninsular War

The French under Napoleon entered Spain in 1807 and took Madrid in March 1808. Immediately a revolution broke out and the whole province of Asturias rose against the invaders. Napoleon underestimated the stubborn patriotism of the Spanish upon whom he thought he could impose his will. He had reckoned without the temper of the patriotic Spanish people. Great was the effect upon the British of this heroic Spanish uprising against the usurper. England, ever against Napoleon, became the ally of her former enemy overnight. The fire of enthusiasm spread all over Great Britain. It was Napoleon's unwise and arrogant meddling in Peninsular affairs that hastened his downfall. It was the constant drain of men and money to the Peninsula which rendered him too weak to fight the powers of Central Europe.

It is interesting to note the reaction of the various Romantic authors to this turn of events in Spain in 1808 and to the whole course of the struggle which followed, and which lasted until 1815. On the whole the effect was what might have been expected upon the minds which had rejoiced in the initial promise of the French Revolution and which were ever sensitive to any manifestation against oppression. To Wordsworth the fight with Napoleon was a contest between the forces of good and evil and he followed with keen concern the details of the Napoleonic wars. It is not hard to see why he hailed the Spanish national uprising of 1808 with enthusiasm. 'It would not be easy to conceive,' he said, 'with what a depth of feeling I entered into the struggle carried on by the Spaniards for their deliverance from the usurped power of the French.'¹ When the news of the Spanish uprising reached Southey, he was deeply affected. His voluminous correspondence affords ample evidence of his continuous concern over the war and his unshakable faith in the Spanish and Portuguese people. 'The glorious revolution in Spain will bring Bonaparte down. It is morally impossible that such a nation can be subdued,'² he told his brother Tom. Landor went to Spain as a volunteer to fight the French. Had he been a single man, Southey too should have found his way to Spain.

The Influence on England

It is remarkable how the Peninsular War effected an English re-estimation of Spanish character. The Spaniard, long neglected or even condemned, was now re-examined and found to possess an incomparable nobility and patriotism. The war against Napoleon during the critical years between 1808 and 1814 gave a tremendous impetus to English interest in things Spanish and Portuguese. The patriotic struggle of the Spaniards against the French excited interest and admiration from people who sympathized with their cause. It recalled a similar situation in which the Spaniards had fought to drive out the Moorish invaders in the eighth century. In England an interest in the old Spanish legends and romances was revived. A general interest was created in Peninsular life, arts and literature—an interest productive of works varying from lyrics in the periodicals to more ambitious works. The heroic fight of the Spaniards to free themselves from the tyranny of the Moors became a subject of interest to three English poets. Scott's *Vision of Don Roderick* (1811), Landor's *Count Julian* (1812) and Southey's *Roderick* (1814) were all inspired by ancient Spanish legends and fables. Their common theme is the story of Count Julian's calling the invader, the overthrow of Roderick, the last Gothic King, and the beginning of the struggle to free the land from the foreign conquerors.

Before the Peninsular War, English interest in Spain and Portugal was very slight. Literary influence on England from the Peninsula was feeble before 1808. There seems to be a gradual increase of interest in things Spanish and Portuguese after the turn of the century. The increase was due not only to Napoleon's machinations, but also to that widening of literary, emotional and aesthetic outlook, associated with the Romantic movement. It was the result of a curiosity over strange lands, strange people and strange customs. For a true romanticist Spain was already a fascinating subject. As H. A. Beers points out: 'Of all European countries Spain had remained the most Catholic and medieval. Her eight centuries of struggle against the Moors had given her a rich treasure of legendary song and story', and 'she had a body of popular ballad poetry larger than either England's or Germany's.'³ It was not, however, until the stirring events of 1808 that this

literary and aesthetic curiosity was given a sudden impetus. With the military alliance between Spain and England, came an increased attention to Peninsular life—an attention quickly reflected in English literature. One natural result of this increased interest was the appearance of a great bulk of poetry bearing directly upon Peninsular affairs. This includes not only magazine verse, but also a wealth of poetry published in the form of pamphlets and books by anonymous writers.

The Roderick Legend

The Roderick legend is in fact three legends: Roderick and the Enchanted Tower, the basis for Scott's poem; Roderick and La Cava, the basis for Landor's play; and the penitence of Roderick, the basis for Southey's poem. Centring round the last of the Gothic Kings in Spain, these fanciful stories have an important place in the development of Peninsular literature.

In exploring the history of Spain in the eighth century it is hard to tell where fact ends and legend begins. Primary sources are few, meagre in detail and often unreliable. The accounts of the later chroniclers are mixed with hearsay and imagination. The account of the Moorish invasion and conquest of Spain is so fabulous that it looks like a story of the Thousand and One Nights. The era of the Visi-Gothic rule in Spain was marked by strife, corruption, plotting and intrigue. The cruelties committed by King Witiza are recorded by a few historians. His savage tyranny wearied the patience of the people and they were easily instigated to rebellion by Roderick. Witiza fell during the Civil War and Roderick was proclaimed king. Roderick, the historians believe, was no better than his predecessor. He further precipitated the downfall of the Gothic monarchy.

In the year 714 the Moors invaded Spain. Roderick had violated the chastity of Florinda, the daughter of Count Julian. So the Count invited the Moors to wreak his vengeance on the King. On the plains of Xeres a battle was fought for eight days. All the chroniclers say that there was treason within the ranks. Witiza's sons, Sisibert and Ebba, and their uncle Orpas, whom Roderick once spared and trusted, betrayed and forsook him in the middle of the fight. So the Gothic army was scattered and destroyed. When Roderick saw his men in con-

fusion and panic, he mounted his war-horse, Orelia, and flung himself upon the enemies. But it was too late, and seeing himself abandoned by his people, he was forced to fly like the rest. The battle of Xeres decided irrevocably the fate of the Gothic monarchy. What became of Roderick was never certainly known. Here history and legend are inextricably one. A mystery has ever hung over his fate. Whether he met his patriotic end amidst the storm of the battle, or whether he survived to repent of his sins and errors in exile, has remained a matter of conjecture. On the banks of the river Chrysus, his royal car was found with his horse Orelia and his helmet. It was supposed that he was drowned while crossing the river, but his body was not found within the waters. It was also thought that he had escaped from the battle when he saw that the day was lost, and exchanging garments with a shepherd, walked away towards Portugal. Hence Southey writes:

From his horse he dropt,
 Whether with human impulse, or by Heaven
 Struck down, he knew not; loosen'd from his wrist
 The sword-chain, and let fall the sword, whose hilt
 Clung to his palm a moment ere it fell,
 Glued there with Moorish gore. His royal robe,
 His horned helmet and enamell'd mail,
 He cast aside, and taking from the dead
 A peasant's garment, in those weeds involved
 Stole like a thief in darkness from the field.

[*The Poetical Works of Robert Southey* (1837), ix, 4]

Roderick's mysterious disappearance gave occasion for all kinds of speculations. The uncertainty of his fate excited the romance of Spanish imagination. It was even affirmed that he might yet return once more to elevate his standard and recover his throne. Years passed, but nothing was heard of him. Like Sebastian of Portugal and Arthur of England he became a legendary figure and the mystery of his end gave rise to romantic fables and furnished subject matter for many poems. After generations had passed, at length in the city of Viseo in Lusitania, a small chapel was discovered with a sepulchre on which was inscribed this epitaph in Gothic char-

acters: 'Here lies Roderick, the last king of the Goths.' It was finally believed that this was the veritable tomb of the monarch and that in this hermitage he had finished his days in solitary penance. Therefore Southey ends his poem:

Days, months, and years, and generations pass'd,
And centuries held their course, before, far off
Within a hermitage near Visca's Walls
A humble tomb was found, which bore inscribed
In ancient characters King Roderick's name.

(Ibid., ix, 250)

Roderick in English Literature

We have already mentioned that three major poets of the early nineteenth century were attracted at the same time to the Roderick legend. Along with Southey, Scott and Landor also reworked the old legend to their literary taste. We have noted that the main reason for the interest of these men in the Spanish legend lies in the background of the general enthusiasm for things Peninsular during the years of the Napoleonic Wars. A second reason is that these three men loved Spain. Southey was a devoted Spanish scholar. Landor went to fight in Spain in the autumn of 1808. Scott had a romantic and antiquarian attachment to what he considered a chivalric land and people. He wrote his poem to aid the suffering Portuguese. All the three exulted in the spectacle of Spanish patriotic uprising against a tyrannical invader and in the glorious partnership thus brought about between England and the Peninsula. Finally they found in the old Roderick legend a story fitted to their times and to their taste. To them it seemed appropriate to recall the old days of an invasion and a resistance. The story of the invasion of early Spain by the Moors had a general parallel to the Napoleonic incursions. In the light of these considerations the triple performance of Scott, Landor and Southey in producing their three poems on the Roderick legend within three years of one another is not so amazing as it might appear. It is interesting to note that all the three poets were busy working on the same old Spanish story, simultaneously at one time, in the summer of 1811. In his letter to Landor, Southey observed humorously: 'If the

old Goth ever gets any literary news from this world, it must surprise him to hear what work he has made for the poets of the nineteenth century.⁴

Scott's *Vision of Don Roderick* (1811), the first to be published, centres around the incident of the Enchanted Palace of Toledo, put by most chroniclers at the beginning of Roderick's reign. Landor's *Count Julian* (1812), published second, is based upon Julian's desire for vengeance because of his violated daughter, a story that follows the narrative of the Enchanted Palace. Southey's *Roderick* (1814), published last, deals with the final days of a chastened king after his initial defeat by the Moors.

Scott in his poem describes Roderick in a cathedral, confessing to the prelate his ravishing of Florinda and his murdering of Witiza. He demands the key to the mysterious tower where he may see the nation's future fate. Despite the churchman's warning he enters a large vaulted hall and sees there a vast sight. He sees the whole realm of Spain with its castles, plains, vineyards, forests and streams. His face blanches as he hears the cry of women, the din of kettle-drum and the war-shouts of the Moors. He observes in the vision the Moors sweeping over the land like locusts, dividing the spoils, enslaving the people, tearing down the Cross, and celebrating heathen revels. Scott's Spenserian stanzas form a mixture of descriptive and lyrical elements. The poem has scarcely any story and consists almost entirely of a series of descriptions and execrations. Roderick is represented as domineering, impetuous, and full of excuses for his sins. Though he has a conscience, we have little sympathy for him.

Landor's play, despite its flaws as a play, is still a drama in five acts or a series of 'Imaginary Conversations'. Even to the reader acquainted with the legendary background, much of the tragedy is hopelessly unintelligible, because of Landor's compression. For example, Roderick's crime against Florinda, who is called Covilla in the play, is never clearly explained. Landor's *Roderick*, too, tends to be unrepentant, although he changes too quickly for the better in the scene where he is moved to ask the count's forgiveness. Landor has lifted the usually condemned figure of Julian into a position of dignity, making him the protagonist of the drama. He thus indicates the emotional kinship that he must have felt for this rebellious

spirit whose turbulence was equal to his own. Julian's love of liberty and his hatred of tyranny match those of Landor. Julian is a majestic figure who bears a kind of sombre magnificence and brooding dignity like a king suffering the woes of a whole people.

Southey also presents Julian sympathetically. Though the Count has adopted the Moorish faith, he is no sycophant, Southey's Roderick is a militant Christian crusader. He becomes monumental through victory over self.

This interest in Spain represents also the new spirit in literature which saw an extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility. This second English Renaissance, as the first, was marked by emotional stress, sensitiveness to the picturesque, love of natural scenery, interest in distant times and places and curiosity for the wonderful and the mysterious. The new movement turned men's attention towards antiquity, towards Middle Ages, and towards all that was primitive, marvellous and picturesque. The result was a revival of the study of history and strange and exotic literatures.

✓ Scott, Landor and Southey were fascinated by antiquity in general and Middle Ages in particular. The social structure in the Middle Ages rested on a military basis, and this gave scope for greater individual freedom of action and bold adventure. They turned to the Gothic Spain of the eighth century, because they found greater freshness and naturalness in that little-known or barbarous age. They allude to the splendour and glory of the Gothic civilization. Southey translated the medieval Spanish romances, *Amadis of Gaul* (1803), *Palmerin of England* (1807) and *The Cid* (1808) and thus helped his countrymen to a knowledge of the old legendary Spain, the country, *above all others*, of chivalry and romance.

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HARD TIMES: A NOTE ON THE DESCRIPTIVE TITLES OF ITS BOOKS

BY N. K. BANERJEE

'Sowing', 'Reaping', and 'Garnering' are three descriptive words which appear at the head of each of the three books of *Hard Times*. These words are connected with an activity which is universal and eternal. They are all the more curious in the context they are used. Being a novel set in an industrial area, Coketown, and about people connected with it, Dickens's application of the expressions is deliberate and figurative. (The division of the novel in terms of the three clear-cut phases of agricultural activity has the effect of drawing pointed attention to three distinctive stages of the linear progression and of providing a commentary upon each of them. Moreover, by stressing the organic unity of the process, it invites us to view the development as a whole. If there is any treatment of this feature of the novel in any critique of *Hard Times* it has escaped me. This paper attempts to find out if the imaginative division made by Dickens has any bearing upon the structure and overall vision of the novelist.)

By way of indicating the ground covered in significant criticism of this novel, mention may be made of a few important approaches. In speaking of the motive force behind this novel, F. R. Leavis asserted that '...in *Hard Times* he is for once possessed by a comprehensive vision, one in which the inhumanities of Victorian civilisation are seen as fostered and sanctioned by a hard philosophy, the aggressive formulation of an inhumane spirit.' Stated thus, few critics disagree with Leavis's finding. With regard to *Hard Times*, the presence of 'a comprehensive vision' is readily admitted by most critics. But critical treatment differs in diagnosing the nature of and the emphasis on 'the inhumanities' and consequently, on the 'formulation of the inhumane spirit'. To this may be added the divergence over Dickens's mode of approach and its effect upon readers.

Few today go so far as Edgar Johnson in claiming that the novel expresses 'Dickens's violent hostility to industrial capital-

ism and its entire scheme of life.' Nor do many critics agree with T. A. Jackson in regarding *Hard Times* as a 'frontal attack upon the ethics of capitalism as represented by the Manchester School.' Such tall claims on Dickens's behalf are rejected by Humphrey House who asserts: 'On the question of theory there is no real difference between Dickens and W. R. Greg: he is not in the least a Socialist.' House bases his observation on Dickens's rejection of the Trade Union solution of the dispute. While it is not difficult to see how the particular evil of industrialism came to be regarded as the worst form of inhumanity of the age, other critics have found an even more powerful and pervasive inhumanity in a systematic neutralization of imagination from life in demand of a hard philosophy. As K. J. Fielding says, 'That mere fact, or logic, that leaves half of our lives out of account—any method of ruling our conduct or affairs that lacks sympathy, love, and understanding between human beings—is, in the end, not merely sterile, but bitterly destructive of all moral virtues, beauty, and everything that is best.'

Whatever the specific nature of the evil exposed or the cause thereof, there is general agreement about regarding the novel as being under the perfect intellectual control of the novelist. The fact that it was originally serialized may have obliged Dickens to be economical and mindful of its overall structure. By calling it a 'moral fable', F. R. Leavis testifies to its neat structure because intention is insistent enough everywhere in the novel. K. J. Fielding, on the other hand, believes that ('In many ways, even, the story is to be read less as a fable than as a parable, or a tract for the times.') The structural compactness and unity may be equally well believed as being conceived in terms of 'sowing', 'reaping', and 'garnering' as indicated in the plan of contents of the book.

Several interesting aspects of the novel come to light when viewed in terms of the agricultural process. What is being sown, evidently, are ideas in the minds of people in the novel. The outcome of the sowing has to be traced necessarily and this is done in the book entitled 'reaping'. 'Garnering' likewise is intended to work out the net yield.

In the first chapter of Book I Gradgrind outlines his ideal:

Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will be of any service to them.

The remarks of Gradgrind are intended to instruct the instructors of his Model School. The interesting part of the address is the image of planting and rooting out. Teaching is equated with planting, also of pulling out everything else which are not facts. By a mixture of metaphors, the planting is to be done in the 'minds' of 'reasoning animals'. As Book I progressively reveals, 'facts' it is that are sown in the minds of Bitzer, Tom, Louisa and even Sissy.

Bitzer's demonstration of his prowess in recapitulating facts is indeed formidable. If anyone is likely to illustrate the triumph of the cult of Fact, it is he. The implication of the operation of sowing is no less remarkable, even in relation to others. In the case of Tom and of Louisa, it is of dubious advantage to either. As for Sissy, it must be accounted a complete failure. Even so, there are many minds which are denied the benefit of facts being sown. Stephen Blackpool and Rachael and the disreputable Circus people are a few. They are too old to go to school and in any case they form no part of the experiment. In one sense, however, no one is excluded, not even Gradgrind and Bounderby, Mrs Sparsit and James Harthouse. While applying the agricultural image, Dickens could hardly be unaware of the implication of popular saying, such as 'as you sow, so you reap', or 'Sowing the wind, and reaping the whirlwind'. In either of the senses, facts or no facts, each may be regarded as reaping what each has sown.

It would be an over-simplification to treat the novel as a demonstration of the Fact-Fancy antithesis or of Capital-Labour relation grounded in a hard philosophy of the day. Each character is locked up in a private battle with his own self and a more public one with the outer world. The experience of a lifetime is crystallized in their utterance. Thus Mrs. Gradgrind:

But there is something—not an Ology at all—that your father has missed, or forgotten.

Nothing in the novel reveals the collapse of the 'system' and the spiritual bankruptcy of the age as the accusation of Louisa:

How could you give me life, and take from me all the inappreciable things that raise it from the state of conscious death? Where are the graces of my soul? Where are the sentiments of my heart?

And her agonized wail:

All that I know is your teaching and your philosophy will not save me. Now, father, you have brought me to this. Save me by some other means.

Stephen Blackpool, without the benefit of either the Gradgrind philosophy or the Sleary philosophy, learns from experience: "'Tis a muddle.' Called upon by Bounderby to suggest a solution to the muddle, he can only fall upon the 'identity of interest' recipe of orthodox economists. The very fact that he is cast out both by his fellow workers and by the employer shows his failure to establish his identity with the world. His rejection is the negation by the world, of any transcendent spiritual power behind the material world.

The death of Mrs. Gradgrind, the departure of Stephen and the flight of Louisa are conceived as the outstanding development of Book II—Reaping. They are the first to be cut down as weaklings and failures from the point of view of the given conditions and expected yield. They go down feeling, as their pronouncements indicate, that in the act of living, something has gone wrong either with them or the world around them. The process of reaping, however, spares Tom, Bitzer, Hart-house, and the rest.

Intention, as Leavis says, may be insistent enough everywhere in the novel, but nothing like its full force can be appreciated until the pattern is complete. Book III, which completes the design in Dickens's mind, is appropriately entitled—Garnering. These chapters contain significant statements which have a bearing upon the total meaning and justify the overall agricultural image. Gradgrind's peroration on the planting of facts and rooting out everything else from the minds

of reasoning animals in the very first chapter, is put to the test by Dickens upon some of the pupils of the Model School within the framework of the test of life in which sowing, reaping and gleaning go on with many things else.

In operation-gleaning, the wisdom gleaned by Gradgrind ironically reverses his own hard philosophy of facts:

Some persons hold that there is a wisdom of Head, and that there is a wisdom of the Heart. I have not supposed so; but, as I have said, I mistrust myself now. I have supposed the head to be all-sufficient. It may not be all-sufficient.

Tom's bitter and cynical elucidation of the same philosophy, as applied to his own case, counterpoints his father's lifelong stand:

So many people are employed in situations of trust; so many people, out of so many, will be dishonest. I have heard you talk, of its being a law. How can I help laws? You have comforted others with such things, father. Comfort yourself.

Of this kind of wisdom Bitzer's is the deadliest:

...but I am sure you know that the whole social system is a question of self-interest. What you must always appeal to, is a person's self-interest. It's your only hold. We are so constituted.

Such is the harvest gleaned from the planting of facts in Book I—Sowing. But the fact that Dickens does not confine himself to the demonstration of the experiment with facts but lets many others who get involved articulate their philosophy also, suggests that the novel's structure, in its entirety, with all the characters are conceived in the image of a full-scale agricultural operation. It is this aspect of the novel which gives it its larger dimension. Thus, even James Harthouse who was to be nothing more than the wicked aristocratic villain, once cynically admitted, 'I am not a moral sort of fellow.' While

accepting defeat, he remains unregenerate to the end, as he says,

I cannot say that I have any sanguine expectation of ever becoming a moral sort of fellow, or that I have any belief in any moral sort of fellow whatever.

Even Mrs. Sparsit, of the Coriolanian nose, is given leave to speak her mind for once. An undoubted caricature of the humbled gentry by Dickens, she endears herself permanently by her estimate of that 'bully of humility'—Bounderby:

Nothing that a noodle does, can awaken surprise or indignation; the proceedings of a noodle can only inspire contempt.

Accurate or not, such a description assuages our outraged sense of decency in spite of the exaggeration and inaccuracy. Much of Stephen's dying speech and Sleary's moralizing could be mistaken for and dismissed, and rightly so, as sheer Dickensian and Victorian sentimentality. But one portion of the latter's speech, better even than the one approvingly quoted by Leavis, is,

Don't be croth with uth poor vagabondth. People mutht be amused. They can't be alwayth a-learning, nor yet they can't be alwayth a-working, they an't made for it. You mutht have uth, Thquire. Do the withe thing and the kind thing too, and make the betht of uth; not the wurtht!

The sentiment is not particularly profound, but it is common sense. It takes all sorts to make the world. Some will be ne'er-do-wells and good-for-nothings by material standards. In fact, there may be something of this in all of us. Consequently, we cannot be serious all the time. We must relax, we must unbend. The best thing to do is to accept this unpalatable truth. This reminder, not to take our ego too seriously, is salutary. It is fatally easy to slip into the mould of a readymade ideal or identity.

Keeping in view the structuring of the novel in terms of the agricultural operations of sowing, reaping, and garnering, it is time to see if it helps us to appreciate the novel any better. ✓
 'Dickens's novels,' declares Hillis Miller, 'are a transposition into fiction of his assimilative way of living in the real world.'
 The real world to Dickens is usually the city, Coketown in this instance. Of its numerous people, Dickens has chosen a few through whose efforts to realize themselves, he presents a picture of the world. Like the agricultural operation it has a recurring pattern. The harvest is at all times variable and uncertain, depending upon many factors. ✓

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FICTION AS ALLEGORY: A STUDY OF *JANET'S REPENTANCE*

BY BHAGWANJEE OJHA

'*JANET'S Repentance*' represents a unique interest in George Eliot study. It is the sole instance of its author's effort to make fiction a spiritual allegory by means of analogical matrix; for nowhere else did George Eliot undertake such a task of welding the purely spiritual with the purely literary values in fiction. The book constitutes but a part of the collection, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, and as such it has to be studied along with the other two tales, '*Amos Barton*' and '*Gilfil*', of the collection. The comparison is interesting because whereas the other two tales deal with the characters' external behaviour and the psychological moves thereof, in '*Janet*' the author launches on a deeper exploration and stretches language to a considerable degree to bring out the spirituality of the situation. All this gives the tale an allegorical stamp. How does George Eliot manage to preserve the fiction-interest without making any concession to her spiritual-ethical concern in this story? The paper discusses at length the answers to this question.

'*Amos*' is an experiment in portrait-painting, '*Gilfil*' a study in human psychology and '*Janet's Repentance*' a reflection on 'irreligion and religion'. 'Religion in the case happens to be represented by evangelicalism, and the story ... is a real bit in the religious history of England,' wrote George Eliot to John Blackwood.¹ The viewpoint is radically changed here, for '*Marian* was writing as she had never written before. ... She was no longer afraid of what she might or might not say. ... Into '*Janet's Repentance*' *Marian* poured forth all the anger and bitterness that had been in her soul for years. She wrote a sermon and such a sermon as would harrow up the souls,' remarks Dewes.² Her last of the 'scenes', however, is not out of line with the earlier ones, and Dewes overlooks that this change in viewpoint had a logical link with what had preceded. In '*Amos*' the author's concern was primarily with the apparent external features of the persons she delineated, in '*Gilfil*' she went deeper into human psychology, and in '*Janet*' she pro-

ceeded to still deeper exploration, bringing out the religious, or for that matter spiritual, dimension of human life, 'the awakening of a morally mixed nature to a new, spiritual life'.³ The change in viewpoint, from one story to another, corresponded to the growth and development of the artist's own awareness as she gained more and more of creative confidence.

The success of the earlier tales encouraged George Eliot to make 'Janet' a bolder experiment. The imagery in 'Amos' is localized and couched in particular contexts, that in 'Gilfil' is at best suggestive, whereas in 'Janet' it comes out in its symbolic role. George Eliot's mind, here, is 'inured to philosophic ways of seeing' and, consequently, the story turns out to be something of 'a philosophy endeavouring to teach by example'.⁴ The characters are more than individuals; they tend to be 'types' or 'ideals' of the categories of experience they represent. The evangelical priest, Tryan, is 'an ideal character . . . probable enough to resemble more than one evangelical clergyman',⁵ said George Eliot, and Dempster, with his vices having natural evolution in deeper and deeper 'deterioration and death from intemperance',⁶ is his spiritual opposite. The two forces act upon Janet, the human soul, working out a spiritual synthesis in her.

The rich, realistic reproduction of Cross-farm, through the bucolic imagery in 'Amos' is coloured in 'Janet' by the author's exclusive moral concern:

Assuredly Milby had that salt of goodness which keeps the world together, in greater abundance than was visible on the surface: innocent babes were born there, sweetening their parents' hearts with simple joys; men and women withering in disappointed worldliness, or bloated with sensual ease, had better moments in which they pressed the hand of suffering with sympathy, and were moved to deeds of neighbourly kindness. In church and in chapel there were honest-hearted worshippers who strove to keep a conscience void of offence; and even up the dimmest alleys you might have found here and there a Wesleyan to whom Methodism was the vehicle of peace on earth and good will to men. To a superficial glance, Milby was nothing but dreary prose: a dingy town. . . .

But the sweet spring came to Milby notwithstanding: the elm-tops were red with buds; the churchyard was starred with daisies; the lark showered his love-music on the flat fields; the rainbows hung over the dingy town, clothing the very roofs and chimneys in a strange transfiguring beauty. And so it was with the human life there, which at first seemed a dismal mixture of griping worldliness, vanity, ostrich-feathers, and the fumes of brandy: looking closer, you found some purity, gentleness, and unselfishness, as you may have observed a scented geranium giving forth its wholesome odours amidst blasphemy and gin in noisy pot-house. (Chapter II)

It is against the background of this morally conceived Milby life that the religious drama of Dempster-Janet-Tryan is staged. Significantly enough, the imagery of the entire story takes its cue from the above quoted description. There are images suggesting gross worldliness; then, there are those drawn from nature—spring, shower, water, flower, sunshine—suggesting spiritual life. In between the two extremes, there are images standing for struggle and sacrifice. This image-pattern is supported by the recurrent use of words like (a) 'sorrow', 'suffering', 'sadness', 'pain', 'misery', 'wretchedness', 'bitterness'; (b) 'death', 'darkness', 'dampness', 'dust', 'desert'; (c) 'life', 'love', 'sympathy', 'affection', 'comfort', 'solace', 'kindness', 'pity', 'reverence', 'smile', besides the countless shades of them suggested in the idiom of the story. Their frequency warns us not to take them casually. Combined with the images of the three categories suggested above, they create the essential moral environment, a medium, in which the story is told. In fact, the whole course of the narrative is bestrewn with unmistakable hints as to the author's exclusive preoccupation with the moral purpose.

And, mostly, these images and words (which form a sort of image-cluster) occur in the statements of generalization which the author issues every now and then. There is hardly a page in the story where such a statement is not used once or twice, if not more. That keeps up the moral and spiritual tempo all through.

The characters of the story, as pointed out above, are drawn

on the line of their allegorical role in this spiritual drama. 'The descriptions of the characters are not so alien to the drama as they possibly appear,' George Eliot wrote about 'Janet', demanding that the inner truth about them should be distinguished from their appearance. And there is no other key but the imagery to help us in appreciating their inner significance harmonized in and through the theme of 'irreligion and religion'. The story opens with Dempster. The images chosen as vehicle for communicating his character are morally coloured; his 'bulging forehead . . . lay like a flat and new-mown table-land' (i); the image suggests his moral blankness. His constant references to 'gin', 'brandy', 'grease', 'a glass of grog' and blasphemy and 'floodgate of immorality' create a thick smoke around him where the sunshine is mocked by the pitch of drunkenness, as 'master had been in the sunshine', the groom's remarks suggests (i). Drink is an essential condition of thought for him: 'a bottle o'brandy at a sittin', an' yit [he can] see further through a stone wall when he done, than other folk see through a glass winder.' His intemperance is reflected in his 'driving home . . . flogging his galloping horses like a mad-man' (iii). Tryan is introduced in the story only to precipitate into action this animalism and intemperance inherent in Dempster's character.

Cruelty, like any other vice, requires no motive outside itself. . . . You do not suppose Dempster had any motive for drinking beyond the craving for drink . . . an unloving, tyrannous, brutal man needs no motive to prompt his cruelty A whole park full of tame or timid-eyed animals to torment at his will could not serve him so well to glut his lust of torture. (Chapter xiii)

George Eliot brings out his character with the aid of images that speak for his motiveless malignity towards Tryan and Janet. The 'drinking', which becomes a symbol of gross sensuality, and the animal imagery are combined to suggest his immoral, spiritual indulgences. Any resistance offered to his way of life makes him as ferocious as a defied 'wild beast within the four walls of his den', making him all the worse for his 'crouching backward in preparation for his deadly spring' (xiv). The

animal-imagery characterizes his beastly nature as well as his irredeemability. His 'flogging the galloping horse' is a powerful suggestion as to his maddened rashness which brings force to his fast deterioration, finally resulting in the fatal accident on the Bridgeway, as he came 'flogging his horse like a madman, till at last it gave a sudden wheel, and he was pitched out' (xxii). And it is not a peaceful death that he dies. His last ravings, full of allusion to beasts and insects, suggest the continuance of his animality unto his last breath. 'Let me go . . . she is coming . . . her black hair is all serpents . . . they are black serpents . . . I'll hunt you down like a hare . . . black lice . . . they are coming in swarms . . . They are crawling . . . they're flying . . . they are flying about my head . . . you've got fiery tongues'. Finally, even in this raving, the image of flogging the horse asserts itself: 'bring out the gig . . . give me the whip . . . you lame brute . . . you damned limping beast . . . I'll lay your back, open . . . I'll . . .' (xxiii). The delirium-scene, which Blackwood referred to as 'too naked',⁸ was designed to suggest Dempster's 'to the last minute' animality, with animal-imagery raising its hideous head, to pronounce the torment of his soul.

Contrasted with Dempster's suicidal animalism is Tryan's divinity, drawn in terms of light and water imagery. He carries with him 'the strange light from the golden sky falling on his light-brown hair' (iii). Dempster remarks about him: 'Depend upon it, he'll find the climate of Milby too hot for him' (vi), giving out his own motiveless hostility to Tryan; but even he concedes that his adversary is 'as soft as a sucking dove' (vii); the image which he uses, unconsciously, recognizes Tryan's Christ-like nature. There are persons in Milby, however, who claim Tryan to be an angel, a Joseph. 'Milby was a dead an' dark place; you are the fust man i' the Church . . . as has brought the word o' God home to the people,' remarked Mr. Jerome to him (viii). People in misery (as Janet, for instance) look up to him for 'light and strength'. Though a common mortal, subject to despair and disease, Tryan has eyes that 'shone with hectic brightness' and his words fall on the sufferers 'like precious balm'. His influence made Janet Dempster 'changed as the dusty . . . and sun-withered plant is changed when the soft rains of heaven have fallen on it' (xxvi).

He liberates her from her 'fetters' and puts her near the 'Divine Presence'. The self-destroying animalism of Dempster finds its complete antithesis in Tryan: 'The thought of Mr. Tryan was associated for her [Janet] . . . with an influx of a power to subdue self' (xxvii). Even in death the two are poised as each other's contrast: Tryan's death, as against the soul-tormenting ravings of Dempster, comes as 'the blessed deliverance'; 'the sun broke out, and the clouds were rolling off in large masses when they entered the churchyard, and Mr. Walsh's voice was heard saying "I am the Resurrection and the Life."' (xxviii)

The images brought in for drawing the two characters, Dempster and Tryan, find their faint echoes in Janet's case also, but with a balance in favour of the latter group. Though a life-companion of Dempster, Janet is, as the images show, essentially a Tryanite: 'kindness is my religion,' says she, to which Mrs. Pettifer adds, 'But that's Mr. Tryan's religion too' (xii). But Janet is wrought out with greater vividness, subtlety and effectiveness than either of the two persons, Dempster or Tryan, who claim her, the one her body, the other her soul. There is a certain power in Janet's portrayal which we miss in the feminine characters drawn by George Eliot in her earlier stories. The author, suggests Dewes, 'put herself into it . . . giving Janet her own thoughts and disappointments and the hurts she had received.'⁹ But the power of Janet's character is not derived from the autobiographical interest of her author. *The Mill on the Floss* is drawn straight from George Eliot's life, but Maggie Tulliver is not so effective a character in moving us with the author's concern with the deep spiritual conflicts of life. The autobiographical concern of George Eliot, on the other hand, perverts the objective, symbolic grandeur there by her prevailing 'personal, possessive and nostalgic' voice.¹⁰ Janet is not idealized like Maggie. She is a common feminine being with her 'mixed morals' and 'unpoetic nature'; her vice is a 'common agent of human misery and trial' and her virtue, a common 'human goodness'. The secret of her character lies in her author's power of execution which is witnessed in the sustained use of spiritual and religious imagery through which she reveals the drama of damnation and regeneration of human soul.

She is introduced in the story against the background of

Dempster's degeneration, and we hear the choric comment: 'she married Dempster in opposition to the advice of her best friends' (iii). Thus, she is poised at a point which has a high dramatic potentiality. The marriage itself becomes symbolic. She had brought to this union 'a rich pale beauty, like a tall white arum that has just unfolded its grand pure curves to the sun' (iv), and, after years of the brutal tyranny of Dempster, 'she was too like the cistus flowers that, with the shades of evening, might lie with the delicate white glossy dark of their petals trampled in the roadside dust' (v). The imagery suggests the *elan vital* of Janet's life which Dempster failed to appreciate. She stands for life whereas Dempster's ways lead him to death. And for a while Janet is driven under his tyranny to a 'heated, maddened' mood, 'wildly wishing herself dead' (v). The flower-imagery which renders Janet's inner vitality and spiritual potentiality is associated with the imagery of the park where Dempster moves like a wild beast hunting the 'tame and timid-eyed animals . . . to glut his lust of torture', not minding the presence of beautiful flowers therein (xiii).

Janet looks back on her life of promised 'sweet wedded love' and finds it desolate with the 'on-coming of utter dark' (xiii). The references to 'head' and 'darkness' are common to both, Janet and Milby, and they associate them as each other's synonym. But Tryan has come to Milby as a Joseph. So Janet and Tryan are brought together by the use of imagery springing from the same tenor: the sufferer and the saviour are brought together. Janet's soul is the same as Milby's, 'a dead and dark place' where Tryan brings the 'word o' God'. Thus, she is transformed from an individual to an image of godless suffering, a miracle wrought chiefly by the imagery. ✓

But the suffering, which is a precondition for spiritual life according to Christianity, does not kill her, as it does in the case of Milby and Caterina. Milby under the burden of misery sinks to death, Caterina proves too weak to survive a single shock, but Janet stands there 'like a glorious Greek temple, which, for all the loss it has suffered from time and barbarous hands, has gained a solemn history, and fills our imagination the more because it is incomplete to the sense' (xiv). The image both glorifies Janet, the sufferer (which is in harmony with the Christian creed), and suggests the future workings of

her soul for all its 'incompleteness'. The images of darkness that follow this temple-image intensify suffering and suggest a hope for regeneration or spiritual enlightenment through reference to light. 'The clouds covered the sky; every door was closed; every window was dark. No ray of light fell on the tall white figure that stood in lonely misery on the doorstep; no eye rested on Janet as she sank down on the cold stone, and looked into the dismal night' (xiv). 'The stony street, the bitter north-east wind and darkness—and in the midst of them a tender woman' with 'the poor heart crushed with anguish and despair' (xv). Even the situational details, the so-called realistic descriptions, take on imagistic suggestiveness intensifying the sense of darkness and despair. But there is 'light' in this suffering and we notice the light-images coming close on the heels of the darkness images. 'The wind was beginning to make rents in the clouds, and there came every now and then a dim light of stars' (xv), and 'a thought of the morning twilight'. This image is followed by a brief dialogue charged with the suggestions of love and light:

'It is I, Mrs. Pettifer; it is Janet Dempster. Take me in, for pity's sake.' . . . Mrs. Pettifer . . . was soon at the door with a light in her hand. 'Come in, my poor dear, come in,' said the good woman in a tremulous voice, drawing Janet within the door. 'Come into my warm bed, and may God in heaven save and comfort you' (Chapter xv).

The references to 'shelter', 'door', 'light', 'warmth', 'comfort' are straight in the Evangelical line and they help transforming Janet from a mere sufferer to one who is standing at the door of spiritual awakening under the loving care of God.

Indeed, after this climactic symbolic event—her being driven out by Dempster at midnight and finding shelter with a Tryanite—Janet's spiritual progress is revealed through the images which Dempster-elements and Tryan-elements throw into bold relief. Dempster refers to her again and again in terms of animal images and hopes that 'she will be back again' to his den (xvii). This animal-imagery reaches its pitch as he nears the end of his life. But even Janet uses such images as show the continuance of the Dempster element in her: 'It seemed as if

there was a demon in me always making me rush to do what I long not to do' (xviii), she confesses to Tryan; and we see her being shadowed by the evil even after she has contacted God's messenger. Her constant inner struggle for the good, however, is underlined by the images which bring her vividly before our eyes as 'one clinging to a slippery summit of rock, while the waves are rising higher and higher', looking up to Tryan as to a man who is to bring the rescue boat to her (xix). Her growing spirituality is suggested through the repeated light and water imagery. 'On Sunday morning the rain had ceased, and Janet . . . saw . . . a shining mass of white cloud rolling under the far-away blue sky. It was going to be a lonely April day' (xx). April is the month of fertility, and the shining clouds have both light and water. Soon we hear of her breast being full 'like an overflowing river' which demanded 'ready-made channels to pour itself into' (xxi) 'A door had been opened in Janet's cold dark prison of self-despair, and the golden light of morning was pouring in its slanting beams through the blessed opening' (xxi).

Then there comes a change. The fatal accident in which Dempster was involved, forces her to join him once again. And even his brief contact does not fail to cause lapses in the spiritual tenacity of Janet. The author suggests the change through the recurrence of the demon-image: 'Where should she go? In what place would this demon that had re-entered her be scared back again?' (xxv). But, then, there is Tryan once again; he 'spoke words of consolation and encouragement' and 'the water-floods that had threatened to overwhelm her rolled back again' (xxv). The image of struggle and rescue is repeated once again. Mr. Tryan now sets his heart on seeing 'Janet's restoration thoroughly established—to see her no longer fleeing, struggling, clinging up the steep sides of a precipice whence she might be any moment hurled back into the depths of despair, but walking firmly on the level ground of habit' (xxv).

As the story reaches its end, the spiritual rebirth of Janet is completed after all the labour pains. Both Dempster and Tryan die, leaving Janet to herself, a 'changed woman—changed as the . . . withered plant when the soft rains of heaven have fallen on it'; 'she looked like an image of life and strength' (xxvii).

The imagery, thus, bears out the author's exclusive engagement with moral-spiritual theme in 'Janet's Repentance'. The characters have only one type of life; they are to be labelled either as 'damned' or 'saved'. To the utter exclusion of secular interests, the story becomes an experiment in teaching philosophy through art. The imagery renders the characters into allegorical categories; even the names, Dempster, Tryan, Janet, signify Damnation, Try-on, i.e. effort for redemption, and regeneration respectively.

A similar function is assigned to the imagery in working out a pattern of spiritual values. The undercurrent of animal and darkness imagery, matched with light and water and flower imagery, transforms the entire action into a drama of spiritual significance. We meet Dempster in the 'evening' in the bar of 'Red Lion' surrounded by the 'fumes of brandy'. His action is localized to the persecution of Tryan, for which he makes plots chiefly 'in the dark of night', and his beating of Janet at home which is signified as his 'midnight Tyranny'; he is finally pitched out by his own 'galloping horse' and to suffer the pains of death in the night by the 'candle-light', for the 'morning' brings his death. The climactic event in Janet's life—being turned out of doors by Dempster—significantly occurs in the 'mid-night', for that is both the peak of Janet's misery and a turning-point in her spiritual existence, turning henceforth towards the morning of full enlightenment. At the start of it, she encounters darkness only to be greeted by a 'good woman' with 'a light in her hand'. Since then light-imagery never forsakes Janet; sometimes it is the candle-light, sometimes the dim star-light or a flash of lightning, leading, finally, to the full morning-light. Light-image, it must be observed, is rather odd when it is used for Dempster to signify, as his groom satirically suggests, the blight of drunkenness (i). But the same light-image comes as a natural companion to Janet and abide by her even in the darkest moment. She is like a flower unfolding 'its curves to the sun' (iv); her smile is 'like sun-beams' (v). Although her agony is like 'the dark flood' (xv), she sees the hope in and through 'lightning flash' and 'the light of the stars'. Like Crashaw in his poem 'Hymn to St. Teresa', George Eliot suggests her spiritual birth by darkness-and-light imagery in Chapter xv, until she 'felt the morning sun' (xxiv). Side by

side with the light-imagery runs the water-imagery. And, like its sister-imagery, it impregnates the story with the symbolism of faith. But whereas in the former case the contrast between darkness and light brings out the spiritual significance of light, water-image is not handled with that clarity. Water is used, symbolically, for faith, life-giving sustenance; but it is also used in 'Janet' to signify overwhelming despair as in Chapters xix and xxv. Dempster and Janet both use water-images in referring to each other: to Dempster, Janet is 'the cold, black water', and Janet feels 'as if she were standing helpless on the shore, while he was sinking in the black storm waves' (xxiv). George Eliot shows them as each other's spiritual opposites through the combination of water-image and the imagery of darkness ('black'). The water-image is used with meticulous variations to signify, like the light-images, the varying degrees of despair and faith. The slight respite in the miseries of life appear as 'the water-drops that visit the parched lips' (v); sympathy is compared to 'a stream' (x); Tryan promises Janet the 'untried spring where the water might be secret' (xvi) and, finally, Janet is transformed into full spiritual life by the 'rains of heaven' (xxvi).

These image-patterns reveal the author's spiritual and philosophic design in 'Janet's Repentance', something which she left unspoken in her earlier tales. Though the images here have neither the charm of humour, as in 'Amos', nor the poetic freshness, as in 'Gilfil', they are handled with a greater articulation and weave out a design by themselves. One might observe that they are all stock-images—the images of animalism, darkness, light and water—but then they gain through their artistic handling. They are harmonized with the character and action in such a way as to change the whole show with the moral-spiritual purpose and meaning.

'Janet's Repentance', thus, holds a unique position in the growth of George Eliot's genius as a novelist. Here it was that she first came out with her philosophic preoccupation, driving the fiction to the verge of spiritual allegory. Though modified and moderated, this flame burns throughout in her later novels.

Ideas are often poor ghosts; our sun-filled eyes cannot

discern them; they pass athwart us in thin vapour, and cannot make themselves felt. But sometimes they are made flesh...they are clothed in a living human soul, with all its conflicts, its faith, and its love. Then their presence is a power, then they shake us like a passion...
 ('Janet's Repentance', Chap. xix)

The statement, though couched in a different narrative context, speaks out George Eliot's moral design in pursuing the fiction. Fiction, to her, must represent the ideas 'clothed in a living human soul' so as to move the readers as 'a power', 'a passion'. 'Janet' is her first 'parable', so to say, and reveals an important aspect of her future works. Indeed, Henry James was not far off the mark when he observed: 'We feel in her, always, that she proceeds from the abstract to the concrete, that her figures and situations are evolved, as the phrase is, from her moral consciousness.'¹² This criticism holds good for 'Janet'. Rightly Dewes found it 'a raw stuff',¹² for a story with an exclusive concern with a 'moral' is as bad as a story with no moral vision whatsoever. Ripeness lies in making an 'experience' of the vision and not transmitting it as a mere philosophy. Despite the success of articulation, George Eliot makes imagery serve less than a vehicle of experience. They are mostly stock images used to communicate a philosophy which is not George Eliot's original by any means.

But the chief interest of the story lies in its being an experiment. George Eliot tried here the possibility of using fiction as the vehicle of 'ideas', and it has to be granted that the story succeeds more than fails.

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THE BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HINDUS AND THE MUSLIMS AS REVEALED IN SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WRITINGS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

By UDAYON MISRA

THE scope of this paper is limited to a period of about twenty-five years before the First War of Independence (1857) and covers mainly the writings of P. Sherer and Philip Meadows Taylor. The paper is part of a more detailed and elaborate enquiry into the presentation of the two major communities of India in Anglo-Indian fiction. Although most of the early British writers on India were directly or indirectly connected with the East India Company, we feel that a study of the imaginative writings of these Britishers in their attempt at describing the Indian scene or the Indian people will reveal a more fascinating aspect than a mere historical survey of British policy in India. It is true that our assessment of these writers cannot exclude the all too obvious fact that they too were part of the British colonialist strategy in India, and as such, Anglo-Indian fiction of the period was bound to reflect the shifts in the Imperial attitude towards this country. And the British attitude towards this country can never be properly assessed until the shifts in the British attitude towards the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, are taken into account. It is with this aim in view that a study of such attitudes as revealed in the imaginative writings of the Britishers on India is being attempted. The present paper, as I have already stated, is only part of a more detailed enquiry that is being made.

By the time Meadows Taylor wrote his first novel [*The Confessions of a Thug*, 1839(?)] the British reaction towards India had already undergone several shifts and had run through numerous shades ranging from eager fascination to outright frustration. Although it wouldn't be right to claim that it was always the official British attitude that shaped the British image of India, this being largely true no doubt, it can

be said that events in England and the West helped to determine the image held of India at any particular time.¹ Till the early eighteen-twenties the policy of the East India Company, which was still very much a mercantile body, was inherently conservative and all moves likely to interrupt trade and commerce were obstinately opposed. Referring to this aspect of the Company's attitude, Thomas R. Metcalf writes in his *The Aftermath of Revolt*: 'The Company was determined to do nothing which might unsettle the minds of its Indian subjects. Missionaries were excluded from its territories as far as possible, and traditional customs were treated with the utmost respect. Even so barbarous a practice as "sati", the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, was given implicit sanction.'² Although by 1828, the year of William Bentinck's arrival in India, signs of change were evident with men like Charles Grant and James Mill, the utilitarian, being long in the Company's service, the average Britisher still looked upon India as a civilization vastly different from, but not inferior to that of Europe, and the goal of British policy in this country was invariably that of non-interference. It was widely held that Indian civilization ran on its own principles and traditions and had no need for reform. 'Indeed, if civilisation were to become an article of trade between India and Britain,' Sir Thomas Munro told a House of Commons Committee in 1813, 'I am convinced that this country (Britain) will gain by the import cargo. Britain's function in India was simply the provision of sound efficient government.'³

The Industrial Revolution which sparked off far-reaching social and economic changes in Britain, dealt a severe blow to the conservative ideal about India. With the rise of British industries and the reversal of Britain's balance of trade with India, a new era of confidence was ushered in and the old sympathetic British idea of Indian civilization started to disappear, though gradually. Thus we see that the image of India was very much determined by events in England and the West and not by the Indian reality.⁴ When compared with the new emerging individualist competitive society of industrial Britain, Indian civilization came to be gradually looked upon as much inferior,—its only hope being a complete reformation.⁵ And with this we see the increasingly

important role that liberalism and evangelicalism came to play in determining the British attitude towards India. The idea grew that the stupor and stagnation of Indian society had to be done away with through the workings of law, education and free trade as well as through the influence of Christianity. At the heart of this reforming zeal can be discerned the concept of creating a 'European India', for, once European civilization was diffused throughout India, opportunity for free trade would be greatly enhanced. Macaulay, in a speech on 10 July 1833, stated, 'To trade with civilised men is infinitely more profitable than to trade with savages.'⁶ Most senior officials of the Company held similar views and Charles Trevelyan in his book *On the Education of the People of India* stated, 'Trained by us to happiness and independence, and endowed with our learning and political institutions India will remain the proudest monument of British benevolence.'⁷ This shift from the conservative to the liberal attitude meant that in order to introduce British standards of law, education and efficiency, it would be necessary to break down the traditional mechanism of government. James Mill in his *The History of British India* (1818) gave the first clear expression of the liberal attitude when he attacked in detail the 'hideous state of society' in India and fixed the blame on the Brahmins and the ruling classes. He declared that the Hindus were 'the most enslaved portion of the human race'.⁸ The answer to all ills lay in the moral and intellectual emancipation of the people which could be achieved through an efficient government and proper education. Education would wipe off idolatry and superstition; for, once the Indian appetite for knowledge had been whetted, the Hindu religion was bound to collapse. It was bound to give way in the light of European learning.⁹ It is in this background that the present paper attempts to study the British attitudes towards the Indians, with particular reference to the two major communities, as reflected in the imaginative writings of the Britishers. Since most British writers on India were directly connected with the administration, the brief historical background was necessary. So, we see that in the 1820s there occurred a marked shift in the British attitude towards India with conservatism being replaced by liberalism which brought with it the urge to reform and evan-

gical Christianity. It is against this background that one would like to take up the writings of the Britishers on India and also to study the subtle shades of differences in the Britisher's attitude towards the Hindus and the Muslims in India. Any sensitive and imaginative Britisher could not have overlooked the social and religious differences between the Hindus and the Muslims as well as their diverging attitudes to life and reality. How did the imaginative Britisher react to this? That the British mind did react sharply to the different modes of life of the two major communities is revealed in the writings of the period and it would perhaps be more profitable to go into these than form one's opinion on the basis of policy statements and mere historical records.

To being with, I would like to take up in detail the impressions as left to us by a relatively unimportant British writer in his Sketches on India, 1824. Sherer has interesting revelations to make, although he does not give us full characters or even deal with the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations. He describes the Indian setting just as he sees it, through the eyes of a tourist, and gives us his reactions on men and manners. As such his book is rightly called 'Sketches'. Otherwise dull, the book reveals some interesting attitudes on the part of the Britisher towards Indians in the early 1920s. Sherer's Sketches was written at a time when the British policy towards India was undergoing a marked change and, as already stated, the era of reform was being initiated. William Bentinck is supposed to have given this new outlook towards India a concrete shape through his reform measures but the idea of 'saving' and 'enlightening' the Indians had already taken shape in the early eighteen-twenties. As the emphasis gradually shifted from mere trade to the questions of government and political institutions, the Britishers started having different experiences and problems with the Hindus and the Muslims. When it came to the acceptance, for example, of Western education, or law, all Indians did not react alike. This reactions of the Hindus and the Muslims were poles apart. And with this gradually emerged two distinct attitudes on the part of the Britishers towards the Hindus and the Muslims, the British official or writer very often discovering similarities with the Muslims which couldn't even be dreamt of in the case of the Hindus. It was only after

1857 that the idea of Hindus and Muslims being 'two separate nations' gained ground and the British found it much to their advantage. Yet, even in the early eighteen-twenties, sensitive Britishers, whether in their governmental reports, their travel diaries or in their novels, noted the underlying differences between the two major communities of India and also plainly expressed where their own sympathies lay. Sherer, too, makes these points.

Describing the Triplicane Bazar, Sherer says: 'Here the population is Mahometan. These crowds of Musalmans ever regard us with jealousy, hatred and scorn. Their nawab, though stripped of authority, still sits upon a musnud, rides in state on an elephant, and holds a durbar; but he can never, I should think, listen to the royal salutes so repeatedly fired from the British fort in compliment to his princely rank, without shrinking from the mockery.'¹⁰ The past glory and power of the Muslims are seen with a trace of fear as well as awe and one feels that the author is aware of the possibility of the Muslims rising some day against the British to regain their lost prestige. Referring to a Muslim priest, Sherer says: 'Mark his iron-grey beard and wrinkled forehead; and those fiercely sparkling eyes, alive and youthful with a feeling of hate. What an insolent look he casts on us! He recollects, for he was a young man then, when in the year 1780 the horse of Hyder rode shouting through the gardens of our countrymen; and recollects too that he wished them success.'¹¹ Muslim acceptance of British rule was still far off and the possibility of Muslim attempts to regain power was predominant in the British mind. This sort of a feeling is seldom to be found in the portrayal of Hindu characters who are almost always seen as greedy, deceitful, cunning and cruel, but not capable of putting up a tough fight. The tone of contempt is never to be found in the portrayal of Muslim characters, although this is common in the case of the Hindus. But this does not apply to the Mahrattas and the Sikhs who were not only feared and hated by the British, but also, even if grudgingly, admired.

Thus the courage and straightforwardness of the Muslim are contrasted with the indolence and deceitfulness of the Hindu. But the fear of the Hindu mendicants was there, for these priests were seen to be the most formidable barrier to

the spread of Christianity in the country. The increasing influence of the liberals and the evangelicals was giving the Company's policies new directions and it was fast ceasing to be a mere trading body. Along with law, education and efficient government, Christianity was also gaining added importance and the earlier policy of the Company regarding the missionaries was fast giving way. Men like Elphinstone and Munro had believed that the interference of Christianity in the day to day life of the Indian would not only hamper trade but would also make it difficult for Western enlightenment to spread because the people would grow suspicious of the motives of their rulers. Munro even punished officials guilty of ill-treating Indians and also suspended and removed officials who used their official prestige as a way of spreading the Christian doctrine amongst the people. But men like Sherer did not agree with the conservative policy of the administration and was more in line with that broad group of Englishmen who believed that apart from commercial interests, England had a 'christian' duty towards the Indians. And in this, the missionaries had to take the lead. Sherer, realizing the difficult task of the Christian missionaries, in 'civilizing' the natives, refers to the force of the fakirs when he says: 'Among the objects you meet on the road are often seen the fakirs, who are religious beggars...these wretches have the hateful influence with the people here, which the begging monks of the order of St. Francis had with the people of Europe before the blessed Reformation.'¹² ✓

About the Hindus, Sherer remarks on their apparent peacefulness and unity, but stresses the cruelty of the Brahmin who does not stoop to his brother of a lower caste or to the young widow waiting, terrified, to be burnt with her dead husband. Commenting on the mildness of the Hindu, Sherer states: "The mild Hindoo! The term is a mockery. It is insulting the piety, it is trifling with the sense of an Englishman, to tell him that the Hindoos are inoffensive and tolerating religionists. Pleased with their own attainments in Oriental literature, finding their pride flattered by all that is respectful and submissive in manners, and their taste indulged in by all that is pretty and scenic in the customs of the peoples of India, I verily believe that half the men who have so admirably por-

trayed these unfortunate idolaters, have deceived themselves, as well as others.¹³ Sherer's views on the Hindus are in keeping with the new British attitude towards India. India is no longer a country with a dazzling civilization but a backward nation inferior to industrial Britain in every aspect. Thus the change in attitude is also reflected by even a minor writer like Sherer. India was being seen with new eyes by Britain which was emerging from the Industrial Revolution, and earlier accounts of the country and its people were being questioned. And in the process of this questioning the Britisher was not only discovering the different 'civilizations' of the Hindus and the Muslims, but was also devising the necessary means to keep these two communities apart and struggling with each other. One community had to be favoured by the British against the other, and the Britisher very often discovered that if he had to do this even in the interests of empire, he would rather be closer to the Muslim than to the Hindu. With the former he shared a common Old Testament as well as habits of food, whereas with the latter he found himself baffled and lost.

Sherer's attitude towards the Muslims in India was strikingly different from that towards the Hindus and in this the author reflected the views of the average Britisher of that time. For example, he writes: 'For my own part, I view the faith of Islam with comparative respect. The dregs of the Mussalman people are, to be sure, vile enough; but the better class of Mahometans have some knowledge of God and Abraham; and pious Mahometans are to be met with in India, who have permitted to distinguish between the stolen jewels and the false stores and tinsel of the Koran. . . . But the sum of what I mean is, that, compared with Hindoo worship, that of the Mahometan has a plainness, a simplicity, a rationality. . . .'¹⁴ To most Englishmen in India the Muslim was less mysterious than the Hindu, although there seemed to have been a latent fear for the Muslim's courage and straightforwardness. The pride and revengefulness of the Muslim is very often referred to by Sherer. Describing an Old Muslim whom he had met in the course of his travels through the Carnatic, he writes: 'In the garden I met a venerable Mahometan priest, one hundred years old; a long, snow-white beard fell upon his breast. . . three or four elderly Moors with him looked very unbending

and haughty, but he placidly and calmly returned my salute. In him pride and revenge seemed to have fallen asleep.¹⁵

Thus we see that in contrast to the Muslim, the author has very little favourable to say about the Hindus, and writing about the Bengalee Hindus he describes them as 'a race of men, very inferior to those on the coast; they are small, slightly made and black.'¹⁶ Sherer also expresses his views on the Hindu and Muslim educational systems and writes: '... There was something in the venerable Mahometan teachers, and in the goodlooking, graceful and intelligent young scholar, far more interesting and pleasing than the Hindu college, with its dull brain, encumbered pundits, and their plodding students, could present. There is a dignity in the very sound of the Arabic language, and a mellow richness in the Persian, which command the attention, and charm the ear of a person unacquainted with their import. Their Koran, their histories, their Sadi, their Hafiz, do not seem, for they are removed so immeasurably from our way of thinking, as the sacred commentaries and fabulous histories of Hindu authors.'¹⁷ Sherer's attitude towards the Hindus was only a reflection of the average British attitude of the period, one which was built up by liberals, utilitarians and evangelists alike. Interest in reform was very often combined with evangelical Christianity, although the conservatives were strongly opposed to it. Men like Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General from 1842 to 1844, rejected both Christianity and education as instruments for the moral improvement of the Indian people. He denounced as dangerous to the security of the Empire all attempts to spread Christianity in India or reform the customs and habits of the people. Ellenborough did not deny that Britain had "a great moral duty" to perform in India, but he looked upon this duty primarily in economic terms.¹⁸ But as we have stated earlier, liberalism and evangelicalism had been steadily gaining influence in Indian policies and with it had gradually grown the belief that India's salvation lay in complete reformation. And Hinduism was seen as the greatest barrier to all progress. Although Hinduism came in for attack from all quarters, the British reformer always felt somewhat lost when he tried to enter and see the workings of Indian, particularly Hindu, society for himself. British writers on India have frequently

attempted to enter the intimate backyard of the Hindu family, but have inevitably failed. This had led to the impression, not entirely unjustified, that it was almost impossible for the Britisher to understand the workings of the Hindu mind, and as a result an air of mystery and suspicion always attended the Hindu-British relationship. But in the case of the British attitude towards the Muslims this was not the case. Sherer, like so many of his countrymen, had discovered similarities between him and the Indian Muslim, and found the latter so much easier to understand than the Hindu. This was one of the guiding factors in the shaping of British attitude towards the Muslims. I have given more space to Sherer than he perhaps deserves. But his reactions and attitudes are part of the attitude of the average Britisher of the time. Sherer himself admits his inability to see inside Indian (particularly Hindu) society, a handicap which even Forster or Kipling couldn't overcome, when he says: 'Nothing perhaps so much dampens the ardour of the traveller in India as to find that he may wander league after league, visit city after city, village after village, and still only see the outside of Indian society. The house he cannot enter, the groups he cannot join, the domestic circle he cannot gaze upon and the free, unrestrained converse of the natives he can never listen to.'¹⁹

Sherer's 'Sketches', which are recordings of Indian life and manners, may be seen as pointers to the average Britisher's attitude towards India in those days. His book deals with the India of the 1820s and it was during the late 1820s and throughout the 1830s that British policy in India saw some subtle shifts and Britain's interest in this country took on much broader dimensions. Till then, trade had been the primary factor. But this was being supplemented with the politics of governing India with all her vastness and diversities. This was therefore giving new shape and colour to British policy in India and it was in this period that the British rulers became truly aware of the fundamental differences in the Hindu and Muslim social set-ups and tried to use them to the advantages of empire in India. Although any generalization of the British attitude towards the Hindus and the Muslims would suffer from the faults that all generalizations are subject to, yet it can be safely said that the average Britisher found the Indian

Muslim easier to deal with and more accessible than his Hindu counterpart. The latter was not only 'cunning and deceitful' but was also 'mysterious'. Thus the 'gap' between the Hindus and the Muslims as seen by the Britisher developed in the course of years with the active support of men like Syed Ahmed Khan and Theodore Beck, the first Principal of the Aligarh Muslim College. The theory of 'divide et impera' was gradually coming into force; and the more Hindu-Muslim differences were emphasized, the greater were the fruits of colonial government. As such, in most of the Anglo-Indian writings of the period, there are very few attempts to place the Hindu-Muslim relationship in its true perspective. One writer who attempted this was Philip Meadows Taylor, and it is refreshing to find that although he suffered from the fault of idealizing his characters almost to the verge of unreality, he did try to see the two communities not as irreconcilable water-tight groups but as people who have lived together for centuries with plenty of cultural exchange between them.

(Philip Meadows Taylor) (1808-1876) is the most important Anglo-Indian novelist before Kipling. Most Anglo-Indian novels of this period deal with the life of the Britishers in India and except for the Indian setting, everything else is un-Indian. The few Indian characters that find place are either very sketchy or lop-sided. Taylor, with his *Confessions of a Thug*, *Seeta* and *Tara*, not only crowded his novels with Indian characters but also made a genuine attempt to see into them. Because of their attempt to reconstruct life, these novels still evoke occasional interest, when most of the rest of the Anglo-Indian novels are thumbed through only by pedantic scholars. Taylor, unlike so many of his contemporary writers on India, is not guided by official British policy. His novels are genuine, though very often rather limited, attempts at viewing the country and its people in as impartial and true a manner as was possible on the part of the alien Britisher. Of course, such a demand would be rather too much for these early mediocre Anglo-Indian novelists which even masters like E. M. Forster could not fully achieve. As a recent critic of Forster has remarked: 'To understand India is to understand the rationale of the whole creation; but the characters do not understand it, and Forster's plots make us ask whether human faculties are capable

of such understanding at all. After each character has made his feeble effort to grasp the total pattern, we are left again with the enormous and irrational presence of India, a riddle that can be ignored but never solved.²⁰

The Confessions of a Thug is a disturbing and lengthy novel, with the thug Ameer Ali as the central figure. The book begins with Ameer Ali telling the author of his life and adventures; of how his parents were victims of thuggee and how he himself was saved by the thug Ismail from being killed by the latter's accomplice, Ganesh; and how finally he was initiated into the profession. The book brings the Hindu and the Muslim together, united by the bond of thuggee. As in the other novels of Taylor, the Hindus and Muslims mix freely and there is an air of confidence and trust in their mutual dealings. The separatedness of the two communities which became a major theme in later Anglo-Indian fiction, had not as yet been felt. In *The Confessions*, both Hindu and Muslim thugs owe their allegiance to the goddess Bhowani; but each community retains its own character. Referring to the festival of Dussera, Ameer Ali, the central character in the book, says, 'Above all it is a day peculiarly sacred to Bhowanee, our patroness and goddess. Still, being a Mussalman, I could not then see why such respect was paid to the festival of Dussera... and I applied to my father for a solution of my doubts on the subject.'²¹ The father replies: 'It is necessary to your fully understanding this, that I should give you an outline of the Divine origin of our profession and how it is intimately connected with the faith of the Hindus and by whom we Mussalmans have been instructed in the art of Thuggee.' But Ameer questions further: 'How do you reconcile any contradiction between the faith of unbelievers and that of the blessed Prophet?' 'I cannot pretend to solve the difficulty,' says the father, 'but as their religion is far more ancient than ours, and no doubt had a divine origin, there are many points in it which one of the true faith may follow without offence, so that he does not join them in all their forms of worship. Indeed it is impossible to become a Hindu; but as I told you, Thuggee is one of the means by which Allah works out his ends.' Ameer Ali is a devout Muslim and says his *namaz* five times a day and holds a high opinion about his Hindu accomplices of whom his father says: '...you will

be thrown much into the society of Hindus, all of good caste, will find them as faithful and as worthy of your friendship as any Mussalman; such at least has been my experience of them.'²² One might say, Hindu or Muslim, a Thug is a thug. But Taylor untiringly attempts to show the reasons as to why these men had to take to the profession of thuggee. Ameer Ali has murdered hundreds; but he too could be affectionate and kind, have pity for the poor and be a good husband and father. He fanatically believed in his profession in which he saw the hand of Providence, but this did not make him a savage.

One cannot go into the social reasons as hinted at in the novel as to why these people, who were essentially good, became thugs, since that would take up much more space. It is enough to state here that in *The Confessions* Hindus and Muslims live in an atmosphere of friendship and amity, although the bond that holds them together is anti-social. As one comes to know each character in the novel, one cannot help feeling that the bond that holds them together isn't just their profession of murder but something more. It is interesting to note three Hindu characters in the novel: Brij Lall, the powerful village exploiter later killed by the thugs; Ganesh, the accomplice of Ameer Ali, whose cruelty is emphasized to show the better side of Ameer's character; and Bhudrinath, the unscrupulous Brahmin in league with the thugs. But the Rajput characters are shown to possess a sense of personal dignity, be it the thug Roop Singh, or Tiluk Singh who refuses to be cowed down by the thugs and is killed.

Taylor's Tara can be said to be the most ambitious of his works and, in a sense, his most daring. In this first of a group of historical novels that start the trilogy, Tara, the widowed daughter of Vyas Shastri, is carried off by Moro Trinmul, the Brahmin Pundit, and is rescued by Fazil, the chivalrous son of Afzool Khan, whom Tara marries. The book is crowded with Hindu and Muslim characters and 'is a determined attempt to bring the interior Hindu and Muslim life of a great Mahratta province, during the most exciting times, home to the hearts and understanding of Englishmen, to interest them in people with whom they have nothing in common except human nature.'²³ Fazil Khan is the central character in the novel and 'is the idol of his men, both Hindus and Muslims. His martial

exercises had begun early, and he had proved an apt scholar.²⁴ His guru was Bulwant Rao Bhosley, the expert swordsman and it was he who led Fazil 'into the midst of some sharp cavalry affairs with the Mughals.' The Hindu Bulwant and the Muslim Fazil are on the best of terms even though the Hindu refuses to accept water from the Muslim. For example, when Bulwant is imprisoned by Tanjee Maloosray, he is offered water by a Muslim and Fazil says: 'Hold! he is a Hindu, he will not take it from you. Where is the Kullal? Let him get some.'²⁵

Hindu-Muslim amity and understanding is a prominent theme in the book although the Muslim characters come out much more favourably than their Hindu counterparts. The Mahratta-Muslim rivalry is portrayed in detail but there is no pronounced bias in favour of either community. Fazil, when he comes to know of the destruction of the Hindu temple at Tooljapur, asks his father: 'Protection of God! the temple has not been harmed, nor its people, I trust? We had no war against priests, father....' The Muslim priest asks Fazil: 'No rejoicing for victory over the infidels?' And Fazil replies: '...I have never warred against priests and women yet....'²⁶ There is a distinct difference in the attitudes of the Peer and Fazil, and in the latter one can discern the new Muslim attitude rid of fanaticism. Talking of the destruction caused, Fazil says: 'He will not care about the men, but about the women who are dead, and that loving heart of his mother's which she gave him, will be grieved. God knows I would not have had it so.'²⁷ And about his friend Bulwant, Fazil says: 'Yes, I have one as true and faithful to me as that poor fellow was to you.' (This was in reply to a question by Paber Singh when he found one of his retainers dead.)

The valiant and truthful Fazil comes out in sharp contrast when put against characters like the unscrupulous Tulsi Dass, the scribe at the Mughal Court, the lusty Moro and the cruel but brave Pahar Singh. The cruelty of the Brahmin by the side of the funeral pyre of Tara after she had declared herself a suttee in order to ward off the avaricious Moro Trinmul, and the helplessness of Tara's father, Vyas Shastri, all go to give the reader an idea of the average Hindu character; while Fazil is the symbol of all that is good in Islam. His father, Afzool, his sister, Zyna, and his mother are all portrayed in a

very favourable light. Thus, on the whole, the book gives the impression that even Taylor, despite his impartial attitude towards the two communities, was swayed by the Britisher's sympathy for the Muslim. Tara, the silently suffering Hindu widow, is idealized, just as Fazil is, and the very fact that she rejects her Hindu past and marries Fazil, is, in a way, indicative of the author's preference for the Muslim way of life. Despite Fazil's tolerance of Hinduism, he tells Tara: 'You are not of us, nor of our creed; no matter, we can admit you honourably to both. It is no disgrace to quit the bloodstained belief of Hinduism to join the glorious ranks of the true believers.'²⁸

Yet *Tara* is an attempt on the part of Taylor to bring the Hindu and the Muslim worlds nearer, and it cannot be dismissed as a sentimental tale in which the forced union is brought about between a beautiful forlorn Hindu widow and a chivalrous, handsome Muslim youth. The book is different from other Anglo-Indian novels which deal with Hindu-Muslim relationship, in that here the two communities aren't bogged down by religious fanaticism; they try to understand and appreciate each other and there is mutual respect between them. The Hindu-Muslim hatred that is so often played up by so many Anglo-Indian writers is not to be found in Taylor's novels. Yet he emphasizes the separatedness of the two worlds of the Muslim and the Hindu: 'Two different worlds, as it were, were, thus brought together. What did the simple Brahmin girl know of the grandeur of Mohammaden princes, of which a faint murmur had ever reached her?... They had respected her honour and they had respected her faith...'²⁹ Referring to Tara's new way of life, Taylor asks: 'With her outward conversion to a strange faith, did Tara forget the old? No, it was impossible... the grand old Hindu hymns of the *Vedas*, and other devotional portions of the *Shastras*, especially the *Bhagawad Gita*, were never forgotten; and when the purport of them was explained to her husband, he did not object to her reading them.'³⁰ Meadows Taylor has no doubt idealized the characters of Tara and Fazil but in this very idealization can be discerned the acceptance on the part of the author of the fact that Hindus and Muslims aren't as inimical towards each other as was the common belief shared by most British writers of the period. ✓

Taylor's pictures of Indian life and characters are no doubt often idealized, but he contributed quite a lot to the understanding of India and her people, and he did try to render familiar the domestic life of the people through the medium of the novel. Taylor was the first major Anglo-Indian novelist to make such an attempt although earlier novelists like W. B. Hockley had also met with considerable success in depicting Indian scenes. Hockley's *Pandurang Hari* (1826) has been described as one of the most important works of fiction which the Anglo-Indians produced before Taylor's *Tara*. Referring to it, Edward Farley Oaten in his *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature* writes: 'In his [Hockley's] depiction of the Mahratta character he was far more accurate than Taylor, who tended to idealise his types. *Pandurang Hari* may be artistically crude, but as a picture it is wonderfully accurate. The quaintness and simplicity of the rogue who is the hero of the latter story, is more attractive and life-like.'³¹ But Hockley, though more accurate in his portraits than Taylor, did not attempt to achieve the breadth of Taylor's works. It was Taylor who may be said to have made the first serious and, to a great extent, impartial attempt to delve into the life of the Indian people, Hindus and Muslims alike. Thus, although Taylor's characterization may be criticized as idealistic, he makes up for it with his style, plot-construction and above all, his genuineness of feeling. His works are a welcome change from those Anglo-Indian writers who held the stage both before and after him. After Taylor very few writers attempted with success to portray Indian life in depth and Alexander Allardyce's *The City of Sunshine* (1887) is one exception. But to deal with it in detail would be to go beyond the scope of this paper.

In conclusion we may add that Taylor, through his novels, attempted to bring England and India nearer, a thing which was to be given up as almost impossible and sometimes as even ridiculous by the later Anglo-Indian novelists. Taylor, at the close of his life, referred to his literary work and said: 'I wanted to bring India nearer to England—to bring its people nearer to our people; and if, by any simple descriptions of life among the natives, any have felt more interest in their Indian brothers and sisters, or have been led to read and study more, my object has been attained.'³² But the novels that

followed the First War of Independence (1857) proved just the opposite. British policy underwent a marked change after 1857 and the earlier curiosity, fear and urge for reform regarding India was gradually replaced by the politics of manipulation. The imperialist aim was to consolidate its hold on the country and, accordingly, attempts at genuine understanding of either community were substituted by playing off one against the other. The 'Era of Confidence', as Allen J. Greenberger calls it in his *The British Image of India*, started after the 1870s and with it came the idea of the 'ideal' British officer, brave, daring and superior to the 'natives'. This shift in attitude can be discerned in the novels of that period. Taylor was one of the first (and perhaps the last major pre-Kipling Anglo-Indian novelist) to look into the world of the 'natives' with sympathy and understanding.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image of India*, p. 6.
2. Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 6.
3. Ibid. p. 7.
G. D. Bearce in his *British Attitude to India* (Chap. I) and Eric Stokes in his *English Utilitarians in India* (pp. 9-25) deal with this point in detail.
4. See Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image of India*, p. 6.
5. See Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt*, pp. 7-8.
6. Ibid. p. 12.
7. Charles Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 195. See Metcalf, p. 12.
8. Quoted in Metcalf, p. 9.
9. *The Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 14. Also see Trevelyan, op. cit., pp. 203-5.
10. P. Sherer, *Sketches of India*, p. 20.
11. Ibid. p. 21.
12. Ibid. p. 43.
13. Ibid. p. 66.
14. Ibid. pp. 67-8.
15. Ibid. p. 101.
16. Ibid. p. 121.
17. Ibid. pp. 131-2.
18. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt*, p. 17.
19. P. Sherer, *Sketches*, p. 213.
20. Frederick C. Crews, *E. M. Forster: The Perils of Humanism*, p. 144.
21. *Confessions of a Thug*, p. 26.

22. Ibid. p. 29.
23. Review of the book in *The Spectator*.
24. Taylor, *Tara*, p. 109.
25. Ibid. p. 158.
26. Ibid. p. 340.
27. Ibid. p. 340.
28. Ibid. p. 501.
29. Ibid. p. 387.
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31. Oaten, *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature*, p. 145.
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AESTHETICISM AND OSCAR WILDE'S STYLE

By AVADHESH K. SRIVASTAVA

I

THE 1890s in the history of English literature have acquired a somewhat special connotation derived mainly from the popular misconception that this was somehow the period of the artistic culmination of an eccentric and almost bizarre cult of the art-for-art's sake and nothing more. The period is often referred to as the period of the 'naughty' or the 'yellow' nineties,¹ while conveniently ignoring the fact that it was so much else besides. True, the decade saw the publication of *The Yellow Book* (April 1894) and *The Savoy* (January 1896),² which were dedicated to the aesthetic movement in England. Also, this was the period when Oscar Wilde as the living embodiment of aesthetic culture saw both the heights of fame and the depths of notoriety;³ but this was also the period when, in the seething turmoil of ideas, new forces and newer literary influences were building up in what looked like the human spirit's symbolic homage to the end of a century that very nearly coincided with the end of an era. The following random sample of the books that were published during the decade in itself gives an idea of its literary variety:

- Meredith, George: *Lord Ormont and his Aminta* (1894)
The Amazing Marriage (1895)
- Hardy, Thomas: *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891)
Jude the Obscure (1896)
- Gissing, George: *New Grub Street* (1892)
- Stevenson, R. L.: *Weir of Hermiston* (1896)
- Bridges, Robert: *Shorter Poems* (1890)
Shorter Poems (1896)
- Housman, A. E.: *A Shropshire Lad* (1896)
- Kipling, Rudyard: *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892)
Jungle Books (1894-5)

Conrad, J.:	<i>Almayer's Folly</i> (1895) <i>The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'</i> (1897)
Webb, S. & B.:	<i>History of Trade Unionism</i> (1894)
Wells, H. G.:	<i>The Time Machine</i> (1895)
Shaw, G. B.:	<i>Widowers' Houses</i> (1892) <i>Mrs. Warren's Profession</i> (1894) <i>Plays Pleasant & Unpleasant</i> (1898)

Nor was this all. Some of the literary tendencies of the preceding decades were still alive;⁴ the pre-Raphaelite movement had not yet entirely exhausted itself, and although the Oxford movement in its original form had died with Cardinal Newman (1890), its influence (though waning) had not quite disappeared. The poetry of the great Victorians: Tennyson, Browning and Arnold had not totally lost its appeal. The discovery of Ibsen and the growing recognition of Karl Marx was slowly but unmistakably making its way into the literary consciousness of a new generation. The Northcliffe revolution in journalism was already reflecting a new turn in socio-political ethics as surely as it indicated the rise of Philistinism against which the artist was finding himself both defenceless and isolated.⁵ The Fabian Society (1894) and the work of the Social Democratic Federation founded by H. M. Hyndman focused attention on the growing difference between one section of the population and another, and it was probably responsible for the polarization of political parties that, by the unique nature of their affiliation, helped to re-define the pattern and scope of democracy in England. Some of the figures in the literary drama of the last years of the nineteenth century derived their inspiration from the overall climate of change that confronted them just as there were writers such as Hopkins, Henry James and Yeats whose influence was to grow at a much later date, not because they deliberately eschewed involvement with their time, but possibly because, in the hectic churning of literary values, certain kinds of literary talent were bound to appear as either premature or late. In such a period of literary transition the only philosophy that ever could obtain a hearing was the philosophy that could create its own audience either by rational or emotional appeal. In

a way art suffered from the unfortunate necessity of acquiring the manner of propaganda.⁶ Viewed in this light Shaw's aggressiveness and pulpitry were but an essential means to obtain a legitimate hearing for himself even as the aesthetic movement by its somewhat queer display of (imported) plumage became its own advertisement. And since, by a spectacular method of propaganda,⁷ it succeeded in attracting attention to itself, it became known out of all proportion to its importance in literary history.⁸ Oscar Wilde who had a flair for such flamboyance became the principal figure of the movement, although, in all fairness, it must be conceded that he was also its principal spokesman.⁹

The aesthetic movement¹⁰ in England was a movement of vague intellectual kinship, of undefined sympathy for certain literary influences, partly British and predominantly French.¹¹ But the influences themselves were unevenly distributed amongst the adherents of the aesthetic cult, so that the individual reaction was more often temperamental, if not at the same time unique. The group—if such an odd assortment of individuals could be given that name—only shared a longing for a certain view of art and their own work is an external realization of that view. Surprisingly, theirs was not, strictly speaking, an attitude of protest and although they were clearly critical of Victorian attitudes they hardly ever used this discontent as motivation for their art as Pinero, Jones and Shaw had done. They looked upon the world around them not with hostility but with contempt and sought to create, in their minds and art, a world of beauty that was its own justification, its own *raison d'être*, and in which they, as artists, were to find their total fulfilment. In this pursuit, therefore, they were constantly experimenting with life and ideas and were refining, in the process, their concept of artistic function¹² and beauty. 'Art for art's sake' was an artistic adventure,¹³ a point of view,¹⁴ and if we still refer to it as a movement it is not to force upon it a homogeneity that it did not possess, but only for the sake of taxonomic convenience.

The term Aesthetic is derived from the Greek *aisthesis*, signifying perception, or the science of the beautiful, especially in art, and the designation had long been applied by German writers to a branch of philosophical enquiry into the theory of

the beautiful, or more accurately, into the philosophy of poetry and the fine arts. The term appears to have been first used by Baumgarten, whose work *Aesthetica* was published in 1750.¹⁵ The literary controversy, to which is ascribed the origin of the school, related to the question as to whether an object is actually beautiful in itself, or merely appears so to certain persons having faculties capable of appreciating it, and the Aesthetes are they who pride themselves upon having found out what is the really beautiful in nature and art, their faculties and tastes being educated up to the point necessary for the full appreciation of such qualities; while those who do not see the true and the beautiful are termed Philistines. But, in the interest of historical accuracy, it needs to be mentioned that 'the inspiration and attitudes' of the Aesthetes in England were derived mainly from French symbolists: Huysman, Gautier and Baudelaire,¹⁶ and not from the scholarly dispute of the German metaphysicians.

If fact, the first impulse for making a cult of beauty came from Keats.¹⁷ Keats worshipped beauty, beauty in its multifarious forms, beauty past and present. It was the pure aesthetic enjoyment of the loveliness of the visual world for its own sake. ('We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us,' said Keats.¹⁸) The pre-Raphaelites inherited this worship of beauty from Keats and added to his domain of the visual world 'the unseen realm of the soul'.¹⁹ But if aestheticism in England owed something to Keats and the pre-Raphaelites, it was more in the nature of a background, a kind of respectable ancestry. As Professor Rodway so succinctly put it:

Rossetti, Morris and Ruskin upheld the strong moral tone of Victorian art, and believed in a medieval world (largely of their own invention) in which culture was serious, satisfying, and unified. The nineties had no belief, and little interest, in such a world or such a culture.²⁰

The earliest important English influence upon the philosophy of the very varied group which enlisted under the banner of 'Art for art's sake' came from the work of the scholarly Walter Pater (1839-1894), a student of Ruskin's and a teacher of Wilde's. His cultivated hedonism was developed at some

length in *Marius the Epicurean*, which served as bible for the group. The essence of Pater's message, which he modified in later editions of his work since, as he feared, it was open to misconstruction, seemed to be that the sole duty of the aesthete was to develop his aesthetic sensibilities, enjoy all possible varieties of artistic and sensuous experience, and 'burn always with a hard gem-like flame'. This Paterian position involved, as the famous conclusion of Pater's *Renaissance* made explicit, the cultivation of 'sensation' intensified by 'passion', because, as Pater himself averred, 'Great passions may give us this quickened sense of life. . . .—Only be sure it is passion. . . . Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most.' Oscar Wilde was voicing the essence of this teaching when he maintained that 'all art is at once surface and symbol,'²¹ or that 'Emotion for the sake of emotion is the aim of art, and emotion for the sake of action is the aim of life.'²² This system of beliefs ran counter to the very essence of the teaching of Ruskin and the accepted crédo of the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. Ruskin had expounded what may be termed as a moral theory of art and for him the 'form' of an artistic creation was infinitely less important than its 'content'.²³ To Ruskin great art 'can have but three principal directions of purpose, first, that of enforcing the religion of men; secondly, that of enforcing their ethical state; thirdly, that of doing them material service'.²⁴ This is obviously the very opposite of Oscar Wilde's dictum: 'All art is useless.'²⁵ The importance the Aesthetes attached to 'content' or subject-matter of art may best be summed up in Oscar Wilde's words:

As long as a thing is useful or necessary to us in any way, either for pain or pleasure. . . it is outside the proper sphere of art. To Art's subject-matter we should be more or less indifferent.²⁶

It was this idea of the supreme refinement of the 'form'²⁷ that emphasized the Aesthete's respect for literary craftsmanship, his proneness to stylistic excesses. This, apart from the Aesthete's almost demoniac search for 'sensations' of all kinds, linked him up with his prototype in the contemporary literature of France and earned him the somewhat derogatory label

of 'decadent'. Arthur Symons, who was the most notable critic of the group and the editor of *The Savoy*, neatly described decadence when referring to it he observed:

...it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the qualities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence: an intense self-consciousness, a restless curiosity in research, an oversubtilising refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity.²⁸

This extreme aesthetic formalism is a clue to the intellectual complexion of the group in its pursuit of literary excellence. For one thing, the emphasis laid on the artificial decor of language to the exclusion of anything else points to the aesthete's effort to live up to Pater's²⁹ principle: 'All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music.'³⁰ What they wrote became less significant than how they wrote it, so that Oscar Wilde was able to declare with impressive conviction: 'There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written or badly written. That is all.'³¹ The aesthetic striving for *le mot propre* having beauty and value of their own, apart from their meaning, was directed towards achieving an elaborate finish in a work of art as if it were a piece of filigree and became, as Murry put it, not so much 'a triumph of language as a victory over language'.³² The purely arabesque, the baroque, became the ultimate goal of the artist who treated languages as a concrete resistant material. The aesthetic movement in England shared with the French symbolists and the later Parnassians³³ this overwhelming concern with style, just as under the heady influence of Huysman, Gautier and Baudelaire the search for sensation led to extreme instances of ingenious depravity.³⁴

Oscar Wilde has said that 'the first duty in life is to be as artificial as possible...'³⁵ In a way this was an assertion of the aesthetic formalism, which the aesthetes raised to the status of an 'intellectual belief'. It is this stress on the 'artificial' that was reflected in the aesthete's artistic notions: (a) that nature is inferior to art, and (b) that art must, therefore, develop the power to anticipate and modify nature.³⁶ In *The Decay of Lying*, Oscar Wilde sums up this position:

My own experience is that the more we study Art, the less we care for Nature. What Art really reveals to us is Nature's lack of design, her curious crudities, her extraordinary monotony, her absolutely unfinished condition.³⁷

or,

[the] unfortunate...aphorism about Art holding the mirror up to Nature, is deliberately said by Hamlet in order to convince the by-standers of his absolute insanity in all art-matters.³⁸

A little further on he elaborates this:

Nature is no great mother who has borne us. She is our creation. It is in our brain that she quickens to life. Things are because we see them, and what we see, and how we see it, depends on the Arts that have influenced us.³⁹

It will be seen from the foregoing that the aesthetes had little use for the socio-realistic trends in literature that were gaining in influence during their time. Instead, they believed in the power of imagination,⁴⁰ which, under the swaying impact of intense experience, created a world that was all artifice. It is in such a world of their own creation that they felt most at home, and in which they found the kind of aesthetic satisfaction they so earnestly desired. Oscar Wilde's own work, specially his poems, poems in prose, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* and, amongst his plays, at least *Salomé*, are evidence of the aesthetic manifesto outlined here. And even where Oscar Wilde demonstrates a neat balancing-trick between 'form' and 'subject-matter' as in his essays, comedies and *De Profundis*, the manner is ever so much more remarkable than the matter of discourse. The plays of Oscar Wilde which are relatively free from this extreme aesthetic involvement also to a certain extent support this view.⁴¹ *De Profundis*, likewise, has been criticized for its lack of sincerity, but Oscar Wilde's claim to sincerity was only as an artist; it is when we look upon his work as sincere or insincere from a rather mundane viewpoint that we fail to discern in them the value which Oscar Wilde as an artist gave them. And the value that he gave them, it is

needless to say, was fairly consistent with his profession as an aesthete.

The aesthetic movement, then, may be seen as comprising two distinct layers of artistic activity. First and foremost, there was the 'aesthete', a person endowed with a sensibility that gave him the necessary intellectual apparatus to perceive the essence of beauty, and in pursuit of this to willingly expose himself to 'a life of sensations'. This may be labelled as the inner life of the aesthetic adventure. And, since the aesthete was also an artist, it was to be his conscious and deliberate endeavour to struggle with his 'material' so as to make it capable of carrying the awesome burden of his aesthetic experience. It is the latter which may be described as the linguistic realization of aestheticism as distinct from the purely doctrinaire aspect of it.

II

The aesthetes treated language in very much the same way as a sculptor treats stone, that is, they show a conscious and deliberate striving after effect, an almost painful manipulation of the medium for the adequate expression of an artistic conception. The intense 'word-consciousness'⁴² of the aesthetic 'artists' was directed to practising a kind of evocative sorcery through which 'the colours may speak, the monuments stand up and the subtle perfumes be wafted over the breeze.'⁴³ The aesthetic artists considered style as a synonym of formal perfection, and according to Holbrook Jackson, they were 'of the opinion that the ultimate form of a thought, its manner of word and syntax, was the thing in itself.'⁴⁴ These artists were really often tormented by a search for the right phrase, the exact word, the precise position of the punctuation marks, and if occasionally this led to working an empty mechanism, the fact cannot be denied that they took language seriously 'as the primary object of consciously worked artistic treatment.'⁴⁵

The aesthetic artists loved words for their own sake⁴⁶ and what R. L. Stevenson said in another context may be applied to the work of the aesthetes: 'The arabesque, properly speaking, and even in literature, is the first fancy of the artist.'⁴⁷ This

vivid word-sense, this lexical resourcefulness, may be said to be the most noticeable feature of the style of the aesthetic artists. They created a verbal world of rare and exquisite beauty, and as for words, 'they took pleasure in handling them, in pouring out heaps of them, of every quality and to please every sense.'⁴⁸

The vocabulary of the aesthetes is the vocabulary of the senses. The names of objects, more often for the sake of euphony than for the love of objects they signified, found ample representation in their work.⁴⁹ The names of jewels and art-treasures and exotic flowers, of nameless passions that found a name in the artist's opulent fancy, and colours, specially colours in impossible collocations, are scattered over the writings of the aesthetic artists.⁵⁰ They looked for beauty anywhere and everywhere, and since this was likely to restrict their range of experience they also looked at ugliness, hideousness and sights of horror⁵¹ so that by tasting all kinds and variety of 'sensations' they were able to nourish the principle of beauty in themselves. Next to the vocabulary of senses there is, in the work of these artists, a preponderance of what may loosely be described as the vocabulary of feeling. The unending problems and mysteries of the soul: sin, crime, guilt, remorse and horror find verbal representation in their work.

The aesthetic artists held the life of contemplation in the highest esteem, and as may be expected their style attests to a rich and variegated imaginative use of language. Oscar Wilde's work provides ample evidence of the rich use made in it of images and metaphors often verging upon synaesthesia.⁵² In the blatant audacity of their usage the aesthetic artist often achieved a kind of surface impressionism.⁵³ In the quality of writing that was produced by the intricate fusion of such diverse literary devices, the aesthetic artists achieved a degree of evocative and musical vicer almost comparable to the rich, stylistic virtuosity of the French symbolists.⁵⁴

The normal mode of aesthetic apperception was essentially antithetical which was 'a kind of "syntactic" symptom of the highly intellectual, artificial and formalistic attitude aestheticism adopted towards life.'⁵⁵ Oscar Wilde's work is replete with examples of notional contrariety; parallelism, aphorism, epigram, paradox, and proverbs. Indeed, in Wilde these devices

form the source of witty conversation which abounds in his writings.

In Wilde everything dissolves into verbalism, his life, his actions, his art. Wilde's whole philosophy was based on the principle of doing nothing and discussing everything. In *The Picture of Dorian Gray* he has said somewhere that 'to think is to act' and for Wilde talk itself was a kind of 'spiritualised action'. Wilde maintained that 'it was simple expression that gives reality to things.'⁵⁶ But this must not be taken to mean that Oscar Wilde was antirealistic only in the sense of denying external reality. He raised his 'anti-realism' to the status of an artistic condition and he refined reality in terms of intellect and heightened it, as it were, into the exponent of the word and though this 'reality' existed only in the verbal sphere, it was none the less real for that. André Gide has reported a conversation in which Oscar Wilde is alleged to have told him: '... there is no need to talk about [the real world] in order to see it... the world of art [is the one] which has to be talked about because it would not exist otherwise.'⁵⁷ Oscar Wilde admitted to Arthur Conan Doyle once: 'Between me and life there is a mist of words always...'⁵⁸ In *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Chapter II, most specially) this mist of words causes a kind of logomania in which Oscar Wilde gives to his readers list after list of perfumes, musical instruments, jewels, embroideries, ecclesiastical vestments and an extraordinary number of colour words. In fact Oscar Wilde insisted that Art should maintain between itself and reality 'the impenetrable barrier of beautiful style, of decorative and ideal treatment'.⁵⁹ He was, as Ernest Bendz affirmed, 'essentially and primarily an artist in words'.⁶⁰ The fact that Wilde's art belonged, as it were, primarily to 'the concrete sphere of language' determined its antirealistic quality and made it so stylized and artificial.⁶¹

Oscar Wilde was vividly word-conscious, because he believed that there was nothing so 'real as words' and that 'they gave a plastic form to formless things.'⁶² He perceived rather than conceived the words and Charles Ricketts said of him:

✓ He was the typical literary temperament to whom words are realities and the sound of a sentence in itself convincing.⁶³

But this was not all. Oscar Wilde treated language as a resistant material, and, according to him, it was the supreme task of the artist to mould this material for artistic expression. To Wilde language was the most perfect medium of expression, which also has a fuller variety of appeal than most representational arts. He said:

Words have not merely music as sweet as that of viol and lute, colour as rich and vivid as any that makes lovely for us the canvas of the Venetians or the Spaniards, and plastic form no less sure and certain than that which reveals itself in marble or in bronze but thought and passion and spirituality are theirs also, are theirs indeed alone.⁶⁴

According to Wilde the principles of literature as laid down by the Greeks rested firmly on the basis of language, and in a brilliant exposition of this Greek position⁶⁵ Oscar Wilde shows himself as entirely in sympathy with its postulates.

Oscar Wilde attached tremendous importance to the principle of rhythm in language and praised the Greeks for having studied 'the metrical movement of prose as scientifically as a modern musician studies harmony and counterpoint.'⁶⁶ It is this subtle understanding of the 'rhythm of language' which alone, according to Wilde, was capable of reflecting the aesthetic experience, and as with the Greeks, '[the] test was always the spoken word in its musical and metrical relations.'⁶⁷ In one of his early lectures, *The English Renaissance of Art*, Wilde had declared that 'the real poetical quality, the joy of poetry, comes never from the subject but from an inventive handling of rhythmical language, from what Keats called the "sensuous life of verse".'⁶⁸

The laws of expression and composition in language, the search for new modes and possibilities of literary projection were crucial considerations with Wilde. '... In the case of any important literary movement,' he had said, 'half of its strength resides in its language.'⁶⁹ And the artist had to have the most perfect command over his medium to be able to instil his personality into it and to know the scope and range of its plastic frontiers. 'Manner' and 'method' were recognized by

Oscar Wilde as the two essential concomitants of literary usage. 'The manner of an artist is essentially individual, the method of an artist is absolutely universal. The first is personality, which no one should copy, the second is perfection, which all should aim at.'⁷⁰ 'Personality' and 'Perfection'⁷¹ were the essence of style and Oscar Wilde uses these terms on many an occasion both with a view to elaborating his thesis and by way of refining his concept. However, despite the fact that Oscar Wilde uses these terms frequently, it is difficult to make out from his scattered remarks what components of linguistic usage did he find as contributing to the personal element in style, and what, if any, universally valid formula did he discover as leading up to perfection in style. It would appear that Wilde was more concerned with the importance of style in art and not so much in any very profound analysis of it and it is only the spirit of aestheticism that holds together 'this loosely built aesthetics and philosophy of life.'⁷²

The following excerpts from the reviews of Oscar Wilde provide some idea of his notion of style:

1. ... There is no art where there is no style, and no style where there is no unity, and unity is of the individual.⁷³
2. In all unimportant matters, style, not sincerity, is the essential. In all important matters, style, not sincerity, is the essential.⁷⁴
3. All art is at once surface and symbol.⁷⁵
4. ... there is no such thing as Style; there are merely styles, that is all.⁷⁶
5. Truth is entirely and absolutely a matter of style.⁷⁷

Oscar Wilde admired simplicity, self-restraint and selectiveness in art as of much greater value than 'pompous rhetoric' or 'empty eloquence'.⁷⁸ Wilde wrote in his review of Walter Pater's Appreciations:

... The perfect writer... will avoid what is mere rhetoric or ostentatious ornament, or negligent misuse of terms, or ineffective surplusage, and will be known by his tact of omission, by his skilful economy of means, by his selection and self-restraint, and perhaps above all by that conscious

artistic structure which is the expression of mind in style.
(*Reviews*, p. 540)

✓ To Oscar Wilde simplicity meant lack of verbiage that has no aesthetic function to fulfil. Self-restraint and selectiveness, likewise, are to serve only one purpose: to make the work of art as perfect a piece as human ingenuity and care can make it, a harmonious composition in which all that is likely to be discordant has been skilfully weeded out.

✓ But although Oscar Wilde, at any rate, on the plane of theory, advocated sound and sensible ideas on style, his own practice was often at great variance with his theoretical assumptions. While Wilde sneered at 'mere rhetoric', his own style shows a remarkable weakness for it, and as Woodcock tells us, '[Ruskin was responsible] for a great deal of inaccuracy, the tendency to rhetorical passages... which made Wilde so much less a writer of good prose than Pater.'⁷⁹ The excessive use of alliteration and assonance, and of words and phrases for their real and fancied euphony often corrupted Wilde's verse to an unworthy imitation of Swinburne. He allowed language to become his master and in moods of eloquence words dominated him to such an extent that their very brilliance became blinding. The floral and mythological tapestries that are found in Wilde's poetry are, likewise, the result of an all too eager imitation of Keats, and some of his verse-exercises (for instance, Charmides) stand in blatant contradiction to the principle of simplicity, self-restraint and selectiveness. ✓

It may, however, be noted that the literary excesses of Oscar Wilde's style are largely confined to his early work and the stylistic plagiarizing, of which he is often accused, is less of a conscious borrowing, and more an over-enthusiastic fondness for certain types of usage.⁸⁰ Wilde's admiration for his favourite authors, Pater for instance, extends to his effort in trying to create within the limits of his own style the atmospheric effect, so to say, of his models. This often meant a deterioration in style such as is to be discerned in Oscar Wilde's early lectures. Fortunately for Wilde he soon outgrew his earlier, almost childish infatuation for other people's style, and after his American tour,⁸¹ he renounced his aesthetic garb and with it his blind devotion to his stylistic idols. He discovered his own

stylistic vein, and although his style always remained a bit of 'pastiche', he had learnt to mix the ingredients so cleverly as to imprint anything he wrote with his own unique personality. And except, perhaps, in his early poetry and parts of *De Profundis*, Oscar Wilde remains a sovereign stylist in his own right.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See R. Le Gallicene, *The Romantic 90's*, p. 11 ff.
T. Beer, *The Mauve Decade*, p. 14.
2. The main influence of the Aesthetes was through these two short-lived periodicals. *The Yellow Book* was the real organ of the Movement, although it printed such writers as Henry James, Arnold Bennett, Kenneth Grahame, John Brehan and Canon Beeching. *The Savoy* opened with an article by George Bernard Shaw and was edited by Arthur Symons. Oscar Wilde did not contribute to either of them. For a detailed discussion of their place in the history of the aesthetic movement see Frances Winwar: *Oscar Wilde & the Yellow Nineties*, Ch. VIII, pp. 239-51.
3. See G. Coleridge, 'Oscar Wilde' in *The Nineteenth Century and After* (April, 1922).
4. See F. Winwar, op. cit. p. 152, 153.
5. See William K. Wimsatt (Jr.) and Cleanth Brooks (referred to subsequently as Wimsatt and Brooks), *Literary Criticism: A Short History*, p. 487.
6. See A. T. Rubinstein, *The Great Tradition in English Literature*, pp. 850-1.
7. This is not to imply that the art of the aesthetes was propaganda motivated. But the way Oscar Wilde made his debut in society and the shocking originality of the publications of the aesthetes (Oscar Wilde's *Poems*, for instance, or *The Yellow Book*) drew attention to themselves much in the same way as a cleverly advertised good. For some brilliant remarks that have a bearing on this aspect of aestheticism see James K. Robinson, *A Neglected Phase of the Aesthetic Movement: English Parnassianism*, PMLA, LXVIII, September, 1953, pp. 733-54. See also A. T. Rubinstein, op. cit. pp. 850-1.
8. See A. E. Rodway, 'The Last Phase', in *From Dickens to Hardy* (ed. Boris Ford), p. 385.
9. Wimsatt and Brooks, op. cit. p. 485.
10. Cp. '...aesthetics was found to describe the judgement of Art, and this, in turn, produced a name for a special kind of person—aesthete. The art-literature, music, painting, sculpture, theatre—were regrouped together, in this new phase, as having something essentially in common which distinguished them from the human skills.' Raymond Williams, 'Culture and Society', in *The Victorian Age* (ed. Robert Langbaum), p. 78.
11. See A. Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, p. 203.
12. The function of art, according to the aesthetes, was its lack of function. 'All art is quite useless', said Oscar Wilde in the Preface to *The Picture of Dorian*

- Gray in *The Works of Oscar Wilde* (ed. G. F. Maine), p. 17 (mentioned in subsequent references as *Works*).
13. See William Gaunt, *The Aesthetic Adventure*, p. 3.
 14. See A. E. Rodway, op. cit. p. 385.
 15. See W. Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England*, p. 2.
 16. See O. Burdett, *The Beardsley Period*, p. 5.
 17. During his lecture tour in the United States in 1882, Wilde traced the origin of the aesthetic movement back to a (retreating) romanticism, and notes the relation of the early romantics to the French Revolution. He said, '...in the calmness and clearness of his vision, his self-control, his unerring sense of beauty, and his recognition of a separate realm for the imagination, Keats was the pure and serene artist, the forerunner of the Pre-Raphaelite School, and so of the great romantic movement of which I am to speak.' Quoted in A. T. Rubinstein, op. cit. p. 852.
 18. Quoted in F. Winwar, op. cit. p. 153.
 19. Quoted in A. T. Rubinstein, op. cit. p. 837.
 20. A. E. Rodway, op. cit. p. 386.
 21. The Preface to *Dorian Gray*. See *Works*, p. 17.
Cp. 'There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book'—Ibid.
 22. Quoted in R. Stonewell, *Selections from Oscar Wilde*, p. 112.
 23. See Wimsatt and Brooks, op. cit. pp. 486-7.
 24. J. Ruskin, *Lectures on Art*, p. 37.
 25. Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. See *Works*, p. 17.
 26. 'The Decay of Lying' in *Essays by Oscar Wilde* (ed. Hesketh Pearson), p. 45.
 27. See 'The Critic as Artist', in *Essays by Oscar Wilde* (ed. Hesketh Pearson), p. 100, *et. seq.*
 28. Quoted in A. T. Rubinstein, op. cit. pp. 847-8.
Cp. Pater's injunction to make language 'a serious study weighing the precise power of every phrase and word, as though it were precious metal.' *Marius the Epicurean*, p. 71.
 29. Max Beerbohm has said somewhere that Pater used the English language as if it was 'a dead language'.
 30. W. Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 111.
 31. Preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, op. cit. p. 17.
 32. J. M. Murry, *The Problem of Style*, p. 252.
 33. See R. Lalou, *Historie de la litterature francaise contemporaine*, p. 22.
 34. See Wimsatt and Brooks, op. cit. p. 491, specially footnote 7.
 35. From *Chameleon* (December, 1894). See *Works*, p. 113.
 36. Wimsatt and Brooks, op. cit. p. 472.
 37. Quoted in R. Stonewell, op. cit. p. 112.
 38. Ibid. p. 114.
 39. Ibid.
 40. The word 'imagination' here has been used in the sense Jean Paul Sartre uses it, that is, in an associative relation. See J. P. Sartre, *L'imaginaire*, p. 418.
 41. See Avadhesh K. Srivastava, *The Plays of Oscar Wilde: A Linguistic Enquiry* (esp. Chapter I, Section II), unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Lucknow University, 1970.
 42. See J. Downey, *Creative Imagination*, p. 60.

43. See C. Baudelaire, *L'art romantique*, p. 102.
 44. H. Jackson, *The Eighteen-Nineties*, p. 163.
 45. Gustave Lanson, *L'art de la prose*, p. 223.
 46. J. Downey, op. cit. p. 66.
 47. R. L. Stevenson, *Across the Plains*, p. 114.
 48. A. Ojala, *Aesthetics and Oscar Wilde*, p. 19.
 49. Ibid. p. 23.
 50. One example each from the poetry of two leading members of the aesthetic group, Arthur Symons and Oscar Wilde, may be quoted to illustrate this:

(1) Her cheeks are hot, her cheeks are white;
 The White girl hardly breathes to-night,
 So faint the pulses come and go,
 That waken to a smouldering glow,
 The morbid faintness of her white.

[Arthur Symons, *Poems*, Vol. I, p. 159]

(2) Mark how the yellow iris wearily
 Leans back its throat, as though it would be kissed
 By its false chamberer, the dragon-fly,
 Who, like a blue vein on a girl's white wrist,
 Sleeps on that snowy primrose of the night,
 Which 'gins to flush with crimson shame,
 And die beneath the light.

[Oscar Wilde, *The Garden of Eros*, Works, p. 707]

51. A poem like 'Cadavre' in *Les Fleur du Mal* may be cited as an example of this trend.
 52. The following two examples illustrate this stylistic feature of the group:

Lengths of white silk as clear as the notes of violin playing in a minor key; white poplin falling into folds statuesque as the bass of a fugue by Bach; yards of ruby velvet rich as an air from Verdi played on the piano. . . .

[George Moore, *Muslin*, pp. 169-70]

. . . behind lattice scarlet-wrought and gilt
 Some Brown-limbed girl did weave the tapestry
 All through the waste and wearied hours of noon;
 Till her wan cheek with flame of passion burned,
 And she rose up the sea-washed lips to kiss
 Of some glad Cyprian sailor. . . .

[Oscar Wilde, *The New Helen*, Works, p. 717]

53. See A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 29.
 54. See C. M. Bowra, *The Heritage of Symbolism*, pp. 8-9.
 55. A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 35.
 56. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 179.

57. Andre Gide, *Oscar Wilde*, p. 18.
58. Quoted in H. Pearson, *The Life of Oscar Wilde*, p. 145.
59. Quoted in A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 112 (Part I).
60. E. Bendz, *Oscar Wilde*, p. 12.
Op. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Works, p. 30.
- 'Words! Mere words! How terrible they were! How clear and vivid, and cruel! ... Mere words! was there anything so real as words.
61. See A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 41 (Part II).
62. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Works, p. 30.
63. C. Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, p. 425.
64. 'The Critic as Artist', Works, p. 958.
65. Ibid. p. 955 *et seq.*
66. Ibid. p. 955.
67. Ibid.
68. Oscar Wilde, *Miscellany*, p. 261.
69. Oscar Wilde, *Reviews*, p. 358.
70. Ibid. p. 46.
71. Swinburne uses these words in his essay on Matthew Arnold and it is possible that Wilde borrowed them from him. See A. C. Swinburne, *Works*, vol. XV, p. 93.
72. A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 46.
73. *Works*, p. 928.
74. Ibid. p. 1113.
75. Ibid. p. 17.
76. Oscar Wilde, *Reviews*, p. 355.
77. *Works*, p. 920.
78. See Oscar Wilde, *Reviews*, pp. 50, 73, 91, 103, 230 and 365.
79. G. Woodcock, *The Paradox of Oscar Wilde*, p. 66.
Also Avadhesh K. Srivastava, op. cit. Notes to Chapter I.
80. See E. Bendz, *The Influence of Pater and Matthew Arnold in the Prose Writings of Oscar Wilde*, p. 39.
81. See A. Ojala, op. cit. p. 49 (Part I).

VIEWS OF HISTORY IN T. S. ELIOT'S EARLY WRITINGS: THE PROBLEM OF INFLUENCES

BY C. T. THOMAS

THE purpose of this essay is to survey what might be called 'the climate of ideas' that prevailed in the first quarter of the present century, that might have had an impact upon Eliot's own development. I shall approach the problem from the limited perspective of ideas and viewpoints pertaining to history.¹ Owing to the vast sweep of this issue and the limited scope of this inquiry, I shall follow the practical expedient of examining the attitudes to the historical process, of a few key figures of the period. I shall consider ideas connected with history in the writings of Irving Babbitt, Francis Herbert Bradley, Henri Bergson, T. E. Hulme, Charles Maurras and Ezra Pound, and relate them to Eliot's views during this early period.

I

Eliot has called attention in unmistakable terms, more than once, to the profound influence exerted by Irving Babbitt on his development. Acknowledging the fact that Babbitt was one of the principal characters who influenced the future course of his life, he said that Babbitt's influence was one of the forces that sent him to Paris.² Matthiessen thinks that 'among the members of the Harvard faculty those who most clearly left their influence upon him [Eliot] were Irving Babbitt and George Santayana.'³ According to Montgomery Belgion, much of what is traditional in Eliot's understanding of both life and literature can be attributed to Babbitt.⁴

I am able to detect considerable parallelism between the attitudes of teacher and pupil, to certain periods of history and to concepts pertaining to the processes of history. An article of faith shared by both men is a belief in the unity of life and of the interrelatedness of different provinces of human endeavour.

When studied with any degree of thoroughness, the economic problem will be found to run into the political problem, the political problem in turn into the philosophical problem, and the philosophical problem itself almost indissolubly bound up at last with the religious problem.⁵

The identical notion of the interrelatedness of different provinces of thought is echoed by Eliot:

For myself, a right political philosophy came more and more to imply a right theology—and right economics to depend upon right ethics.⁶

The cornerstone of Eliot's historical creed is the idea of tradition. This doctrine in its germinal state is encountered in Literature and the American College, which Eliot considered the best of Babbitt's books. Babbitt saw the need to instil in the American student 'that right feeling and respect for the past which he so signally lacks.'⁷ Elsewhere he speaks approvingly of Burke's outlook on tradition as the sum total of man's past experience, as consisting of 'the forms and traditions, religious and political, that Burke defends, on the ground that they are not arbitrary but are convenient summings up of a vast body of past experience'⁸ In that same essay on 'Burke and Moral Imagination', Babbitt comments that 'Burke combines a soundly individualistic element with his cult of the traditional order.'⁹ The relationship between the individual and society, and the relative importance of the individual vis-à-vis the social structure, find reiterated emphasis in Eliot's poems and are a constant preoccupation in his later sociological writings. Like Burke before them, both Babbitt and Eliot see society as an indispensable restraining influence on our unbridled and individualistic enthusiasms. With his lack of faith in democracy and his skeptical attitude towards all manner of individualistic enthusiasm, Babbitt urged the cultivation of the check of the inner self and the restraint of society. Like his mentor Edmund Burke, Babbitt saw that the virtue of humility was the only corrective to man's egocentrism. The principal sin his arch-enemy Rousseau is guilty of is that he 'undermined humi-

lity in the individual by substituting the doctrine of natural goodness for the older doctrine of man's sinfulness and fallibility.¹⁰ His sympathy with the doctrine of human depravity is implicit in his writings; yet he could not accept it as a matter of dogma. It is this inability of Babbitt's to take the final leap of faith that accounts for the growing disenchantment of Eliot with the master. Babbitt's unwavering allegiance to doctrine and discipline, aristocratic ideals and his faith in a hierarchical society, are matched by Eliot's continuous emphasis on these ideals.

A common outlook is manifest in the antipathy on the part of Babbitt and Eliot for political and aesthetic creeds such as liberalism and romanticism, and towards certain historical epochs. They share an ardent dislike for the nineteenth century. Babbitt abhorred nineteenth-century humanitarianism and the faith in the idea of progress. He repeatedly strove to differentiate between humanitarianism and his own brand of humanism. Babbitt turns his ire on scientific and sentimental humanitarians—who are shown to have descended from Bacon and Rousseau—and their idea of progress.¹¹ As an aesthetic creed, romanticism is anathema to Babbitt and his advocacy of classicism is espoused by Eliot too.

Probably the most significant of Babbitt's services 'was to introduce Eliot to the theory of the living past'.¹² It is quite possible that we may be unable to gauge with any degree of precision the debt that Eliot owes to his Harvard teacher; for, as Warner Rice has warned us: 'No one who knew Irving Babbitt only through his books really knew him well. For the man was greater than his writings, and revealed himself fully only in discourse.'¹³

II

In October 1911 Eliot resumed work at the Harvard Graduate School investigating, under the guidance of Josiah Royce, the epistemological systems of Meinong and F. H. Bradley. After a period of stay in Germany abruptly terminated by the outbreak of World War I, Eliot spent the academic year 1914-15 at Merton College, Oxford (Bradley's college)

as a pupil of Harold Joachim, the disciple of Bradley who was closest to the master. Besides working on his dissertation on Bradley, he studied the Greek text of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* and the German phenomenologists, Meinong and Husserl. The completed doctoral dissertation entitled 'Experience and the Objects of Knowledge in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley' is dated 1916. On the death of Bradley in 1924 Eliot wrote:

Few will ever take the pains to study the consummate art of Bradley's style, the finest philosophical style in the language, in which acute intellect and passionate feeling preserve a classic balance: only those who will surrender patient years to the understanding of his meaning. But upon those few, both living and unborn, his writings perform that mysterious and complete operation which transmutes not one department of thought only, but the whole intellectual and emotional tone of their being.¹⁴

Certainly Eliot would include himself among those who have surrendered themselves to the discipline of Bradley. He has expressly acknowledged his debt to Bradley elsewhere in his writings too.¹⁵ Hugh Kenner, whose discussion of Bradley's influence on Eliot in *The Invisible Poet* is mentioned approvingly by Eliot in the Preface to *Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley* (the title under which the dissertation has been published), has persuasively argued about the pervasive mark of Bradley's thought on Eliot's writings.¹⁶

Bradley, who led the revolt in England against positivism which claimed that natural science was the only legitimate field of epistemology, strove to vindicate the identity of history as an autotelic activity, in his first published work, *The Presuppositions of Critical History*, in 1874. This document deserves mention because Bradley 'did actually proceed to construct, first, a logic oriented towards the epistemology of history and then a metaphysic in which reality was considered from a radically historical point of view.'¹⁷ The point to notice here, in view of the subsequent development of Bradley's metaphysic, is the emphasis he places upon the historian's individual experience in the interpretation of the past. From this position it is a logical transition to conceive of reality as forming a

single system consisting of all human experience. This is precisely what Bradley does in *Appearance and Reality* and 'a reality so defined can only be the life of the mind itself, that is, history.'¹⁸

If Eliot had encountered the idea of the contiguity of all the different branches of knowledge in *Babbitt*, Bradley offered a metaphysical basis for such an assumption. In *Appearance and Reality*, reality is imagined as comprising three levels of experience. First, there are the primary spatial qualities that we perceive, which Bradley designates as mere appearance. Secondly, there is sentient experience which is the same as reality. But the first category of appearances does exist and consequently forms part of reality. What this implies is that, since experience is the only reality, there is no division (although distinction can be made; but distinction is not division) between the subject and the object.

And what I repudiate is the separation of feeling from the felt, or of the desired from desire, or of what is thought from thinking, or the distinction of anything from anything else.¹⁹

The third level of experience is the timeless Absolute, in which all contradictions of the other two levels are reconciled. 'All differences . . . come together in the Absolute. In this . . . all distinctions are fused, and all relations disappear.'²⁰ The three aspects of reality make up one Reality whose being consists in experience.

Eliot's belief that individual works have significance only in relation to the whole work of the artist, and in the framework of the entire corpus of literature, sounds like Bradley's metaphysic as applied to the realm of literature. Several of Eliot's rather quizzical pronouncements such as: 'The whole of Shakespeare's work is *one* poem', or 'we must know all of Shakespeare's work in order to know any of it', become comprehensible only in the light of Bradley's philosophy.

The unity of all experience lies behind Eliot's attitude to tradition and the interrelatedness of different branches of knowledge. The insistence on Europeanism and the emphasis on literature as an organic whole, and not merely a collection of writings of individual authors, may be viewed as an ex-

pression of the unity of all reality. The presentness of the past and the conception of the past not as an 'object' but as an experience of a 'finite centre'—to use Eliot's equivalent for Bradley's term—or from a 'point of view', form the philosophic basis of Eliot's theory of tradition. The past is only what we imagine the past to have been and the future is only our anticipation of what we conceive that it is going to be like. Both are present to the 'finite centre' and from a 'point of view.' In one sense the history of the world is the history of one's experience.²¹ Literary tradition is not a corpus of writing by dead authors; it is as real as one wants to make it. Hence the need to appropriate it through great labour.

From this perspective, it may be interesting to look at Eliot's discussion of the interaction between the past, the present and the future.

In perception we intend the object; in recollection we intend a complex which is composed of image and feeling. We do not intend to remember simply the object, but the object as we remember it. And this experience is much more *the experience* than *the past object* It appears that the past in the sense in which it is supposed to be recalled, in popular psychology, simply never existed; the past lived over is not memory, and the past remembered was never lived The past as lived and the past as remembered are in fact one and the same in intention, although in fact there is no reason to say either that they are the same or different You either live the past and then it is present, or you remember it and then it is not the same past as you once lived: the difference is not between two objects, but between two points of view.²²

✓ Ideas of the past are true, not by corespondence with a real past, but by their coherence with each other and ultimately with the present moment; an idea of the past is true, we have found, by virtue of relations among ideas The reality of the future is a present reality, and it is this present future-reality of which our ideas of anticipation are predicated, and with which they are identified.²³

In other words, instead of past, present and future—past and future as such being ideal constructions according to Bradley—there are a present of things present, a present of things past and a present of things future. This appears to be the philosophical groundwork for several of Eliot's pronouncements on tradition.

Tradition involves, in the first place, the historical sense, which we may call nearly indispensable to any one who would continue to be a poet beyond his twenty-fifth year: and the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence; the historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the literature of his own country, has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order.

But the difference between the present and the past is that the conscious present is an awareness of the past in a way and to an extent which the past's awareness of itself cannot show.²⁴

The same Bradleyan attitude to reality as sentient experience seems to lie behind Eliot's contention that the past is altered by the present as much as the present is altered by the past. The past exists primarily in our conception of it and our memory of the past is only a construction from the present.

III

Any investigation of Bergson's influence on Eliot is fraught with discouraging circumstances. We have extremely few references to Bergson in Eliot's writings, and these few are far from complimentary. With his predilection for the writers of classical antiquity, he has bypassed Bergson and gone to Heraclitus, who anticipated the French philosopher by more than two millennia, for the doctrine of flux which is contained in the superscription to *Four Quartets*.

During 1910-11 T. S. Eliot was in Paris and attended Bergson's lectures at the Sorbonne and, we are told, underwent a temporary conversion to Bergsonism.²⁵ In a letter to Shiv Kumar, Eliot wrote: 'I was certainly very much under his (Bergson's) influence during the year 1910-11, when I both attended his lectures and gave close study to the books he had then written.'²⁶ However, he reportedly wrote an article criticizing *durée real* as 'simply not final'.²⁷ These contradictory pieces of evidence should indicate the difficulty in establishing any definite 'influence'. Yet Eliot's formulations about tradition and his conception of time and the human consciousness can be shown to have a great deal in common with Bergson's philosophy of time and change. It is quite probable that Eliot's animadversion centred more on Bergson's disciples and interpreters than on Bergson's own philosophy.

In view of the fact that Bergson's view of time is likely to have had some impact upon Eliot's historical views, it may not be out of place to give a brief account of it here. We may look at time from two perspectives, the physical and the psychological. Of these two, the outlook on time as a spatial relation is the commonest. When we look at the moving hands of a clock, what we perceive is movement through space which we reckon as a measure of the movement of time.²⁸ The contribution of Bergson to the philosophy of time has been to rescue time from its spatial relation by positing the concept of *duration*, which is psychological time. The crucial notion in this psychological view of time is memory, since consciousness itself is regarded as none other than memory in Bergson's philosophy. Duration is fundamental to Bergson's theory of creative evolution, which postulates that we change without ceasing, the state itself being nothing but a succession of states. Bergson compares consciousness to a ball of thread continually rolled up, 'for our past follows us, it swells incessantly with the present that it picks up on its way.'²⁹ This psychological time is duration. According to our conventional notions of time and space, space is the dimension in which things exist and time is the dimension in which things change. Duration—unlike *Chronos* which is merely the condition of existence—is existence itself.

Time, as we ordinarily envisage it, is a division of reality

into existent and non-existent parts. From the reality which now is, is excluded the reality which was and the reality which will be. Duration knows no such distinction. The past exists in the present, which contains the future. The concrete and ever-present instance of duration is life—for each of us living individuals, his own life.³⁰

We are able to perceive several points of similarity between Bergson's theory of evolution in which each successive form arises out of previous states while adding to it something in the process, and Eliot's attitude to the historical process. Bergson's philosophy of time and Eliot's theory of tradition both imply that the present can be comprehended only in the light of the past. Hence the indispensability of tradition. But this is only one side of the shield. Since the present is a development out of the past, the present throws light on the past also. This mutual interaction between the past and the present is integral to Eliot's notion of tradition. Eliot's statement in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', 'that the conscious present is an awareness of the past', has a Bergsonian echo about it. Tradition, like Bergson's idea of reality, is alive and always changing, yet remains a unity.

The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered, and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art towards the whole are re-adjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new. Whoever has approved the idea of order... will not find it preposterous that the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past.³¹

(The similarity between Bergson's notion of time as organic development and Eliot's concept of tradition as a constantly changing pattern, is unmistakable. Tradition as defined by Eliot is parallel to the development of the consciousness in

time, which is expressed by Bergson by pointing to its analogy with music.

... The musical phrase is constantly altered in its totality by the addition of some new note. Each new development alters the nature, the appearance, as it were the rhythm of the whole. Indeed, if the whole could not be altered, no addition would be possible.³²

Eliot's theory of tradition seems to echo the foregoing view of the human consciousness.

IV

A good many of Eliot's literary and critical concepts, such as those dealing with the impersonality of art, classicism, tradition and orthodoxy, are founded on his metaphysical assumptions about man. It is in clarifying these assumptions about the nature and destiny of man, that his encounter with the writings of T. E. Hulme quite probably played a significant role.

Hulme was no original thinker, but only a popularizer of scientific and metaphysical systems. He was convinced of the supreme importance of history in enabling us to acquire knowledge of ourselves. He looked upon history as an emancipating force from the influence of pseudo-categories.³³ He believed that 'humanity ought... to carry with it a history of a thousand years as a balancing pole.'³⁴

One of the scientific theories that Hulme vigorously attacked was the principle known as 'continuity'. Since in this connotation continuity means something far different from the normal acceptance of the word, an explanation may be called for here. Continuity, which is implied in the theory of evolution, means that the difference between matter and organic life is only a difference in degree, but not of kind. What Hulme did to counter the popularity of continuity was to emphasize the absolute differences which exist between matter and organic life on the one hand, and human life and the realm of religious values on the other. This theory of 'discontinuity' is nothing

original with Hulme. We come across it in the writings of Pascal and Kierkegaard. We find it foreshadowed in Bergson.

*The cardinal error which, from Aristotle onwards, has vitiated most of the philosophies of nature, is to see in vegetative, instinctive and rational life, three successive degrees of the development of one and the same tendency, whereas they are three divergent directions of an activity that has split up as it grew. The difference between them is not a difference of intensity, nor more generally of degree, but of kind.*³⁵

In the *Pensées*, Pascal divides the world into three distinct orders, those of nature, mind and charity. In his essay 'The *Pensées* of Pascal', Eliot wrote: 'These three are *discontinuous*; the higher is not implicit in the lower as in an evolutionary doctrine it would be. In this distinction Pascal offers much about which the modern world do well to think.'³⁶ Hulme believed that the chasm between the inorganic world of biology, history and psychology on the one hand, and between both these and the world of metaphysical values on the other, was absolute.

Closely allied to the theory of discontinuity is the view of man as a finite, imperfect and sinful being, who stands in need of grace and salvation. There is certainly nothing original in this view of man, which is the basic Christian concept. But largely owing to the onslaught of materialism, progress, romanticism and Protestant liberal Christianity, the nature of man as sinner has been submerged, although not wholly destroyed. A good deal of the credit for having brought this doctrine to the serious attention of his generation should go to Hulme. Hulme's opposition to romanticism and humanism in art, and liberalism in politics, stems from his antipathy to the conception of man as essentially good and capable of attaining to perfection through evolutionary progress. His fidelity to classicism and Catholicism also springs from his belief in original sin.

Put shortly, these are the two views, then. One, that man is intrinsically good, spoilt by circumstance; and the other that he is intrinsically limited, but disciplined by order and tradition to something fairly decent. To the

one party man's nature is like a well, to the other like a bucket. The view which regards man as a well, a reservoir full of possibilities, I call the romantic; the one which regards him as a very finite and fixed creature, I call the classical.⁸⁷

Writing on 'The work of T. E. Hulme', Eliot hailed Hulme as 'the forerunner of a new attitude of mind, which should be the twentieth-century mind.'⁸⁸ Hulme's reiterated insistence that we should embrace the dogma of original sin must have left an indelible impression on the mind of Eliot. Without making any overt suggestion of direct borrowing, I wish to state that the view of man as a finite creature, tainted by original sin, explains Eliot's own emphasis on the need for order, tradition and orthodoxy. Man being a limited, sinful creature, his own efforts to achieve perfection can only lead to egocentrism and alienation from his fellow man. Being the finite creature he is, man must attach himself to something external to him and higher than he is to attain fulfilment. It is in this connection that loyalty to the family, society and the Church becomes meaningful to us. Tradition also provides just such a support and refuge from man's self-centredness and attendant despair. The literary practitioner is sustained by loyalty to a living artistic and literary tradition. The notion of man's imperfectibility explains Eliot's impersonal theory of art also. His repeated emphasis on cultivating the virtue of humility and eschewing pride becomes meaningful when we remember that humility is the proper attitude of the creature before the Creator, and that pride consists in the attempt on the part of the Creature to assume the role of the Creator. The literary tradition is vastly more important than the cultivation of mere originality. An absolutely original work of art is absolutely worthless. According to Eliot, Dante's greatness lies not in his individual moral insight, but in the unity of the European ethos of the times. The *Summa* and the *Divine Comedy*, the glories of the Western world, are the product of the Middle Ages when culture was more confined, when the individual was regarded as considerably less important than the social order, when the individual personality was subordinated to the moral and religious order.

The notion of human finitude has conditioned the preference that Eliot and Hulme have expressed for the Middle Ages. According to Hulme, Medieval religious ideology which rested on the subordination of man to certain absolute values, such as the radical imperfection of man and the doctrine of original sin, is reflected in Gothic art and architecture, whereas Renaissance art with its perfection of form, extreme gracefulness of posture and beauty of lines, expresses faith in the perfectibility of man. Eliot's preference for the Middle Ages and his apathy towards the Renaissance are governed by his beliefs about man. The very same beliefs qualify his attitude to the processes of history. Time and space (which are relational and therefore mere appearance, according to Bradley), have greater meaning in relation to a social context. Tradition gives significance to time and the lives of individuals. But this reliance on the tradition of the past and on social values did not fully satisfy Eliot, until he had found his true identity in his belief in God.

V

In 1928 Eliot said that he had been a close reader of Charles Maurras's writings for eighteen years. He defended Maurras in the columns of *The Criterion* and published his essays, himself translating them into English. Many of the views of the Frenchman accorded with Eliot's own. What Eliot said about the passion of Machiavelli for order is perfectly applicable to Maurras. 'Liberty is good; but more important is order; and the maintenance of order justifies every means.'³⁹ Maurras believed that the ties of family and tradition should take precedence over liberty. True liberty is the liberty that is co-existent with authority, hierarchy, discipline and order. To Maurras tradition was more important than the individual.

The affirmation that Eliot made in the Preface to *For Lancelot Andrewes* of classicism in literature, royalism in politics and Catholicism in religion had constituted the battle cry of the movement the Maurras led in France. Maurras deplored the Third Republic and believed that the restoration of the monarchy was essential for the future progress of France.

Although he was an agnostic, and his books were on the *Index*, he looked upon Catholicism as a conserving force. He was an ardent classicist too. Eliot and Maurras shared a deep distaste for the nineteenth century. Maurras, like Babbitt, looked upon Rousseau as the evil genius of French culture and as the advocate of a dangerous kind of libertinism. He looked back with nostalgia to the France of the seventeenth century, the *moment privilégié* in French history. Although he was critical of the excessive zeal of Maurras, Eliot admired him greatly. For over thirty years he was a constant reader and admirer of Maurras. The nature of the influence may be surmised from the following statement that Eliot made:

Most of the concepts in fascism which might have attracted me... I seem already to have found, in a more digestible form, in the work of Charles Maurras. I say a more digestible form, because I think they have a closer applicability to England than those of Fascism. The important differences are two, and they are both differences in favour of the French school of thought. The *Action Française* insists upon the importance of continuity by the Kingship and hereditary class, upon something which has some analogy to what the government of England was, formerly, at least supposed to be.⁴⁰

VI

The name of Ezra Pound is intimately linked to that of Eliot, and the association of the two forms one of the most stimulating episodes in the literary history of the years between the two World Wars. More than once Eliot has announced with great warmth of feeling and appreciation that Pound, along with Babbitt, exerted a profound influence on his development. We are not directly concerned with the external events of this absorbing chapter in literary history. However, we may briefly review the circumstances of their first meeting in London and of their subsequent relationship.

Eliot met Pound first in 1915 (according to Conrad Aiken in 1914), in the latter's triangular sitting room in Kensington,

through Aiken. The circumstances in which Pound undertook the publication of 'Prufrock' which its author had kept locked up for more than four years because of his inability to secure a compliant publisher, and how *il miglior fabbro* had reduced a sprawling poem called *The Waste Land* to its present size, are well-known.⁴¹ I regard the meeting between Pound and Eliot and their subsequent close association as crucial to the future of English poetry for yet another reason. During his early days in England and prior to that as a Harvard graduate student, Eliot had been deeply engrossed in his study of philosophy. We find Charlotte C. Eliot (T. S. Eliot's mother) hoping as late as 1916 that her son would go back to Harvard as a professor of philosophy.

I am sure your influence in every way will confirm my son in his choice of philosophy as a life work. Professor Wood speaks of his thesis as being of exceptional value. I had hoped he would seek a University appointment next year. If he does not I shall feel regret. I have absolute faith in his Philosophy but not in the *vers libre*.⁴²

During this all important period when Eliot was still wavering between philosophy and poetry, it is reasonable to surmise that it was Pound's influence that turned the scale in favour of poetry.

In the practice of poetry, Pound's influence seems to have been chiefly of two kinds, in poetic method and in poetic tradition. His active crusade for European standards in criticism and for adopting an international, almost universal, outlook on literature, preceded Eliot's own commitment to the cause of European literature. Although deficient in exact scholarship, Pound's acquaintance with several languages and cultures served in disseminating a cosmopolitan and international outlook on the arts, which might have had a salutary effect on the direction that Eliot's own efforts took. Pound's translation of old English poems, his edition of Cavalcanti and his lifelong devotion to Dante's works, his interest in Chinese literature and the Japanese *Noh* plays, are all well-known facts. But what is not so well-known is the fact that Pound is not simply 'the man in love with the past', as Wyndham Lewis

sarcastically called him in *Time and the Western Man*. What is remarkable is that he has grasped certain aspects which are permanent in human nature in Propertius and Bertran de Born. 'Any scholar can see Arnault Daniel or Guido Cavalcanti as literary figures; only Pound can see them as living beings.'⁴³ The presentness of the past, which we say is the very groundwork of Eliot's theory of tradition, owes not a little to Pound's idea of the contemporaneity of the past. Yet another aspect of tradition, namely that 'the existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new...work of art among them', may also owe something to Pound's stimulus. Pound has suggested that this theory was as much his own as Eliot's.⁴⁴ It appears to have occurred to Pound also that the creation of a new work alters the literary tradition, if ever so slightly. For example, he suggested that the position of Propertius in the literary tradition is altered by his own poem on the same subject. This implies that Pound also believed that the past is altered in the light of the present. As we recall, this idea is central to Eliot's theory of tradition. Eliot's theory of tradition, Europeanism and the doctrine of universal critical standards may have evolved in their present form out of his invigorating contact with Pound.

Speaking of the vexed question of 'influences' Eliot said: 'I can name positively certain poets whose work has influenced me, I can name others whose work, I am sure, has not; there may be still others of whose influence I am unaware, but whose influence I might be brought to acknowledge....'⁴⁵ It is my belief that the figures discussed in this essay, though not all poets, fall into either the first or the third of Eliot's categories. But my chief aim has not been to trace Eliot's ideas to their original sources or to indicate direct borrowing from the sources, except in instances in which such indebtedness could be firmly established. Influence is a much more subtle and unconscious process than borrowing or imitation. Eliot has clarified the distinction between the two: '...the difference between influence and imitation is that influence can fecundate, whereas imitation can only sterilize.'⁴⁶ Influence points to an identity of spirit and interests, and defies exact demarcation. Therefore I have tried rather to establish parallelisms and

correspondences between Eliot's early views on history and those of the writers who form the subject of this essay.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For the purposes of this paper the modern historical sense may be defined as our attitude to the past, and our awareness of the past, present and future as links in the whole concatenation of things. The sense of continuity, of the unity of mankind, and the concatenation of things is integral to the modern historical consciousness. Since history is concerned with the past, it is vitally linked to historical memory. Time is an important dimension of all historical processes. Tradition, succession and evolution, which underlie the idea of continuity, are important historical concepts.
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THE POET AS SAINT IN 'EAST COKER'

BY K. AYYAPPA PANIKER

IN *Four Quartets* (1943) Eliot is primarily exploring the role of the poet as saint. To a very large extent he may be seen as assuming the role himself, especially because the prayer that could not be uttered in the fullness of faith in 'The Hollow Men' (1925) is completed and fulfilled in the *Quartets*. The poems and plays of the thirties, beginning with 'Ash Wednesday', introduce the readers to a world of esoteric religious experiences. *The Family Reunion* (1939) goes quite far to examine in dramatic terms the value and significance of visionary experiences bordering on the supernatural. The saint's progress seems to reach a final stage in 'East Coker', which is the second of the *Quartets* and was written for Good Friday, 1940. Here the poet-saint explores the dark night of the soul very much in the manner and spirit of earlier Christian mystics such as St John of the Cross and St Teresa of Avila. In doing so, he is obviously trying to express what is inexpressible and to reach beyond poetry itself.

✓ 'East Coker' is the record of an ecstatic moment of mystic illumination and the poet's commentary thereon. ✓ Eliot's attempt here is to achieve a poetry so transparent that readers would not concentrate their attention so much on the words as on what the words pointed to. The rigorous stripping away of the poetry results in what may be called a pure poetry. ✓ That Eliot had been thinking along this direction as early as 1933 is clear from his New Haven Lecture of that year:

✓ To write poetry which should be essentially poetry, with nothing poetic about it, poetry standing naked in its bare bones, or poetry so transparent that we should not see the poetry but that which we are meant to see through the poetry, poetry so transparent that in reading it we are intent on what the poem points at, and not on the poetry, this seems to be the thing to try for. To get beyond poetry, as Beethoven, in his later works, strove to get beyond music.¹

The parallelism with Beethoven is not confined to the form of the quartet adapted by Eliot; in fact, the more important similarity relates to the effort to make art the supreme medium for mystic illumination. In the last years of his life, Beethoven had climbed to a peak of musical awareness, where 'music' did not matter. Eliot, too, says in 'East Coker' that 'The poetry does not matter.' What J. W. N. Sullivan says about Beethoven's quartets has a great deal of relevance to Eliot's Quartets too:

In these quartets the movements radiate, as it were, from a central experience. They do not represent stages in a journey, each stage being independent and existing in its own right. They represent separate experiences, but the meaning they take on in the quartet is derived from their relation to a dominating, central experience. This is characteristic of the mystic vision, to which everything in the world appears unified in the light of one fundamental experience. In these quartets, then, Beethoven is not describing to us a spiritual history; he is presenting to us a vision of life. In each quartet many elements are surveyed, but from one central point of view. They are presented as apprehended by a special kind of awareness, they are seen in the light of one fundamental experience.²

In 'East Coker' Eliot emphasizes the value of suffering. To the Christian saint, the ultimate example for imitation is the Passion and Death of Christ. The only way to be spiritually reborn, according to him, is to die to this world. The mystery of martyrdom, as Eliot expounds in Murder in the Cathedral, is that the same experience points to the agony of death and birth. Those who are unwilling to pay the price of suffering cannot hope to attain spiritual enlightenment. The knowledge of this paradox and its resolution through artistic creation may be sensed in Beethoven's Quartet in B Flat Major, op. 130. As explained by Sullivan:

In the great fugue of the B flat quartet the experiences of life are seen as the conditions of creation and are accepted as such. . . . It is not merely that he [Beethoven] believed

that the price was worth paying; he came to see it as necessary that a price should be paid. To be willing to suffer in order to create is one thing; to realize that one's creation necessitates one's suffering, that suffering is one of the greatest of God's gifts, is almost to reach a mystical solution of the problem of evil, a solution that it is probably for the good of the world that very few people will ever entertain.³

Every religious thinker has to explain to himself the nature and function of evil in the world, or, in other words, justify the ways of God to man. Eliot also tries to do the same thing in 'East Coker'. His personal history, as well as the history of the civilization it is part of, provides the basis for an understanding of the limitations of empirical wisdom and the need for continual spiritual exploration. In this total vision, the end and the beginning appear to be the same. The beginning presupposes the end both as termination and as goal; but the end of one thing is also the beginning of another. The concept of end as beginning and beginning as end comes up again and again in apocalyptic literature. In *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, D. S. Russell points out that God's act of redemption, as revealed in the Old Testament, is an act of re-creation to be realized either in the messianic kingdom or the age to come:

The re-creation of the universe which follows is expressed in many ways throughout these writings. One significant principle in this respect is that the End should in some way correspond to the Beginning. What the Creator willed and planned at the time of his creation of the world will reach its fulfilment in the last days when he will redeem his universe, rectifying and restoring what has gone wrong and bringing to perfection what has already been created. This notion had already found expression in certain Old Testament passages (e.g. Isa. 11.6-8; Ezek. 34.25-27) and was a feature of current oriental thought.⁴

The apocalyptic vision of *kalpa* described in lines 51-67 of 'East Coker' strengthens the feeling that Eliot also is here

thinking of this cosmic pattern of eternal revolution. There is, perhaps, no 'final' end at all. Within time there is always movement, and this movement is always cyclic, and hence endless. Outside time there is no movement, and therefore no beginning and no end. But the timeless can be apprehended only through time. History is time in motion. Houses are built and dynasties grow. People are born and they grow up and move about. Then, as time passes, houses crumble and people die. The dance of life follows the rhythm of birth, growth, decay, and death. One always goes back to the beginning. What does a man learn from his experience of this world? Nothing that might sustain him in an hour of crisis. The wisdom of the elders has deceived us. In the perpetual flux of events their wisdom based entirely on past experience becomes out of date and loses its relevance in a new context. Knowledge falsifies, because it tries to impose a pattern on events which is extrinsic to the events themselves. Eliot had come upon this idea a long time ago in his dissertation on the philosophy of F. H. Bradley. In *Knowledge and Experience*, he explains how this falsification takes place:

The process toward the theoretical goal returns upon itself. We aim at a real thing; but everything is real as experience, and as thing everything is ideal. When we define an experience, we substitute the definition for the experience, and then experience the definition: but the experiencing is quite another thing from the defining. You start, or pretend to start, from experience—from any experience—and build your theory. You begin with truths which everyone will accept, perhaps, and you find connections which no one else has discovered. In the process, reality has changed, in one sense; for the world of your theory is certainly a very different world from which you began.⁵

This idealistic rejection of empirical knowledge is in the true spirit of the saint. Old men have no stock of real wisdom; they are deceived by their folly, which passes for wisdom. They are victims of fear and frenzy. The only true wisdom that one can hope to have is the wisdom born of humility. And 'humility is endless.'

The notion of humility, with the special emphasis that Eliot places upon it here, is central to Christian mysticism. St Teresa of Avila, the great Spanish mystic and reformer of the sixteenth century, regarded it as the highest of virtues; in her book, The Way of Perfection, she repeatedly stresses the value of humility in the struggle towards spiritual enlightenment. Speaking of the need to practise humility and detachment, which alone can save us from fear, she says:

It is here that true humility can enter, for this virtue and that of detachment from self, I think, always go together. They are two sisters, who are inseparable. These are not the kinsfolk whom I counsel you to avoid: no, you must embrace them, and love them, and never be seen without them. Oh, how sovereign are these virtues, mistresses of all created things, empresses of the world, our deliverers from all the snares and entanglements laid by the devil, so dearly loved by our Teacher, Christ, Who was never for a moment without them!⁶

True humility is but the beginning of wisdom. The practice of humility is the preparation for the mystic vision, which finds answers for the 'obstinate questionings', and lightens the 'burthen of the mystery'. As soon as the protagonist rejects the wisdom of the world, he is ready to enter into the dark night of the soul. Section III of 'East Coker' is specifically concerned with this phase of the saint's progress through the poem. Darkness, here, seems to have two meanings. The darkness into which all go is the darkness of death, which may refer to the end of the world itself. But, for the mystic, there is another kind of darkness. At the contemplation of the world's end, the mystic realizes the divine purpose, and welcomes it as the darkness that will lead to light. Humility, detachment, and total submission to the will of God are indicated in these lines:

I said to my soul, be still, and let the dark come upon you
Which shall be the darkness of God.

In a series of similes that progressively intensifies the darkness that envelops the soul, the poet-saint pursues the negative way through the dark night, which leads to the ecstasy of com-

munion with God. Evelyn Underhill, in her classic study of mysticism, has given a perceptive analysis of this state of ecstasy. She says:

In this transcendent act of union, the mystic sometimes says that he is 'conscious of nothing'. But it is clear that this expression is figurative, for otherwise he would not have known that there had been an act of union: were his individuality abolished, it could not have been aware of its attainment of God. What he appears to mean is that consciousness so changes its form as to be no longer recognizable or describable in human speech.⁷

Eliot's third simile actually echoes the words 'conscious of nothing'. The mystic vision itself is expressed by means of symbols. The language of ordinary speech or of logical discourse is felt to be inadequate for the purpose. The vision and the wisdom it embodies are recorded in the language of heightened consciousness, in a series of emblematic images:

Whisper of running streams, and winter lightning.
The wild thyme unseen and the wild strawberry,
The laughter in the garden, echoed ecstasy
Not lost, but requiring, pointing to the agony
Of death and birth.

Underhill distinguishes three aspects of ecstasy: the physical, the mental, and the mystical. To Eliot, ecstasy appears to be neither physical nor mental, but mystical. This heightened awareness is achieved by the grace of God. Eliot owes the concept of the darkness of God to earlier mystic writers, especially the sixteenth century Spanish poet St John of the Cross. In his *Ascent of Mount Carmel* St John of the Cross explains in detail his mystic concept of the soul setting forth on a dark night to seek union with the Divine. Darkness to him symbolizes the privation and purgation of sensual desires. The wisdom of God, in the light of which all human knowledge is mere foolishness, can descend on a person only after he has unconditionally given up all understanding based on the senses. The blind devotee waits in darkness for the will of God to fulfil itself. He waits without expectation, for he does not know what to expect.

Milton in his blindness drew consolation from the belief that 'They also serve who only stand and wait.' This is also the role of the martyr, as Eliot demonstrates in *Murder in the Cathedral*. Becket has the moment of illumination, which enables him to triumph over the fourth temptation, and he benefits from the wisdom born of humility. Without hope, without love, without thought, but with faith, faith in the significance of waiting, the human soul waits in stillness, in darkness, until the stillness turns into dance and darkness turns into light. Commenting on the first line of his poem, 'Dark Night of the Soul', St John of the Cross writes in *Ascent of Mount Carmel*: ✓

We may say that there are three reasons for which this journey made by the soul to union with God is called night. The first has to do with the point from which the soul goes forth, for it has gradually to deprive itself of desire for all the worldly things which it possessed, by denying them to itself; the which denial and deprivation are, as it were, night to all the senses of man. The second reason has to do with the mean, or the road along which the soul must travel to this union—that is, faith, which is likewise as dark as night to the understanding. The third has to do with the point to which it travels—namely, God, who, equally, is dark night to the soul in this life. These three nights must pass through the soul—or, rather, the soul must pass through them—in order that it may come to Divine union with God.⁸

The dark night, therefore, represents the 'mystic death' which marks the transition from multiplicity to unity, from Becoming to Being. As Underhill observes: 'It is the Entombment which precedes the Resurrection, says the Christian mystics. . . . Here as elsewhere—but nowhere else in so drastic a sense—the self must "lose to find and die to live".'⁹ From this perception to the language of paradox used to communicate it, the progression is quite logical:

In order to arrive there,
To arrive where you are, to get from where you are not,
You must go by a way wherein there is no ecstasy.

In order to arrive at what you do not know

You must go by a way which is the way of ignorance.

In order to possess what you do not possess

You must go by the way of dispossession.

In order to arrive at what you are not

You must go through the way in which you are not.

And what you do not know is the only thing you know

And what you own is what you do not own

And where you are is where you are not.

These lines represent the *jeu de paradoxes*, the stock-in-trade of mystic writers. We are told that man has no real existence in the temporal sphere, and to get from here and to reach there where he has real existence, he has to take the way of deprivation. The ecstasy is not experienced on the way, but only at the end of the way. Since the knowledge that man has here is the knowledge of insubstantial things, he has first to empty his mind of that knowledge. Obliteration of the self is a prerequisite for the real understanding of one's true destiny. What man owns in this world is all illusory, for he has real existence only where the self does not exist. The whole of this passage reads like a paraphrase of the well-known lines in chapter thirteen of *Ascent of Mount Carmel*:

In order to arrive at having pleasure in everything,
Desire to have pleasure in nothing.

In order to arrive at possessing everything,
Desire to possess nothing.

In order to arrive at being everything,
Desire to be nothing.

In order to arrive at that wherein thou hast no pleasure,
Thou must go by a way wherein thou hast no pleasure.

In order to arrive at that which thou knowest not,
Thou must go by a way that thou knowest not.

In order to arrive at that which thou possessest not,
Thou must go by a way that thou possessest not.

In order to arrive at that which thou art not,
Thou must go through that which thou art not.¹⁰

The successive stages of renunciation are clearly set forth here:

pleasure, possession, knowledge, and being. Having understood the mystery of the divine dispensation, the poet moves on to section IV.

Here Eliot expounds his new awareness of the role of suffering in the spiritual growth of the saint. The doctrine of Original Sin explains for him the presence of evil and suffering in the world. He sees the world as a hospital endowed by Adam, the ruined millionaire, and men and women are patients looked after by Christ, the wounded surgeon, and the Church, the dying nurse. In a series of phrases of sustained oxymoron, highly reminiscent of the religious poetry of the seventeenth century metaphysical poets, Eliot emphasizes the value of patience and penitence, and underlines the significance of Good Friday:

The dripping blood our only drink,
The bloody flesh our only food:
In spite of which we like to think
That we are sound, substantial flesh and blood—
Again, in spite of that, we call this Friday good.

The poet of *The Waste Land* must have travelled a long and weary way to arrive at this destination—a way in which there could be no ecstasy, and a destination which could not be anticipated—here invoking the Catholic dogma of the Eucharist and, perhaps, also of Transubstantiation.

The last section of 'East Coker' deals with the third aspect of mystical awareness, namely, Love. The other two, Darkness and Ecstasy, have already been introduced in the earlier sections. The transmutation of human love into divine love, and its symbolization by the rose of light or flame are probably derived from Dante. The image of Beatrice, however, dominates Dante's vision. In Eliot's poem there is only the abstract realization:

Love is most nearly itself
When here and now cease to matter.

'Old men,' Eliot asserts, 'ought to be explorers' and move towards a more intense union. This exploration is carried out

in the last two *Quartets*, where the concept of mystic love is more effectively presented. According to Underhill, love, as applied to the mystics, is 'the ultimate expression of the self's most vital tendencies. . . . Mystic Love is a total dedication of the will; the deep-seated desire and tendency of the soul towards its Source.'¹¹ Some critics, however, do not think that Eliot has had any direct, mystic experience of Divine Love. Staffan Bergsten, for instance, in his book, *Time and Eternity*, emphasizes Eliot's debt to Dante, but denies him the authenticity of mystical illumination. He points out that when the symbol of the rose garden is first used in his poetry, Eliot does not ascribe any religious significance to the experience behind it. He adds:

The mystic doctrine of love in the *Quartets* therefore seems to be the outcome of long reflection and long contemplation rather than the immediate expression of direct experience, and thus lacks the force of Eliot's poetic rendering of the dark night. If he attempted to make 'Little Gidding' a parallel of the *Paradiso*, he was not wholly successful, even if we allow for the difference of scope. Where, in Dante, we are dazzled by the profusion of light, in Eliot we still discern the intellectual scaffolding.¹²

This is, perhaps, too subtle a point to be defended or refuted on the basis of objective evidence. The mystic vision, by definition, is so evanescent and ethereal that no discussion is going to prove or disprove whether a particular person ever had it. But the intellectual scaffolding referred to by Bergsten should not blind us to the authenticity of the experience, without which, no doubt, the scaffolding cannot stand. Eliot's poetic method and medium are obviously different from those of Dante. And even in Dante, the religious symbolism is a product of retrospection. As Eliot points out in his essay on Dante, *Vita Nuova* is not 'meant as a description of what he [Dante] consciously felt on his meeting with Beatrice, but rather as a description of what that meant on mature reflection upon it.'¹³ The fact that we still discern the intellectual scaffolding in Eliot is not conclusive evidence to establish that there was no experience at all. Since Eliot apprehends experience through a

unified sensibility, there is always the co-existence of thought and emotion. He even believes that experience becomes keener, when it is accompanied by contemplation. In Knowledge and Experience, he says:

A toothache, or a violent passion, is not necessarily diminished by our knowledge of its causes, its character, its importance or insignificance. To say that one part of the mind suffers and another part reflects upon the suffering is perhaps to talk in fictions. But we know that those highly-organized beings who are able to objectify their passions, and as passive spectators to contemplate their joys and torments, are also those who suffer and enjoy the most keenly.¹⁴

The mystic vision that informs the later poems of Eliot may remain obscure to readers who confine their attention to his early poems, ignoring his later development. But even his first volume of poems reveals a deep concern with what goes on beneath the surface of human life. Much of his early irony is directed against the smugness of a society that had lost its spiritual moorings. In the poems and plays written after his conversion, he appears more convinced than before about the need to criticize a civilization that is being built up on the principles of secularism; his writings, therefore, become openly didactic and even polemical. In his essay 'Religion and Literature' (1935), he makes his views unequivocally clear:

What I do wish to affirm is that the whole of modern literature is corrupted by what I call Secularism, that it is simply unaware of, simply cannot understand the meaning of, the primacy of the supernatural over the natural life: of something which I assume to be our primary concern.¹⁵

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NICOLAS BERDYAEV AND ELIOT'S FOUR QUARTETS

BY VIDYANATH MISHRA

I

NOT ENOUGH has yet been said about the nature and extent of intimacy between Eliot's work as the editor of *The Criterion* and the organization of themes in his poetry. It is a notable gap in Eliot-studies, when it is now more or less an acknowledged fact that even the professedly objective function of his criticism masks a subjective necessity for the poet discovering a groundwork for his poems. That some correspondence should exist between his selection of reviews and articles published in *The Criterion* and his poetry appears quite natural when we think of his strongly integrated sensibility in which different levels of functioning and awareness were always combining together in unpredictable patterns.

It is proposed here to begin with certain evidences in *The Criterion* of Eliot's prolonged familiarity with the works of Berdyaev, although its bearing on *Four Quartets* suggests that it is perhaps more a question of influence than familiarity. Perhaps the fundamental kinship Eliot felt for Berdyaev has its basis in the revival of Christian culture which both of them shared as a common objective. This is specifically said about Berdyaev by William G. Peck in 'Divine Democracy' (*The Criterion*, vol. xvi). Three reviews of Berdyaev's books appeared in vols. xi, xiii and xiv of *The Criterion*, all by F. McEachran whose comments on 'The End of Our Time'¹ recall Eliot's views about the failure of civilization in 'Thoughts after Lambeth':

Man will be shaken out of his mechanical dream by nightmare results, and on the ruins of the old world, a new one will arise, one in which man is integrated once more with the godhead.

II

Three cardinal concepts in Berdyaev's philosophy are (i) Cosmic Time, (ii) human apprehension or transcendence of it through History and (iii) Christian Incarnation as the interpenetration of these two dimensions through which Cosmos has a passage into History. Berdyaev describes these as cosmic time, historical time and existential time. These are, in turn, related to certain geometrical figures whose images repeatedly occur in *Four Quartets*:

Cosmic time is calculated by mathematics on the basis of movement around the sun... and it is symbolized by the circle. Historical time... placed within cosmic time... is symbolized by a line which stretches out forward into the future.... Existential time is not susceptible of mathematical calculation.... It is within this time that the uplifting creative impulse takes place and in it ecstasy is known... symbolized above all by the point, which tells of movement in depth.²

The cycle of cosmic time in *Four Quartets* figures in terms of natural cycle,—

His rhythm was present in the nursery bedroom,
In the rank ailanthus of the April dooryard,
In the smell of grapes on the autumn table,
And the evening circle in the winter gaslight.³

Stellar cycle,—

Below, the boarhound and the boar
Pursue their pattern as before,
But reconciled among the stars.⁴

and the cycle of elements—

Whirled in a vortex that shall bring
The world to that destructive fire
Which burns before the ice-cap reigns.⁵

This is the quiet persistence of time through seasons to aeons terrible in its utter indifference to human experience.

History moves on either into cosmic time in which case it makes an affirmation of naturalism...or it issues into existential time, and this means moving out from the realm of objectification into the spiritual pattern of things.⁶

Human and universal history passing straight through oblivion into undifferentiated cosmic cycle is a powerful presence behind these images in *Four Quartets*:

1. In succession
Houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended,
Are removed, destroyed, restored, or in their place,
Is an open field, or a factory, or a by-pass.⁷
2. Keeping time,
Keeping the rhythm in their dancing
As in their living and in the living seasons,
The time of the seasons and the constellations...⁸
3. And under the oppression of the silent fog
The tolling bell
Measures time not our time, rung by the unhurried
Ground swell, a time
Older than the time of chronometers...⁹

When historical time merges with nature's cycles or cosmic time 'there is suppression of what is individual by the generic.'¹⁰
This is a linear dimension of time stretched beyond experience:

1. Time past and time future
Allow but a little consciousness.¹¹
2. while the world moves
In appetency, on its metalled ways
Of time past and time future.¹²
3. Ridiculous the waste sad time
Stretching before and after.¹³

4. We cannot think of a time that is oceanless
Or of an ocean not littered with wastage
Or of a future that is not liable
Like the past, to have no destination.¹⁴

✓ But 'the soil of history is volcanic'¹⁵ and it is 'pregnant with newness which enters into the eschatology of history.'¹⁶

History may be servitude,
History may be freedom.¹⁷

As Berdyaev believes, it is only through a 'concrete mythology' of beginning and end that history attains any meaning: 'history is to be apprehended only from within and this apprehension depends more and more on the inner states of our consciousness.'¹⁸ Both Eliot and Berdyaev have a strong sense of history revealing its meaning through its end (which coincides with its beginning—thus annihilating time and touching eternity). Such apocalyptic view of history, as Frank Kermode remarks, 'belongs to rectilinear rather than cyclical views of the world.'¹⁹ ✓ History has its moments of communion with eternity, and one such moment is when it comes to an end. ✓

In my beginning is my end...
... a lifetime burning in every moment
And not the lifetime of one man only
But of old stones that cannot be deciphered.²⁰

The moments of such communion are states of consciousness, inside and outside history:

Here, the interesection of the timeless moment
✓ Is England and nowhere. Never and always.²¹

'Unending history would be meaningless,'²² and the nightmare of history in 'Little Gidding' glows with the fulfilment foretold in The Apocalypse. At what Eliot describes as 'the recurrent end of the unending'—'one can become reconciled to the horrors of history and to progress as on its way it deals out

death, only if one cherishes the great hope of resurrection of all who have lived and are living, of every creature who has suffered and rejoiced.'²³

In distinction to Cosmic time as a vortex and history as a metalled way, the timeless moments of communion—the beginning and the end, Incarnation and Apocalypse—are the 'points' of existential time. 'In existential time, which is akin to eternity, there is no distinction between the future and the past, between the end and the beginning.'²⁴ The moments of ecstatic fulfilment in *Four Quartets* are an echo of this sense and of what Berdyaev calls 'a return to the purity of its sources.'²⁵

1. To be conscious is not to be in time. . . .
Only through time time is conquered.²⁶
2. At the still point of the turning world. . . .²⁷
3. There is only the fight to recover what has been lost
And found and lost again and again.²⁸
4. And the ground swell, that is and was from the beginning,
Clangs
The bell.²⁹
5. Here the impossible union
Of spheres of existence is actual,
Here the past and future
Are conquered, and reconciled,³⁰
6. And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.³¹

III

Berdyaev asks, 'Is human history a subordinate part of the cosmic process or is the cosmic process a subordinate part of human history? Is the meaning of human existence revealed in the cyclic movement of cosmic life, or in the fulfilment of history?'³²

He answers that significant meaning can be given to history not by conceiving cosmic infinity into which human history

breaks but through the belief that *cosmic infinity enters human history*. Both Berdyaev and Eliot hold this to be the Incarnation of Meaning or Logos in history. 'A breakthrough of noumen into phenomena is possible, of the invisible world into the visible, of the world of freedom into the world of necessity. And all that is most significant in history is due to that fact.'³³ 'History has a meaning simply because meaning, the Logos, appeared in it; the God-man incarnate.'³⁴

In Eliot, the archetype of moments 'in and out of time' is 'The hint half-guessed, the gift half-understood'—Incarnation—where 'the impossible union/of spheres of existence is actual.' It is the unattended moment of epiphany—'Sudden in a shaft of sunlight' with children in the apple tree, 'a condition of complete simplicity.' History is an endless drift in 'the vast waters of the petrel and the porpoise' and Man's awareness of it 'the backward half-look/Over the shoulder, towards the primitive terror' until a lifetime's quest for meaning redeems it:

And what you thought you came for
Is only a shell, a husk of meaning
From which the purpose breaks only when it is fulfilled
If at all.³⁵

Incarnation is the infinite vertical piercing the horizontal stretch of historical time... 'God's world only *breaks* through into this world'³⁶ at Incarnation as at the Apocalypse glimpsed in 'Little Gidding':

The dove descending *breaks* the air
With flame of incandescent terror.³⁷

It is significant to note that such 'breaking' can only be visualized as a 'point' of entry—a symbol of existential time in Berdyaev and of the corresponding timeless moment in Eliot. In Berdyaev 'the beginning and the end are in existential time'³⁸ and in Eliot beginning and end coincide when journey ends in a return to the point of departure. One's life in this existential time is different from life in cosmos or life in history; it means that 'at each moment of one's living, what is needed is to put

an end to the old world and to begin the new.'³⁹ This is the sense of every moment as a 'point' of luminous significance rather than that of moments adding up to a pattern, the sense behind Eliot's quest:

Through the unknown, remembered gate
When the last of earth left to discover
Is that which was the beginning.⁴⁰


What is a metaphysical concept in Berdyaev is the discipline of significant experience and aesthetic in Eliot:

We must be still and still moving
Into another intensity
For a further union, a deeper communion
Through the dark cold and the empty desolation,
The wave cry, the wind cry, the vast waters,
Of the petrel and the porpoise. In my end is my beginning.

These correspondences show that Eliot's absorption of Berdyaev's thought has the intensity of shared awareness and belief, and is a distinct strand in the complex texture of his later works.

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CRYSTALLIZING THE AMORPHOUS: VIRGINIA WOOLF'S THEORY OF THE CREATIVE PROCESS

By VIJAY LAKSHMI

IN A LETTER to Lytton Strachey, dated November 20th, 1908, Virginia Woolf wrote, 'I want a fire and an arm chair silence, and hours of solitude.'¹ These words are an important clue to the understanding of the working of Virginia Woolf's mind. The urge to create a work of art found expression in such an atmosphere; and it is only at moments such as these that she could get 'the wheels spinning' in her head. She tried to apprehend the premonitions of a book, the 'states of soul in the creating', and so urgent was the need for her to understand the spell of creative act that, while driving through Richmond, she should keep thinking of the allotropic states of her being, and '...how only writing composes it; how nothing makes a whole unless I am writing...'² Whether she was probing the sane and the insane as she did in Mrs. Dalloway or discussing her views on the art of fiction in her critical essays, Virginia Woolf was deeply interested in plunging deep into the richest strata of the human mind. The mind she considered to be '... a very mysterious organ...about which nothing whatever is known though we depend upon it so completely.'³ Consequently, in her works as much as in her letters and diary, she is not content with discussing a writer or his works alone. She must follow and trace the creative process too. Mrs. Woolf's seemingly simple critical essays and diary reveal a systematic account of the artist's mind in the throes of creation.

Sometimes, while writing, Virginia Woolf wanted to make a note of the curious state of the incandescent mind. 'I want to watch and see,' she writes in her Diary, 'how the idea first occurs. I want to trace my own creative process' (September 30th, 1926). Probing the creative mind interested her not merely because writing was 'the happiest feeling in the world' but also because the universe torn asunder by the disparate elements could be brought into order by this process. She notes in her diary on July 27th, 1934,

I can see the day whole, proportioned—even after the long flutter of the brain such as I have had this morning; it must be a physical, moral, mental necessity, like setting the engine off.

The artist's mind like Shakespeare's should be 'incandescent' and there 'must be no obstacle in it, no foreign matter unconsumed' (*A Room of One's Own*, p. 87). Miss La Trobe's analogy of the artist's mind to a cauldron is almost Jamesian in concept. She describes the artist as one who,

...seethes wandering bodies and floating voices in a cauldron and makes rise up from its amorphous mass a recreated world.⁴

The simple and trivial moments of existence, according to Virginia Woolf, are lit up by some moment of indefinable beauty which has been seized by the imagination. The writer recalls some event that has left a distinct impression on him. It may be that he passed two people talking at the corner of the street,

...a tree shook; an electric light danced, the tone of the talk was comic, but also tragic; a whole vision, an entire conception, seemed contained in that moment.⁵

Leonard Woolf describes how in her own case Virginia Woolf gave a lyrical presentation to things and in the course of presentation, 'the ordinary mental processes stopped and in their place the waters of creation and imagination welled up....'⁶ The writer's experience is undeniably attached to material things. Thus the work he produces is, as Virginia Woolf describes it,

✓...like a spider's web, attached ever so lightly perhaps but still attached to life at all corners...attached to grossly material things, like health, money and the houses we live in.
(*A Room of One's Own*, p. 65)

Her idea here is very much akin to Henry James' idea of the writer's experience which he believed to be,

... a kind of a huge spider-web of the finest silken threads suspended in the chamber of consciousness, and catching every air-borne particle in its tissue.⁷

The mind absorbs the impressions as they fall and the order in which they fall. It receives a '... myriad impressions—trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel.'⁸ These impressions which come from all sides like an incessant shower of innumerable atoms, leave a certain pattern on the mind which can be disconnected and incoherent. The writer is here like a fish in mid-ocean which cannot '... cease to let the water flow through his gills.'⁹

Virginia Woolf perceives the human mind as having two layers—the upper and the lower. The former faces light and the latter is in darkness.¹⁰ The upper mind receives the impressions and the lower mind works at top speed when the work is composed or given shape. The work created at this stage is the embodiment of this lower mind. Virginia Woolf's deeper mind is akin to Coleridge's secondary imagination because both fuse together the disparate elements. This deeper mind also 'dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to create'.¹¹ To Virginia Woolf the idea of creating a work at the froth of the moment does not seem commendable. While writing a poem, for instance, on the 'floor of the poet's mind' the rhythm keeps its perpetual beat. '...it swells and rises and attempts to sweep all the contents of (your) mind into one dominant dance.'¹² She referred to this idea in a letter to Vita Sackville-West. She writes,

Now this is very profound, what rhythm is, and goes far deeper than words. A sight, an emotion, creates this wave in the mind, long before it makes words to get it and in writing (such is my belief) one has to recapture this, and set this working (which has nothing apparently to do with words) and then, as it breaks and tumbles in the mind, it makes words to fit it.¹³

The poet, consequently, should not try to fasten down his impressions at the first stage. If he attempts to do so, then, the rhythm which was opening and shutting and sending 'shocks of

excitement from (your) head to (your) heels has encountered some hard object upon which it has smashed itself to pieces.¹⁴

The creative writer should be aloof and observant; for the process of creating is done by the self which is 'rid of superfluities that it is almost impersonal in its intense individuality.'¹⁵

In a perfect artist, T. S. Eliot believed, 'the man who suffers and the mind which creates' will be completely separate. Emotions at their strongest, Virginia Woolf thinks, achieve an impersonality and the same is true about literature. Having exposed himself to life, the writer must

...risk the danger of being led away and tricked by her deceitfulness; he must seize her treasure from her and let her trash run to waste. But at a certain moment he must leave the company and withdraw, alone, to that mysterious room where his body is hardened and fashioned into permanence....

(*'Life and the Novelist'*, *Collected Essays*, II, 136)

Having retreated into a 'room of his own' the writer recollects the impressions. At this stage he must not look or question what is being done—he must 'lie back and let his mind celebrate its nuptials in darkness' (*A Room of One's Own*, 157). After a day's work, as it were, and after having absorbed innumerable impressions, '...the writer becomes—if he can—unconscious.'

(*'The Leaning Tower'*, *Collected Essays*, II, 166). His deeper mind starts working now while his upper mind drowns off. When the artist's imagination is working at high pressure 'invisible joins and complete marriages take place in those higher regions.'¹⁵ Virginia Woolf disagrees with Percy Lubbock where he says that the process of creating is conscious. The writer, according to Virginia Woolf, is in a constant state of agony till he has touched 'the hidden spring'. This state of unconsciousness is terribly important when one is writing (*A Writer's Diary*, 213). It is the state between the hour of midnight and dawn, 'the little shock, the queer uneasy moment, as if of eyes half open to the light, after which sleep is never so sound again.'¹⁶ Mrs. Woolf was not stretching Wordsworth's belief in emotion being 'recollected in tranquillity' too far when she said that the impressions gathered by the mind are later on

recollected in a state of unconsciousness. Wordsworth's 'tranquillity' she interprets as the writer's need to become unconscious before he can create.¹⁷ This state of mind is essential because, '...it is in our idleness, in our dreams, that the submerged truth sometimes comes to the top' (*A Room of One's Own*, 47). At a certain stage, then, the idea of a book becomes heavy in the mind, '...like a pear, pendant, gravid, asking to be cut or it will fall' (*A Writer's Diary*, 138).

The best phrases are made, as Bernard says, '...in solitude. They require some final refrigeration' (*The Waves*, 58). Virginia Woolf's concept of the unconscious mind is very much like Forster's idea of the subconscious where the artist lets down buckets (into his subconscious) and draws up something which is normally beyond his reach.¹⁸ Mrs. Woolf describes her writing of *Mrs. Dalloway* as a process of '...dredging my mind and bringing up light buckets.'

So demanding is this process of creating a work of art that it requires the utmost concentration from the artist. Thus, '...one must become externalised; very very concentrated, all at one point.' (*A Writer's Diary*, 138). In her own case Virginia Woolf became 'a mere sensibility' when she wrote. Leonard Woolf remarks:

The tension was great and unremitting; it was emotionally volcanic; the conscious mind though intent seemed to follow a hair's breadth behind the voice, or the thought which flew ahead.¹⁹

The whole creative process is, thus, an endeavour on the artist's part to shape a vision. This is indeed a

...feat of prodigious difficulty. Everything is against the likelihood that it will come from the writer's mind whole and entire...and probably no book is born entire and uncrippled as it was conceived.

(*A Room of One's Own*, 79)

She appears to be in agreement with Shelley here, when he says, '...the most glorious poetry that has ever been com-

municated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conception of the poet.'²⁰ The vision which is imparted is seldom the vision which was conceived. The shadow falls between the 'emotion and the response' and between the 'conception and the creation'. Lily Briscoe, an artist, tries to capture her vision but recognizes the blockade, the tight knot in her mind which prevents her from making the first mark on her canvas; for,

...there was always the difference in the world between this planning airily away from the canvas, and actually taking her brush and making the first mark.

(*To the Lighthouse*, 243)

What actually seems simple in the beginning becomes complex in practice and that is why the writer does not present his material without certain alterations. In the receptacle of the mind many feelings, emotions and images are stored and the writer has to select certain things and reject the rest. In the process of creation, selection plays a very important role. 'So drastic is the process of selection that in its final state we can often find no trace of the actual scene upon which the chapter was based.' ('Life and the Novelist', *Collected Essays*, II, 131)

After life has been subjected to many disciplines, the signs that made it recognizable in the beginning make it incomprehensible now. Passing through the final process of creation 'there emerges from the mist something enduring, the bone and substance upon which our rush of indiscriminating emotion was founded.' ('Life and the Novelist', 131) ✓

Imagination plays an important role in shaping a work of art. It takes hold of the writer standing at the window and watching the busy life in the street, a leaf detached from the tree falling, and a young man and a girl getting into a taxi. The sight might be ordinary but imagination invests it with a rhythmical order making the writer realize '...that the ordinary sight of two people getting into a cab had a power to communicate something of their own seeming satisfaction' (*A Room of One's Own*, 145). The writer has first to sense the quintessence of the object and then devise a proper representative design. Virginia Woolf comes quite close to Hopkins's

idea of 'inscape and 'instress' here. The creative writer, while he is aware of the wider circumference of the moment, is also aware that in 'the centre is a knot of consciousness; a nucleus ...'²¹ He shapes the iridescent and the amorphous substance of life into a work of art. He does not relax his hold over the intensity of his emotions or his determination not to be put off. After having reeled across the last page with intensity and after having stumbled after his own voice, he rather feels a sense of triumph and relief from his agony. (*A Writer's Diary*, 169). 'A vision imparted', Miss La Trobe feels, 'was relief from agony... for one moment... one moment' (*Between the Acts*, 117).

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EVELYN WAUGH'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENGLISH NOVEL

BY BANARSI DAS

GORE VIDAL, reviewing Evelyn Waugh's World War II trilogy, referred to him as a 'mere satirist', rather than a comic genius, necessarily rooted in this world', who does not create but simply reacts.¹ Not only Vidal's review but a good part of the critical opinion of Waugh's work seems bound by one or all of the following points of view: that he is first of all a satirist,² a Tory gentleman or a Catholic. Edmund Wilson and Charles J. Rolo, generally unfriendly, feel that Waugh's commitment to Catholicism in later novels has been catastrophic. Leo Hines also mentions that Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* outraged critics by its openly Catholic and conservative sentiment, and Waugh's subsequent novel, examined closely for the same symptoms, have been contrasted unfavourably with his early work.³ On the other hand Catholic writers feel that his writing improves when he gets closer to God.⁴ But the pattern is complicated when we find contradictions even among those who are writing from a Catholic point of view. Christopher Hollis and A. A. DeVitis praise the later novels highly. Sean O'Faolain and Donat O'Donnell condemn them. Sean O'Faolain finds in later Waugh 'an excess of loyalty', while Donat O'Donnell says that Waugh carries out upon the reader his 'nostalgia' and 'snobbery'.⁵

It need not be denied that a good part of the time Evelyn Waugh is satirical, he exposes the futility and meaninglessness of the contemporary society. The presentation of meaninglessness is a modern trait and in this respect Waugh is similar to T. S. Eliot who wrote *The Waste Land* and William Alexander Gerhardt who wrote *Futility: A Novel On Russian Themes* and who laboured to show in his various novels that 'nothing matters except the fact that nothing matters'. But I would question the reliability of criticism that depends primarily upon these observations that Waugh simply 'reacts' and is 'merely a satirist'. To say that is to confuse the fact that Waugh is a comic

genius. In this connection I may refer to the theorist Northrope Frye who observes that satire as a genre is a renaissance and neo-classical idea: 'it hardly existed in the middle ages, and it hardly exists now.'⁶ Wyndham Lewis also observes that 'No work of fiction... is likely to be only satire in the sense that a short epigrammatic piece, in rhyming couplets (an epistle of Pope), would be.' So first of all it should be pointed out that when Vidal describes Evelyn Waugh as a 'mere satirist', he implies a judgement according to genre alone. If we are thinking clearly, we judge a writer according to his ability within a given form. A novelist belongs to the class of satirical novelists only when he uses his characters, incidents, episodes and other rhetorical devices in order to give a total impression that his theme is satirical. There may be satirical touches in novels as we find in E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*. James Joyce employs satiric technique in *Ulysses*. But these novels cannot be regarded as satires since the satirical elements are not predominant. There are satiric touches in Waugh's novels also but they are subordinated to his comic vision. In this connection Waugh's own remark about the nature of his novels is significant. When asked whether his novels were satirical, he replied, 'No, satire is a matter of period. It flourishes in a stable society and presupposes homogeneous moral standards....'⁷ And according to him it is very difficult to find 'homogeneous moral standards' in the age of the 'common man where vice no longer pays lipservice to virtue.'⁸

Waugh has presented a universe of chance relationship, incoherence, anarchy, mad pursuits, sexual betrayal and casual death. It is very difficult to find any standard in this amoral universe. In this universe Waugh's manner is not satirical but one of comic detachment. Waugh's comic vision is unfolded through the comic devices of eccentricity, cuckoldry and self-mockery. These comic devices are simple and complex, unique and traditional. They make up Waugh's larger humour or comic sense. We can see how constantly Waugh makes eccentricity the humanizing element in a rather frozen and stupid society. We can see in the portraiture of several eccentrics—Colonel Blount, Nanni Bloggs, Nannie Hawkins, Mr. Ryder, Ben Ritichie Hook, Laird Campbell of Mugg and Peregrine—that no amount of exaggeration seems to dehu-

manize these figures. These are life-force figures and their eccentricity is the fountain-head of Waugh's humour.

The second major well-spring of Waugh's comic sense is sexual betrayal or cuckoldry. Like eccentricity this device is also used throughout his canon. From Decline and Fall to the Crouchback trilogy this trait is found in several characters—Margot, Adam and Nina, Brenda Last, Katchen, Basil Seal, Angela Lyne, Charles Ryder and Julia, and Virginia. Waugh exposes the meaninglessness of this sort of depravity but it is at the same time Waugh's fundamental comic force. There may be nothing implicitly comic in the idea but there is something explicitly comic in the horns, the gesture of it. However, cuckoldry and sexual duplicacy are the traditional comic devices in Waugh which we generally find in the most accomplished and highly developed writers from Chaucer and Shakespeare to Byron. ✓

The third major comic equipment which we can constantly see in Evelyn Waugh's novels is self-mockery. This is his greatest asset, since there is no higher kind of humour than that which proceeds from the perception of one's own limitations. The characters who stand for Waugh's own values of tradition, order and restraint are everywhere shown to be incompetent for they are not able to cope with the world of anarchy and disorder. Closely connected with self-mockery is his art of detachment which is a sufficient proof of his not being a 'mere satirist'. A satirist is generally morally indignant and aims to correct or reform. Waugh is never morally indignant. He does not despise even those of whom he seems to disapprove. He may expose them through his other techniques—his satirical observers or point of view characters, his cinematic devices and various other methods—but he delights in their creation accepting the fact that evil is all-pervasive. This capacity to laugh at human vanity without losing one's temper is essentially a comic trait. ✓

His comic devices, his art of detachment and his universe are constantly present in his later novels also, but he uses a tighter control upon these materials. In later novels Waugh's concern for Catholicism, to which are associated his other values of the house and that of aristocracy, has required a serious involvement of the author. This change toward serious-

ness has been taken exception to by Waugh's critics. They say that the change is catastrophic. Now if we ponder over the change we may be able to see that Waugh had gone as far with the 'Sealish' line as he could, and the change in the direction of seriousness was as inevitable as it was necessary, considering that the writer should feel the need to do something new besides doing it well. Jacques Maritain rightly observes that the novelist's purpose and responsibility is not to mirror life as the painter does but to create an experience of it: ✓

The essential question is from what attitude he depicts and whether his art and mind are pure enough and strong enough to depict it without connivance. The more deeply the modern novelist probes human misery, the more does it require super-human virtues in the novelist.⁹

Waugh, in later novels, certainly creates an experience which, he found, could not be expressed through the externalist method of comic detachment of his early novels. The values of aristocracy, country-house and Roman Catholicism which make up the experience of his later novels required his personal involvement.

For the presentation of these values *Brideshead Revisited* may be taken as a representative novel among his later fiction, for it is the one work most widely used by Waugh's admirers and his detractors, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Critics like Rose Macaulay, Stephen Spender, Charles J. Rolo and Edmund Wilson, who are almost deluded by 'religious liberalism', have essentially identical objections to *Brideshead*. They find the failure of the novel in the area of belief. They argue that Charles Ryder's objections to Catholicism are at times so strong and articulate and the views of the other side are presented in such muddled fashion, in fact, that one could probably make a fairly good case for *Brideshead* being an anti-Catholic novel. According to them Charles Ryder's conversion is unconvincing and forcibly imposed upon the reader. Wilson calls it 'disastrous'¹⁰ as compared to Waugh's earlier novels where Waugh neither apologizes nor explains. Catholic critics like A. A. DeVitis, Christopher Hollis, Kurt F. Reinhardt praise the novel highly. A. A. DeVitis describes it as 'an

apology from Waugh's faith. To deny this is to deny one of the strengths of the novel.¹¹ Kurt F. Reinhardt considers it Waugh's highest achievement: 'He never reached this height again.'¹² The diehards among the Catholic critics, however, reacted sharply. Their contention is that Waugh delights in the presentation of evil. Finally there are critics like Donat O'Donnell and Sean O'Faolain who find 'snobbery' and 'nostalgia'¹³ in the values created by him and consider his earlier novels to be superior.¹⁴

The novel which has provoked such diverse views deserves the closest consideration preferably from a person who is neither a Roman Catholic nor deluded by 'religious liberalism' (and I am neither a Roman Catholic by way of conviction or by practice nor do I cherish any prejudice against it). To my mind Charles' conversion in the end is artistically quite convincing. We cannot ignore the essential fact that Ryder is an agnostic and not a Roman Catholic before he is converted. And what else shall an agnostic do if not speak against religion? His conversion in the end is based upon a solid reason: he has discovered the futility and meaninglessness of the present existence. He finds out that his wife Celia is an adulteress and the significance of faith is revealed to him during his association with Julia. If the critics find Charles Ryder's conversion in the end artistically unconvincing, they miss the point entirely. The criticism that *Brideshead Revisited* is an apology for Roman Catholicism is based on the fact that the members of the Catholic Marchmain family gone wrong are brought back in the end to their fold. But that does not make *Brideshead Revisited* an apologetic fiction, for Waugh does not preach his religion by way of defence. And if the diehards find Charles' arguments offensive and sinful against God (the sisters of Isabell Clarke took it to be an anti-Catholic novel and later came to know of Waugh being a Catholic¹⁵), let them. For Waugh is not a propagandist or a preacher and *Brideshead Revisited* is not a tract. Waugh is primarily an artist, and *Brideshead Revisited*, a novel.

As for Julia's leaving Charles in the end, her action is wholly in accordance with the realization of faith. It is difficult to appreciate the viewpoints of the critics who describe her 'desertion' of Charles as forsaking human love and therefore

the act as inhuman. As a matter of fact Julia's carrying on her adultery with Charles while still living as Mottram's wife cannot be approved even by one who is not a Roman Catholic. If these critics approve her adultery on human grounds and find her conversion unconvincing, they either conceive of an arbitrary and lawless society which is free from all laws and norms or are deluded by the preconceived notions against Waugh's religion. To an objective reader her leaving Charles in the end is a proof of Julia's power of self-abnegation, a rare virtue. Here is the case of a Roman Catholic who returns to the bosom of the Church she belongs to.

The other values or experiences often associated with Roman Catholicism are that of the house and the aristocracy. In the changing role of the father and the house in Waugh's fiction, we can observe different solutions for the need for stability amid disorder. This is an element which constantly reappears in Waugh's fiction. This is so important an aspect in modern fiction that Nigel Dennis has said that the history of the thirties cannot be written without 'the house of childhood at the centre.'¹⁶ In the presentation of the parental house as the main theme, Waugh differs from the popular writers of the age—W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender—who did not approve the house. W. H. Auden favoured 'new styles of architecture and Spender found it too late to stay in those houses your fathers built.' In the depiction of the house as a positive influence, Waugh stands similar to Jane Austen, Dickens and Forster. His comparison with these three writers makes Waugh's interest in it more meaningful. Why, we may ask, is it necessary for Elizabeth Bennet to visit and become enamoured of Pemberley house (Darcy's home) before she finally falls in love with and eventually marries its owner? An easy comment would be to point this out as an instance of Jane Austen's high regard for station. But we may say that the house offers the protagonist (and her creator) a great deal more certainty and a more positive real reward. Elizabeth becomes more and more convinced that Darcy might be something after seeing Pemberley house. Writers like Dickens (*Great Expectations*) seem to present what might be called a more 'democratic' attitude towards the house, finding something slightly sick there, something that dupes the too earnest seeker after symbolic nobility.

Moving to the twentieth century we find that in someone like Forster the house seems to be accepted whole, but the consequences of this commitment are rather detrimental to some of his characterization from whom he borrows life to animate Howards End. Sometimes it causes an unwieldy mysticism finally to be assigned to the place.

Waugh's interest in the house as a symbol of tradition, order and restraint is quite similar, as we have seen, to other writers'. To call it Waugh's nostalgia for the house is far from being fair. Besides, as I have emphasized that Waugh is primarily an artist, Waugh's respect for the house is based on aesthetic response. I agree with Linklater that the 'aspect of order and fulfilment' which Waugh promises in the reward of the house 'might anger the social conscience, could surely please that sort of aesthetic conscience which requires design, not only in statuary, but in living.'¹⁷ Although Waugh presents his views about the house directly in later novels, he, being a realist, shows the house in the state of decline, for it was the social phenomenon of the age that the old houses were fast disappearing and the new flats were emerging in their place. In the later novels the house is shown either absent or subservient to the state. The fathers, to which it essentially belongs, begin to die and Waugh makes it a thing no longer to be preserved without the animating figure of the father. But the sacristy lamp at Brideshead Chapel and the sanctuary lamp at Broome, the Catholic house of the Crouchbacks, still carry an ameliorating influence in the midst of anarchy.

Donat O'Donnell's remark of 'snobbery' about Waugh's love of aristocracy is also prejudiced. It should be conceded that Waugh has a romantic attachment to aristocracy and being a conservative does not demonstrate sympathy in a public way for the 'lower classes'. It is not my point here to show the superiority of one ideal over the other but to show the validity of an ideal, if it is presented with a better taste. And it is evident from his novels that Waugh is not for an idle and useless aristocracy. The weaknesses of aristocracy are fully developed and satirized, as we can see, in his novels particularly in *Brideshead Revisited*. He appreciates only that aspect of aristocracy which is full of charm, nobility, liberality of mind, hospitality, tolerance, wit and charity. He himself speaks of the

useful aristocracy which might make an evolved British way of life work:

✓ We have a system that has grown up systematically through an enormous variety of public and private enterprises. It is a system which suits us, and if properly worked, can provide most of the things that are needed. But it can only work if people of leisure and energy, mental powers and very considerable good will take it in hand.¹⁸

Waugh's direct presentation of these traditional values of the house, aristocracy and Roman Catholicism side by side with his love of the comic and extravagant, the merciless observation of human weakness that marked his earlier novels, show the remarkable excellence of Waugh's later novels. His development is not at all catastrophic but is the triumph of his artistic heights, for this sort of combination might have required an enormous technical skill rarely found in the modern novel.

After this assessment of Waugh's novels the legitimate question which can be asked concerning any work of art is to know his contribution to the stock of the English novel and his place among the modern novelists. What essentially do we get from the reading of Waugh? To what extent is one better equipped for life by having read his novels? These are the questions which need to be answered.

As we have seen, we get from him first what we get from the good novelist, a realistic knowledge of society. In his early novels he is a realist in vision—the comic vision of meaninglessness. In this respect he stands in the category of other writers, James Joyce, Huxley, Greene, T. S. Eliot, Rose Macaulay and many others. And he expresses his vision through a unique method of comic detachment which is quite different from Huxley's direct invective. He also creates an irresponsible universe, admirably arranged, deliberately intended, and artistically presented, exhibiting his excellence of craftsmanship. The creation of this universe and the manner of its presentation in its own way are singular in the modern English novel.

But the new, and a positive, dimension has been added to the English novel by him through his later novels. Here his vision

becomes superior, a vision of responsibility. He becomes a rebel, according to Camus' definition of the word, who says 'no' to the world he spurns and 'yes' to the world he desires. A rebel's 'preoccupation is to transform.'¹⁹ In later novels he rejects the irresponsibility of the comic vision of the earlier novels. The meaninglessness of the society, with its seedy rooms, the furtive lusts, the frenzied drive of Miss Runcible, the dead girl's beret on the Cannibal's head, depicted most devastatingly in the earlier novels, finds a rightful answer in the values created in his later novels.

Priestley's criticism of Waugh with reference to his autobiographical novel *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* is not relevant. Identifying Pinfold with Waugh, Priestley complained: 'He is trying to be the country gentleman, when he is, in fact, the artist; he is trying to detach himself from the life of the nation, when he should involve himself in it.'²⁰ And he issued a warning that the artist will have another round of hallucination if he continues to deny his real self. Priestley has confused life and art. He has perhaps failed to understand that Waugh's concern for his values is for the sake of art and not at its expense. It is quite clear from the instances of his life that he actively participated in the life of the nation by becoming a soldier whereas the popular writers of his time—Auden and Stephen Spender—fled. If Waugh did not mix with the general stream of these 'socialist' writers, and created his own values, Mr. Priestley has no right to criticize him. If later, Waugh or his hero, Guy Crouchback, returns to faith and the country-house in the end, it is not to escape from life but to find refuge in, what he thinks to be, better values after they are disillusioned from meaningless war and their society.

Each writer seeks to recreate the world in his own image and imprint it with his own vision. The vision permeating the novels of Waugh is both strikingly positive and through and through Christian. As against the vision of a writer like James Joyce who cries out: 'Man is without God and therefore without hope', Waugh strikes a ray of hope amidst the despair and meaninglessness of modern existence. Obviously Waugh could not follow the way paved by James Joyce, Lawrence or Huxley. He found his refuge in traditional virtues. But Waugh's values are exceedingly unfashionable for this secular age.

Waugh's discovery and presentation of hope in bygone traditional virtues will make posterity remember him as the champion of lost causes. In this respect he universalizes his art and cannot be said to strike merely a 'period interest'.²¹ Besides he has given a new dimension to the modern novel by creating an artistic amalgam of the satiric and the comic view of life, of modernity and traditionalism.

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THE POETIC USE OF THE THEATRE IN THE PLAYS OF TENNESSEE WILLIAMS

BY P. N. LAL

(THE MAJOR plays of Tennessee Williams afford the best moment of the theatre. They are profoundly rich in exploring the broken and discordant rhythms of human existence caught up in the maelstroms of suffering and calamity, and the imaginative resources of the theatre which the dramatist employs lend an accentuating depth to the meaning of human predicament.

✓ In trying to examine the poetic use of the theatre in Williams' plays, this paper would risk the method of detailed analysis and exegesis so as to picture Tennessee Williams' laudable achievement as one of the greatest theatrical exponents of our age.)

(To begin with, the success of Tennessee Williams as a poet of the theatre rests, mainly, on his aliveness to the aesthetic of communication in the theatre.) This aesthetic of communication which facilitates the dramatic representation of experience and which validates his effort, is flexible enough to embrace the totality of experience. At the core of what Williams has endeavoured to express, there is a purposeful handling of a pattern. Williams calls it the pattern of the theatre which consists of the extra verbal aids like dance, mime, music, visual and aural rhythms, capable of evoking the desired response from the audience. (He relies mainly on images, metaphors and symbols in his effort to dramatize his sense of anguish and despair. Poetry forms the basis of his dramatic method. 'In a good play', says J. L. Styan, 'all the agencies of the dramatist from the literary meaning of the word to the non-literary effects of motion and stillness are brought into use as an integral expression of meaning which is indivisible in performance.'¹ The finished play is the sum total of meanings apprehended by the playwright. It requires a high degree of imaginative awareness and superb technical skill on the part of the dramatist to bring his meanings across to the audience. Williams conceives of drama as an exercise in exploring the potentiality of words for the transmission of his imaginative awareness of life. His esthetic preoccupation with words places

him in line with expressionists. He is increasingly preoccupied with the plastic theatre—a theatre based upon creative modulations of genuine effects. In his preface to *Cat on A Hot Tin Roof*, he says: 'There is hardly a successful writer in the field who cannot write circles around me but I think of writing as something more organic than words, something closer to being and action. I want to work more and more with a more plastic theatre than the one I have worked with before.'²) The emphasis on the plasticity of his theatre is a symptom of a deeper exploration into the meaning of existence, the arena of existential despair. A minute silken thread of tragic feelings weaves out the pattern of his plays. Williams goes beyond words, as it were, in his quest for meaning. He expresses the mysteries underlying the pathos of life through the use of external symbols, visual effects and aural rhythms. (Rejecting the theatrical conventions of the immediate past, he looks back to Shakespeare. In *Macbeth*, *Othello* or *King Lear*, the poetic symbolism is basic to the pattern itself. Thunder, lightning, the hooting of owls, raven's cries, seas' chafing and storms' ranging in the universe of the protagonist are so many visual and aural symbols, intensifying the contents of tragedy and deepening our awareness of it.) Williams has the immense credit of following the same evocative and creative pattern in the formation of his dramatic form. Like Shakespeare, he, too evolves symbolic pattern in his plays, though many other theatrical forms of the modern theatre enrich the expressions of the meanings of his plays. They would also come up for evaluation in the later pages.)

(Tennessee Williams candidly opines in his production notes to the *Glass Menagerie* that the transmutation of an experience into a finer and subtler form alone can bring 'vitality' to the theatre. He lays emphasis on the value of inner realism as against the photographic realism.) The vitality in the theatre, as grasped by Williams, is linked up with creative consciousness. Esther Merle Jackson rightly comments on Williams' idea of vitality in the theatre:

For Williams, 'vitality' was associated with the return of the theatre to its natural functions: to joyous and irreverent entertainments; to shock and terror, to symbol-

making, and to the figurative exploration of life. He proposed to recover these purposes by reestablishing the creative relationship of the drama to idiomatic forms of expression. Like Shakespeare, Corneille, Moliere, and Lope, Williams effected his restoration by introducing into traditional structures modes of expression drawn from all levels of experience.³

Each play of Tennessee Williams, therefore, is an artistic fusion of experiential truth and profoundly mature technical device. While the content sometimes becomes highly illusionistic and figurative, the craftsmanship almost always remains vital.

The impact on Williams of his association with the theatre groups as also of his apprenticeship under the university departments became very much decisive in developing his sense of craft. He learnt from Williams Holland, the director of the Mummies, the spirit of the true magnetism of the theatre. 'Everything that he touched', says Williams about Holland, 'he charged with electricity. Was it my youth that made it seem that way? Possibly, but not probably. In fact not even possibly: you judge theatre really, by its effect on audiences, and Holland's work never failed to deliver, and when I say deliver I mean a sock.'⁴ Williams further observes: 'I guess it was all run by a kind of beautiful witchcraft. It was like a definition of what I think theatre is. Something wild, something exciting, something that you are not used to. Offbeat is the word.'⁵ Williams' debt to Holland is very remarkable, for like Holland, he creates the desired effect of poetry through offbeat rhythms; and consequently, such an emotional theatre syntax makes an effect on the audience which is truly ecstatic. It may safely be said that Williams has introduced a new element in modern drama—'the emotional approach in serious plays.'⁶

Obviously, Williams has perfected his medium for the dramatic representation of experience. His theatre technique is a happy blending of the theatre arts of Wagner, Craig and Appia. Like Wagner, he feels that the narrative of a play has not only a linear pattern but also a spatial pattern in which mood, attitude and poetic assimilations of the theme are artfully disposed. In Wagner, music is the synthesizing element.

It is the music which would make the tone visible and the light audible, deepening the whole play with emotive rendering of experience. Williams comes to us as a romantic theatrician—midway between the rigid naturalist and arty symbolist. He resembles Brecht with regard to his narrative realism. Williams also firmly believes that the soul of drama lies in the might of the theatre and that the illusion on the stage through all artful improvisations is what counts most. That is what Craig believes in and aspires for. Williams feels that light has much to do in varying the mood of the play. Like W. B. Yeats and Lorca, Williams has made the masterly use of the non-verbal techniques to ensure emotional effects on the audience.

Moreover, Tennessee Williams throws immense light on his use of light and music as the basic elements of the modern theatre. In his production note to *The Glass Menagerie*, he says that music on the stage 'expresses the surface vivacity of life with the underlying strain of immutable and inexpressible sorrow.'⁷ He again says about light: 'A free, imaginative use of light can be of enormous value in giving a mobile plastic quality to plays of more or less static nature.'⁸ Williams, thus, comes to us as a romantic theatrician—midway between the rigid naturalist and arty symbolist. He resembles Brecht with regard to his narrative realism and his deployment of the non-verbal techniques of visual and auditory rhythms, though the affinity does not go very far. (While Brecht maintains aesthetic distance between the character and the audience, Williams is much too emotionally involved to be so able to do so. He deepens the issue of the play by such an involvement.

Williams' plays also bear close resemblance to the music-dance-drama technique of the *Kabuki* theatre of Japan. 'A specific tempo and rhythm runs through all *Kabuki* movement and most *Kabuki* speech.'⁹ W. B. Yeats refers to the dominant theme of 'Love-sorrow' and the intellectual subtlety of its delineation.¹⁰ Among the plays of Tennessee Williams, *The Night of the Iguana* and *The Milk Train* bear a deep imprint of this technique. Williams has himself spoken of the *Kabuki* and its use in *The Milk Train*. Though the formal elements of the *Kabuki* are not used to the full, traces of it are discernible in almost all the major plays of Williams. His concern with the theme of 'love-sorrow' and its intellectual bearing on the plays

more than proves this point. In addition, Williams has made uses of all those modern techniques adopted by the cinema and the television in his effort to build the poetry of the theatre. As a poet, he has given life to the theatre, which, in turn, has sustained his poetry. He has brought drama close to life. 'True drama is created by bringing life to the Theatre and Theatre to life,'¹¹ says J. B. Priestley. What Tennessee Williams achieves, thus, is the theatre of fine poetic semblance. The following analysis will show Williams' masterly handling of this cumulative theatre-syntax as reflected in his major plays.

II

(*The Glass Menagerie*, *A Streetcar Named Desire*, *Summer and Smoke* and other subsequent plays attain a deeply symbolic theatre-syntax. In these plays, Williams has successfully employed what Kenneth McGowan calls the three essentials of the theatre, namely simplification, suggestion and synthesis.¹² Through non-verbal symbols, Williams has intensified his art of expressiveness. These symbols cut deep through the structure of the plays and become integral parts of the plays. They have an aura of poetry around them. Williams has been singularly successful in making poetry the ingredient of drama. He creates the dramatic illusion so essential to the theatre.

The opening of *The Glass Menagerie* at once reveals, through its pictorial symbolism, the pathos underlying human predicament. The Wingfield apartment is one of the hive-like conglomerations of cullular units flowering like warty growth. After the initial poetic presentment of the scene which is memory, Williams further elaborates the setting. 'At the end of Tom's opening commentary, the dark tenement wall slowly reveals (by means of transparency) the interior of the ground floor Wingfield apartment.'¹³ The grimness of human living is at once recognized through the contrast between the dark rear of the building and the outer world. The scene is based on the memory technique which is one of the ingredients of the *Kabuki* theatre. John Gassner rightly affirms: 'The form departs from the fourth wall convention of realistic dramaturgy and suggests the Japanese Noh drama in which story consists

mainly of remembered fragments of experience.¹⁴ Such a technique is unlike that of Brecht who also omits some details wherever necessary and works more for rational effects. While Williams makes the interior dim and poetic—a romantic and symbolic metamorphosis of light to deepen the mood of despair—Brecht would have produced a flood of light realistically to denote life as it is. The rest of the play shows Williams' theatrical imagination working towards the achievement of the dramatic illusion. Working more and more like Reinhardt for embellishing the theatre, Williams combines the effects sought by Wagner, Craig and Appia, as also the symbolic touches of Rimbaud and Verlaine. The play is softly attuned to the music of 'the glass menagerie' and, so, an aural rhythm intensifies the central meaning of life in despair. Amanda's romantic vibrations in ruminating on the gentleman callers and Blue Mountain, and the gestures and the violent physical movements of Tom constitute the dance-rhythm in the play. Contrasted with this is the stillness of Laura. She is a figure like a mime. The *Kabuki* elements of poses and silent bodily movements and expressions reinforce the pattern. In the third scene, for example, Tom and Amanda are engaged in a violent quarrel, raising the pitch of their voices. In front of them stands Laura with clenched hands and panicky expression. A pool of clear light on her face throughout the scenes further intensifies her helplessness. Tom 'goes through a series of violent, clumsy movements, seizing his overcoat, lunging to the door, pulling it fiercely open. The women watch him aghast. His arm catches in the sleeve of the coat as he struggles to pull it on. For a moment he is pinioned by the bulky garment. With an outraged groan he tears the coat off again, splitting the shoulder of it and hurls it across the room' (p. 252). There are other equally tense moments of the theatre. At one place, the auditory image of the church-bell is contrasted with the tiny spasm of Tom. Tom's moral alienation is, thus, augmented in the beginning of scene IV. The power and glory of God is suggested by the chime. The significance of the bell is ironically slighted by Tom's unsteady movement, as if he were drunk. In the fifth scene, Amanda and Laura work out dance or ritual, their moving forms pale and silent as moths. In the final scene, Jim and Laura are engaged in a dance which leads to

the breaking of a horn of the glass animal. It offers a rare symbolic touch to the whole spirit of helplessness and nothingness in the play. Thus, *The Glass Menagerie* is a dance theatre incorporating the *Kabuki* milieu, expressionistic devices and the Reinhardtian symbolic touches on the stage.

In *The Streetcar*, the connotative rhythms evoked by the scenic, visual and aural symbols acquire deeper notes. They work as 'the elements of the visual composition.'¹⁵ For instance, the scenic description is both exotic and lyrical, suggestive of the poetic and picturesque quality of the atmosphere. The description of Stella's house is significant for its magic suggestiveness: 'The houses are mostly white frame, weathered grey, rickety outside stairs, and galleries and quaintly ornamented gables to the entrances of both. It is the first dark of an evening early in May. The sky that shows around the dim white building is a peculiarly tender blue, almost turquoise, which invests the scene with a kind of lyricism and gracefully attenuates the atmosphere of decay' (p. 115). With this texture of rich visual rhythm goes the aural effects cast by the music of Negro entertainers and that of the blue piano, speaking of 'the spirit of life which goes on here' (p. 115). Associated with the foregoing visual picture is the moth-like movement of Blanche who comes to Stella, daintily dressed in a white suit, wearing necklace and ear-rings of pearl. She shows, through all her emotional tension, physical trembling, silence and stare, the true nature of the dance-drama. Williams differentiates his characters' distinctive movements very artistically when Blanche refers to the loss of Belle Reve which, in turn, takes Stella on her nerves. Williams expresses such a moment very artistically to deepen the tragic effect on their faces by dual staring. The 'hipparno mie' of the *Kabuki* theatre is enacted by the two sisters in making their sentiments symbolic. Another very powerful theatrical symbol is the screeching of a cat whenever Blanche ruminates on her past. Similarly, in the third scene which refers to the 'poker night', Williams utilizes all the theatrical techniques at his command to register the effect of tragedy. He makes use of the 'radio' and the 'blue piano' again. When Stella, for example, is beaten by Stanley, the music of the blue piano goes louder, commenting indirectly on the inhuman world of Stan. At this moment, Blanche makes

a pause and looks up at the sky very intently. It goes without saying that these gestures and poses symbolize much of the growing pain the play enacts dramatically. Similarly, when Blanche tells Stella about her husband, a locomotive, rumbling past them, becomes a powerful aural symbol of the stormy emotion in Blanche's heart. In the same way, the polka music accentuates the tragic effects when Blanche tells Mitch of her husband's death. These artistic and symbolic devices are not mere decorations but extra-verbal connotations to reflect human predicament. The covering of electric bulb by Blanche is yet another example, which registers, symbolically, the tensions in Blanche between her illusions and the reality. Allan S. Downer rightly says: 'The smallest details of the action also bear their symbolic weight. Blanche covers the electric bulbs with colored paper shades, just as she tells fantastic lies not to shut off the light, the truth, but to modify it until it can be tolerated.'¹⁶ Blanche experiences death-in-life as a result of her moral depravity as well as the cruelty of the world. The final funeral of her hope is symbolized by a blind Mexican woman selling flowers. The final destruction of Blanche by Stanley affords the best moment of the theatre. She sees lurid reflections of shadows on the wall appearing and going in menacing form, and the blue piano 'going on louder'. These theatrical devices do, indeed, heighten the tragic intensity of the play.

Summer and Smoke has also the plastic form of the theatre and is frankly expressionistic in design. Williams says as much in the 'Author's Production Notes'. The interior and exterior sets are silhouetted against the sky with lighting and music. The setting thus revealed is symbolic, uniting the real with the unreal. The non-existence of the fourth wall is in keeping with the expressionistic device. The walls are omitted or just barely suggested. Two pieces of string stand for the door. The analogy of the sky with Italian Renaissance painting indicates colour harmony and visual effects. Moreover, the showing of constellations, such as Orion, the Great Bear and the Pleiades as also the Milky Way requires the unrestrained but careful use of light. Williams achieved the plasticity-effect through recurrent changes of light.

Tennessee Williams has divided the theatre here into three units: interior set, exterior set and the fountain of the stone

angle. As John Gassner says, the freedom given to the designers accounts for the difference of effect between the production of Margo Jones and that of Jose Quintero. He further says that by the imaginative use of light and the subtle nuances of the theatre Jose Quintero could effect a meaning unattained by Margo Jones. Quintero made the central stage dimly dark which threw into relief the lighted interior. The characters coming and going through darkness effected a sense of doom, a sense of mystery that life in the play envisaged. Margo Jones, on the other hand, used light uniformly everywhere so that he could seldom intensify the symbolic mood of the play.¹⁷ Moreover, Williams' visual symbols are related to sculpture and photography. The stone angel lighted throughout and the anatomy chart become visual symbols to connote the dichotomy between spirit and flesh. The aural rhythm is dexterously worked up through the recurrent music of the play. In the final scene when Alma goes out with a salesman, she makes her last physical pose by raising her gloved hand in front of the stone angel in a sort of valedictory salute; and she also faces the audience with her raised hand in a gesture of wonder. Apart from this treatment of love-sorrow theme, one more feature of the *Kabuki* is inherent in *Summer and Smoke*. That is the 'Waki' in the Japanese form in which a friend keeps company of the main character and leads him or her to a point of wisdom. John is that 'Waki' whose anatomy chart makes Alma what she becomes in the end. The theatre in this play attains all poetic potentiality through such devices.

(While the setting of *Summer and Smoke* reveals an abstract beauty of religious painting, that of *The Rose Tattoo* combines the profane and the sacred associations of the rose. Williams makes the setting symbolize both the erotic and the religious aspects of life.) In the interior of the house, there is a shrine against the wall—a little statue of the Madonna in a starry blue robe and gold crown. Light always burns here. Williams' purpose is to depict the mystery of human living. The erotic side of life is emphasized by the art pictures that Serafina keeps in the house. The figure of a Sicilian folk-singer appears in each major division of the play and continues right up to the end, giving the play its haunting music. Thus, the entire play is analogous to a symphony. The rumbling of a track at inter-

vals and the bleating of a strega contribute much to the heightening of dramatic effect. The gestures of Serafina become quite relevant to the dramatic technique. Thus, Serafina lifts her hands to her swelling breasts and brings them down to her belly. This, again, is the typical dance-technique of the *Kabuki* theatre. Williams also uses the chorus in the manner of the *Kabuki* playwright, for in both, the chorus is a mere informant, never a character. Serafina's gazes, gestures and wild movements while hunting the strega, and her emotional gait after the discovery of her husband's infidelity are all a dance. ✓ Kenneth Tynan has rightly observed that the poetic quality of this play is based on short scenes and evocative snatches of music.¹⁸

In *Camino Real*, the sensuous aural symbols are abundant. The setting, here, is outside time and place and there is an element of terror in the presentation of dark and sinister aspects of life. As such, the sound connotations become more powerful than before. Street people moan, and a dry gourd rattles. A discordant blast of brass instruments is heard at intervals. ✓ There are some moments of dance-like action, a fight, a seduction, sale of narcotics, arrest, etc. that deepen the flow of action in the play. When streetpeople watch the chase, we have a fine use of the cinematic technique made by Williams. This cinematic technique is mixed up with pantomime and dance when Kilroy is caught hold of, using him as a figure of pantomime with a lighted nose grafted on the original one. Kilroy's final ruin is suggested by the streetcleaners' pipings and the question of salvation is pinpointed by the whizz of an aeroplane which may take one farther away from the *Camino Real*.

✓ The plastic use of the theatre in the hands of Williams is an effective means for evaluating the meaning of life on a highly imaginative plane. The pattern remains the same throughout, excepting a stress on some particular form of rhythm in a particular play. In *Cat on A Hot Tin Roof*, for example, the aural connotations are of great significance and images fall in a pattern. Esther Merle Jackson rightly suggests that 'This pattern of images is elaborated in *Cat on A Hot Tin Roof* where every stage in the dramatic progression is illustrated by sound, and where each character has his own aural motif.'¹⁹ Elaborat-

ing this further, she says: 'Williams describes the sound of Maggie as that of a "chattering priestess", that of children as "no-neck monsters"; that of Big Daddy as a "bellowing bull", that of Big Mama as a huffing, puffing, old Bulldog. Only Brick is described as genuine music in the confusion of noises.'²⁰ The house of Pollitt is characterized as a great aviary of chattering birds. Kenneth Tynan holds the view that the play offers a kind of music on jazz terms in which the three acts work like three long solos. 'Cat on A Hot Tin Roof (1954) belongs to the modernist school, its three acts being in essence three long introspective solos (by, respectively, Maggie, Big Daddy and Big Mama), accompanied throughout by the ground bass of Brick's pervasive melancholy.'²¹ The music is suggested more and more by the action of these characters. Their gestures, movements and poses—all contribute to the physical dance-rhythms. Margaret giggles with a hand fluttering at her throat limpid in movement. They are looking at each other with faraway eyes, shaking and panting together as if they had broken apart from a violent struggle. This is a gesture like 'hipparo no mie' of the *Kabuki*. Big Mama is always tense like a Japanese wrestler. Throughout the play, she remains agitated and enacts pantomime by rushing from one place to another. Moreover, Margaret has most of the nuances and poses of the *Kabuki*. When alone, she raises her arms with fists clenched, shuts her eyes and opens them again. This suggests the deep tension of her heart and silence becomes so essential a feature of dance-drama of the *Kabuki*. Such dance-rhythm accentuates the emotional identification of the audience with the dramatic characters, and enables the audience to peep deep into the underground lives of the characters who are struggling for meaning.

Orpheus Descending orientates the poetry of the theatre through the recurrent forms of scenic symbolism and sound pattern. Williams sets a scene with three different connotations. One is Jabe's dry goods store representing hell—an image of the sterile commercial life of the doomed people being presided over by a man dying of cancer. Contrary to this is the confectionary decorated with coloured lanterns, and the third is an interior room marked by an oriental drapery which bears the formal design of a gold tree with scarlet fruit and fantastic birds.

Such a scenic image puts forth an ambivalence between dryness and fertility and evokes a sense of mystery in the face of death-in-life and life-in-death symbolism of the play. Donald Justice has rightly observed that 'Stage sets are dramatic images but few are so schematic as the set of *Orpheus Descending*.'²² The *Kabuki* element is implicit in the prologue in which Dolly and Beulah, as neighbouring women, work like a chorus, revealing the gloom of Lady. Williams scores the sound rhythm throughout the play to deepen the tragedy. The baying of hounds, death-cries and other portentous sounds make the audience aware of the impending disaster in the lives of the characters, for the poetry of life cannot exist in a malevolent world. Thus, the whole play is invested with elaborate theatre-symbols, both visual and aural. Even in this play, some fine moments of the theatre emerge out of the physical gestures and poses of Jabe, Val and Lady. Jabe's glaring into light like a fierce dying old beast towards the end of the play, Lady's constant tremor, half laughing and half panting, chafing her hands together at the foot of the stairs and coughing falsely to drown the footsound of Val; and Val's standing stockstill down centrestage in the tense and frozen attitude of a wild animal, are all the finest moments of the theatre producing a kind of theatrical hypnotism.

The theatre symbolism in *Suddenly Last Summer* is grotesque and gothic. The scene set by Williams is out to convey the impression of an inevitable doom. The interior is blended with a fantastic garden like a tropical jungle of giant fern-forests, and has massive tree-flowers suggesting a human body, torn out and still glistening with undried blood. This interior is full of harsh cries and sibilant hissings and thrashing sounds as if inhabited by beasts, serpents, and birds of savage nature. The human drama of annihilation is enacted against the background of Nature's savagery. Williams uses here the Brechtian method of telling a story as history. Mrs. Venable wants to save her son from infamy and Catherine narrates the incident in the past tense as also the history of Sebastian's death in images of blazing pallor. Williams, however, doubles the effect by his poetic use of language and by the music of tin cymbals which intensifies the terror instead of alienating the audience from such an emotionally engrossing vision. The visual, aural

and historical connotations enlarge the meaning of the play. Like this play, the plastic theatre of *Sweet Bird of Youth* is made up of Gothic design, but the aural rhythms spring out of the world of tape-recorder, television and cinema. The flying of gulls and the Lament song continually going on in the play-acting accentuate the pathos of its theme. The enactment of court dance by Heavenly and her father in Act 2 becomes reminiscent of Mozartian music. Again, the pursuit of Chance Wayne by enemies in night of utter darkness suggests the use of the cinematographic technique. Chance shows through his frozen facial pose a sense of terror which marks the difference between his phenomenal animation and the feeling of void. Moreover, a method commonly used in the *Kabuki* theatre is the establishment of contact between the characters and audience. This is also evident in *Sweet Bird of Youth* when Chance, before being castrated, tells the audience about the commonness of such a human tragedy. These technical devices are some of the most significant patterns of the Williams theatre.

(The uses of the *Kabuki* theatre syntax gain a marked stance both in *The Iguana* and *The Milk Train*. A *Kabuki* play derives its energy and affluence from a conscious dramatization of life itself, acquiring double rhythm from the theme of 'love-sorrow' and from its dramatic treatment in terms of gestures and nuances. (Among the modern dramatists, W. B. Yeats comes closest to emulating the technique of *Kabuki* play. He uses other 'Noh' techniques, related to the use of poetic imagery, costume and stage device. Autumn wind is used as a symbol of a sad destructive force. Other typical images in the *Kabuki* play are the sound of the sea from which man is isolated, and the image of the Buddha, of painted horses, of attire made into lovely flowers and animals, and the moon. One more 'Noh' device is the calling up in a kind of prologue which sets the scene and introduces the characters. In *The Iguana* and *The Milk Train*, Williams uses these techniques very effectively. In both the plays a Buddhist makes his appearance when the play is on the ebb-tide of exoticism. In *The Iguana*, Shannon, defrocked as a clergyman and charged with committing rape, is desperate and panting. Hannah comes to relieve that tension. Shannon calls her 'Miss Thin-Standing-Up-Buddha'. Simi-

larly, in *The Milk Train*, when Flora Goforth gets nostalgic about the past and shows herself as a nude in the flash of light before Alex, Chris arrives—a Buddhist, Hindu-like sage. This theatre technique is Japanese in origin. The protagonist comes into contact with a character called 'waki' who leads the former to some enlightenment.²³ *The Iguana* conveys most of its intrinsic meanings through these techniques, especially the technique of physical rhythm. Shannon's upsurge of emotion is expressed through his bodily reactions. 'He is on the verge of hysteria, he makes some incoherent sounds, gesticulates with clenched fists, then stumbles wildly across the verandah and leans panting for breath against post.'²⁴ Further, he grips the section of railing by the verandah steps and stares with wide, lost eyes. His chest heaves like a spent runner's and he is bathed in sweat.'²⁵ The use of pantomime is also a silent commentary on the situations of Shannon and Hannah in the play. In the context of human despondency, Williams intensifies the pathos through the use of two aural symbols. One is the recital of a four-line poem by Nonno, referring to the sky of no despair; and the other is the marimba band singing 'words of woman'. These aural symbols are reinforced by the continual blowing of winds. The visual symbols of the stage are the poses of Hannah and Maxine. While Maxine is tense and furious over the coming of Hannah and Nonno, Hannah provides a visual counterpart by clenching her eyes shut for a moment and when they open, they give a look of stoical despair of the refuge she has sought for. Moreover, the marching song of the Germans outside the stage serves to heighten the effect of alienation as much as it offers the contrast between personal exigency of life and the mass jubilation over the devilry of war. When Shannon and Hannah reach the height of despair, Shannon raises his hand outside to get rain when it is falling. This is a typical physical pose, coming down to a dance when Shannon is tied up to a string and he struggles for release. The *Kabuki* element is stressed by Hannah's use of the robe in Act III in the style of a *Kabuki* dancer to concretize the awareness of human predicament. And when Nonno dies, the dance of pain is over, though it becomes deeper in suggestion through its absence. Such is the music-dance drama in *The Night of the Iguana*.

(The Milk Train Does Not Stop Here Anymore rests plumply on the *Kabuki* theatre connotations and the visual rhythm conveyed through rich, lustrous images of painting. The *Kabuki* uses are mainly in the bringing of two stage assistants on the stage, the unfolding of the curtain at the outset which is folded only when the drama ends, and the courtly images of colourful paintings. As the two assistants are in black costume and are not seen by others, they appear as if in a masque which is adopted in the *Kabuki*. On the stage a flag bearing the griffin of Mrs. Goforth symbolizes half lion and half eagle. It, at once, gives the drama a visual image of bodily ferocity in a rational animal that Mrs. Goforth is. Throughout the action, the boom of the sea-wave alienates man's world from the sea symbolizing mystery. (This aural symbolism of the theatre distances the sacred from the profane in the context of the allegory. The room on the pink 'Villino' is full of painted and carved cupids. These invest the play with an aura of intense exoticism in keeping with the carnality of Mrs. Goforth. The play, modelled on the ritual of love-sorrow, presents Mrs. Goforth in the oriental black robe of a *Kabuki* dancer. She makes some dance movements of grotesque beauty. If her dance is perpetuated by her sexual aberrations, then her "ah" which continues throughout the action is a gesture of helplessness. It presents on the stage an undertone reflecting the vacuity of all such dances in sharp contrast with the aural symbol like the boom of the sea which belittles all such lusts on the moral plane. When Mrs. Goforth dies, this dance turns into the dance of stillness. Like the *Kabuki*, Williams presents the pain of a ghost in the purgatory, for Mrs. Goforth becomes the ghost of her own desires. Chris, as she tells, becomes the angel of Death—a 'Waki', redeeming her from the evanescent pleasures.)

Thus, the theatre of Tennessee Williams attains to a symphony of dance-song drama in that in each play the rhythm of physical movements and poses accelerates that dance-rhythm, and the creative uses of the aural, visual and the scenic symbols create the awareness of the dramatic illusion which is at the core of dramatic art. 'Dramatic art', expounds Charles Morgan, 'has therefore a double function—first to still the preoccupied mind, to empty it of triviality, to make it receptive and meditative, then to impregnate it. Illusion is the impregnating

power.²⁰ Williams' plastic use of the theatre has served excellently what Morgan terms as the double function of dramatic art. This has been the singular achievement of Tennessee Williams in the field of modern drama. ✓

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A STUDY OF J. D. SALINGER'S 'TEDDY'

BY K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

MANY critics have commented on the 'ambiguity' and the mystifying conclusion of 'Teddy'. It appears that in general, they have read the story as a story of suspense and foreshadowing and they have been greatly preoccupied in finding out what happened at the end of the story. Maxwell Geismar, William Wiegand, Dan Wakefield, James E. Miller, Jr. and Henry Anatole Grunwald believe that at the end of the story Teddy is pushed into the swimming pool by his little sister Booper. Some others seem to have doubts about this matter. According to Warren French, the ending remains controversial, because the reader feels that Teddy would not be above simply jumping into the pool and shifting suspicion to his sister, or even of pushing her in.¹ Laurence Perrine in a thought-provoking essay, 'Teddy? Booper? Or Blooper?' analyses this matter in great detail and he comes to the conclusion that it is Teddy who pushes Booper into the swimming pool. In his opinion, Teddy is a precocious but disturbed and emotionally flattened child who deliberately pushes his sister into the empty pool.² While the majority of critics have been concerned with the mystifying conclusion of the story and complained about the 'ambiguity', a few have seen the story to be little more than a religious tract setting forth the Hindu concepts of detachment, enlightenment and reincarnation. Donald Barr, for example, complains that 'it reads *methodically*, as if the impulse had first been to write something that was not a story.'³ Perrine plainly states that 'the story must be judged as unsuccessful because of the author's failure to make his intention clear—perhaps to himself, certainly to his readers.'⁴ The purpose of this paper is to find out what exactly is Salinger's intention in this story and whether he has made it clear in his narrative or whether the story is an artistic failure.

Even a casual reader cannot fail to notice the frequent references to 'death' in the course of the story. In the very beginning we notice the mutual hostility between Teddy's parents. In his irritation, Mr. Mc Ardle shouts at his wife that

he would like to kick her 'goddam head open'. The wife retorts that he is going to have 'a tragic, tragic heart attack'.⁵ Teddy is also preoccupied with his mystical speculations on death. Watching through the porthole the orange peelings which first float and then begin to sink into the ocean, he remarks that in a few minutes, the only place they will still be floating will be inside his mind. 'That's quite interesting,' he says, 'because if you look at it in a certain way, that's where they started floating in the first place. If I'd never been standing here at all, or if somebody'd come along and sort of chopped my head off right while I was—'⁶

Teddy leaves the cabin and finds Booper playing with Myron. She also refers to death a number of times before she leaves the deck and goes to her mother. Talking about Myron she tells Teddy this his father is already dead and that if his mother dies, he will be an orphan. Drawing her two stacks of shuffleboard discs in closer to her, she says: 'All I need now is two giants. They could play backgammon till they got all tried and they could climb up on that smokestack and throw these at everybody and kill them.'⁷

One of the entires in Teddy's diary also refers to death and and the sentimental attitude to death shown by American poets: 'A man walks along the beach and unfortunately gets hit in the head by a cocoanut. His head unfortunately cracks open in two halves. Then his wife comes along the beach singing a song and sees the two halves and recognises them and picks them up. She gets very sad, of course, and cries heart-breakingly.'⁸

All these references to death occur in the first part of the story before Teddy meets Nicholson on the deck. These references, first of all, serve the purpose of pointing out that death is an idea with which all—children as well as grown-up men—are concerned consciously or unconsciously all the time. Secondly, they also pave the way for the 'metaphysical' discussion about death that takes place between Teddy and Nicholson soon after. In fact, there is a natural transition from the first part to the second part of the story.

The conversation between Teddy and Nicholson mainly centres round the theme of death. In this part of the story, Teddy explains to Nicholson the Vedantic theory of incarnation

and tells him how in his last birth he was 'a person making very nice spiritual advancement' and how he 'sort of stopped meditating' after he met a lady. He also tells Nicholson how in this birth he had a mystical experience at the age of six when he realized that everything is God. He describes his mystical experience. It was a Sunday. His sister was only a very tiny child then, and she was drinking her milk, and all of a sudden he saw that she was God and the milk was God. Teddy felt that all she was doing was 'pouring God into God'.⁹ ✓

Teddy is depicted as a mystic who has a deep awareness of the eternal and transcendental. The conversation between him and Nicholson forms the major part of the story and here we see the mystic's attitude to death put in juxtaposition with that of the 'apple-eaters'. On account of his meditation and mystical experience, Teddy has come to realize that life is a dream, an illusion. This is evident from his reference to Sven and his dog. Teddy says that if Sven dreamt that his dog died, he would have a very bad night's sleep, because he was very fond of that dog. But when he woke up in the morning, everything would be all right. He would then know it was all a dream. He continues: 'The point is if his dog really died, it would be exactly the same thing. Only he wouldn't know it. I mean he would not wake up till he died himself.'¹⁰ ✓

Teddy has the Oriental religious vision and he sees 'Logic' and 'intellectual stuff' as the 'apple' eaten in the Garden of Eden. It is the apple within us which is responsible for our concern with material life and our separation from real, spiritual life. The apple within us prevents us from recognizing reality and generally makes us mistake 'illusion' for reality. ✓ It is also responsible for the 'emotional stuff' that we see everywhere around us. Only if we vomit it up can we see things as they really are. Because of the apple in them most people do not want to see things the way they are. 'They don't even want to stop getting born and dying all the time. They just want new bodies all the time, instead of stopping and staying with God, where it's really nice.'¹¹ ✓

Teddy goes on to tell Nicholson that he could have told the professors who interviewed him when they were actually going to die. But he did not tell them, because he knew that in their hearts they really did not want to know. Even though they

taught Religion and Philosophy, they were still afraid to die. ✓
Teddy feels that it is silly to be afraid of death. He tells Nicholson: 'All you do is to get, the heck out of your body when you die. My gosh, everybody's done it thousands and thousands of time.'¹²

Running closely parallel to the theme of death is the theme of emotional detachment. Perrine, in his essay, notices the emotional detachment of Teddy, but he says that it may be considered to be identical with the 'emotional flattening' that occurs generally in schizophrenia.¹³ But Teddy's emotional detachment is that of a mystic who has realized that the material world around is only an illusion. Teddy is against all 'sentimental stuff'. When Nicholson asks him if he does not love his parents, he states that he has a very strong affinity for them. They are all part of each other's harmony and he wants them to have a nice time while they are alive, because they like having a nice time. But he complains that they do not love him and Booper just the way they are. He says: 'They don't seem able to love us unless they can keep changing us a little bit. They love their reasons for loving us almost as much as they love us, and most of the time more. It's not so good that way.'¹⁴

The emotionalism of the 'apple-eaters' is seen reflected in the possessiveness of Mr. and Mrs. McArdle. Teddy finds a lot of 'emotional stuff' in Western poetry and contrasts it with the emotional detachment revealed in a Japanese poem: 'Nothing in the voice of the cicada intimates how soon it will die.'¹⁵

There is evidence enough in the story to suggest that Teddy foresees the probability of his own death. First of all, there is the entry in his diary: 'It will either happen today or February 14, 1958 when I am sixteen. It is ridiculous to mention even.'¹⁶ Again, while discussing the theme of death and reincarnation with Nicholson, Teddy tells him that he has to attend a swimming lesson in about five minutes. He says that it might be the day they change the water and that there might not be any water in it. He might walk up to the edge of it just to have a look at the bottom, and his sister might come up and push him in. 'I could fracture my skull and die instantaneously,' he says.¹⁷

There are suggestions of permanent leave-taking by Teddy

when he leaves his parents and also when he leaves Nicholson. When, in the beginning of the story, Teddy leaves the cabin and goes up the deck, he says that after he goes out of the door he may only exist in the mind of all his acquaintances and that he may be 'an orange peel' which disappears into the ocean.¹⁸ When his mother asks him to give her a 'nice, big' kiss, he tells her, 'Not right now, I'm tired', and closes the door behind him. Again, towards the end of the story, when Nicholson tries to stop him for a few minutes, the boy says: 'I really have to go.' If we take these details into consideration along with the 'all-piercing, sustained scream' of the female child at the end of the story, we can easily believe that Teddy fractured his skull and died by being pushed into the swimming pool by Booper. Indeed, it appears that Salinger depends on our understanding of Teddy's nature and attitude to death to make us realize that it is really Teddy who dies. Viewed in this light, the conclusion of the story is not 'ambiguous', 'controversial', or 'mystifying'. There is enough evidence to show that Teddy anticipates and even welcomes his own death.

We will, however, be like 'apple-eaters' and will miss the whole point of the story if we read it only with the idea of finding out who pushed whom into the swimming pool or who died at the end. What is important is to note Teddy's attitude to death. There are two different attitudes to death depicted in the story—the attitude of the 'apple-eaters' that we can notice in Nicholson and Teddy's parents and the attitude of the mystic represented by Teddy. Teddy, for instance, while telling Nicholson about the probability of his death that day, adds: 'What would be so tragic about it, though? What's there to be afraid of, I mean? I'd just be doing what I was supposed to do, that's all, wouldn't I?'¹⁹ Nicholson reveals the attitude of the 'apple-eaters' to death when he replies that it might not be a tragedy from his point of view, but it would certainly be a sad event for his parents. Teddy then tells him that this is so 'only because they have names and emotions for everything that happens.'²⁰

The story becomes significant and meaningful if we notice the contrast between the mystical, transcendental attitude to life shown by Teddy and the materialistic and self-centred attitude of the 'apple-eaters'. The attitude of the 'apple-eaters'

is seen reflected in the possessiveness of Mr. and Mrs. McArdle and their emotionalism. It is also seen in the scepticism of Nicholson. Indeed, the major portion of the story is an exposition by Teddy of the Hindu concepts of detachment, enlightenment, and reincarnation. Teddy points out how the Hindu mystics look at everything with detachment because, according to them, this material world is not reality, but an illusion. Teddy, in fact, has in mind the Hindu theory of *māyā* when he refers to the orange peel floating on the ocean for some time and then sinking into the ocean. We are all, according to Teddy, orange peels floating on the ocean of Eternity.

What is important is not to try to find out whether Teddy really died at the end, but his attitude towards death. Teddy regards death 'not with Western Logic as the end of his life but rather as the final fulfilment and reunion with life.'²¹ He sees himself as the orange peel sinking into the ocean and is ready to leave this world of illusion and merge himself with Brahman or Infinity.

Salinger has successfully used the form of the short story to contrast the mystical attitude of the East to life and death with the materialistic attitude of the West. The story 'dramatises the difficulties of living by Eastern religious concepts in the West, and more especially, of communicating them to conventionally Western minds.'²² It is tightly constructed with the first half naturally moving to the second. Salinger has presented the characters with his usual skill. Within the dramatic structure of its narrative, the story reveals the egoism of Teddy's parents, the strange malice of his sister and the scepticism of Nicholson. Even the child prodigy, though mystical, is not mystifying. Altogether, 'Teddy', published in 1953, is a story artistically told and it reflects Salinger's growing preoccupation with religious and metaphysical ideas. It reveals in an unmistakable manner how deeply Salinger has been influenced by Eastern philosophy and Vedantic doctrines.

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THE ART OF RALPH ELLISON

BARUN MITRA

'I CAN only ask that my fiction be judged as art, if it fails, it fails aesthetically, not because I did or did not fight some ideological battle'¹—demands Ralph Ellison, author of Invisible Man, which received the National Book Award—an unusual distinction for a first novel.

In confronting American society as an artist as well as a Negro, the contemporary Negro writer achieves a new strength, a new freedom for creativity. He has a higher regard for literary values, and he evinces a growing social consciousness and universality in the treatment of a greater variety of themes. And Ellison is 'at least as much an artist as a Negro. He accepts both roles so naturally in fact, that he has made them one. . . . like most serious artists, he has transmuted himself and his experience almost entirely into his art.'²

According to Ellison 'art is a celebration of life even when life extends into death and that the sociological conditions which have made for so much misery in Negro life are not necessarily the only factors which make for the values which should endure. And very clearly Ellison enunciates his creed:

...it seems to me that one of the obligations I took on when I committed myself to the art and form of the novel was that of striving for the broadest range, the discovery and articulation of the most exalted values. And I must squeeze this from the life which I know best.³

Ellison believes that much potential fiction by Negro Americans fails precisely at this point: through the writers' refusal (often through provincialism or lack of courage or opportunity) to achieve a vision of life and a resourcefulness of craft commensurate with the complexity of their actual situation. Too often they fear to leave the sanctuary of race. Ellison is fully conscious of his responsibilities as a Negro writer:

I feel what with my decision to devote myself to the

novel I took on one of the responsibilities inherited by those who practise the craft in the United States, that of describing for all that fragment of the huge diverse American experience which I know best, and which offers me the possibility of contributing not only to the growth of the literature but to the shaping of the culture as it should be.⁴

Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, which has been acclaimed as the 'odyssey of one man's search for identity' and 'an epic of modern life', is large enough to justify a better acquaintance with the author. ✓

Ralph Ellison was born in Oklahoma City which had no tradition of slavery and where the relationships between the races were more fluid and thus more human. In 1933 Ellison enrolled at Tuskegee Institute to study composition under William Dawson, the Negro conductor and composer. There (in his sophomore year) he came upon a copy of *The Waste Land*, and 'the long transition from trumpet to typewriter had begun.' ✓ He says he was much more under the influence of literature than he realized at that time. *Wuthering Heights* had caused in him 'an agony of inexpressible emotion', and the same was true of *Jude the Obscure*. But *The Waste Land* seized his mind. He was intrigued by its power to move him while eluding his understanding. He started hunting the references in the footnotes to the poem, and thus began his conscious education in literature. He started exploring the library at Tuskegee which was quite adequate. Because of his knowledge of techniques of music, the process of learning something of the craft and intention of poetry and fiction seemed quite familiar to him. Ellison describes the process very cogently:

The more I learned of literature in this conscious way the more details of my background became transformed. I heard undertones in remembered conversations which had escaped me before, local customs took on a more universal meaning, values which I had'nt understood were revealed.⁵

This personal transformation continued even after he went to New York in search of a job (which he did not find). But he

was more successful in his search 'for an expression of modern sensibility in the works of Negro writers'; he discovered Richard Wright and 'blundered into writing'. Ellison remembers vividly how and why he started to write:

I can remember very vividly. Richard Wright had just come to New York and was editing a little magazine. I had read a poem of his which he liked, and when we were introduced by a mutual friend he suggested that I try to review a novel for his magazine. My review was accepted and published and so I was hooked.⁶

Richard Wright became his mentor. Wright, at that time, had not written *Native Son*. He had published *Uncle Tom's Children*, which was the real beginning of his fame and he was working on *Native Son*. 'I was too amazed with watching the process of creation'—Ellison says. 'I did not understand quite what was going on, but by this time I had talked with Wright a lot and he was very conscious of technique. He talked about it not in terms of mystification but as writing know-how. "You must read so-and-so," he would say. "You have to go about learning to write consciously. . . . You must learn how Conrad, Joyce, Dostoievsky get their effects."'⁷ Ellison became a voracious reader. Even then it had not occurred to him that he might write fiction, but once the suggestion came from Wright, it seemed the most natural thing to try. Wright, then on the verge of his first success, was eager to talk with a fresher. He guided Ellison to Henry James's prefaces, to Conrad, and to the letters of Dostoievsky.

But Ellison denies, and denies vehemently, that he was significantly influenced by Richard Wright. 'Consult the text,' he cries, 'I sought out Wright because I had read Eliot, Pound, Gertrude Stein and Hemingway. Wright viewed me as a potential rival, partially, it is true, because he feared I would allow myself to be used against him by political manipulators who were not Negro and who envied and hated him.'⁸ Ellison attacks Wright and elaborates his point:

But perhaps you will understand when I say he did not influence me if I point out that while one can do nothing

about choosing one's relatives, one can, as artist, choose one's 'ancestors'.... Do you still ask why Hemingway was more important to me than Wright? Not because that he was white, or more accepted. But because he appreciated the things of this earth which I love and which Wright was too driven or inexperienced to know.⁹

From Ellison's allusions to certain of his contemporaries—to Stein and Hemingway, Joyce and Faulkner, Eliot and Yeats—one idea emerges with persistent force: Man is the creator of his own reality. In the words of Robert Bone, 'If a culture shapes its artists, the converse is equally the case: the American novel is in this sense a conquest of the frontier; as it describes our experience, it creates it.'¹⁰ This turn towards subjectivity, this transcendence of determinism, this insistence of existential freedom, is crucial to Ellison's conception of an artist. It finds concrete expression in his work through the devices of masking and naming. In his own prose, Ellison employs various masking devices, including understatement, irony, *double-entendre* and calculated ambiguity. There is something deliberately elusive in his style, something secret and taunting, some instinctive avoidance of explicit statements (which is closer in spirit to the blues). Ellison is a notable admirer of Faulkner, and his fiction displays the same richness of language and syntax, the concatenation of sentences and flow of rhetoric that Faulkner has made his trademark. His fascination with masquerade has created two memorable characters in *Invisible Man*: the narrator's grandfather, whose mask of meekness conceals a stubborn resistance to white supremacy, and Rinehart, a master of disguise who survives by manipulating the illusions of society.

The narrator, Ellison's hero, is a young and gifted grown-up boy who visualized himself (in his pre-invisible days) as a potential Booker T. Washington. He is a Negro. By recounting episodes of his life he attempts to show how he has really been 'invisible' all his life. 'Invisibility' is Ellison's symbol for the loss of self. *Invisible Man*, in fact, is a stubborn affirmation of the worth and dignity of the individual in the face of forces which conspire to render him invisible. The two parts of *Invisible Man* stand as a symbolic tale of the Negro in America, almost allegories, as it were, of first, the Negro in the South,

and then, the Negro in the North. *Invisible Man* is a profoundly soul-searching story of one young Negro's baffling experiences on the road to self-discovery. It reveals profound insight into every man's struggle to find his true self. In this novel, in the words of David Littlejohn, 'Ellison has managed to write a shorthand history and sociology of the American Negro, in the life and opinions of his prototypical hero. . . . The creation and loving sustenance of this narrative hero, with all his follies and limitations, are among the triumphs of this book.'¹¹

Ellison has an abundance of that primary talent without which neither craft nor intelligence can save a novelist: he is richly and widely inventive. 'Ellison has grafted European symbolism,' says Walter Allen, 'into the native stock of symbolism.'¹² While the individual scenes that compose the book bear the immediate impression of actuality, they have the surrealistic vividness, the unnatural clarity as well as the convincing illogic, of dream rather than of real life, or, if, of real life, then of life surrounded, to use Ellison's words, 'by mirrors of hard, distorting glass.' It employs a startlingly effective fusion of narrative realism and surrealism, and it has achieved a unique but compelling combination of the naturalistic, the ridiculous, and the downright hallucinatory. In the words of Ihab Hassan, 'The world of *Invisible Man* is vividly real and surreal, charged with insane violence and crazy humour. It is a world of magic transformation, for nothing in it is exactly what it seems. The contours of objects meet and vanish, ebony black paint is transmuted before our eyes into a shining white.'¹³

Invisible Man, it has been said, in some ways recalls *Ulysses*. 'James Joyce's great contemporary masterpiece was an Irish *Odyssey*. *Invisible Man* is an American one. . . anyone who is shocked at the juxtaposition should remember, all pieties aside, that Ellison actually already excels Joyce in sustaining dramatic inventiveness, and that his rhetorical resonance is at least as close to much of Joyce as is that of any other contemporary American novelist. . . .'¹⁴ Regarding the plan and intention of the book Ellison says:

After all it is a novel about innocence and human error, a struggle through illusion to reality. Each section begins

with a sheet of paper, each piece of paper is exchanged for another and contains a definition of his identity, or the social role he is to play as defined for him by others... before he could have some voice in his destiny he had to discard these old identities and illusions; his enlightenment could't come until then. Once he recognizes the hole of darkness into which these papers put him, he has to burn them. That's the plan and intention of the book.¹⁵

But, and this is perhaps the most important thing about Ellison's novel, *Invisible Man* is not merely a story about being a Negro, it is a 'chronicle' (in the Browningsque sense of the artistic imitation)¹⁶ also of twentieth century man, and, indeed, man in any time, in any place: 'who knows but that, on the lower frequencies, I speak for you?'¹⁷ It transcends the immediate social and political implications and becomes a parable of the human quest for identity. ✓

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CHICAGO CRITICS AND *KING LEAR*

M. S. NAGARAJAN.

I

King Lear has long been regarded as the greatest work of Shakespeare, or indeed of any dramatist. Since the play made its first appearance in 1605, it has been the object of interest to a very wide circle of critics. It has been variously interpreted. In the past centuries the attention has mostly centred on the stage production aspect of it and the critical remarks about the play have not been more than literary chit-chat. Dr. Johnson says, 'I am not able to apologise with equal plausibility for the extrusion of Gloucester's eyes which seems an act too horrid to be endured in dramatic exhibition and such as must always compel the mind to relieve its distress by incredulity....'¹ Hazlitt says, 'The mind of Lear staggering between the weight of attachment and the hurried movements of passion is like a tall ship driven about by the winds, buffeted by the furious waves.'² Shelley holds that the comedy in *King Lear* is sublime and universal in so far as it restores the equilibrium³ in the play. All these are purely literary chit-chat. To Keats⁴ the play was a piece of self-indulgence, for the play appeared to demand from him the prologue of a sonnet which he promptly wrote and sent to his brothers. Charles Lamb remarks, '...to see an old man tottering about the stage with a walking stick, turned out of doors by his daughters in a rainy night, has nothing in it but what is painful and disgusting';⁵ Bradley says that 'King Lear is too huge for the stage,' and so 'cannot be transferred to the space behind the foot-lights; but has its being only in the imagination'; and Granville-Barker answers Bradley by saying that great drama is like a complex piece of music the total impact of which cannot be felt in a single performance of it. But all these questions relate to the stageability of the play.

As against these critics, the 'New Critics' have studied and interpreted the play in terms of its poetry and poetry alone. My concern now is not to make a survey of *Lear* criticism—that would be much too ambitious—but to consider this 'New

Criticism' of *Lear* in relation to the approach of the 'Chicago Aristotelians'.

The most extensive single analysis of a Shakespearean play using its poetic imagery as the basis is R. B. Heilman's *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in King Lear* (1948). Heilman explores the various patterns of recurrent images in the play and finds the meaning that it is 'finally a play about the ways of looking at and assessing the world of human experience',⁶ and the theme that it is a play of intellectual conquest and salvation through imaginative vision. Heilman devotes chapters to the study of images which are grouped under 'sight pattern', 'madness pattern', 'justice pattern', 'religious pattern' and so on. W. R. Keast of the 'Chicago School' objects to this mode of study of the play. He says of these studies that 'they have taken the recurrent images of the play as their primary data, often with the more or less explicit assumption that a careful study of these less obvious and calculated elements is likely to bring us nearer Shakespeare or his meaning than is the study of such more obvious elements as plot, character, and thought.'⁷ Since the 'New Critics' take the language of drama to be almost the only object of critical investigation, it is not a surprise that in their interpretations the words of the play seem to enjoy the unusual significance. The drama becomes a metaphor, and the words, the symbols. The essential arbitrariness in Heilman's readings is noticed by Keast. The following exchange between Edmund and Gloucester will serve as an example.

Gloucester: What paper were you reading?

Edmund: Nothing, my lord.

Gloucester: No? What needed, then, that terrible despatch of it into your pocket? The quality of nothing hath not such need to hide itself. Let's see—come, if it be nothing I shall not need spectacles.

Edmund: I beseech you, Sir, pardon me...

Gloucester: Give me the letter, Sir.

Edmund: I shall offend, either to detain or give it. The contents, as in part I understand them, are to blame.

Gloucester: Let's see, let's see.⁸

Heilman notices a fine irony in the dialogue.

✓ Gloucester does not see at all—indeed he cannot, though he says three times 'Let's see'. For though he wishes to see, he is blind and so does not and cannot 'see' the truth of the letter. Keast observed that Gloucester is only impatient to read the letter and his remarks would be appropriate to anyone in such a situation, 'however illuminated he might be, spiritually'. Heilman forges ahead with his pursuit of the irony in the play and discovers new meaning in the nocturnal setting for Edmund's plans and the torches which Gloucester carries which do him no good, incapable as they are of affording the inner illumination he needs.

From this particular situation, let us move to a bigger issue—Heilman's discussion of the tragic structure of the play. Towards the end of the play, Lear is reunited with Cordelia and Gloucester with Edgar just as the old men were enjoying close pseudo intimacies with Goneril and Regan and Edmund respectively in Act I. This change in associates has symbolic value. 'The reunion with the better children takes place after Lear and Gloucester have undergone a great deal of enlightenment.'⁹ Thus Edgar and Cordelia symbolize a side each of their parents, that side in which lies the potentiality of salvation and the children, like the Good and Evil, represent different elements which are in conflict in the play. 'Lear's reunion with Cordelia is in no way the effect of his discoveries about his daughters but is brought about by the actions of Gloucester before he is enlightened and Gloucester's reunion with Edgar is the effect not of Gloucester's discovery but of Edgar's late decision to reveal himself to his father.'¹⁰ These are just a few examples from Heilman. He starts with a certain theory that a play is a metaphor and naturally finds himself forced into apparently arbitrary and capricious interpretations of its symbolism. Such interpretations, more often than not, display the linguistic virtuosity of the critic.¹¹ 'The verbal patterns are strictly relative to and dependent for their value upon larger and more conspicuous elements of the drama',¹² such as its plot, character and thought. The imagery which is but one aspect of the thought cannot be divorced from the thought, character and circumstances. At best the images intensify the impressions made by the plot and character. Heilman makes a reversal of this order and his 'analysis involves standing the play on its

head.'¹³ What is more, the dramatic form and its construction is wholly lost sight of and the play is reduced to 'an epistemological discourse in a dialogue form.' If King Lear is superb, it is superb as drama, as philosophy it is just commonplace. 'What we have in Heilman's "King Lear"', argues Keast, the Aristotelian, 'is a body of platitudes, garbed in a merely verbal complexity', and he concludes that 'we may marvel at the industry and ingenuity displayed in the analysis but we need not take it seriously.'¹⁴

II

If Keast made just an iconoclastic onslaught against the 'Monism' of the 'New Critics', his colleague, Elder Olson, attempts to place *King Lear* in a larger perspective, preferably Aristotelian, substituting an 'a posteriori for an a priori' approach. His *Tragedy and the Theory of Drama* has a chapter on *King Lear*. He approaches this 'extraordinary, superhuman work' from the point of view of a working dramatist. The great problem for the dramatist is one of making a tragedy based on the old Lear materials... 'a humble sow's ear to be made into a silk purse.' The artist was Shakespeare who knew how the right emotional effect could make the same basic tale funny as in *Pyramus and Thisbe*, or serious as in *Romeo and Juliet*. Olson examines the whole action of the play such as Lear's irrational folly of dividing his kingdom, demanding the profession of love from his daughters and disinheriting Cordelia. Lear divides his kingdom because he has no male heir and he wants to avoid disputes among his daughters. He abdicates his authority because he is too old to rule. Lear gives up authority and he could only trust to their love for his own security and authority. He insists upon a public profession of his daughters' love since he wishes to leave this expression of love witnessed as a formal part. Now Shakespeare works his formula, 'the tragic hamartia'. 'A character of conspicuous virtues and abilities, who has distinguished himself through them in one sphere, is thrown suddenly into a sphere of action in which to exercise them—and he must exercise them—is to invoke catastrophe...'¹⁵

'Lear is a feudal lord; he is thrown into a domestic sphere

where the laws of feudality (political authority) do not operate, for he is abrogating the authority on which feudality depends.¹⁶ Lear's act of demanding love from his daughters is an act of 'a feudal lord demanding the profession of fealty from his vassals'.¹⁷ 'In *Julius Caesar*, Brutus comes to grief by imposing the ethical on the political.'¹⁸ These two are distinct worlds governed by contrary laws. Affection is inexhaustible and a profession of it is a lie. Lear commits selfishness (the opposite of love) in demanding of love that is to be secured to himself alone. 'Lear is ignorant of the nature of love; he must be taught it. He begins in selfishness, thinking of himself; let him end himself forgotten, wholly absorbed in the beloved.' Lear has sinned against love, demanding from it what it cannot give. His sufferings must be the atonement for this sin. He must discover the meaning of love through the privation of love. The world without love 'is a nightmare of a cannibalistic nature', where justice and law are empty words and where man is a beast. Lear must fall into this nightmarish world and suffer in it. He must be dignified for he cannot be seen as an old man in a petty rage. We must see Lear in deteriorating fortunes. His suffering must be wholly mental, for physical pain would detract us from his suffering. Now the main threads take form. Lear must endure degradation from kingship. He must suffer out of ingratitude and betrayal; to him affection must be most necessary. Each of Shakespeare's great heroes pays in his own currency. The courageous Macbeth lives in moral terror, the intellectual Hamlet in doubt and confusion. The proud, just, affectionate Lear has to pay by suffering humiliation and injustice. This extremity of inward torment is madness. To be profoundly shaken is to go mad. Why should *Lear* come to an unhappy ending? This is not made probable by the antecedent action. Lear's death is an 'emotional necessity'. It is certainly not the ritualistic sacrifice of the protagonist. 'In every true tragedy the audience is compelled to transcend a lower set of normal values to a higher; it is compelled to fear and pity, for instance, only to acknowledge in the end that in a higher judgment there are worse evils than it has been fearing and pitying and by confronting great misery it has learned something of the great conditions upon which human happiness truly depends, and something of the high dignity of which man is

capable.'¹⁰ 'Frequently in tragedy the tragic hero experiences that transcendence of values, and his merest acknowledgment of that experience is in itself a human triumph. Lear must forget his royal pride, and the stings of ingratitude and all else, and realize the supreme value of love; he must put by his kingship and all the world gladly for the sake of his daughter; and then he must learn the value of love again as only loss can teach it, and so Cordelia must die. Her effort to save Lear must then be in vain.' After presenting to us how the main line of action develops Olson talks about the other problems and characters in the play. Cordelia is the perfect daughter 'persistently candid' who exists simply because Lear may love, reject and love her again. 'Man, ruled absolutely by self-interest, perfectly deprived of any benevolent concern for others, can ONLY be evil.' Goneril and Regan must be this evil. Shakespeare has to show what these villains are capable of in their deeds, yet he cannot allow their full cruelty harm Lear, for he must be rapt in his own mental anguish. Hence another victim is necessary in the play to be cruelly used by them, for that will effectively show what they are ultimately capable of doing to Lear himself. They must be represented as progressing ever deeper into evil. They must 'move from trivial treachery, to trivial conspiracy, to filial neglect, to actual conspiracy against father's life, to sister-murder, and self-murder at last.' In this nightmare world, thus the dark stair of self descends and ends. Olson explains how Shakespeare has to encounter another difficulty. If Lear's suffering is just an extended and unbroken piece of misfortune, the audience cannot endure it, there are limits to fear and pity. If the audience has to be without hope for the future of Cordelia, it will be bored and indifferent and the effect of the play will be dreary and lugubrious and certainly not tragic. The sub-plot of the play must turn on the same issues as the main so as to heighten and enhance the effect of the main plot. At the same time the sub-plot must be pathetic and not tragic, as otherwise it will compete with the main one. Olson studies Shakespeare's strategy, in working up our sympathetic emotions to an enormous pitch. Gloucester's eyes are put out on the stage; for we must see it to realize the full evil of Goneril's character. Albany, the final agent of justice, delays in bringing relief, because he, like the audience; begins regarding Lear

unfavourably. This is a part of Shakespeare's general plan of representation. The audience is also moved by the change in Albany. The foregoing reading of *King Lear* has been mostly reproduced in Olson's own words. The greatness of this study consists in examining the 'plot', 'character' and 'thought' of the play along the lines of Aristotle. Olson studies the plot of *King Lear* as a whole—complete in itself and of 'adequate magnitude and as an imitation of a complete action', bearing in mind the definition of tragedy by Aristotle.

A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself, in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish the catharsis of such emotions.²⁰

Olson had set for himself the very modest aim of studying how the plot of the play is composed. He has not attempted to explicate the media in which the 'imitating' is done—the 'spectacle' and 'diction', 'the pleasurable accessories'. Olson may lack the splendour of Heilman, but he is internally consistent throughout in his arguments, and so is convincing.

III

While Olson limits his study to the artist's problem of creating a tragic drama out of the sources available to him, Norman Maclean, yet another 'Chicago Aristotelian' discusses the madness of Lear—the order, completeness, vividness, probability and 'emotional unity' in it. He examines how the 'madness in the play' is compatible with the general conditions of 'existence' of the play and how it is adequately caused by the very constitution of the play. Maclean invites the readers to follow Lear (also Shakespeare) across the heath to the fields of Dover, 'to view this large expanse of suffering as a single dramatic unit'²¹ from Act II, Scene 4 to Act IV, Scene 6. Maclean considers the 'Episode' in these 14 scenes and then for smaller

particulars, an incident from these scenes, then a speech from this incident, and then finally a single word in the speech. There is something noteworthy in this episode. Prior to it Lear believed in a well-ordered universe controlled by divine authority, at the end of it he sees the universe in which man is a beast, 'the odious vermin', full of nothing but self and sex.

Here is an immense problem 'to make clear that the mind of Lear progressively loses its clarity and comes at last to a moment when everyone will recognise as "the worst" and be willing to take as madness.' Shakespeare has to present a character in the process of disintegrating emotionally and descending into the 'sulphurous pit'. The location point of this episode is Lear's last speech in Act II:

O reason not the need, out basest beggars
 Are in the poorest thing superfluous,
 Allow not nature more than nature needs,
 Man's life is as cheap as beasts.

starting from which we can see what a falling-off there was. This is the first occasion in the play when Lear speculates in general on man and the speech itself closes with 'I shall go mad'. Isn't it strange for the protagonist to reverse his beliefs, his philosophical faiths concerning man? What's more, 'the beliefs that have become the protagonist's in Act IV, Scene 6 are his antagonists'—Goneril's, Regan's and Edmund's who also hold that sex and self are the sole laws of life.' This change of Lear contributes to the emotional effects of the tragedy. The tragic writer has not only to stir but to alleviate the emotions aroused to some extent, for a certain alleviation of fear and pity is necessary to make the emotional effect of tragedy one that we are consumed rather than repelled by. The unrestrained grief of Laertes at the grave of Ophelia produces contempt and indignation and not compassion in the heart of Hamlet. Our fear and pity of Lear are at once magnified and mitigated and the whole episode of madness is so arranged that neither fear becomes horror nor pity, some kind of excruciating pain. In these fourteen scenes we are given faint hopes that Lear will be helped and he is removed towards Cordelia and at the other end the plans of the antagonists are foiled.

From the panoramic view let us focus our attention on this tragic episode—the reversal in Lear's thoughts and feelings. Shakespeare has to objectify tragic feelings with suitable 'objective correlatives' into commensurate actions, themselves little tragedies, yet stations on the way to ultimate suffering. Besides this, in these scenes depicting a change in the state of mind, the action has to be kept to a certain minimum 'lest too much outer clangour obscure inner vibrations and tragedy pass over into melodrama.' We have in Act III three scenes leading to Lear's madness and these are alternated with three others leading to Gloucester's blinding. Unlike the 'interval' Lear scenes, we have in the other three action cut to the bone and the language lean and bare; Gloucester's attempts to bring relief to Lear are the cause of his suffering. Thus we have a horrible replica of Lear's suffering in the sufferings of another old man, Gloucester. Thus 'the interplay of these two tragedies gives to both, more than either singly possesses, intelligibility, suspense, probability, and tragic concern.'²⁴

No new materials have been introduced in these scenes centring in the depth of Lear's mind. 'Art attains the maximum of unexpectedness out of restricted sources and out of materials already introduced and about which we have expectations.'²⁵ The heath scenes are composed of 'complex variations on the theme of madness'. The storm, the Fool and Poor Tom, all previously somewhat external to Lear, successively become objects of his thought and then become himself, transubstantiated. So, these are the 'objective correlatives'—Lear's mind made visible dramatically. There is also the case of 'fixation' here, when Lear's madness is complete. The entire universe gets translated into the being of his daughters who 'are the central characters in this inverted and internal pilgrim's progress. . . and ultimately we know the stage of Lear's progress (in madness) by his daughter's presence (in his mind).'²⁶ In Act III, Scene 2, the daughters are identified with the storm, both of which he can confront, in Scene 4 he has no courage to even think of his daughters, in the final scene, Lear finds the forbidden women in the 'lake of darkness' and he arraigns his daughters and ultimately when Lear gets to the darkness of the hell he finds the female, 'down to the waist, they are centaurs'.

All these scenes are wholes as well as parts in the tragic event, they arouse and then to a degree purge the emotions of fear and pity. In *King Lear* Shakespeare 'built his macrocosms out of tragedy upon tragedy upon tragedy.'

Tragic art requires 'vividness' in order to bring a literary moment come to life. Maclean takes for examination a small unit where Poor Tom is introduced to Lear—Act III, Scene 4, ll. 22-64. A character can be introduced in many ways. In *Lear* Poor Tom is 'the thing itself' and so the size of his introduction has quantitative as well as qualitative aspects. Poor Tom's name is given five times in this short passage, three times he is said to be 'the spirit' and thrice it is mentioned that the 'foul-fiend' is pursuing him.

The repetitions make the character dramatically important. Lear's prayer for 'the poor naked wretches' is answered by a supernatural voice from the hovel crying out 'fathom and half'. Lear identifies poor Tom as himself. Tom is the alter Lear. The unexpected entry of Tom may serve as a diversion and a momentary relief; but this relief is only an illusion and as it is dispelled it deepens the tragedy. What seems to be directing us away from tragedy is what is taking into darker recesses. The entry of Tom marks a greater tragedy. Lear has just identified himself with the whole class of poor naked wretches, 'whereso'er you are' for whom he has prayed. The 'whereso'er' is the hovel from which suddenly appears Tom, poorer and more naked than anyone else and in intense suffering. His mysterious cry—'fathom and half, fathom and half'—besides being a sounding of depth—arouses fear and then pity for 'the tragic protagonist, who in startled compassion asks the new thing if the two are not identical in substance'. In poor Tom's final account of himself which is not just a routine whine for alms, one can notice the multiple identification, for he is describing himself, his father and Lear, all of whom are led through fire and flood.

Let us now take for further scrutiny Lear's speech in which he 'first recognises his identity with unprotected nakedness'. 'Hast thou given all to thy two daughters and art thou come to this?' This question asked in consternation and commiseration is tragic drama in its essence. The speech is at once short and enormous. All the words of this speech excepting

'given' and 'daughters' are colourless and monosyllabic. No other adjective could be so neutral as 'two' to describe Lear's daughters. This is a moment of tragic contraction at its best. In answer to the ghost's narration, Hamlet could only exclaim 'O, my prophetic soul, My uncle?' Othello's answer to Desdemona's plea for a prayer could only be 'It is too late.' Here is a return to iambic rhythm after mad cries; it has seven feet and it has another question enclosed in it. The monosyllables, all full of dental plosives and fricatives, and their rhythm make it a tremendous question. Little strokes make great art.

There is one big word in this speech, irreplaceable and definite in some sense. The rules of grammarians who might question the use of 'this' and 'all' without their antecedents are set at naught. If it was 'that it should come to this' in *Hamlet*, it is 'art thou come to this?' in *King Lear*. '... words are so important that from the least of them can be made the uttermost in meaning and emotion—the suffering of man triumphed over by some slight touch of serenity.'²⁷

IV

'The Chicago Aristotelians' have thus presented us with a salutary corrective to the approach of the 'New Critics'. The Chicago critics have, in their practical criticism of *King Lear*, taken into account the structure of the play as an artistic whole and not just a collection of the systems of language. True it is that this method needs careful and sensitive handling. To readers who are accustomed to flexible analytical techniques, such a method may seem to have a mechanical quality about it. But criticism is reasoned discourse, the end of which is not to thrill or dazzle us but to refine our instinctive response to works of art. Whereas the 'New Critics' have been busying themselves with applying their 'procrustean method of forcing literary works into a pattern of complex coherence or ambivalence or paradox',²⁸ the 'Newer Critics' (as John Holloway would call them) have not only exposed the basic inadequacies of the close reading of isolated passages, but demonstrated vehemently a better and sounder way of seeing and discussing the rich imaginative order in a piece of art.

Literary criticism is a very wide field. The approach of the 'New Critics' is 'spatial', only Heilman carries things too far as Wilson Knight too occasionally does. The approach of the 'Chicago School' is 'sequential'. Both these have their validity in the interpretation of the text. Very rarely does it so happen that we have a critic like Coleridge in whom these approaches do cohere and it is then that criticism is at its best. To such a critic there is an intuitive realization where to take the words and images seriously, when to examine the action and episode closely. Coleridge's analysis of 'Hast thou given all...' relates the passage to the whole play, while examining it as a passage where one sees the operation of Imagination.

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BOOK REVIEW

India in English Fiction by K. Viswanatham, Andhra University Press, Waltair, 1971. Rs. 20.00 ✓

PROFESSOR VISWANATHAM'S book is a significant contribution to Indo-Anglian literary criticism. The book is the outcome of a scholarly and diligent study of eight English writers who have portrayed India in their works either with personal knowledge or without it but all of whom were evidently fascinated by the image of India and the legendary halo associated with its mystery, strangeness and beauty. Giving a historical sketch of India in English literature, Professor Viswanatham tells us that Scott is the first major writer to turn to India for the theme of *The Surgeon's Daughter*. Since then many others have turned to India for their subject matter. But the authors selected by Professor Viswanatham, unlike John Masters or Louis Bromfield, are serious writers and their intention has evidently not been to use India as a romantic symbol merely although for Scott that might have been the primary motive. But E. M. Forster in *A Passage to India* and L. H. Myers in *The Near and the Far* had altogether different aims. So had Kipling in *Kim*. Forster's portrayal of India is still a subject of controversy amongst critics and readers. The 'meaning' of a *A Passage to India* is according to Professor Viswanatham 'a plea for love' and the novel is 'a very sensitive seismograph registering the concussions of the Indo-British world'. The plea for love is there but the plea is that of a sceptical liberal mind which explored the meaning of 'mosque', 'cave', 'temple' (not excluding the Christian church) and thus covered the three principal religions of the world. Forster's answer to the query whether life is a mystery or a muddle is perhaps to be found in the echo of the cave and it almost resembles the reply given by the holy crane to Yudhisthira in ✓
✓*The Mahabharata*. The point is worth mentioning here since Professor Viswanatham often makes references to Sanskrit literature thereby enriching his judgements.

Myers, on the other hand, is of a different category. He did not possess any firsthand knowledge of India like Forster or

Bain. His purpose in using India for his trilogy was to obtain aesthetic distance in order to place the agony and anxiety of modern man in a fitting perspective. The Bloomsbury Group that Forster belonged to was an object of ridicule for Myers because he felt that any movement shorn of moral values was a danger to the survival of mankind. Where Forster took up a humanistic attitude, Myers preferred a spiritual one. The Indian setting provided him with the necessary material for his pursuit. Viswanatham acutely observes: 'The mystery of the human mind fascinates Myers' and 'Myers is more concerned with laying roads in the countries of the mind.'

'The Kipling that nobody read' has had a revival during the past few years. But one still wonders after reading the reappraisals of such distinguished critics as Bonamy Dobree, J. I. M. Stewart and T. R. Henn if the last word has been said about an author who lived in an era when the cult of the superman was very much in vogue. The denigration of Kipling as an 'imperialist' was obviously one-sided and Professor Viswanatham's approach—that of an Indian scholar—is bound to remove some of the erroneous impressions. The essay is a sensitive and balanced study of *Kim*. It is not the exotic Indian setting that fired Kipling's imagination but the variegated panorama of life in India or as Kipling himself says, 'This great and beautiful land.' Professor Viswanatham's assessment that 'The woman from Kulu is perhaps the most original' of Kipling's characters is correct although one may differ with him when he considers Teshoo Lama to be the real hero of the novel. But in that case, to regard India also as the real hero as he does (p. 81) seems to be a confusion in interpretation.

In comparison with these writers Maugham's portrayal of India is fragmentary and conventional. The acquaintance with India that he had made during his visit in 1938 was meagre. Larry's quest for happiness through Indian mysticism, the difficulty of treading on the razor's edge contrasted with Maugham's range as a novelist should be carefully borne in mind in evaluating the novel. Professor Viswanatham has rightly noted the resemblance between Maugham's personal experiences and those of Larry. But mere curiosity and a genuine involvement in an experience are two different things.

Maugham's forte, contrary to what Professor Viswanatham asserts, is in portraying characters in the naturalistic mode as in *Of Human Bondage* or *Cakes and Ale* where the experiential rather than the revelatory aspect is pronounced. As such it is difficult to subscribe to the view that 'Maugham has drawn in Larry one of the most engaging portraits of one seeking happiness in the life of the spirit and achieving it through mystical illumination...' (p. 241). Maugham describes the mystical experience, he hardly renders it. It might be said at the same time that the rendering of such an experience is an extremely difficult task and one might refer to the attempt of Myers to render a similar experience in *Strange Glory* to point out the difference in the capacities of the two writers. Even more pertinent will be a comparison with F. W. Bain's *A Digit of the Moon*. Professor Viswanatham's analysis makes it clear that Bain was deeply immersed in oriental culture and philosophy. That is why to read *A Digit of the Moon* is to echo Keats's dictum that 'axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulses.'

✓ Professor Viswanatham rightly observes that these seven writers do not constitute 'the definitive verdict upon India' (p. 251) Nevertheless the study offers us considerable help in seeing India through western eyes and in the process enables us to understand ourselves better. It is a great pity that the book published by a University Press should be bristling with printing errors many of which are atrocious.

B. DAS

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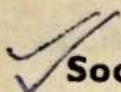
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