THEORIA

A JOURNAL OF STUDIES

in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Vol. XLVI

May 1976 **46** **R1,00**

THEORIA

CONTENTS

Published twice yearly by
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL PRESS
PIETERMARITZBURG

CONTRIBUTIONS

Authors should send contributions to:

The Editors,
Theoria,
P.O. Box 375,
Pietermaritzburg 3200,
South Africa.

Articles intended for the May issue should reach the editors not later than 15th March and articles for the October issue not later than 15th August.

Authors are asked to send typescripts which are double-spaced. Single inverted commas should be used for quotations, and double inverted commas only for a quotation within a quotation. Notes should be consolidated at the end of the articles, not inserted as footnotes. An abstract not more than 200 words in length should accompany an article. A stamped addressed envelope or international reply coupons must be enclosed.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

These should be sent to:

The Secretary,
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P.O. Box 375,
Pietermaritzburg 3200,
South Africa.

The annual subscription for *Theoria* is R2,00 and the subscription for three years is R5,00, postage included.

Fourteen years ago Colin Webb succeeded Edgar Brookes as co-editor of *Theoria*. He started, as he was to continue till the end of 1975, with high standards for publication. What was submitted had to show distinct quality in presentation no less than in content or (unless it was not worth the effort) undergo substantial change in order to be accepted. For him the work of an editor demanded very active scrutiny and emendation. Yet in the handling of *Theoria* this seeming rigour was balanced by great courtesy towards contributors, especially if any alteration was proposed; he always approached them with sensitive regard for their standpoint. In matters of policy for the journal, his vision ranged beyond the immediate to further implications and consequences of steps taken. And he was more closely involved in our biannual operations: at times when his own articles were available to be published, the other editor held out both hands in traditional African style to acknowledge a much-valued gift. It is in the same style that we now gratefully recognise the large share of excellence and energy *Theoria* as a whole received from Professor C. de B. Webb, new incumbent of the King George V Chair of History at the University of Cape Town.

THE EDITORS

WILLIAM PLOMER, SOUL OF RETICENCE*

by ALAN PATON

Let me relate a few bare facts about Plomer's early life. He was born on December 10th, 1903, in Pietersburg, Transvaal. His parents were English, and he spent his early years travelling to and fro from England to South Africa, where they lived in Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt, and Johannesburg. As a small boy he went to the preparatory school of St. John's College, Johannesburg, and as an older boy to Rugby. After the first World War ended in 1918 he returned to South Africa and to St. John's College. No wonder his first autobiography was called *Double Lives.*

His parents were prepared to send him to Oxford. He refused for three reasons: consideration for them, weak eyesight, and because he 'fancied some more erratic course'. He writes that Oxford 'might have made me more of a prig and pedant than I am'.

This erratic course took him to Molteno, Cape Province, at the age of seventeen, where he worked for Fred Pope, a sheep farmer on a moor under the Stormberg. There he enjoyed health and solitude, but felt stongly the lack of young and congenial company. In 1922 his father was retrenched from his position as an Inspector of Native Affairs, and he took his son William to see a trading store that was for sale at Entumeni, near Eshowe. The forest, the climate, the countryside, the Zulus, entranced them, and Mr. Plomer senior bought the store. William Plomer in his third autobiography dwells on the physical beauty of the Zulu girl and the grace and carriage of the Zulu man. There is nothing to suggest that Plomer was more attracted by the one than by the other. He writes 'their presence was to me deeply and greatly disturbing'.

Out of this strange and exciting world came the novel *Turbott Wolfe,* begun at age nineteen, finished at age twenty-one, accepted in pencil by Leonard and Virginia Woolf of the Hogarth Press. It is a remarkable book. Richard Church called it a work of genius. I would not care to dispute that judgment but its genius lies in its erratic quality, its wit, its fantasy, its inventiveness, its unbelievable characters. I have read it twice in the last few months, and it fascinated me on both occasions. I have great respect for the saying of Karl Kraus: 'There are two kinds of writers, those who are and those who aren't. With the first, content and form

*A public lecture delivered at the University of Cape Town on 26th January, 1976. Permission to publish it is given by the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Cape Town.

belong together like soul and body; with the second, they match each other like body and clothes.' *Turbott Wolfe* doesn't conform. It has content, but its form is largely formless.

For white South Africa it had other more notable characteristics. It outraged the race conventions. Turbott Wolfe falls in love with Nhliziyombi, a tall beautiful girl who comes to his store, a girl 'fit to be the wife of an ambassador'.

Plomer writes—or shall we say Turbott Wolfe writes, for he tells his story in the first person—these words:

> She was a living image of what has been killed by . . . our obscene civilisation that conquers everything. I think if you go into the question thoroughly you will find that ultimately our civilisation is obscene. It has always seemed to me to be the chief mistake of our age that we take it for granted that science is a panacea. The chief tendency of modern science has been to produce noise.

Nineteen, twenty years old. It is an extraordinary criticism of western civilisation. At that age I had no such ideas in my head. When I am critical of Plomer—and I shall be so—I shall remember what he wrote, and how he could write, at such an early age.

The love story of Wolfe and Nhliziyombi is moving. He confesses his love, she says nothing but takes his head for a moment between her lean brown hands, they sit for an hour in silence, they part for ever.

That night he wrote in his journal:

> Today was a city drunk with success. I went through it upon wheels the cortege the thoroughfares the shouting crowds and midday was the many-windowed turning-point where the clamour was loudest (I was mad with joy at the ecstasy of your silence) but the outer streets were empty and tonight the conqueror is desolate in the luxury of his hollow palace.

What does it mean? Who knows? Who cares very much? The Rev. Mr. Friston—an Englishman of course—founds 'Young Africa', one of its tenets being miscegenation. Friston marries the white woman Mabel van der Horst to the black man Zachary Msomi. Wolfe warns him to walk warily. Friston says 'Walk warily be blowed. We're going our own way'. He goes on holiday, and is murdered at Quzo Quza. Wolfe decides to leave Africa, but only after a stormy interview with Colonel Valdarno of the Department of Aboriginal Protection. So ends the book.

Richard Church called it a work of genius. The periodical *South African Nation* called it pornography. Harold Wodson, liberal editor of the *Natal Advertiser*, was outraged by it. Roy Campbell, aged twenty-three, and alas for him already in his prime, wrote lines that only he could write:

> Plomer, 'twas you who, though a boy in age,
> Awoke a sleepy continent to rage,
> Who dared alone to thrash a craven race
> And hold a mirror to its dirty face.

One of the strangest comments on *Turbott Wolfe* came from Plomer himself. He wrote, 'I was full of youthful priggishness, of the conceit of the solitary and the false confidence of inexperience, and, in the matter of writing a novel, I was attempting to reach by a short-cut what can only become visible by taking an arduous road'. It is in my view a faulty judgment. Laurens van der Post also disagrees with the judgment, but thinks that the novel was a way of saying that he had made his stand and won his peace with his world within. I cannot accept that either. Plomer had not won his peace within, and in fact it was the lack of peace within that spoiled his next three novels. But of that later.

Plomer now met Campbell and went to stay with him and his wife Mary, at Sezela. Van der Post later joined them. Campbell had already become famous in 1924 with his *Flaming Terrapin*. Plomer became famous with his *Turbott Wolfe* in 1925. Plomer's novel gave Campbell an entirely new view of South Africa. They worked together on the new satirical review *Voorslag*, which died early because the sponsors wished to cool down the writers. This collaboration gave Campbell new ideas, very different from those to be found in *Broken Record* and *Light on a Dark Horse*. Campbell wrote 'The Serf' at Sezela and was very excited and thought it the best thing he had ever done. He wrote 'To a Pet Cobra' and 'The Zulu Girl', and, kindled by Kuhlemann's 'Tristan d'Acunha', wrote his own poem of that name. He read it to Plomer and moved him 'to the verge of tears'.

After Sezela, Plomer went to Japan and Campbell returned to England. They drew apart and never came together again. Campbell lost his enthusiasm for serfs who plough down 'palaces, and thrones, and towers'. When Plomer returned to England from Japan he moved into the world of Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Lytton Strachey, Roger Fry, Ottoline Morrell, E. M. Forster, a world where Campbell was not at home, and which he satirised savagely in *The Georgiad*.

Plomer left Durban for Japan in September 1926. He writes, 'A genial student at the University, Sumida by name, attached himself to me and asked if he might be my factotum in return for the chance of bettering his English'. Then Sumida's parents found a bride for him. Plomer now set up house with Morito Fukuzawa. After two and a half years in Japan he decided to return to England via Siberia. Fukuzawa came to the quayside at Shimonoseki, and called out four times the Japanese valediction, the forlorn word 'Sayonara'.

We may guess that the novel *Sado* was written about Fukuzawa. The young Englishman Lucas goes to Japan and there meets Sado. Harold Nicolson, reviewing *Sado*, wrote, 'If I started to write a book on inversion, I think I should be more plucky about it from the start'. But how is one to know it is a novel on inversion? If one were naïve, one would not know at all. There are only a few lines in the book which tell you so, not directly but by implication, or rather by insinuation. Lucas and Sado go for a picnic in the country with a married couple. After lunch Sado goes climbing and asks Lucas if he is coming. They sit down under a tree. 'Lucas wondered whether he should light a cigarette or not. Then he looked at Sado, and Sado looked at him, and he put his cigarettes back in his pocket.' Well, well, folks, that's it. No more is written about it, then or later. The main theme of the book is homosexual love, but nowhere is it mentioned. It is true that the word 'love' is used, but it would be in the way that I would say I loved Leo Marquard. The result is a non-book. This is why I disagree with van der Post that Plomer had won his peace within.

In 1962 on the BBC Plomer broadcast 'Conversations with My Younger Self'.

> *William Plomer:* I understand all that. But surely there is the question of love and sex. You aren't young for nothing. . . . You talk so solemnly about exchanging ideas and so on, but unless your inclinations are purely exotic I imagine you might want to exchange kisses as well as ideas in your own country.
>
> *Younger Self:* You have reached a point where I think you ought to mind your own business.

It would appear that here Plomer the elder is reproaching Plomer the younger for reticence, and that the younger is defending it. But it must not be supposed that Plomer the elder has ceased to be reticent. In his final autobiography, published in 1975, he relates another love affair 'with an inhabitant of Athens of my own age with whose physical beauty I had become infatuated'. But he nowhere says it is a young man. Such reticence approaches the

absurd. Lady Ottoline Morrell, one of the famous Bloomsbury group, said of Plomer: 'A very nice man. . . . *I pump* and *pump*, and I can't get *anything* out of him.'

I am not an authority on homosexual love, and in my ignorance imagine that it cannot be as satisfying as heterosexual love, that it is more transient than heterosexual love, though that can be transient enough. Yet I may be right in my imagining. Let me read one of Plomer's poems, 'Another Country', a poem of Greece. Was it written for that young inhabitant of Athens perhaps? And can you hear Fukuzawa calling out four times from the quayside that forlorn word 'Sayonara'?

'Let us go to another country,
Not yours or mine,
And start again.'

To another country? Which?
One without fires, where fever
Lurks under leaves, and water
Is sold to those who thirst?
And carry drugs or papers
In our shoes to save us starving?

'Hope would be our passport;
The rest is understood.'

Deserters of the vein
And true continuousness,
How should we face on landing
The waiting car, in snow or sand,
The alien capital?
Necessity forbids.

(Not that reproachful look!
So might violets
Hurt an old heart.)

This is that other country
We two populate,
Land of a brief and brilliant
Aurora, noon and night,
The stratosphere of love
From which we must descend,

And leaving this rare country
Must each to his own
Return alone.

I shall read two verses of the next poem, 'Goodbye to the Island'.

> Goodbye to the island
> And the view across the straits:
> Work that gained us pleasure
> Will now be done by others.
>
> Goodbye to the pleasure
> And the island girls
> Who taught us as they fancied
> And found us willing learners.

Was that so? I don't know. But I guess that it was not so.

Maybe some of you are thinking, too much is being made of this homosexual theme. But it comes in again in the next novel, in the same insinuative manner. It is not however the main theme. When Plomer returned to London via Siberia he rented a room from a woman whom he called Mrs. Fernandez. She was married to a man who never went out. He did no work and he was obsessed by jealousy and suspicion of his innocent wife who loved him. Finally he killed her in a particularly nasty and brutal manner.

This is the theme of the third novel, *The Case is Altered*. Plomer uses the device of following separately the stories of each of the tenants of the rooming-house, sometimes bringing two or three of them together. This may work sometimes, but it doesn't work here. It never becomes one story, moving to its tragic and inexorable end. One of the tenants is Eric Alston. He has a most pallid love affair with a pallid girl called Amy. Amy's family think he is a fine fellow. They tell him about Amy's exciting brother Willy, who will soon be returning from abroad. When Willy does return, Eric springs to life. He and Willy become great friends. One day Eric tells Willy that he is growing afraid of Fernandez, whose inordinate jealousy is now being directed towards him. Willy says he is going home with Eric for his safety—I should mention that Eric's uncle has given him an enormous double bed. Eric says:

> 'I'll admit I'm not sorry your're here tonight'. As he spoke he was surprised, but not unpleasantly surprised, to feel Pascall's arm slip affectionately round him. It gave him a feeling of comradeship and safety. 'This is something like a bed', said Pascall. 'I wouldn't call the King my uncle now. . . .' In the morning Alston was the first to wake. A delicious and

> unfamiliar happiness had taken hold of him, and seemed to flow calmly through his veins, as though he had taken some drug which was only good in its effects. And when he looked at his bedfellow sleeping so peacefully by his side, he couldn't have put his feelings into words.

Well folks, that's it again. All I can say is that Eric was not the only one who could not put his feelings into words. Plomer couldn't either. One does not know whether to feel exasperation or pity for a writer who is irresistibly attracted to the writing of a theme that his inhibitions, reticence, and fear, will not let him write about.

In his fourth novel, *The Invaders* (1934), Plomer is drawn back to it again. Homosexual love this time becomes the main theme, latent and continuous. Nigel, the ex-soldier gentleman, is attracted first to Tony, a working or non-working boy who comes from Yorkshire. Then he is later attracted to Chick, the maidservant's brother, who comes to London to join the army. What happens, no one will ever know. Nigel goes on holiday to France, and swims far out to sea. It seems as though he might not come back, but he does. After an unbelievable hand-holding episode with a newly-met girl, whom he does not wish to see again, he disappears, and his searching host finds him in a night club, dancing with a burly French working-man. He goes back to London, and Tony, Chick, and all the invaders go back to Yorkshire. It seems as though Nigel might marry his gentle cousin Frances, who has loved him all along. Nigel suddenly feels hopeful. The book closes with these words—'He felt as if he knew where he was'. But I must admit that I did not.

There is one thing I must note about this book. It describes a sweet-shop run by two gross and repellent Jewish people called Goldapfel. Now I assume that it is perfectly legitimate to write about repellent Jews, though I would not do it myself. But Plomer goes further, and describes certain unpleasant qualities as inherent in the race. In the novel *Turbott Wolfe* Mrs. Soper has 'almost Jewish features'. In *Sado* Plomer writes about the 'almost Jewish perseverance' of the Japanese. In *The Case is Altered* Mrs. Fernandez is Jewish, and while she is described as charming, her Jewishness is stressed more than once. In *The Invaders* the Jewish couple are extreme examples of human unpleasantness. I shall end this brief comment by noting that when I questioned Plomer about Campbell's anti-semitism, he was very evasive. That does not prove that Plomer was anti-semitic, but it certainly is another example of his reticence.

What is Plomer doing in his second, third and fourth novels? Is he wrestling with his homosexuality? Or is he wrestling with the irresistible urge to write about it? He writes in his third autobiography: 'My temperament and talent did not impel me to try and make a living by writing books.' He also wrote: 'As I got older I felt happier working on a smaller scale, as in poetry, or in libretti.'

Here I think one should say something of Plomer as a poet. For South Africans, one of his best-known poems is 'The Scorpion':

Limpopo and Tugela churned
In flood for brown and angry miles
Melons, maize, domestic thatch,
The trunks of trees and crocodiles;

The swollen estuaries were thick
With flotsam, in the sun one saw
The corpse of a young negress bruised
By rocks, and rolling on the shore,

Pushed by the waves of morning, rolled
Impersonally among shells
With lolling breasts and bleeding eyes,
And round her neck were beads and bells.

That was the Africa we knew,
Where, wandering alone,
We saw, heraldic in the heat,
A scorpion on a stone.

Here are two more poems:

The Boer War

The whipcrack of a Union Jack
In a stiff breeze (the ship will roll),
Deft abracadabra drums
Enchant the patriotic soul—

A grandsire in St James's Street
Sat at the window of his club,
His second son, shot through the throat,
Slid backwards down a slope of scrub,

Gargled his last breaths, one by one by one,
In too much blood, too young to spill,
Died difficultly, drop by drop by drop—
'By your son's courage, sir, we took the hill.'

They took the hill (Whose hill? What for?)
But what a climb they left to do!
Out of that bungled, unwise war
An alp of unforgiveness grew.

The Death of a Snake

['Death and generation are both mysteries of nature, and somewhat resemble each other.' Marcus Aurelius]

Bruised by a heel he strove to die,
In frantic spirals drilled the air,
Turned his pale belly upwards to the sky
In coitus with death: and here and there
Scored in the dust quick ideographs of pain—
These, that the wind removed, in memory remain.

This last poem reminds me irresistibly of a passage from an earlier poem, Roy Campbell's *Flaming Terrapin*:

Dizzy she soared that foaming ridge to skim,
And as a top, whipped into frantic pain,
Scribbles the dust.

Note the words, *frantic, pain* and *dust*. What a poet Campbell was!

In spite of these similarities, which may in fact be borrowings, conscious or more likely unconscious, only a stickler would deny the beauty of Plomer's six lines. Now let me read a poem of homosexual love.

Three Pinks

Crisp hair with a faint smell like honey
Hived by fierce bees under a fallen column in a pinewood,
A liquor of wild oleanders in a limestone gully—
Although it is summer there is snow on Parnassus—
Crisp hair awoke me, brushing my cheek.

Open your eyes, undo those modest fringes
Under the eyebrow-arches, wide, Byzantine, black,
White-wine coloured eyes in a rose-tan skin,
Antique young eyes! Smile, my primitive,
Fill the hushed air with amusement and secrecy,
And you need not, with such fine teeth, forbear to yawn—
And with such sweet breath.

Still half awake
We shall get up together from the bed
And with arms interlaced cross to the window
(The early morning is cool and heavenly),
Then standing mutely look out over a quiet
Aspect of Athens, rococo houses and stucco
With a cypress or two in the middle distance
Like marks of exclamation at such tranquillity.

See, in the exsiccate light of Attica
The pepper-tree garden where last night by full moon
An old woman disturbed our intimacy
To sell us three pinks with long stems.

See now, the Acropolis is still unsunned.
Forestall dawn with yet one more kiss,
Last of the night or first of the day—
Whichever way one may chance to choose to regard it.

But I cannot go on like this. I should have liked to read 'Bamboo', a splendid poem, and 'Death of a Hedge-Sparrow', and 'Another Old Man'.

So there are Plomer the novelist (though we return to him once again) and Plomer the poet. There was also Plomer the biographer. His *Cecil Rhodes* (1933) is not very good, though it does not pretend to be a thorough study of this strange man. Plomer's first opinion of Rhodes is clearly the same as Olive Schreiner's second. His second biography, *Ali the Lion* (1936), is considerably better. It is the story of Ali Pasha, a brave, cruel, avaricious, lying tyrant, who rules most of Albania under the suzerainty of the Turks. It is a narrative which grows more and more compelling as it proceeds. Finally, with reckless arrogance, Ali sent assassins to Constantinople to kill one of his rivals who had become a chamberlain to the Sultan. The Turks had had enough and they sent an army against him. One by one his chieftains deserted him, but that did not prevent him from dying a defiant death. If he had had more people to murder, he would have gone down in history as Hitler and Stalin have done.

I do not want to risk overdoing the psychologising, but I could not help wondering why the gentle, precise, private William Plomer should be attracted by the story of Ali Pasha, or should have written such poems as 'The Murder on the Downs', and 'The Dorking Thigh':

> . . . The salesman purred (he'd managed well)
> And June undid a cupboard door.
> 'For linen,' she beamed. And out there fell
> A nameless Something on the floor.
>
> 'Something the workmen left, I expect,'
> The agent said, as it fell at his feet,
> Nor knew that his chance of a sale was wrecked.
> 'Good heavens, it must be a joint of meat!'
>
> Ah yes, it was meat, it was meat all right,
> A joint those three will never forget—
> For they stood alone in the Surrey night
> With the severed thigh of a plump brunette . . .

And now for Plomer the autobiographer—*Double Lives*, *At Home* and *Autobiography*. He was, of course, well aware that reviewers of his first two autobiographies thought he was holding back and not telling all. His reaction to their reviews is equally revealing or concealing. He defended himself against them, and thought up arguments for the reasonableness and naturalness of his way of writing autobiography.

In reply to the accusation that he would not reveal the whole man, he wrote:

> It suggests a kind of affectation that I don't feel addicted to. But to complain of being misunderstood would in itself perhaps be to pretend to complexity or inscrutability, so I *shan't* complain. . . .
> I fear that writing autobiography is just goose-stepping on thin ice. . . .

Well, one must admit that he seemed to like it. He made a fascinating remark for an autobiographer; he wrote 'I never feel that candour is a constant necessity'. I may tell you that I have embarked on my autobiography, and my trouble is that I feel that candour is a constant necessity. From a literary point of view there is only one kind of candour that is not permissible, and that is boring candour; and from a moral point of view, the only kind of candour that is not permissible is that which does harm to others.

I am going to conclude this lecture with a discussion of a Plomer who was not a novelist or a poet or a biographer. To me he is the best Plomer of all, Plomer the reader, and by *reader* I mean publisher's reader, critic, reviewer, consultant, and editor. I am forced to the conclusion that Plomer liked reading better than he did writing. Chapter 33 of his third autobiography, entitled 'The Typewritten Word', is to me the wittiest and most absorbing chapter in the book. When he writes about Plomer the reader he throws his reticence to the wind—may his spirit forgive me this cliché, for he is very hard on clichés. He was also very hard on users of the word 'literally'. If I had said to him, 'your autobiography literally knocked me over', he would have stared at me with shocked incredulity. I myself have a similar feeling about the word 'infinitely'. A young interviewer of a Cape Town newspaper once wrote in his column that I looked 'infinitely tired'. As a lover of the English language and a B.Sc. in mathematics I had to write and protest. No one can possibly look like that.

Plomer abominated such phrases and sentences as unremitting toil, selfless devotion, inflexible determination, deep loyalties, long experience, indomitable courage, infectious laughter, sterling integrity, the world is poorer for his passing, he has left a gap that can never be filled. But he did not mind the sentence 'he was a zealous beagler' or 'of boomerangs he had a large collection'. To use a phrase he would not have liked, he had a pretty wit.

Before I conclude with an account of that fascinating character Plomer the reader, who became such somewhere in the period 1935-1937, I must tell you that he published a fifth novel in 1952, eighteen years after his fourth. It is called *Museum Pieces*. It is a very distinguished piece of writing. It naturally lacks the youthful fire of *Turbott Wolfe*, but it also lacks the inhibitions that so crippled the three intermediate novels. You will remember that at the end of *The Invaders*, Nigel 'felt as if he knew where he was'. It would appear, eighteen years later, that Plomer at last knew where he was. He has conquered that irresistible and destructive urge to write about his homosexuality. The story is written as if by a woman, and in the first person. I note in passing that the two successful novels are written in the first person. It is almost as though Plomer as a first-person narrator is able to give a unity to the story which as a third-person narrator he cannot give. The woman narrator is Jane Valance, an archivist who goes to work on the papers of the most aristocratic Mrs. Mountfaucon and her son, Toby D'Arfey, whose father was also of most aristocratic origin. It is an extremely witty and, in its close, a sad book. Mother and son, who are used to comfort and possessions, suffer

two tremendous blows. They lose some of their treasures in the bombing of London, and the dishonest family solicitor takes most of the rest. Mother and son bear these blows with patrician stoicism. In this novel Plomer—through the words of Toby D'Arfey—reveals a most unusual depth of feeling in what amounts almost to a veneration for the young men of the RAF. *Museum Pieces* is the result of a mature and cultivated mind, using with—forgive me William—consummate skill its considerable gifts. I choose these words carefully. Plomer was not a genius, but he was a highly gifted man.

In Chapter 33 of his *Autobiography*, Plomer the reader makes one acute observation after another. He writes that he addressed himself to every new typescript 'at least with mild curiosity—which is only a very distant connexion of hope'. He writes:

> It is not nothing to find out what a human creator has chosen to commit to paper as his or her response to the opportunity of living and exercising the body, the brain, the heart, and the imagination in this bizarre world. . .

and again:

> As a pearl-diver may be presumed to prise open every dull and commonplace-looking oyster-shell in case it has anything in it of the slightest value, so the reader turns over every title page. . .

and again:

> But, as he sits in his study, knee-deep among the empty shells of disappointed expectation, it is one of his constant exercises to convey to literary aspirants—and to practised authors as well—news that is unwanted and unpalatable . . . he cannot decently tell them that they know what they can do with their typescript.

He says of writers:

> The self-importance and touchiness of authors is no longer a surprise to me, nor is their capacity for envy and malice. But even graver, among would-be authors is a general incompetence. It is disquieting to find how often people have nothing to say, and say it at length and badly.

One often hears discussion of the possibility that the novel is finished. Plomer has no fears of that. For him the novel is not only a means of interpreting social and private life, but it is also one of the most varied and splendid forms of entertainment ever evolved. 'So long as fiction is well written by new and resourceful authors, it is likely to find readers.' It was Plomer who forced Ian Fleming and James Bond on an unwilling Jonathan Cape. Cape disliked the first Bond book and as far as we know never read another, but made a fortune from them all. Plomer and Fleming became what one might call friends, but I think Plomer would have found James Bond very tough going.

Did Plomer ever find any kind of oyster? Well he did. He writes that he had the luck 'to do with a book that seemed to me of exceptional interest and importance. It was not a work of fiction.'

Here Chapter 33 stops, and I, having had enough of Plomer's reticence, cried out—by which I mean I could have cried out—'Now William, that is going too far', by which I meant of course that he hadn't gone far enough, or indeed that he hadn't gone at all. But it turned out all right. Chapter 34 is devoted to his great find, the diaries of Francis Kilvert, the curate of Clyro, in the Welsh border country. Plomer was sent a couple of old notebooks from a man in Dorset. When he had read them, he sent for the other twenty. They were the diaries of a country priest who had died before he was forty. A chaste lover of girls, he married at thirty-nine, and died soon after. His diaries are childlike, innocent, and beautiful. He was a great lover of country, and his descriptions of country are also beautiful. Plomer edited the diaries for three years. They were published by Cape in 1938 and they soon became famous. They are now regarded as amongst the six or twelve most notable diaries in the English language. It was the find of a life-time. Sitting in his study, knee-deep among the shells, Plomer had found his pearl. He spent a great deal of time in the Kilvert country, and among the people of the hill farms. He quotes from Hardy a saying I had never heard before, and shall not now forget. Hardy said 'You can't live on a heath and be vulgar'. It's a strange thought, but the more you think about it, the more it seems to be true. It is clear that this was one of the happiest times of Plomer's life, a reward for so much fruitless reading. He was responsible for the founding of the Kilvert Society. There were memorial services, a memorial seat, a memorial plaque. Plomer gave a memorial oration.

He ended his life in a modest blaze of glory. He wrote three libretti for Benjamin Britten, but I shan't speak about them because I have never heard or seen them.

Plomer was a good, gentle, gifted, industrious, reticent man. Sometimes you want to throw a brick at him, but in his gentle presence it doesn't seem to be appropriate. And what is more, you can't help liking him, even when you have spent hours trying to get him to say one exciting thing about Roy Campbell. I shall end by quoting Hardy too, who said, 'That man's silence is wonderful to listen to'.

Botha's Hill, Natal.

SABELA ZULU: A ZULU PRAISE-POEM

by E. MATHABELA

introduced and translated by A. T. COPE

Mr. Mathabela is the Principal of Menzi High School, Umlazi, Durban. The praise-poem that follows was composed in honour of Mr. J. A. W. Nxumalo, Executive Councillor for Education and Culture in the KwaZulu Government, and presented to him on the occasion of his visit to the school on Saturday, 13th October, 1973, to officiate at its opening ceremony.

Mr. Mathabela delivered the praise-poem in place of the usual speech of welcome. Mr. Nxumalo had been received under a triumphal arch of leaves and flowers, where he had stood to review the parade of pupils, class by class, who advanced and presented placards, some with words of welcome, some with slogans such as *Sinqoba Simunye* (we advance united), and some with suggestions, such as that English should be the medium of school instruction. Mr. Nxumalo had then taken his seat on the platform in the verandah of the open courtyard, with the other people who had been invited to the occasion (school principals and inspectors, myself and Mr. Mzolo from the University of Natal, and Mr. Allison, Director of Education, with his wife, who presented the prizes; Mr. and Mrs. Allison, the conductor of the Bantu Brass Band, and I were the only Whites present).

It was a new experience for me to see and hear praises delivered in such a setting and in such a manner, for Mr. Mathabela was not wearing traditional dress (which is usually *de rigueur* for the praiser, even though the others may dress as they please), nor did he stride up and down as he declaimed, nor did he declaim from memory. He was dressed in a brown suit, and he read the praises into the microphone; and yet he used the traditional form of delivery: high speed, loud volume, and the characteristic intonation whereby the voice is raised in pitch and maintained at a high level without the cadences of normal speech, all of which engenders excitement and an air of occasion. How much more effective than the usual and often platitudinous words of welcome!

Mr. Mathabela began the praise-poem by recalling the illustrious chiefs of the Ndwandwe people, of whom the Nxumalo clan is a branch, and of whom Zwide was the most illustrious. Mr. Nxumalo is addressed as Zwide or son of Zwide or son of Langa throughout. Mkhatshwa is the ancestor whose name is used as *isithakazelo* (address of respect). Zwide was finally defeated and routed by

Shaka, and the Ndwandwe people scattered far and wide. Zwide's disgrace is mentioned: it happened, it is part of the record of his life, and it is rightly recorded in his praises. ('Praises' is to be interpreted as *izibongo*, a record of the person, and not in the English sense of the word.) Mzilikazi's praises also have this same expression with its play on the name Mkhatshwa: the common coinage of appropriate praises is typical of the tradition. Zwide's mother was Ntombazi, the Queen-Mother, whose home was the capital, hence KwaNtombazi, which was near the present seat of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Nongoma.

The punctuation reflects the presentation of the poem in speech. Each line represents a breath group which is usually also a sense group. There are frequent intakes of breath in praise-poem recitation which correlates with the need to keep up the characteristic high pitch. The commas at the ends of the lines then indicate breaks

SABELA ZULU

1.

UZwide ngokaLanga;
UZwide ngokaMkhatshwa;
Ukhatshwe ngezinde nezimagqukumezana.
Umkhokheli wakithi kwaNtombazi;
Umkhokheli kafani noyise,
Okhokhel' abantu bahlatshwa;
Ukhokhel' abantwana ngoshoki bamhlek' abakubo,
Bathi nanti igwala nasi isifundiswa.
Abanye bathukuthela bathelwa ngamanzi,
Bathi nas' isifundiswa, nang' umthengisi wesizwe;
Kanti bayamthukuthelisa bamusa phambili,
Wawuxikiz' ushoki wawusa phambili;
Zavulek' izingqondo kwakhany' enzansi.
Baqal' ukuthi, Nami ngizophumelela!
Bawuhlab' umkhosi babiza nabasematholeni,
Bathi, Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

CHORUS: Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

for breath, the semi-colons slightly longer pauses, and the full-stops significantly longer pauses preceded by a striking feature: the drawing out of the vowel of the penultimate syllable, with down-glide glissando of intonation. This feature effectively signals the end of a section.

I have resisted the temptation to annotate freely and so turn the poetry into an academic literary text, but a few footnotes are necessary for clarification. The English translation (for which I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Mdima, temporary tutorial substitute for Mr. Mzolo in the Department of Bantu Languages) is as literally close to the original as possible, so as to reflect as clearly as possible the style, the formulae of construction, the modes of expression, and the imagery, all of which derive from the tradition and all of which are characteristically and wonderfully and only Zulu.

RESPOND TO THE CALL, ZULUS

1.

Zwide of Langa;
Zwide of Mkhatshwa;
He was kicked (khatshwa) by long feet and by stumpy short ones.
Our leader at Ntombazi's place;
The leader is not like his father, Zwide,
Who led the people and they were slaughtered;
He led the children with chalk and his people laughed at him,
They said here is a coward, here is an educated person.
Others became angry in the extreme,
They said here is an educated person, here is the seller of the nation;
But as they angered him they drove him onwards,
He used the chalk abundantly and sent it onwards;
Minds were opened and there was enlightenment in South Africa.
They started to say, 'Even I am going to succeed!'
They gave the alarm and called even those looking after the calves,
And said, 'You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!'.

CHORUS: You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus, for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!

2.

Umbhebhezeli wothuli ngiyamesaba;
Ubhebhezel' uthuli lwemfundo lwaya phezulu,
Lwaxhoph' amalutha lwaxhoph' ukungazi;
Kwangen' ukukhanya kugijima,
Wachiphiz' umnyama wayosithela.
Ngazibon' izizukulwane zakithi kobantu,
Seziqom' impensela zashada namabhuku;
Zeqa zangqabitha ngezindlela zonkana,
Zibalekela inetha namazolo,
Sishushumba zibang' esikoleni,
Zithi umashiywa ngumashiywa,
Kant' inselele iphoswe ngokaZwide.
Ugqok' izimbadada zakith' eBaqulusini,
Wath' angithand' ukuthiywa ngamabibane,
Wagxalela waqonda khon' emfundwen' ephakeme,
Bathi bemhleka abafazi bakith' eMalahleni wanyamezela;
Walitomul' ijazi elesabekayo labaDeshi,
Ngambon' eseyikazel' evel' ePitoli,
Esempisholo ngenkani umntakaLanga,
Ngathi, Halala!
Uyisihlabana uZwide kaLanga!

CHORUS: Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

3.

Umsweziseli wakithi kwaLanga;
Uswezisel' uZulu ngemfundo namasiko,
Wamyengela kolukhulu uphathe lolwazi;
Ngilubonile kwaHlazakazi, ngilubonil' eDundee;
Ngilubonile kwaMalandela, ngilubonil' eMzansi Afrika;
Nakithi kwaNtombazi ngilubonile ngaphonseka.
Wath' okaLanga, Sebephakath' esikoleni maYanda kaNdaba!
Wangidl' ushibedabe wezibalo,
Wangidl' ushibedabe wesiNgisi,
Wangidl' ushibedabe weGugu likaZulu,
Wangidl' ushibedabe wengqandavu,
Injula nokujiya kweNqolobane kaZulu.

2.

Disturber of the dust, I have great respect for him;
He disturbed the dust of education and it ascended,
It confused the deceivers and confounded ignorance;
Light came running in,
Darkness shed tears and departed.
I saw the generation of our people,
They courted the pencil and married books;
They leaped up and jumped down by every single way,
Running away from the rain and the dew,
And stealing off straight to school,
Saying he who is left behind is left behind,
But the challenge was delivered by the son of Zwide.
He put on the thick shoes of our place at Baqulusini,[1]
He said he didn't want to be hindered by sores on the feet,
He took long strides and went straight to advanced education,
And when the women of our place at Malahleni laughed at him, he persevered;
He picked out the greatly respected graduate's gown,
I saw him flapping in it as he came from Pretoria,
Absolutely black, the son of Langa,
And I said, 'Hurrah!
You have received your deserved reward, Zwide of Langa!'.

CHORUS: You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus, for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!

3.

Our realisation of need at Langa's place;
He made the Zulus realise the need of education as well as tradition,
He enticed them into the great trap of knowledge;[2]
I saw it at Hlazakazi, I saw it at Dundee,
I saw it at Malandela, I saw it in South Africa;
And at my own place at Ntombazi I saw it and threw myself into it.
The son of Langa said, 'They are now inside at school, you multitudes of Ndaba!'.[3]
He overcame me with the spear of arithmetic,
He overcame me with the spear of English,
He overcame me with the spear of the Zulu Treasury,[4]
He overcame me with the spear of the deep thinker,
The depth and solidarity of the Zulu Storehouse.[5]

UmntakaNdaba engesenakuzivikela,
Wagwazwa wagilwa.
Umkhonto wemfundo wamenela;
Waqhaqh' izinso zokungazi zachitheka,
Waqhaqh' izibindi zokulutheka zachitheka,
Uphoswa liqhawe lakithi kwaLanga,
Nebutho lakhe lamathishela namathishelakazi.
Waf' umnt' omdala Zulu,
Waf' u-Angazi.
Kwavel' umnt' omusha uNolwazi;
Yizenzo zakho Zwide kaLanga!

CHORUS: Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

4.

Ngimthande eswezisela abakithi eBaqulusini,
Ethi phans' ubugwala, qophan' umlando,
Phambanani namadiphu, qondan' esikoleni.
Bekungafundwa kith' eBaqulusini bekweluswa,
Izinkomo zawoPiet noBas' Vesela;
Kukhulekwa kuthiwa,
Ya Nkosi sengiyofela kuwe!
Nalaph' eswezisela abaseMashowe ngimthandile,
Eswezisel' umz' omdala kaMpande,
Obusadl' oludala uziqhenya ngalo.
Wazifulathel' izikole zamaLuthela,
Wazifulathel' izikole zamaSheshi,
Wazifulathel' izikole zamaRoma,
Zashibha zizithwele,
Namasikwaz' obuKrestu nokukhanya.
Keph' okaMkhatshwa walile,
Wathi ingangani Zulu,
Ingangani mabandla kaMjokwane kaNdaba.
Kepha ngimthandile,
Mhlaman' eswezisel' uZulu wonkana,
Emsusa phansi kwaGobidolo,
Emusa phezulu kwaSimanganyawo,
Ethi, Hiya ibambene maZulu,
Nans' iCompulsory Education isisemazaleni,

The child of Ndaba (the Zulu child), no longer able to defend himself,
Was stabbed and swallowed,[6]
The spear of education was too much for him;
It ripped out the kidneys of ignorance and they were scattered,
It ripped out the livers of stupidity and they were scattered,
For it was thrown by our hero from Langa,
With his regiment of male and female teachers.
The old person died, Zulus,
The person Angazi (I don't know) died,
And there appeared the new person, Knowledge;
It is your doing, Zwide of Langa!

CHORUS: You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus, for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!

4.

I liked him when he made our people realise the need at Baqulusini,
Saying, 'Down with timidity, mark out history,
Turn away from the cattle dips and head straight for school'.
For there was no schooling at our place at Baqulusini, there was only herding cattle,
The cattle of Piet and Boss Wessels;
And saluting and saying,
'Yes chief, I will die here with you!'
And when he made the people of Mashowe feel the need, I liked him,
Making the old home of Mpande feel the need,
Which was still following the old ways and proud of it.
He turned his back on the Lutheran schools,
He turned his back on the Anglican schools,
He turned his back on the Roman schools,
They lost support through pride and confidence
In their customs of Christianity and light,
For the son of Mkhatshwa refused (to abandon tradition),
He said, 'You are equal to it, Zulus,
You can do it, assemblies of Mjokwane son of Ndaba.'[7]
Furthermore I liked him
When he made every single Zulu feel the need,
Taking him from down below at Gobidolo (bend the knee),
And sending him up to Simanganyawo (we stand on our feet),
Saying, 'Nevertheless the fight is still on, Zulus,
Here is Compulsory Education now nearby,

Nasi isiNgisi ngonyaka ozayo,
Ngishw' esinedolo Ntombazi,
Siyofunda ngesiNgisi ngonyak' ozayo!

CHORUS: Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

5.

Hiya! Hiya! MaYanda kaNdaba,
Hiya! Zigqoz' ezagqolozelana,
Hiya! Mqulusi weNkunzi,
Hiya! Lusuth' olumabheshw' ankone,
Hiya! MaQadi kaMqhawe.
Bathin' abaseMbo, athin' amaPhephethwa,
Zithin' izidimbane zakho Zulu?
Kuth' angigiye, kuth' angisikaze,
Ngifanekis' imifanekisw' emkhulu:
Mhlazan' uZulu ebuya nemihlambi yawoSihayo,
Namhlazan' uZulu ehlamb' imikhonto,
Ngezingazi zeNkinsimane eSandlwana.
Ngihalalisel' okaZwide ngithi,
Uyadela wen' usulapho uyadela,
Wen' oseke waphefumulela esilevini
OkaBotha izilokotho zemfundo yamaZulu.
Mana njalo onjalo solunjalose.
Siyonqoba simunye!

CHORUS: Wen' usematholeni,
UZwide lijah' elikhulu;
Sabel' uyabizwa Zulu,
Isihlalandawonye sidl' amajwabu!

Durban.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Near Vryheid, where he started his career.
[2] The word used here is *Uphathe* —a place where Bhongoza led the Boers into an ambush.
[3] An ancient ancestor of the Zulu royal line/clan/nation.
[4] *Igugu likaZulu*—the name of a Zulu language textbook produced by Mr. J. A. W. Nxumalo himself.
[5] *Inqolobane yesizwe* (the storehouse of the nation)—the name of a Zulu language collection of specialised and difficult words.
[6] The passive verb *gihwa* also means to be tricked, which bears out the imagery of the enticement and the entrapment in school.

Here is English next year,
Even old women, I swear by Ntombazi,[8]
Will learn through English next year!'.

CHORUS: You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus, for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!

5.

Hiya! Hiya! Multitude of Zulus of Ndaba,
Hiya! Zigqozas who stared at one another (gqolozelana),[9]
Hiya! Mqulusi of Nkunzi,
Hiya! Suthus who wear white-spotted loin coverings,[10]
Hiya! Maqadis of Mqhawe.
What do the Embo people say? and the Maphephethwas?
What do your masses say, Zulu nation?
I feel like doing a wild war dance, I feel like brandishing my weapons,
I draw parallels to similar great scenes:
When the Zulus came back with the herds of Sihayo,
And when the Zulus washed their spears
In the blood of Englishmen at Isandlwana.
I applaud the son of Zwide and say,
You have achieved, you are now there, you are fit for satisfaction,
You who once breathed in close personal contact with
The son of Botha the educational expectations of the Zulu people.
Stand so always, you who are so for ever and ever.
We will overcome if we stand united!

CHORUS: You among the calves,
Zwide is a strong young man;
Respond Zulus, for you are called,
He who stays at home gets nothing but the skin!

[7] A praise-name for Senzangakhona, the father of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande. It is supposed to refer to suffering and persecution.
[8] His ancestral mother.
[9] Cetshwayo's antagonists under the leadership of his half-brother, Mbuyazi, who was defeated and destroyed at Ndondakusuka (1856).
[10] Cetshwayo's supporters against Mbuyazi, and later against Zibhebhu; and so Zulu royalists.

THE NATURE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY: A CHANGING CONCEPT

by J. P. C. LABAND

On the 10th May, 1857, a rebellion broke out at Meerut which spread over much of northern India and shook the British Indian Empire to its foundations. After much bitter fighting, marked by atrocities on both sides, the British re-established their dominion, which emerged from the ordeal of the Mutiny decisively altered both in general policy and administrative patterns.

By 1859 the Mutiny was over, but the controversy over its nature was just beginning. Was it a spontaneous outburst of discontent on the part of the native mercenary soldiers of the East India Company (the sepoys), or was it an organised and premeditated revolt? Was it a mutiny limited to the army, or a popular rebellion with widespread support? Did the rebels intend to establish an independent Indian state once they had ejected the British? Was it, ultimately, a national war of independence?

Some of the more perspicacious among the British in India had long predicted an outbreak of revolt. 'I do not imagine', wrote John Shore in 1833, 'that this will ever be effected by a combination among the native princes, or by a premeditated insurrection; it is more likely to happen when totally unexpected, and to have its origin in some petty disturbance . . . then the feeling will spread like a burning forest, 'til the whole country will be in a blaze beyond the power of extinguishment.'[1] Accurate as such assessments might have been, the sudden and unexpected way in which the Mutiny burst upon the country nevertheless excited the suspicion among most of the British, who could find no immediate explanation for the outbreak, that the whole thing must have been a deliberate conspiracy.

The idea of a conspiracy gained colour from the circulation of chapatis (small wheaten cakes) from village to village in many parts of northern India in the January of 1857. A sinister meaning was subsequently read into this occurrence and some officials then began to see it as a signal for the revolt that erupted. Yet learned opinion, both British and Indian, deposed that the chapatis had little, or at most differing, meaning to the people. Generally, however, they were considered to be a propitiatory observance to avert some impending calamity, such as a revisitation of the cholera that had swept through the North-western Provinces the previous year.[2]

Some commentators were convinced that a date had been set for a simultaneous rising of the sepoys at all military stations. The evidence, however, contradicts this. The initial rising at Meerut was, to judge by its erratic course, unpremeditated. At Lucknow one regiment refused the cartridges[3] early in May, but did not mutiny until the very end of the month. Indeed, for a full fortnight after the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi there was a complete lull. Nor, when the other sepoy regiments across northern India eventually rose up, did the sepoys' conduct conform to any common pattern: some killed their officers; some protected them; sometimes the sepoys disbanded; usually they were undecided where to go or what further action to take. In other words, there was no sign of the sepoys' following a preconcerted plan. Rather, their mutiny seems to have been caused by a combination of resentment and fear, exacerbated by the quickly spreading news that still-loyal regiments were being disarmed by the British.

Equally tenuous and without any concrete evidence are the allegations that the Mutiny was inspired by Russia, and that the King of Delhi, who had been set up by the mutineers, was attempting to acquire aid from the Shah of Persia. Nor is there any firm evidence that the rebel leaders such as the Nana Saheb or the Rani of Jhansi were in treasonable correspondence with the sepoys, a foreign power, or with each other prior to the Mutiny.[4] Nevertheless, the theory of a conspiracy persisted, even though opinion was much divided as to whose hand lay behind it all.

The most long-lasting view, and one extremely popular with British administrators, was that the Mutiny was political in origin and the product of a widespread Muslim conspiracy. This bias against the Muslim community was based on *a priori* reasoning. It was supposed that as the former rulers of Hindustan, the Muslims could not but resent the complete revolution in their fortunes brought about by the establishment of British rule. Sir James Outram, for example, was convinced that the revolt was 'the fruit of Mussulman intrigue in the hopes of gaining empire at the expiration of the century during which it had been held by the conquerors from the west'. He felt that with this object in view they had persuaded 'the wretched sepoys, the most childish and credulous race of Hindoos, that we were about to ruin their caste prior to the forcible introduction of Christianity'.[5]

In rebutting this theory, it must be noted that the Muslims were numerically greatly inferior to the Hindus, even in the North-western Provinces where their influence was concentrated. Furthermore, they were far from united in their Islamic faith: the King of Delhi, for example, was of the Sunni sect, while the King of Oudh was a

Shia. In fact, evidence shows that the Muslim response to the Mutiny was far from uniform. True, the King of Delhi, who was last in the line of the former Mughal emperors, was chosen by the mutineers to lead the uprising. Yet they chose him, not because they were intent on resuscitating an Islamic state, but because they needed supra-military leadership and the King was the only available choice. Indeed, the idea that the Mutiny stemmed from a Muslim conspiracy was rejected out of hand by some experienced administrators, such as the Commissioner of Rohilkhand (an area where the Muslim aristocracy was particularly powerful), and many others only paid it lip-service.[6] The theory of a conspiracy has, though, always had a superficial attractiveness, and sometimes even finds support among contemporary Indian nationalists, for it gives the revolt the appearance of having a central purpose.

If, as seems likely, the Mutiny was not rooted in a widespread conspiracy, what then was its origin? Central to the debate is the question of the extent of the support which the uprising gained outside the army, for on this hinges any claim for the Mutiny's having been a 'freedom struggle' or a national uprising.

The line of argument taken by Lord Palmerston's government is typified by the views of Vernon Smith, President of the Board of Control,[7] who insisted that the revolt was exclusively military in character, and that all that was necessary was to defeat the mutinous sepoys and then redress the grievances within the army. He defended the government's policy of reform in India, on which the Tory opposition blamed the revolt, by saying that although it might have antagonised some classes, it had benefited the mass of the people.[8] Although the position of the reformers, who had been bent upon the moral and religious 'improvement' of India, became increasingly shaky as reports of widespread popular disturbance grew in number, these reports were argued away and the government clung determinedly to the explanation that the Mutiny was a purely military revolt. This was the attitude taken by most early historians of the Mutiny (as they consequently termed the rebellion), anxious as they were to perpetuate the belief that British rule in India had awakened no deep antagonism. They concentrated on arguments pertaining to greased cartridges and rebellious sepoys, and on descriptions of the British campaigns of 1857-1858. The civil unrest which accompanied the Mutiny was made light of. It is true that the early historians of the revolt, such as J. W. Kaye[9] and G. B. Malleson,[10] did not have access to all available material, since the detailed source material contained in the *Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India*, painstakingly compiled by British officials after the Mutiny, and which gave a clear indication

of the reaction of the masses, was not available in published form until 1881. Even T. Rice Holmes,[11] whose *History of the Indian Mutiny* was published in 1891 and who was the first to apply the expression 'Civil rebellion' to the Mutiny, actually concentrated on military matters and ascribed the disturbances outside the army, revealed in the *Narrative*, to the selfish desires of discontented potentates and to the 'inborn love of mischief' of those classes who had always chafed under the restraints of law and order. Historians of the imperial school were firmly committed to the defence of the Raj, which was seen as representing 'progress' and 'civilization', and which was an abiding source of pride for many British. To these historians the shortcoming of British administration in India could not, as Rice Holmes put it, have been 'grave enough to provoke deliberate rebellion'.[12]

Yet, at the time of the Mutiny, British opinion as to its origins was not as inflexible as it later became. In a three-hour speech delivered in Parliament on the 27th July, 1857, Disraeli came close to the realities of the situation when he said, 'The decline and fall of empires are not affairs of greased cartridges. Such results are occasioned by adequate causes.' For Disraeli, and most Conservatives, the results in question were occasioned by the government's reforming policy. The Indian Empire had, he said, been founded on an undertaking to respect and maintain inviolate the laws and customs, the property and religion of the people of India. But now, he said, a new principle had been adopted, now everything was in the process of change, and the people of India were deeply suspicious. He contended, therefore, that the revolt was not a military mutiny, but a symptom of deep discontent among the whole population. This discontent arose from the forcible destruction of native authority, from the disturbance of property rights (whereby the titles of many traditional landlords were set aside by the government and proprietary rights vested in the peasantry), and from tampering with the religion and customs of the people, especially through the agency of Christian missionaries.[13] These sentiments were echoed by conservative members of the Indian Civil Service such as Sir Bartle Frere in Bombay.[14]

The Indian people were far less articulate than their British rulers concerning the origins of the Mutiny, and most of those who had a close knowledge of events had no wish to jeopardize their positions by speaking out too freely.[15] Indeed, educated Indians and the privileged landowners of the area of Permanent Settlement in Bengal, groups that had a stake in the continuance of British rule, were vociferous in pledging their loyalty and insisting that the Mutiny had been solely an affair of the sepoys,

in which the common people had taken no part.[16]

Yet gradually, with the rise of Indian nationalism, Indian historians began to look upon the Mutiny as having been a part of their country's fight for freedom. In their view, the revolt began to take on the character of a war of independence with the focus no longer on the sepoy, but on a people groaning under foreign oppression. This view was first put forward by the revolutionary poet V. D. Savarkar in 1909[17] and subsequent nationalist historians trod the same path.[18] Most were not trained historians and were writing polemical works.

Although the coming of independence in 1947 removed the political justification for such an extreme nationalist interpretation of the Mutiny, it was fast taking root as the official orthodox view. Official publications of the independent Indian government refer to the 'popular impulse to break the shackles of slavery'.[19] The Indian historian S. B. Chaudhuri[20] took the line that people were consciously fighting for their way of life against alien aggressors, and that the leaders of the revolt were the unconscious tool of a nascent nationalism. In Lucknow a great monument has been raised to the Indian 'martyrs' of 1857, while historians consult the mass of collected documents contained in the five volumes of the *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*.[21]

The nationalist interpretation of the Mutiny has gained support from the Marxist school of historians, who regard it as a typical 'national-liberation uprising' of the peasantry.[22] In this they have the authority of Karl Marx himself who, as a correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune*, wrote a series of articles on the imperial exploitation that occasioned the Mutiny and on the causes of its failure.[23] Marx undertook little theoretical analysis, but his modern disciples have made good this deficiency.[24] The peasantry, they maintain, were the spearhead of a popular revolutionary movement, whose supreme achievement was the formation of the rebel court at Delhi, 'a soldier-peasant democracy . . . within the framework of a constitutional monarchy'. The revolt failed, they assert, because the conservative forces, sensing the popular character of the uprising, deserted to the British side. This consequently turned the Mutiny into a peasant war against the landlord class as well as the foreign imperialists. (There is, in fact, little evidence to support this contention.) With the so-called 'feudal treachery' of the landowners to sustain them, the imperialists were easily able to suppress the national uprising.

Nevertheless, in recent years, leading non-Marxist Indian historians have been turning away from the nationalist thesis. S. N. Sen, in his centenary study of the Mutiny,[25] denied that the rebel

leaders were in any way imbued with nationalist sentiment or that the revolt marked the start of the freedom struggle. As he put it: 'The English government had imperceptibly effected a social revolution. . . . the Mutiny leaders would have set the clock back, they would have done away with the new reforms, with the new order and gone back to the good old days. . . . In short, they wanted a counter-revolution.'[26]

The late Prime Minister, J. Nehru, in his book, *The Discovery of India*,[27] took much the same stand. The revolt, he said, was led by feudal chiefs, fighting to maintain their traditional privileges. Moving even further from the nationalist position, R. C. Majumdar[28] asserted that the motives of the rebel leaders were purely selfish, and that apart from the desire to plunder there was little popular enthusiasm for the uprising. Yet this rejection of the concept of a national war of independence is to be expected if one remembers that all these studies of the rebellion were based largely on the voluminous literature of British historians such as Kaye, Holmes and G. W. Forrest,[29] in which the conventional verdicts of 1857 were reinforced.

Even among contemporary British historians, many of whom show a deep awareness and comprehension of Indian resentment towards British domination and the incursion into India of western ways and ideas, there is a reluctance to consider the Mutiny as anything more than the last effort of the old traditional India attempting to throw off the new. As Michael Edwardes puts it, for example: 'It was traditional India that had risen against the British, the India that remembered its past, hated the present, and dreaded the future—the future that was now certain to belong to the westernized Indian, not to soldiers or princes.'[30]

However, a significant piece of evidence which is beginning to emerge is that the areas where the revolt was most firmly rooted (Oudh, the North-western Provinces and parts of Central India), were those which had most recently come under British jurisdiction.[31] This would suggest that the rebels were directly concerned with throwing off a recent and resented imposition of colonial rule. Clues such as this have suggested a new approach to the problem of how the Mutiny should be seen. Not only this, they have shown how an assessment of the Mutiny can be made within the framework of Indian nationalism.

This new trend of thinking springs from current research on colonial rebellion and colonial nationalism in Africa undertaken by, among others, J. Coleman, J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, J. M. Lonsdale, T. O. Ranger and J. Iliffe.[32] Their enquiries seem to reveal the existence of certain patterns of reaction to colonialism,

although the possible pitfalls of a determinist approach, such as theirs, must be borne in mind. Nevertheless, this school of historians is very conscious that the exact make-up of colonial nationalism varied considerably from one area to another, and was closely dependent upon such factors as the extent and nature of contact with the Europeans, and the stage of development within the native society itself. The flexibility of the pattern that they distinguish allows it to be fruitfully applied to many colonial situations, even to the complex and seemingly contradictory situation of 1857 in India. In this way, the particular events of the Mutiny can be understood in terms of a much wider pattern of colonial rebellion and nationalism. The more relevant aspects of this pattern, greatly condensed, but hopefully not too distorted, will now be outlined.

In tracing colonial nationalism back to its source, historians are obliged to establish some form of continuity between its origins and its present form. This has led to attempts to distinguish between the various developing forms and to isolate specific types of reaction and rebellion. One school of thought[33] recognizes two distinct stages in the reaction to the imposition of colonial rule: 'primary' and 'secondary' resistance. 'Primary resistance' can be defined as a movement of resistance to the initial European occupation and to the imposition of new institutions. Normally, this hostile reaction is led by the traditional leaders of the colonized people, supported by their formal instruments of power, such as their armies. 'Secondary resistance', on the other hand, is organized and led by a westernized élite, born into the colonial situation, and activated by western ideas of democracy, progress and social welfare, and with national self-determination as its goal. It takes the form of large-scale and generally pacific movements which result in the formation of bodies such as welfare associations, independent churches, trade unions, and finally, modern political parties. Because 'primary resistance' movements are backward-looking and attempt to replace colonial rule with a traditional and reactionary form of government, they should be regarded as strictly marked off from the later manifestations of the 'secondary resistance', which are essentially modernistic and progressive in outlook and thus lead directly to modern nationalism.

Yet the speed with which purely traditional resistance movements have usually transformed themselves into a form of colonial nationalism would seem to suggest that the roots of modern nationalism must be sought even in the initial period of resistance to colonialism. Historians specialising in East Africa[34] have recently come to regard the process as a logical rather than a

temporal sequence, whereby each stage is not obliterated but rather incorporated by its successor so that each can be seen as having played a vital rôle in the development of present-day nationalism. Thus Iliffe, in his work on Tanganyika,[35] has distinguished another phase, less rigid than the narrow concept of 'primary resistance' which relates basically only to the machinery and responses of the pre-colonial government. He has called this extended phase 'post-pacification revolt', and was prompted to differentiate it from 'primary resistance' by the realization that traditional resistance does not die out with the successful establishment of colonial rule and the destruction of the native government, but continues, even if in a modified form.

Iliffe argues that with the defeat, at the 'primary resistance' stage, of the traditional rulers and the removal, at least partially, of their authority and prestige, the colonial power comes into far more direct contact with the people it now rules. In turn, this means that any shortcomings on the part of the colonial government elicit a more immediate and widespread response, which may take the form of a 'post-pacification revolt'. Yet, because rebel leadership, both in type and objective, will vary on account of the uneven development of society and parochial loyalties, any revolt becomes little more than a loose uprising, resolving itself into a series of local conflicts, held together only by a hatred of western rule, and often expressed in terms of messianic religious movements. Because it involves only parts of the colonial territory and population, it even bears some of the characteristics of a civil war.

The pertinence of this theory is that it emphasises the link between the primitive forms of colonial resistance, that is, 'primary resistance', turning into a 'post-pacification revolt', and the more sophisticated phase of 'secondary resistance'. For as resistance becomes more widescale and involves populations at the grass-roots level, so the traditional powers of the indigenous authorities, through repeated failures, become less meaningful as a source of leadership or object of loyalty. Consequently, new forms of leadership, already dimly visible in the confused stage of the 'post-pacification revolt', begin to emerge, and eventually develop into the form offered by the westernized élite of the 'secondary resistance' stage.

This pattern has been applied with great success to the Indian Mutiny by Professor Eric Stokes,[36] and has demonstrated that the current Indian interpretation of the Mutiny is inadequate. Modern Indian historians, who tend to be of the westernized, urban élite, have concentrated on the modern phase of Indian nationalism and, as has been shown earlier, have begun to discount the Mutiny as

a futile and reactionary struggle of protest against the new age of change, and thus unrelated to the development of modern nationalism. In other words, they see it as an example of 'primary resistance' in its narrowest form. If, however, one accepts the Mutiny as being essentially a 'post-pacification revolt', then it is possible to perceive how it forms an important link in the series of stages that culminate in modern nationalism. In this light, the Mutiny cannot be viewed as an isolated and sterile event, but must be seen as a vital element in the continuous historical process that has formed contemporary India.

It is is not the purpose of this article to embark on a detailed study of the Mutiny, testing every aspect of that complex event against the pattern of a 'post-pacification revolt'; this has been done by others.[37] Nevertheless, certain salient points must be drawn out in order to illustrate the argument that has been evolved above.

During the Mutiny, attempts were made to generalize the revolt by appeals to religion, this being particularly marked among the Muslims.[38] There was undoubtedly a widespread rural revolt on the part of the peasant classes, provoked and inflamed by the British overthrow of traditional landholding rights, by high tax assessments, and by what was regarded as an assault on traditional religion. Yet after the initial violent outbreak and the destruction of the British administrative machine, the peasantry generally sat back to await the outcome of the struggle,[39] or rather, the lead of the local raja.

Indeed, evidence[40] suggests very strongly that the action of the local magnate (who would have suffered far more heavily from British land reforms than the peasantry) was decisive in all areas except those few where the peasant communities were sufficiently organized to stand alone.[41] In most cases, therefore, the peasantry acted in response to traditional, semi-feudal and often clannish ties of allegiance to their local lord, who, secure behind the prestigious walls of his mud fort and surrounded by his armed retainers, struck a chord among the conservative people of northern India, attached as they were to traditional ideas of lordship and status.[42] Consequently, leadership of the revolt fell into the hands of landlords and lineage-heads of clans, who ranged in rank from small landed gentry to great princes who had consolidated their position in the wake of the break-up of the extensive native empires by the British. Now, in the crisis of the Mutiny, their dominant local position meant that their attitude towards the British decided the disposition of a district for hostility, collaboration or prevarication.[43] The traditionalist nature of the outbreak is underlined if one considers

that its three main centres were those cities where the last powerless representatives of the overthrown imperial dynasties resided.[44]

Yet despite the claims of these former overlords of India and the call to a traditional order, the local magnates were slow to commit themselves. While it is easy to comprehend why the mercantile and western-educated classes, as well as the purchasers of the many estates sold by those unable to meet British tax assessments, remained loyal to the British and formed the collaborating élite, the case of the rajas and feudal lords is not so simple. While some set out to regain their lands and traditional authority, others had either acquired a stake in the continuance of British rule, or were perceptive enough to see that the British must ultimately win, and acted accordingly. These factors account to a considerable extent for the vertical split into 'loyalist' and 'rebel' camps of men of similar economic and social standing. Apart from such splits, the rebels were hopelessly divided over which particular traditional authority should be restored, rivalry between the great dynasties being in no way abated. The diversity of the rebels' ambitions is further illustrated by the essentially localized political and strategic horizons of the majority of their leaders. At no stage, therefore, was it possible for the Mutiny to spread so as to encompass the entire Indian population.

In addition to these typical manifestations of a 'post-pacification revolt', as outlined by Iliffe, another element must be added to this complex picture, which bears out his contention that the development of a colonial society is uneven. The response of new westernized groups as contrasting to that of reactionaries attempting to recoup their position has already been mentioned. But in northern Oudh, for example, the bitter resistance of the local rajas displayed a strong element of delayed 'primary resistance'. In this remote area, the still-intact traditional Rajput raj, which in the past had successfully fended off the bureaucratic centralization of the Nawabs of Oudh, was violently objecting to being dismantled by the newly-arrived British administration.[45]

Considering, therefore, the clearly élitist and traditionalist nature of the revolt, it would seem, superficially at least, that the conditions for a widespread nationalism had not yet been created. Yet the process by which this occurred forms in large part the history of the six or seven decades following the Mutiny. In that period, traditional leadership, shown to be ineffective in 1857, was further broken down, and leadership began to shift from the princes to the new westernized classes. The magnates, artificially bolstered up by the British with their new policy of conciliation towards the influential classes, were increasingly challenged by their tenantry

and the urban élite. Thus Indian society, formerly organized in a hierarchy of deference, began to split into caste and interest groups acting competitively.[16] Out of this phase of 'secondary resistance' emerged modern political organizations and popular nationalism. In preparing the ground for this development, the Mutiny, as a typical 'post-pacification revolt', had played a vital part.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] John Shore's Notes: 6th April, 1833. Quoted by A. H. Monro, *The Mutiny and Great Rebellion in the Bareilly District* (unpublished).

[2] For evidence see Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Delhi, 1957), pp. 403-405. Also, *Proceedings of the Trial of Bahadur Shah* (Calcutta, 1895), p. 85.

[3] It was the issue of greased cartridges to the sepoys that crystallized their many grievances concerning pay, promotion and, above all, the British disregard of their religious susceptibilities. This last was of particular importance in the Bengal army, which alone was to be involved in the Mutiny, for unlike the armies of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, it was recruited mainly from high-caste Hindus, very conscious of their religion and caste. In 1857 the new Lee-Enfield rifle was introduced into India. As it was still muzzle-loading, the cartridge had to be heavily greased in order to be forced down the rifling of the barrel. The not unfounded rumour rapidly spread that the grease used was made up of beef and pork fat, which would ritually contaminate Hindu and Muslim respectively. To the sepoys, the long-standing suspicion that the British intended to destroy their religion, now seemed to be confirmed. As a result, regiment after regiment refused the cartridge, and most broke into open mutiny.

[4] Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-405.

[5] Outram to Dalhousie, 7th January, 1858, given in M. C. Pradhan, ed., *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh* (Lucknow, 1958), II.

[6] For example, R. Alexander in *Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India* (Calcutta, 1901), IA p. 10.

[7] In 1784 India was put under the dual control of the Crown, represented by an unpaid Board of Control consisting of six cabinet ministers and privy councillors, and the Directors of the East India Company.

[8] *Hansard*, CXLVII 484-490.

[9] J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India* (London, 1865).

[10] G. B. Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1878).

[11] T. Rice Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (London, 1891).

[12] *Ibid.* pp. 532-539.

[13] *Hansard*, CXLVII 442-75.

[14] See Frere to Elphinstone, 7th June, 1857, quoted in T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath to Revolt* (Oxford, 1964), p. 77.

[15] See Sayyid Ahamd Khan, *An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt* (Calcutta, 1860); and C. T. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi* (London, 1898).

[16] As demonstrated in the Loyal Petitions of the British Indian Association and the Mohammedan Association, as well as by comments in the *Hindoo Patriot*, a Bengali newspaper founded in 1853.

[17] V. D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence* (London, 1909).

[18] As, for example, Asoka Mehta in *1857, The Great Rebellion* (Bombay, 1946).
[19] *1857: A Pictorial Presentation* (Publications Division, Delhi, 1957).
[20] S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indiur Mutinies 1857-1859* (Calcutta, 1957).
[21] Pradhan, ed., *op. cit.*
[22] Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.
[23] Collected in K. Marx and F. Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence* (Moscow, n.d.).
[24] See P. C. Joshi, ed., *Rebellion 1857: A Symposium* (Delhi, 1957), pp. 192-204.
[25] Sen, *op. cit.*
[26] *Ibid*, pp. 412-413.
[27] J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (London, 1956).
[28] R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857* (Calcutta, 1957).
[29] Kaye, *op. cit.*; Holmes, *op. cit.*; G. W. Forrest, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (Edinburgh, 1904-12).
[30] Michael Edwardes, 'The Great Mutiny; in S. W. Sears, ed., *The Horizon* History of the British Empire (USA, 1973), p. 174. See also Michael Edwardes, *Red Year: the Indian Rebellion of 1857* (London, 1975), p. 11: 'In fact, it (the Mutiny) was a bloody and violent clash between the old and the new'.
[31] In Bengal, East Bihar and the South, the population remained calm and the long-established British administration was relatively unruffled. The loyalty of the recently-annexed Punjab was a unique case, much dependent on energetic British action and Sikh antipathy towards the people of the Gangetic plain. As such, it is an excellent demonstration of the forces of particularism that hampered any attempt at wider Indian unity.
[32] J. Coleman, 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa,' *American Political Science Review*, xlviii, 2, June 1954; J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, 'The Partition of Africa,' in the *New Cambridge Modern History* (London, 1963), vol. XI; J. M. Lonsdale, 'Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,' *Journal of African History*, ix, 1968; T. O. Ranger, 'Connections between Primary Resistance and Modern Mass Nationalism', *Journal of African History*, ix, 1968; J. Iliffe, 'The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion,' *Journal of African History*, viii, 1967.
[33] Ranger, endorsed by Gallagher and Robinson, building on Coleman's distinction between traditionalist, syncretistic and modernistic movements.
[34] Such as J. M. Lonsdale.
[35] Iliffe, *op. cit.*
[36] See especially, Eric Stokes, 'Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism: the Context of the 1857 Mutiny Rebellion in India,' *Past and Present*, No. 48, 1970.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] The 'jihads' proclaimed by the Maulvis of Allahabad and Faizabad are best documented.
[39] Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-72, has a good résumé of a mass of evidence to this effect.
[40] See E. Stokes, 'Traditional Élites in the Great Rebellion of 1857,' in E. Leach and S. N. Mukherjee, eds., *Élites in South Asia* (Cambridge, 1970).
[41] See E. Stokes, 'Rural Revolt in the Great Rebellion of 1857: A Study of the Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar Districts,' *Historical Journal*, XII, 4, 1969, for a study of the Jat and Gujar communities.
[42] See Stokes, *Past and Present, op. cit.* p. 110.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Bahadur Shah II, last of the line of Mughal emperors, at Delhi; Nana Saheb, son of the last Peshwa of the Marathas, at Cawnpore; and the infant son of the recently deposed King of Oudh, at Lucknow.

[45] See T. R. Metcalf, 'From Raja to Landlord,' in R. E. Frykenberg, ed., *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History* (Madison, 1969); also Pradhan, ed., *op. cit.*, vol. II pp. 332-338. The resistance of the rajas of the remote Gorakhpur and Basti Districts, as evidenced by my unpublished study, is another example of delayed 'primary resistance'.

[46] Stokes, *Past and Present, op. cit.*, p. 117.

'ENEMY OF THE STARS': VORTICIST EXPERIMENTAL PLAY

by MICHAEL BEATTY

I

The early 1914 months of Wyndham Lewis's formative War Period witnessed his writing of a satirical novel, *Tarr*, and his editing of *Blast: Review of the Great English Vortex*. *Tarr* and *Blast* were informed by his career as an avant-garde painter-designer and brought him a short-lived notoriety as both a personality and author.[1] The first issue of *Blast*,[2] in a more obvious way than *Tarr*, was a work of revolutionary visual and literary intelligence; Lewis's manifestoes, abstract designs, unusual typography, and 'Vortices and Notes' testified to his own predominant rôle in the Vorticist movement.

The purpose of this essay is to examine the version of *Enemy of the Stars* that appeared in *Blast No. 1*. Despite, or because of, its radically experimental nature, the play has received scant attention from critics of Lewis's early work. And what comment there has been has tended to draw attention in a general way to the energy of Lewis's peculiar idiom while avoiding most of the particulars comprising the work. 'General formulations in the writing of Lewis or of any man,' Ezra Pound, for example, wrote twenty years after the fact, 'do not and can never attain the vividness of *The Enemy of the Stars*'.[3] Pound's appreciation of the 'vividness' of Lewis's concepts, however, went with his avoidance of their detailed meaning and an uneasy attempt to 'place' the work. In retrospect, he thought that Lewis had composed a radio play before the invention of the medium, for Pound realized that the play could not conceivably be presented in the theatre.[4] But the first version of *Enemy of the Stars* belongs entirely to its author's Vorticist phase, and, like other parts of *Blast*, is designed to appeal to the reader's eye and ear. 'My literary contemporaries,' Lewis later observed with particular reference to Ezra Pound, 'I looked upon as too bookish and not keeping pace with the visual revolution. A kind of play, "The Enemy of the Stars" . . . was my attempt to show them the way.'[5] Furthermore, when Lewis, as was his usual practice,[6] rewrote and expanded the play, he seemed to regard it not as a drama lacking a suitable medium of presentation but as a metaphysical tract exploring the 'Physics of the Not Self'.[7] The book-form version of 1932 is not only written in a more conventional and consequently less condensed prose style, but reflects Lewis's changing social,

political and philosophical concerns. The *Blast* version of *Enemy of the Stars* has a quite different, though not unrelated, creative-philosophical significance. The play represents Lewis's most sustained effort of the period to transform words and syntax into a potent abstract medium. Lewis attempts to leave behind the grammatical and syntactical order of language[8] with the purpose of establishing on a different, more abstract audio-visual plane, the notion that a Pre-existent Absurdity determines the 'true' future relationships between the 'real' constitution of man and society and the 'real' constitution of the world.

The result, admittedly, is an unsuccessful experiment that ends in an 'abstractist cul-de-sac'.[9] Certain stretches[10] of the work, moreover, are both tedious and frustrating to read, and Lewis's themes of self-assertion and self-alienation are obscurely rendered. In addition, the work sometimes reads as though it were a piece of Vorticist propaganda whose force of statement, tone, and typography resembles that of the manifestoes found in *Blast*. Nevertheless, Lewis's play is a highly intelligent work that is capable of discharging farcical energies of an impressive, albeit ambivalent, kind. And the concepts articulated by the work are not only intimately related to Lewis's Vorticist experience but come to occupy a central position in his early writings. In a strange way, moreover, *Enemy of the Stars* points towards Samuel Beckett's distinguished experimental play, *Waiting for Godot*.[11] In what follows, my general strategy will be to approach Lewis's play with the kind of expectations one normally brings to drama. I aim first to clarify the work's nature and main themes and then to consider Lewis's experimental use of language.

II

The play is composed of five main sequences: 'ADVERTISEMENT', 'ENEMY OF THE STARS', 'THERE ARE TWO SCENES', 'ARGHOL' and 'HANP'. 'HANP' is divided into seven sections, and 'ARGHOL' is divided into 'THE YARD', 'THE SUPER', and 'THE NIGHT'. Most of the main sequences function as differing, self-contained entities; indeed they reflect Lewis's interest in abstract design. 'ARGHOL' and 'HANP' present the main action of the play, which proceeds largely by association and retrospection. Lewis's art, moreover, is symbolical in a particular sense; he endeavours to convey a future consciousness by using all the elements of the play to create fresh impressions on the reader's mind.

The setting of the play is 'some bleak circus' (*ES*, p. 55).[12]

Anticipating a procedure employed by Beckett, Lewis uses the word 'circus' shiftingly in order to suggest a multi-levelled setting that transcends place. First, the reader is meant to perceive the setting as a 'big top', a ring in which clowns perform. At the same time, he is supposed to think of the circus as an arena where gladiators fight to the death. Third, the word 'circus' has the sense of stage, an area that is used for dramatic purposes. In the 'ENEMY OF THE STARS' section of the play, Lewis writes: 'CHARACTERS AND PROPERTIES BOTH EMERGE FROM GANGWAY INTO GROUND AT ONE SIDE' (*ES*, p. 59). In this way, the two stage scenes of his entertainment, the yard and the hut, become part of the metaphorical 'circus' setting.

The description of the play's two main characters corresponds to the shifting dimensions of the setting. The 'ADVERTISEMENT' bills Arghol and Hanp:

> TWO HEATHEN CLOWNS, GRAVE BOOTH ANIMALS
> CYNICAL ATHLETES (*ES*, p. 55)

Arghol, for instance, is later referred to as a 'gladiator who has come to fight a ghost, Humanity—the great Sport of Future Mankind' (*ES*, p. 61). His composite rôle as character combines also with his rôles as actor and director: 'The first stars appear and Arghol comes out of the hut. This is his cue. The stars are his cast. He is rather late and snips into its place a test button. A noise falls on the cream of Posterity, assembled in silent banks' (*ES*, p. 61). Arghol appears among stars that are not merely planetary bodies. But if both the stars and Posterity are his audience, he is also theirs. The play keeps slipping inside the play.

The circus, Lewis writes,

> IS PACKED WITH POSTERITY,
> SILENT AND EXPECTANT.
> POSTERITY IS SILENT, LIKE THE
> DEAD, AND MORE PATHETIC. (*ES*, p. 55).

Lewis's audience participates in and watches the play. Paradoxically, 'the cream of Posterity' is also the author's fellow Englishmen. *Enemy of the Stars*, announces the 'ADVERTISEMENT', is 'VERY WELL ACTED BY YOU AND ME' (*ES*, p. 55). Later on, this is urged with suggestive irony: 'Yet you and me: why not from the English metropolis? — Listen: it is our honeymoon' (*ES*, p. 59).

The way in which Lewis manages his audience parallels his

establishment of the action so that it both points to the vague future in relation to the present and occurs out of time. Arghol enters to Posterity's 'gnats' song of the Thirtieth centuries' (*ES*, p. 61). There is no further explicit mention of time in the play, and Arghol and Hanp seem to be two strange super-beings on an alien planet. Human time and space have no meaning in this vortex, this 'Hell of those heavens uncovered, whirling pit, every evening!' (*ES*, p. 67). Yet on a different level, the play suggests itself as a tragedy in which the destiny of present mankind is being decided. However, the fate of mankind has already been settled, for 'POSTERITY IS SILENT, LIKE THE DEAD, AND MORE PATHETIC' (*ES*, p. 55).

Lewis's procedure, then, shows him constructing a play which, like Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, is a kind of non-play, or a verbal construct of mutually negating aspects. He extends the concept of a drama and blurs the usual distinctions between the categories of actor, character, action, language and audience with the purpose of involving his reader in the 'cruel' experience of a metaphysical reality. We and Posterity are to be shut in by 'THE RED WALLS OF THE UNIVERSE . . . WITH THIS CONDEMNED PROTAGONIST' (*ES*, p. 61) Arghol. All of us are to 'BREATHE IN CLOSE ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR AND NECESSITY TILL THE EXECUTION IS OVER, THE RED WALLS RECEDE, THE UNIVERSE SATISFIED' (*ES*, p. 61). There is to be no pity in this tragedy. 'Relief of grateful universe' (*ES*, p. 84) through terror is the apparent aim of the play.

The play's action takes the form of two conflicts leading up to the death of both characters in the last sequence. Arghol is assaulted by the stars; Arghol is attacked by Hanp. A little later Arghol is murdered by Hanp, who soon afterwards throws himself into a canal from a low stone bridge. Each conflict corresponds to one of the two scenes, the yard and the hut respectively.

Arghol is Lewis's Vorticist *Ubermensch*:

> EACH FORCE ATTEMPTS TO SHAKE HIM.
>
> CENTRAL AS STONE. POISED MAGNET OF SUBTLE, VAST, SELFISH THINGS.
>
> HE LIES LIKE HUMAN STRATA OF INFERNAL BIOLOGIES.
> WALKS LIKE WARY SHIFTING OF BODIES IN DISTANT
> EQUIPOISE, SITS LIKE A GOD BUILT BY AN ARCHITECTURAL

STREAM, FECUNDED BY MAD BLASTS SUNLIGHT.
(*ES*, p. 61)

In 'THE SUPER', he is sitting on the canal bank in the yard, when a voice calls to him:

'Arghol!'

'I am here.'

His voice raucous and disfigured with a catarrh of
lies in the fetid bankrupt atmosphere of life's swamp:
clear and splendid among Truth's balsamic hills,
shepherding his agile thoughts.

'Arghol!'

It was like a child's voice hunting its mother.

A note of primitive distress edged the thick bellow.
The figure rushed without running. Arghol heeled over
to the left. A boot battered his right hand ribs.
These were the least damaged: it was their turn. (*ES*, p. 63)

In this passage, Arghol is presented in a state of almost pure being. Among 'Truth's balsamic hills,' he asserts his identity, his true, primitive self. The ground of the universe comes to him like a child to its mother, a child crying with distress at having perhaps been lost. But the universe does not love Arghol; it plays a queer game of hide-and-seek with him. The hero is hunted and then assaulted, for the universe is composed of cruelly primitive forces, forces at once pure, powerful, unhuman, playful, and violent. This energy is seen again in 'THE NIGHT', when Arghol recovers consciousness and looks up at the stars:

Throats iron eternities, drinking heavy radiance,
limbs towers of blatant light, the stars poised,
immensely distant, with their metal sides, pantheistic
machines

The farther, the more violent and vivid, Nature:
weakness crushed out of creation! (*ES*, p. 64)

Here, the rhythm of Lewis's prose creates a feeling of the splendour of the violent, machine-like constitution of nature. And as Arghol

rises 'before this cliff of cadaverous beaming force, imprisoned in a messed socket of existence . . .' (*ES*, p. 64) he evokes our grudging admiration.

By acquiescing in his rôle in the pre-established scheme of things, Arghol not only becomes conscious of himself as nature's victim but is able to survive its 'cruelty' with a certain dignity. Arghol has in a sense himself become a star while remaining an enemy of the stars. His identity is in a one-to-one relationship with that of reality and hence is in paradoxical conflict with the condition of being of human society. The primitive hero has almost abandoned the human 'herd', and as he tells Hanp, Mankind's representative, to 'leave violently slow monotonous life is to take header into the boiling starry cold' (*ES*, p. 67). In this way, he has achieved an extra-human magnificence: 'Head of black, eagerly carved, herculean Venus, of iron tribe, hyper barbarous and ascetic' (*ES*, p.67). Arghol, however, is still not free of Hanp.

Hanp is notably inferior to Arghol. In the first section of 'HANP', he steps scruffily into the action of the play: 'Hanp comes out of hut, coughing like a goat, rolling a cigarette' (*ES*, p. 65). His name is suggestive of the kind of energy that he embodies—'sinewy energetic air' (*ES*, p. 55). 'ENEMY OF THE STARS' bills him:

> SECOND CHARACTER, APPALLING 'GAMIN', BLACK BOURGEOIS ASPIRATIONS UNDERMINING BLATANT VIRTUOSITY OF SELF.
>
> His criminal instinct of intemperate bilious heart, put at service of unknown Humanity, our King, to express its violent royal aversion to Protagonist, statue-mirage of Liberty in the great Desert. (*ES*, p. 59).

Hanp's first words to Arghol come from 'the fetid bankrupt atmosphere of life's swamp' rather than 'Truth's balsamic hills', and in contrast to nature's approach, he stirs Arghol roughly with his foot. The two characters begin to speak and behave a bit like Vladimir and Estragon in *Waiting for Godot*:

> 'Come, you fool, and have supper.' Hanp walks back to hut, leaving him.
>
> Arghol lies, hands clasped round his knees. This new kick has put him into a childish lethargy. He gets to his feet soon, and walks to hut. He put his hand on Hanp's shoulder, who has been watching him, and kisses him on the cheek.

Hanp shakes him off with fury and passes inside hut. (*ES*, p. 65)

Then while they are eating their supper, Hanp breaks the silence: '"Was it bad tonight?" a fierce and railing question often repeated' (*ES*, p. 65).

Arghol responds by expounding upon the self. His speech articulates the reason for the animosity between him and Hanp:

> Self, sacred act of violence, is like murder on my face and hands. The stain won't come out. It is the one piece of property all communities have agreed it is illegal to possess . . . When mankind cannot overcome a personality, it has an immemorial way out of the difficulty. It becomes it. It imitates and assimilates that Ego until it is no longer one . . .
>
> Between Personality and Mankind it is always a question of dog and cat; they are diametrically opposed species. Self is the ancient race, the rest are the new one. Self is the race that lost. But Mankind still suspects Egotistic plots, and hunts Pretenders. (*ES*, p. 66)

Hanp serves mankind; he stands for the life of the bourgeois-democratic herd: 'He was strong and insolent with consciousness stuffed in him in anonymous form of vastness of Humanity: full of rage at gigantic insolence and superiority, combined with utter uncleanness and despicableness—all back to physical parallel—of his Master' (*ES*, p. 71). By refusing to merge with Hanp's servilely egotistic consciouness, Arghol makes him face his own 'congenital fatuity and cheapness' (*ES*, p. 71). And Hanp's mounting hatred and contempt for both Arghol and himself finds its parallel expression in Arghol's attitude towards him, an attitude that results from a superior egotism.

In the fourth part of 'HANP', the hero declares his grudge against mankind's representative:

> I find I wanted to make a naif yapping Poodle—
> parasite of you.—I shall always be a prostitute.
> I wanted to make you my self; you understand?
>
> Every man who wants to make another HIMSELF, is seeking a companion for his detached ailment of a self.

> You are an unclean little beast, crept gloomily
> out of my ego. You are the world, brother, with
> its family objections to me (*ES*, p. 73).

Hanp is real for Arghol only in so far as he has been secreted by the 'super's' self-alienated ego; and Arghol's loathing is also self-loathing. Now Hanp's anger erupts into open violence. Their clash both anticipates their deaths at the end of the play and enables Lewis to employ a flashback to the ordinary human world. Having defeated Hanp, Arghol immediately falls asleep: 'Now a dream began valuing, with its tentative symbols, preceding events' (*ES*, p. 76). The dream gives more substance to the protagonists' problem of self and clarifies the situation between them.

Arghol dreams of his past life in the city and his native town, both civilized communities. The dream about the former reveals his realization of the problem of self. The friends he meets at the café, for instance, are all evaluated as 'companions of parasite Self. No single one a brother. My dealings with these men is with their parasite composite selves, not with Them' (*ES*, p. 77). The sickness of mankind, or more particularly (to take up the English suggestions in the play) of the British people, is that one person can never know the 'true' self, or pre-civilized, innately primitive identity of any other person. For Arghol, man's social and historical nature has developed within him a conventional, nondescript character and vitality. A person can only be a composite self, or member of a herd; unless, as does Arghol, he attempts to transcend his civilized condition by destroying it. In this way, the hero can be furious with his room in the city: 'His room in the city, nine feet by six, grave big enough for the six corpses that is each living man' (*ES*, p. 76). Later he tears up his books:

> 'These books are all parasites. Poodles of the mind,
> Chows and King Charles; eternal prostitute.
>
> The mind, perverse and gorgeous.
>
> All this Art life, posterity and the rest, is wrong.
> Begin with these.' (*ES*, p. 77)

Arghol's dream of the city turns into a dream about his native town. In his dream, he continues to be obsessed with self-purgation. He meets an old friend:

'Sir, I wish to know you!'

Provisional smile on face of friend, puzzled.

'Hallo, Arghol, you seem upset.'

'I wish to make your acquaintance.'

'But, my dear Arghol, what's the matter with you?
We already are very well acquainted.'

'I am not Arghol.'

'No?'

The good-natured smug certitude offended him.

This man would never see anyone but Arghol he knew. —
Yet he on his side saw a man, directly beneath his
friend, imprisoned, with intolerable need of recognition.

Arghol, that the baffling requirements of society
had made, impudent parasite of his solitude,
had forgathered too long with men, and borne
his name too variously, to be superseded. (*ES*, p. 78)

As opposed to his friend, Arghol does give vent to his need of recognition. In an effort to rid himself of his social-self, he repudiates his friend's image of him and departs rudely:

> 'That is a lie. Your foolish grin proves you are lying. Good day.' Walking on, he knew his friend was himself. He had divested himself of something (*ES*, p. 79).

By repudiating his friend's idea of him and consequently alienating him, Arghol divests his social-self of one of its parts. His further efforts to purge himself of his crowd-self result in his friends' total rejection of him. Arghol behaves at the café as a 'complete stranger with a set of men he had been on good terms with two days before. "He's gone mad. Leave him alone," they advised each other' (*ES*, p. 79).

Arghol's dream about his past life implies that he has progressed from human civilization on to a more real, abstract plane of existence. 'THE SUPER' and the beginning of the sixth section of

'HANP', as I have indicated, imply that he has all but realized his innately primitive-self. Arghol's metamorphosis, however, has proved impossible, for there is Hanp:

> He had ventured in his solitude and failed. Arghol he had imagined left in the city. Suddenly he had discovered Arghol, who had followed him, in Hanp. Always à deux! (*ES*, p. 80).

Arghol and Hanp, like Vladimir and Estragon, sometimes seem to be complementary pairs rather than dramatic characters. Lewis's characters also suggest themselves as symbols that stand in varying degrees of intelligibility for the relationship and irreconcilable conflict between the primitive, individual-self and the social-self. These two ideas of the self are interdependent. Thus Arghol's provocation of Hanp constitutes an 'egotistic self castigation' (*ES*, p. 71). His desire to free himself of Hanp is the same as his desire to free himself of his social-self. And Hanp, as we have seen, is in the reverse situation. Arghol's self-loathing, moreover, is integrally linked to that of Hanp. Ironically, his words to Hanp serve to predict both their deaths at the end of the play:

> Men have a loathsome deformity called Self; affliction got through indiscriminate rubbing against their fellows: Social excrescence.
>
> Their being is regulated by exigencies of this affliction. Only one operation can cure it: the suicide's knife. (*ES*, p. 71)

The self-alienation and destruction embodied in Arghol and Hanp are, as I have suggested, integrally linked to a Pre-established Absurdity. In particular, Arghol's partial constitution as pure ego manifests the cold, hard, playful, violent energy of an essentially inhuman universe. At one with nature and therefore both an enemy and ally of the stars, he asserts himself over Hanp the representative of human society. But the individual-self, as we have also seen, is in a multi-levelled self-destructive relationship with itself. Arghol's true nature must ultimately conspire with the universe, and with Hanp, who is also in a self-destructive relationship with himself, against itself. Hanp and the stars certainly make strange allies:

> Hanp sprang out of the ground, a handful of furious movements: flung himself on Arghol.

'Once more the stars had come down' (*ES*, p. 74). And later, when Hanp slays Arghol while he is sleeping, Lewis writes: 'Relief of grateful universe' (*ES*, p. 84).

Arghol's tragedy is that the manner in which he is killed is ignominious; it lowers him:

> [The] hand rushed in, and the knife sliced heavily the impious meat. The blood burst out after the knife.
>
> Arghol rose as though on a spring, his eyes glaring down on Hanp, and with an action of the head, as though he were about to sneeze. Hanp shrank back, on his haunches. He overbalanced, and fell on his back.
>
> He scrambled up, and Arghol lay now in the position in which he had been sleeping. There was something incredible in the dead figure, the blood sinking down, a moist shaft, into the ground. Hanp felt friendly towards it.
>
> There was only flesh there, and all our flesh is the same. Something distant, terrible and eccentric, bathing in that milky snore, had been struck and banished from matter. (*ES*, p. 84)

Leaving aside for the moment the comic aspect of Lewis's mannered writing, we can see that whereas the stars hunt Arghol and are nobly withstood by him, Hanp guts him like an animal when he is not looking. Hanp is associated in the play with the hut on the ground, and he springs 'out of the ground' (*ES*, p. 74) when he first attacks Arghol. Now, in the passage above, he feels friendly towards the hero's bleeding flesh, 'the blood sinking down . . . into the ground'. Hanp thinks that he has successfully reduced Arghol to a part of common mankind, but, ironically, he can only establish a common bond with a corpse. He can never be said to have dominated Arghol, to have made the 'super' merge with his social-self. And the passage contains a hint that Hanp begins to realize, for the first time, something of the value of the individual-self: 'There was something incredible in the dead figure . . . Something distant, terrible and eccentric . . . had been struck and banished from matter.'

The significance of Hanp's suicide, with which the play ends, is that the social self cannot exist without its complementary

opposite. As Arghol has explained, suicide is the only way to cure the malady of 'social excrescence'. Having repudiated the individual-self, Hanp necessarily despairs and becomes the victim of his own bourgeois-democratic condition. The sentimental, melodramatic pathos of his suicide through weakness reveals the inferior energy of humanity, the true ignominy and paltriness of civilized man:

> Hanp walked slowly along the canal to a low stone bridge.
>
> His face was wet with tears, his heart beating weakly, a boat slowed down.
>
> A sickly flood of moonlight beat miserably on him, cutting empty shadow he could hardly drag along.
>
> He sprang from the bridge clumsily, too unhappy for instinctive science, and sank like lead, his heart a sagging weight of stagnant hatred. (*ES*, p. 85)

The last sentence points up the ultimate superiority of Arghol. Whereas in death, 'Arghol rose as though on a spring, his eyes glaring down on Hanp', Hanp sinks weakly away.

The play arrives at a kind of stalemate. Arghol withstands the universe, but beats Hanp and then is killed, but not overcome, by Hanp. Throughout the tragedy, we feel the superior energy of the hero. The multi-levelled conflict between Arghol and Hanp, however, remains unresolved. In the end, we are left with both their deaths and the ironic suggestion that the stars and Hanp's master, 'vastness of Humanity' (*ES*, p. 71), endure together. The creative-destructive thrust of the play appears to give way to a different, more nihilistic impulse.

III

Even though it is possible to extract a more or less intelligible theme running through *Enemy of the Stars* and to clarify something of the play's apparently dramatic aspects, the work does not cohere artistically. *Enemy of the Stars* is not really a tragedy; we never 'BREATHE IN CLOSE ATMOSPHERE OF TERROR AND NECESSITY TILL THE EXECUTION IS OVER'. If anything, the play tends to be predominantly comic (Arghol and Hanp are also clowns). The work has too many conflicting dimensions, and ultimately we are confronted with an extremist

experiment with language that is invariably clever, sometimes funny, but also rather bizarre and inconsistent. No overall artistic experience, either crude or complex, is communicated successfully by the work. Some stretches of Lewis's writing are tedious. Others, however, succeed in releasing energies of a farcical kind that derive out of psychic pressures making for hatred, cynicism, resentment, loathing and disgust.

The following passage shows why the play is often both tiring and frustrating to read:

> Harsh bayadere-shepherdess of Pamir, with her Chinese beauty: living on from month to month in utmost tent with wastrel, lean as mandrake root, red and precocious: with heavy black odour of vast Manchurian garden-deserts, and the disreputable muddy gold squandered by the unknown sun of Amur.
>
> His mind unlocked, free to this violent hand. It was his mind's one cold flirtation, then cold love. Excelling in beauty, marked out for Hindu fate of sovereign prostitution, but clear of the world, with furious vow not to return. The deep female strain succumbed to this ragged spirit of crude manhood, masculine with blunt wilfulness and hideous stupidity of the fecund horde of men, phallic wand-like cataract incessantly poured into God. This pip of icy spray struck him on the mouth. He tasted it with new pleasure, before spitting it out: acrid.
>
> (*ES*, p. 65)

At its best, Lewis's writing is forcefully comic. The climax of the play, for instance, is precipitated by Arghol's snoring:

> Bluebottle, at first unnoticed, hurtling about, a snore rose quietly on the air.
>
> Drawn out, clumsy, self-centred! It pressed inflexibly on Hanp's nerve of hatred, sending hysteria gyrating in top of diaphragm, flooding neck.
>
> It beckoned, filthy, ogling finger.
>
> The first organ note abated. A second at once was set up: stronger, startling, full of loathsome unconsciousness.

> It purred a little now, quick and labial. Then
> virile and strident again.
>
> It rose and fell up centre of listener's body,
> and along swollen nerves, peachy, clotted tide,
> gurgling back in slimy shallows. Snoring of a
> malodorous, bloody, sink, emptying its water. (*ES*, p. 83)

The passage demonstrates Lewis's talent at the comic rendering of noises, their cadence, rhythm, spatial and temporal qualities. The snore further depicts Hanp's consciousness, at the same time satirising his increasing loathing and disgust for Arghol. The writing shows Lewis not merely enjoying his own brilliance at giving the snore a vigorous life of its own, but enjoying, if only in the imagination, the feelings embodied in the snore. The snore swells grotesquely and Lewis delights in the scoring of it to its disgusting crescendo: 'Snoring of a malodorous, bloody, sink, emptying its water.' The ludicrously exaggerated snore travesties Hanp's state of consciousness while creating it. And our admiring empathy with Lewis's mannered handling of his subject matter is dependent upon the extent to which he is able to hold captive our judgement. Hanp's condition and attitude towards Arghol have an essentially vicarious existence in terms of both Lewis's own emotional participation in his creations and his self-conscious manipulation of words. The farcical energy of the language is ultimately dependent not only upon Lewis's original compositional skill, but also upon the language's fictitious relationship to splenetic disturbances of the psyche, disturbances for which he would seem to experience a strong emotional affinity.

Lewis's uniquely farcical style is also integral to Arghol's mode of existence. The 'tragic' hero speaks:

> Our soul is wild, with primitiveness of its own. Its wildness is anywhere—in a shop, sailing, reading psalms: its greatest good our destiny. Anything I possess is drunk up here on the world's brink, by big stars, and returned me in the shape of thought heavy as a meteorite. The stone of the stars will do for my seal and emblem. I practise with it monotonous 'putting', that I may hit Death when he comes. (*ES*, p. 70)

The 'super' echoes the note of greatness sounded by more traditional tragic heroes, that of, for instance, Marlowe's Tamburlaine, or Dryden's Antony. But in contrast, Arghol's speech, like that of Beckett's Pozzo, parodies not only the speech of the conventional

hero of high destiny, but also itself.

If Arghol is a travesty of the primitive-self, Hanp is a travesty of the social-self. The 'TWO HEATHEN CLOWNS, GRAVE BOOTH ANIMALS, CYNICAL ATHLETES', play out the attitudes and postures embodied in the language in which they are treated. The play's characters and dialogue, which tends to invective insult ('Bloody glib-tongued cow!' [*ES*, p. 74] and so on), its action and form all manifest the relationship adopted by Lewis to his language. Shortly after the passage presenting Arghol the tragic hero, for instance, Lewis writes:

> A laugh, packed with hatred, not hoping to carry, snapped like a fiddle-cord.
>
> 'Sour grapes! That's what it's all about! And you let yourself be kicked to death here out of spite.
>
> Why do you talk to me, I should like to know? Answer me that!'
>
> Disrespect or mocking is followed, in spiritualistic séances, with offended silence on part of the spooks. Such silence, not discernedly offended, now followed.
>
> The pseudo-rustic Master, cavernously, hemicycally real, but anomalous shamness on him in these circumstances, poudre de riz on face of knights sleeping effigy, lay back indifferent, his feet lying, two heavy closed books, before the disciple.
>
> Arghol was a large open book, full of truths and insults.
>
> He opened his jaws wide once more in egotistic self castigation. (*ES*, pp. 70-1)

In this passage, we are supposed to admire not only the unusual, and surely precise description of the laugh, but also the associative word-play of the sentence (1. 'Carry' referring to sound; therefore 'laugh', 'fiddle', 'snapped', 'cord'; 2. 'Carry' referring to weight; therefore 'packed', 'snapped', 'cord'), word-play typical of much of the style of the play. It is as though the author in his language is self-consciously and wittily performing for us and is directing the performers in the same way: 'Disrespect or mocking is followed, in spiritualistic séances, with offended silence on part of the spooks.

Such silence, not discernedly offended, now followed.' Then Arghol shifts from the 'knights sleeping effigy' pose to his 'egotistic self castigation' routine, and so on.

Arghol and Hanp talk and behave in the same language in which they are presented to us. Indeed, Arghol's rôle playing is integral to the odd word that is his name. Hugh Kenner suggests ingeniously that Lewis's protagonist is named after the star Algol. For,

> like the double star Algol (Alpha Persei) . . . Arghol must waltz eternally about a common centre of gravity with this unluminous companion [Hanp], which eclipses his light with clockwork periodicity and transforms the effulgence of genius into a recurrent demoniacal wink.[13]

Ignoring the somewhat doubtful meaning and style (imitative of Lewis?) of the last part of Kenner's sentence, it is evident that Arghol's name has other meanings depending on both the meaning of the word and the context in which it functions. The name Arghol suggests (1) a super-being on another planet, (2) a primitive individual who is an outsider from human society, (3) a gladiator, (4) a clown, (5) a 'star', both in the stellar and actor senses of the word, (6) someone who, according to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, argues—'Argle, v. still dial.; also in argle-bargle, argol-bargol. 1589 . . . 1. To dispute about. 2. intr. To bandy words, wrangle. 1823.', (7) a brand of soap: 'He repeated his name—like sinister word invented to launch a new Soap, in gigantic advertisement-toilet-necessity, he, to scrub the soul' (*ES*, p. 80).

Enemy of the Stars tends ultimately to function on the level of symbol. Lewis is attempting to create an abstract literary work analogous to his endeavours in the visual arts. As *Blast No. 1* indicates, he aims to produce an art that is dehumanized, an art that is plastic, architectural, anti-mimetic and anti-historical. 'Reality', Lewis maintains, 'is in the artist, the image only in life, and he should only approach so near as is necessary for a good view.'[14] And in the play, we are conscious of Lewis's manner of composing pressing itself upon us primarily because he strives to make his sense of reality actual by embodying it not in the visible things of this world but in images of a different, more purely mental, kind. The direction of Lewis's experimentation necessarily entails an attack on conventional ways of articulating or revealing actuality, ideas and feelings. His aim is most obviously apparent in the first twelve or so pages of the play where he places six of his Vorticist designs (*Plan of War, Timon of Athens, Slow Attack, Decoration for the Countess of Drogheda's House, Portrait*

1

BLAST First (from politeness) ENGLAND

CURSE ITS CLIMATE FOR ITS SINS AND INFECTIONS

DISMAL SYMBOL, SET round our bodies,
of effeminate lout within.
VICTORIAN VAMPIRE, the LONDON cloud sucks
the TOWN'S heart.

A 1000 MILE LONG, 2 KILOMETER Deep

BODY OF WATER even, is pushed against us
from the Floridas, TO MAKE US MILD.
OFFICIOUS MOUNTAINS keep back DRASTIC WINDS

SO MUCH VAST MACHINERY TO PRODUCE

THE CURATE of "Eltham"
BRITANNIC ÆSTHETE
WILD NATURE CRANK
DOMESTICATED
POLICEMAN
LONDON COLISEUM
SOCIALIST-PLAYWRIGHT
DALY'S MUSICAL COMEDY
GAIETY CHORUS GIRL
TONKS

ADVERTISEMENT

THE SCENE. SOME BLEAK CIRCUS, UNCOVERED, CAREFULLY-CHOSEN, VIVID NIGHT. IT IS PACKED WITH POSTERITY, SILENT AND EXPECTANT. POSTERITY IS SILENT, LIKE THE DEAD, AND MORE PATHETIC.

CHARACTERS.

TWO HEATHEN CLOWNS, GRAVE BOOTH ANIMALS

CYNICAL ATHLETES.

DRESS. ENORMOUS YOUNGSTERS, BURSTING EVERYWHERE THROUGH HEAVY TIGHT CLOTHES, LABOURED IN BY DULL EXPLOSIVE MUSCLES, full of fiery dust and sinewy energetic air, not sap. BLACK CLOTH CUT SOMEWHERE, NOWADAYS, ON THE UPPER BALTIC.

VERY WELL ACTED BY YOU AND ME.

of an Englishwoman, The Enemy of the Stars) between the title and 'ADVERTISEMENT' of the play and 'THE PLAY'. The abstract designs are not all equally significant, but their hard machine forms, jarring angles and jagged planes both disrupt the play's continuity into a series of shocks and give the cue to the typography and much of the effect of the play. Like Lewis's 'Blast' and 'Bless' manifestoes, many pages of his play (notice the drawing entitled *Enemy of the Stars*) command attention as designs. The varying thickness and lay-out of the angular type have the same sort of hard, nervous effect as do Lewis's abstractions. And the visual effect combines with the sound, connotation, rhythm and phrasing of the words. Lewis integrates his peculiarly metaphoric and dynamic use of language into a visual, typographical ground. Compare *Plan of War*, for instance, and the first 'Blast' manifesto with the play's 'ADVERTISEMENT'.

The thick, strong black lines and blocked effect of 'ADVERTISEMENT' reinforce the energetic 'feel' of words such as 'vivid', 'animals', 'heathen', 'athletes', 'enormous', 'bursting', 'explosive', and 'fiery'. The language tends to be onomatopoeic and its stresses tend to function kinaesthetically. The explosive dynamics of Lewis's idiom serve as impulses both driving forward the play and creating the state of mind appropriate to it. The style is also typical in its elliptical phrasing. It not only leads one to make inferential leaps, but jostles one into acceptance and admiration. Lewis's highly stylized, clever performance functions also as a polemical strategy. The play's invective, like that of *Blast*, is a kind of half-serious game of aggression and abuse reminiscent of the expertise of the Breton showmen that Lewis observed earlier in his career, whose 'hysterical and monotonous voices are always pitched in a strain of fierce raillery and abuse'.[15] In fact, Lewis, in setting his play, might well have had in mind the little circus tents of the Breton fairs where the performers with their 'bulging muscles, painted faces and novel garbs'[16] appear mysteriously impressive to the village audience. Lewis, of course, affects the air of a mysterious, muscular and highly original showman in *Enemy of the Stars*.

The language of the play tends to communicate metaphorically so as to create vivid impressions on the reader's mind. Lewis conjoins descriptive terms with names of objects and strong verbs in a very unusual way to produce a concrete-feeling prose that appeals primarily to his reader's visual-tactual sense and into which are built attitudes towards, or ways of looking at, things, persons, and situations. The language is directed inwards. It is directed not towards the real world or real people, but attempts to com-

municate an interior world of the imagination in such a way as to give it an objective validity, or status of actuality.

'THE NIGHT' sequence of the play, for example, begins:

> His eyes woke first, shaken by rough moonbeams.
> A white, crude volume of brutal light blazed over
> him. Immense bleak electric advertisement of God,
> it crushed with wild emptiness of street.
>
> The ice field of the sky swept and crashed silently.
> Blowing wild organism into the hard splendid clouds,
> some will cast its glare, as well, over him.
>
> The canal ran in one direction, his blood, weakly, in
> the opposite.
>
> The stars shone madly in the archaic blank wilderness
> of the universe, machines of prey.
>
> Mastodons, placid in electric atmosphere, white
> rivers of power. They stood in eternal black
> sunlight. (*ES*, p. 64)

The passage, one of the more successful abstract stretches of the play, presents the concrete realization of Arghol's strange, super world, 'the archaic blank wilderness of the universe'. Names of objects, verbs and descriptive terms are joined together; for instance, in the sentence: 'The ice field of the sky swept and crashed silently'. Here, the last phrase should not puzzle us. Lewis's procedure is to interassociate certain verbal clusters like: (1) 'shaken', 'rough', 'crude', 'brutal', 'crushed', 'crashed', 'wild', 'hard', 'madly', 'archaic', 'wilderness', 'prey', 'mastodons', 'power', (2) 'moonbeams', 'white' (twice), 'light', 'bleak', 'glare', 'stars', 'shone', 'black', 'sunlight', (3) 'electric' (twice), 'advertisement', 'street', 'machines'. Lewis trades on the connotations and cadence of words that appeal to our visual-tactual sense (in one way, the passage above portrays the power of Arghol's eyes) and the associations of these connotations. The language serves to block off external reality and to short-circuit our ordinary grammatical and syntactical expectations. We are provided with vivid impressions. Furthermore, we are not to puzzle over the meaning of sentences or phrases, but to be dominated, almost kinaesthetically, by the artist's energized metaphoric medium.

Lewis's language further enables him to actualize an attitude

towards something by his describing it reductively. A kind of dehumanizing caricature is built into description in such a way that the reader is persuaded that how something is presented is the true, objective view of that thing; that is to say, the thing is made to exist essentially on the author's own terms. In this way, for instance, the wretched Hanp is sneeringly depicted as 'Mask of discontent, anxious to explode, restrained by qualms of vanity, and professional coyness' (*ES*, p. 59). Hanp's state of mind, together with Lewis's perception of its ludicrousness, is externalized, objectified (note Lewis's use of substantives). The reader has no choice but to see Hanp as Lewis wants him to. The author's technique is parallel to that of the *Blast* manifestoes where the language works propagandistically. The reader is either coerced into accepting Lewis's portrayals and judgements as absolutely valid, or must reject him outright.

IV

In *Enemy of the Stars*, Lewis strives unsuccessfully to create a literary work of art that is more real than reality, that is concerned with imaginative essences rather than appearances. A painter-designer might be able to develop an aesthetic notation that is independent of the world of natural forms, but, as Lewis himself came to feel, it is doubtful that a writer, however much of an extremist he might be ideologically, could progress along the lines of the abstract stretches of the play. *Enemy of the Stars*, however, is an interesting experiment that anticipates its author's development of an original style of satirical fiction. Furthermore, Lewis's attempt to create a more 'plastic' linguistic medium, and his attempt to break down conventional dramatic categories and dissuade us from taking the characters in his play for real persons and their actions for a human drama, gives him a place in the direct literary and stage lineage of which Samuel Beckett is a major figure.[17] Lewis's Vorticist experimentation is inseparable from his absurdist vision of the modern world before the Great War. He attempts to realize, and to confront his reader with what in Lewis's view is modern man's metaphysical and hence psychic and social condition in an essentially alien universe. Modern civilization, he implicitly asserts, must undergo a radical transformation of consciousness by means of its total destruction. Thus the artist goes to war before the real world was to embark on a different kind of war. And if *Enemy of the Stars* shows a new, though ambivalent, concern for reality, it paradoxically reveals both the artist's loss of confidence in the life of man and his corresponding obsession with his own ego.

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NOTES

[1] Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1967), pp. 4-6.

[2] There were only two issues of *Blast*. The second issue appeared in July, 1915; that is, after the Rebel Art Centre, the Vorticist headquarters, had closed down because of the War.

[3] Ezra Pound, 'D'Artagnan Twenty Years After', in William Cookson, ed., *Ezra Pound: Selected Prose 1909-1965* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p. 424.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[5] Wyndham Lewis, *Rude Assignment: A narrative of my career up-to-date* (London: Hutchinson, 1950), p. 129.

[6] I have discussed certain of Lewis's reworkings of his early fiction in 'The Earliest Fiction of Wyndham Lewis and *The Wild Body*', appearing in a forthcoming special Wyndham Lewis issue of *L'Herne* edited by Bernard Lafourcade.

[7] Wyndham Lewis, *Enemy of the Stars* (London: Desmond Harmsworth, 1932), p. 51.

[8] In addition to the internal evidence of the play, Lewis's intention is borne out by a letter he wrote Hugh Kenner on November 23, 1953. What he says about *Tarr* applies even more strongly to *Enemy of the Stars*: 'In editing *Blast* I regarded the contributions of Ezra [Pound] as compromisingly passéiste, and wished I could find two or three literary extremists. In writing *Tarr* I wanted . . . to do a piece of writing worthy of the hand of the abstractist innovator . . . [It] was my object to eliminate anything less essential than a noun or a verb. Prepositions, pronouns, articles . . . I would abolish. Of course I was unable to do this . . .'. W. K. Rose, ed., *The Letters of Wyndham Lewis* (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 552-53.

[9] The phrase is used by Lewis himself in *Rude Assignment*, p. 129.

[10] I am indebted to a brilliant article by John Fraser for the use of this term. Fraser writes: 'There is, it seems to me, only one strategy that common sense dictates in the reading of [works that don't possess organic unity]—or any works—namely to go through them pencil in hand marking those stretches, long or short, in which the prose or verse suddenly becomes distinguished or alive or incandescent or whatever term one uses to oneself to define distinguished prose or verse, or, alternatively, noticeably slumps—all this without initial presumptions as to how the stretches of the novel or poem do or don't or might fit together. In this way, not only will one be perceiving the works more precisely . . . but one will also, perhaps, be defining more precisely those parts in which the author's interest seems to have been the most fully engaged, and hence, if one is interested in doing so, will be able to account a little more precisely for his development as a writer, either at some particular stage or as a whole.' See 'Stretches and Languages: A Contribution to Critical Theory', *College English*, No. 4 (1971), pp. 391-92.

[11] I do not know whether Beckett ever read Lewis, but it is not improbable, especially in view of the Lewis-Joyce, Joyce-Beckett relationships.

[12] References in the text to *Enemy of the Stars* will be cited by the italicized abbreviation *ES* in brackets. The work is to be found in Wyndham Lewis, ed., *Blast: Review of the Great English Vortex: Numbers 1-2: 1914-1915* (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967).

[13] Hugh Kenner, *Wyndham Lewis* (Norfolk: New Directions, 1954), p. 23.

[14] *Blast*, No. 1, p. 135.

[15] Wyndham Lewis, "Les Saltimbanques", *The English Review*, 111 (1909), p. 86.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[17] As far as I know, this point has not been made before. It is interesting to note that Martin Esslin, a journalist very concerned with name-dropping, does not mention Lewis at all in his *The Theatre of the Absurd*.

THE REFORMATION AND THE ROOTS OF GERMAN NATIONALISM

by W. KISTNER

During and after the Second World War scholars of different disciplines tried to find an explanation for the excesses of German nationalism. Some of them sought the roots of different facets of German nationalism in the Lutheran Reformation. The psychoanalyst Erich Fromm attributed the tendency of German people to render blind obedience to a leader, to Luther's emphasis on salvation by grace alone and to his conviction of the depravity of man's nature. He wrote:

> Thus, while Luther freed people from the authority of the Church, he made them submit to a much more tyrannical authority, that of a God who insisted on complete submission of a man and annihilation of the individual self as the essential condition to his salvation. Luther's faith was the conviction of being loved upon the condition of surrender, a solution which has much in common with the principle of complete submission of the individual to the state and the leader.[1]

The theologian Karl Barth sought the explanation for the tendency of German people not to question and oppose an irresponsible and reckless policy followed by political authorities, to Luther's distinction between law and gospel and between a spiritual and a worldly realm of God. In his view this distinction induced German people to restrict the validity of God's word to the spiritual sphere and to private life.

> Hitlerism (Barth wrote) is the present evil shape of the German pagan who has been christianized only in the Lutheran form.[2]

Other writers have held Luther responsible for a feeling among German people of the superiority of their nation to other nations.

Nationalism is not extinct in the 1970s. Occasionally it occurs in association with religious movements. In view of the continued existence of nationalism in different parts of the world it may be helpful to investigate whether and how far the roots of German nationalism can be found in the Reformation as a religious movement. Nationalism in this context is understood in accordance with a formulation by the American historian Leonard Krieger:

> It refers to those doctrines, movements and policies which confer on the values and authority of a nation consistent superiority over those of any other social unit.[3]

In our context national consciousness is to be distinguished from nationalism. It is understood as an awareness experienced by people of belonging together as a group on the basis of a common language or culture or of common experiences. National consciousness does not necessarily confer on a nation a sense of the superiority of the values and of its right to exercise authority over others. However, under conditions of pressure or rejection, national consciousness can easily seek an outlet for its frustration in resorting to nationalism.

1. The roots of German national consciousness

Prior to the attack by Luther on the traffic in indulgences in his ninety-five theses, written in the year 1517, an extensive literature existed in Germany which aimed at making the Germans aware of their national identity. This literature was produced by the German humanists.

Love for antiquity and for classical literature was an outstanding feature of humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the beginning of the sixteenth century another feature became prominent, especially among the younger generation of humanists. As a result of the insights gained in their studies, they wanted to bring about changes in church and society.

The desire for changes was especially strong in the younger generation of humanists in Germany. German cities in the south and to a lesser extent in the north had reached an advanced stage in learning, technology and financial management. It was, however, felt that the benefits of this progress were enjoyed primarily by groups in and outside Germany who had not deserved them. The papacy, the hierarchy, the foreigners, especially Italians, were blamed for exploiting Germany.

In France, Spain and England the national kingdoms had at this stage already consolidated their positions. They offered successful resistance to the universal claims of the papacy in secular matters. No longer was it possible for the papacy to exact taxes from the bishoprics or to appoint bishops as rulers over territories in these national kingdoms without the consent of the respective rulers.

In Germany effective resistance to the papacy had proved to be impossible and ineffective. The emperor, as a rule, was strongly interested in the extension of his private territorial possessions. He used his authority as emperor and also as king of the German territories for this purpose. On the other hand the weakness of the empire as a political institution made it necessary for him to build up a strong backing in his own territories. In doing so he consolidated his position and authority as emperor. The territorial

princes were anxious to increase their own power and to develop their territories as independent political units. The imperial cities were subordinate only to the nominal authority of the emperor. Since the emperor was dependent on their wealth and their finances for carrying out his imperial policy, they used their position to establish themselves nearly as sovereign states. The German knights were impoverished. Since the invention of gunpowder they had lost their function of providing protection against outside enemies. The peasants were aggrieved at the services and rents exacted from them by the knights. At the same time they were badly hit by the general rise in prices.

The growing awareness of people of belonging together as a nation was a simultaneous process taking place in different West European countries at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In Germany, however, this process received its specific note especially from three sentiments which prevailed among the younger generation of humanists. They were: a pride in their own knowledge and achievements, a desire to effect political changes in Germany and an extreme frustration on account of the rivalry between the different political forces in Germany. This frustration found an outlet in two directions. The first direction was a strong aversion against the papacy, the hierarchy and the rôle of foreigners in Germany affairs. The other direction was a fantastic idealisation of the German character, of the virtues, the language, the culture and the achievements of the Germans.[4] The newly invented printing press made it possible for the German humanists to propagate their ideas widely in intellectual circles in Germany. The new literary forms of the short pamphlet and of the cartoon were admirably suited to exposing the evil traits of people or groups whom the humanists held to be responsible for the abuses prevailing in church and society in German lands.

In the writings of the humanists German history receives special attention. Fantastic national myths tell about the glorious past of the Germans.[5] Already in the last quarter of the fifteenth century a copy of Tacitus's book *Germania* had been discovered in a German monastery. The Roman author's praise of the simplicity and courage of the German people in contrast to the decay of civilisation in the Roman empire of his day, appealed to humanist writers. The Germanic leader Arminius, whose victory over the Romans Tacitus describes in his *Annals*, was celebrated by the humanists as a great national hero.[6] Similarly the emperor Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa were held in high esteem.

Humanist writers found it necessary to trace German national identity back to the earliest time in the history of mankind. Differ-

ent versions were reported about Noah's imaginary son Tuisco. From him the German nation took its origin as the original and dominant nation of Europe. He has a high position in the history of religion in that he introduced monotheism. The legends of the German past were used by the humanists as a starting point and basis for admonitions to contemporaries with regard to the future. Thus Johannes Nauclerus (1425-1510) addressed the German princes with the following words:

> God chose you before others and gave you the monarchy of the world so that you should rule all the nations.[7]

The impact of the writings of the German humanists on the history and the character of the German people was far-reaching. They propagated a national consciousness which transcended the differences between the various German tribal groups. In different parts of Germany humanist fellowship groups were formed, especially in the cities. They kept close contacts with each other and strengthened the awareness of German unity. The unity envisaged was not limited to Germans living within the boundaries of the empire. It was a pan-Germanic unity with a strong appeal to German minority groups in foreign countries. By projecting the origins of the history of the German people and of the German national identity back to the earliest times in the history of mankind, the German humanists paved the way for the later biological interpretation of German culture and German identity.

II. The relationship between Martin Luther and German national consciousness.

Luther's protest against the traffic in indulgences was preceded by a period of despair and inner conflict in his life. He realized that the sinful selfishness of his heart prevented him from fulfilling the demands of God as expressed in the double commandment of love. Luther came to hate the God who demands from man what he cannot fulfil and who nevertheless punishes man. The inner conflict of Luther was resolved when he discovered that God in his grace through Christ bestows on man the righteousness which he cannot acquire by himself. Justification by grace became the starting point and centre of Luther's theology, including his views on ethics. One can perhaps describe his theology as a responsive theology. Having found a new basis for his life he responded to the challenges he encountered in different situations and related them to his discovery of justification by grace. One of the first great challenges was his experience, when he heard confession in the church at Wittenberg. Here he noticed the destructive effects of the traffic in indulgences on the believer and his attitude towards

God and his neighbour. His discovery that man is saved by God through grace alone, motivated Luther to raise objections against the traffic in indulgences.

Luther's inner experience prior to 1517 is to be regarded as the origin of the Reformation which he initiated in Germany. His ninety-five theses were addressed primarily not to the German public.[8] They were written in the Latin language. By nailing them on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, Luther invited academics to a discussion of this problem and of the doctrinal issues involved. On the same day Luther sent a copy of the theses to the archbishop of Mainz asking him to take account of his arguments. These arguments, he pointed out, were intended to show how questionable the doctrinal basis of indulgences was. In a letter to the bishop of Brandenburg a few months later, Luther wrote that these theses had received a far wider circulation than he had originally intended. They had been circulated as firm statements, and not, in accordance with his intentions, as theses which were to be discussed.

As far as can be ascertained, the theses were translated into the German language very soon after Luther had nailed them to the door of the Castle Church. This happened without any encouragement on Luther's part, perhaps without his knowledge. Within a few weeks the ninety-five theses were circulated all over the German territories. They found support by people of all classes of society.

The general support of the ninety-five theses and the joy expressed over the action of Luther represents a riddle which is difficult to unravel. The only convincing explanation appears to be the following: The feeling of discontent and frustration was fairly general in Germany and affected all social groups. The ideas and the writings of the German humanists had spread a pronounced anti-Italian and anti-Roman sentiment and had stimulated German national consciousness. When Luther's ninety-five theses became known they were propagated especially by the German humanists and spread across the whole of Germany along the channels of communication and propaganda which they had already established. Luther's actions and the ninety-five theses were interpreted in terms of the ideas of the German humanists. At the same time they also appealed to the expectations of the underprivileged classes waiting for the arrival of a prophetic leader who would introduce a new age. The German humanists and their ideas on the national identity of the Germans had thus paved the way for the wide publicity which Luther's ninety-five theses received. Possibly they also had paved the way for a misinterpretation of

Luther's true concern and of his intentions.

The publicity given to Luther's ninety-five theses made it necessary for him to write and to explain his theological views in an easily understandable language and style. The English historian A. G. Dickens in his recently published book *The German Nation and Martin Luther* gives some illuminating details about Luther and the printers. He mentions that the output of the printing press between 1518 and 1524 increased approximately sixfold. Not only was the growth in output remarkable. The shift of emphasis in the contents of the publications was equally important. Religious subjects now received preference in the publications. In the years 1517-1520 Luther published some thirty popular writings on his interpretation of the gospel. Some of them were published in many successive editions.[9]

The impact of these pamphlets written in the vernacular cannot be overestimated. In contents the pamphlets were different from the humanist writings. The humanists had spread anti-clericalism, pride in their own national identity and contempt of the outsider. Many of their ideas were born out of frustration. The pamphlets of Luther, it is true, also contained bitter and violent attacks on his enemies. Nevertheless the central message of these pamphlets was a positive one. Justification by grace implied for Luther the emancipation of man from the need to justify himself in his own eyes, in the eyes of God and in the eyes of his neighbour. This emancipation makes man free for love towards God and his neighbour.

The message of Luther thus was a different one from that of the German humanists, who by their writings had paved the way for the Reformation. Luther did not share with the humanists their optimistic view of man nor could he accept the idealisation of the German character. It is true that many statements can be found in Luther's writings on the virtues of the Germans. They are, however, balanced by equally outspoken statements on the vices of the Germans.

In Luther's view man is continuously inclined to be dominated by his self-interest. This danger also pertains to the Christian. Indeed a form of Christian piety which is used unconsciously by the believer to conceal from himself and from others the dominant self-interest in his thought and actions is the most dangerous form of sin. Justification by grace therefore is the gift which the Christian needs to receive daily. He is in need of daily emancipation from his inclination towards self-centredness and from the consequent neglect of love towards God and towards the neighbour.

Against this background we have to understand Luther's opposition to humanist ideals. He would not accept the views of Erasmus who tried to reconcile the ideals of classical antiquity with the Christian message. Neither could he accept the views of the younger humanists who aimed at a synthesis of church and nation, a Christian national church or a Christian national state. In his view the gospel was not to be subordinated to the aims of any institutions, be it of the church or of the state. It was always to remain a challenge and an emancipating force if it were not to be falsified.

A number of humanists of the younger generation were attracted by Luther's new interpretation of the gospel. They accepted the Reformation and broke away from their former humanist outlook. Some of them became Luther's co-workers and exerted great influence as preachers. We therefore have to take account of the debt, which the Reformation, initiated by Luther, owed to these men and to their humanist tradition. Luther himself relied on humanist learning for his translation and interpretation of the Bible, for the endeavour to understand words in their original meaning and texts in their original contexts, before translating them into a modern language and a modern context. Thus, in spite of the differences in origin and outlook between the German humanists and the Reformation initiated by Luther, the latter profited from humanist learning, especially from the linguistic research and method, and applied it in translating and in interpreting the Bible.

As we have already pointed out, the German humanists, before the publication of Luther's ninety-five theses, had built up an awareness of national identity and of the unity of the Germans, which transcended their tribal differences. Their influence was, however, limited to the intellectual classes. They had not managed to bridge the class differences and bring their message to the peasants and to the underprivilged groups in the cities.

At this point the contributions of Luther to German national consciousness and to the German humanist movement have to be taken into account. He used and shaped the German language in such a way that it was understandable not only to people of different German tribal traditions and dialects, but also to people of all classes and of all educational levels. His pamphlets were easy to understand. They were produced by the printing press in great numbers and made available at a comparatively low price. Luther in his method of translating the Bible took pains to make the biblical message relevant to the people of his day, especially to simple people. His criterion for correct interpretation is evident from the following statement he made on this matter:

"We must not, like these asses, ask the Latin letters, how we are

> to speak German, but we must ask the mother in the house, the children in the street, the common man in the market place about this, and look them in the mouth to see how they speak, and afterwards do our translating.[10]

The example of Luther in using the German language deeply influenced the German humanists and helped to overcome the cultural barrier between the more educated middle and upper classes and the poorer classes. They learnt how to communicate their ideas to the poorer classes. If the German humanists had helped by their writings to give Martin Luther a pan-Germanic publicity, Luther on his part by his writings certainly helped the German humanists to overcome the communication barrier between the more educated and the less educated classes of German society.

In the year 1521 Martin Luther was at the height of his popularity. Shortly before the Diet of Worms the papal delegate Aleander wrote to Cardinal de Medici:

> But now the whole of Germany is in full revolt; nine tenths raise the war cry 'Luther', while the watch-word of the other tenth, who are different to Luther, is: 'Death to the Roman Curia!'

Aleander reported about a book he saw on sale, when visiting the city of Augsburg:

> Yesterday I saw on one and the same page, Luther with a book and Hutten with a sword. Over them was printed in fair letters: 'To the champions of Christian freedom, M. Luther and Ulrich von Hutten'. Each was praised in a tetrastich beneath; Hutten was threatening with his sword according to the poet.[11]

This picture very well expresses one of the reasons why Luther had obtained such general applause in Germany. He was hailed as the great hero of German freedom. On the other hand the picture also indicates the reason why the popularity of Luther was bound to decline in the years to follow. He could not accept the subordination of the gospel he had newly discovered to any human aspirations of his time, be it to the cosmopolitan humanist ideal of Erasmus, to the Christian national ideas of the younger generation of German humanists, to the communal concept of the powerful German city states, or to the socialist ideals of the peasants and the poorer classes.

Luther himself was aware of the great power which rested in his hands at that time. In one of his famous sermons against the radicals whom he held responsible for the unrest at Wittenberg, he said about his position during the Diet of Worms:

> Had I desired to foment trouble, I could have brought great

> bloodshed upon Germany; indeed, I could have started such a game that even the emperor would not have been safe. But what would it have been? Mere fool's play. I let the Word do its work.[12]

After 1521 Luther lost many of his adherents as a result of his refusal to accept the leadership of a great German national movement. Many people of the underprivileged classes turned towards the radical groups of the Reformation. Many humanists in the cities turned away from Luther and accepted a trend of the Reformation movement which was more concerned about political and social changes and seemed to be more appropriate for the urban situation: the Reformation of Zwingli, of Bucer, or of Calvin.[13] The Reformation in Germany, initiated by Luther, became so isolated that Luther's concept of relying on the Word alone appeared to be impossible. In the complex political and social situation of the German states the Lutheran reformers sought backing and protection from the territorial princes. Territorial Lutheran churches were established which depended on the protection of the respective territorial governments.

The support which Lutheran church leaders received from territorial states made it possible for them to re-organize the congregations. Church orders were worked out in which the territorial ruler was recognized as the nominal head of the church. The dependence of Lutheran churches on the governments or territorial states tended to weaken the awareness in their churches that the Word of God is relevant to all aspects of life, including political, social and ecenomic issues.

We have now reached a stage at which we can formulate a number of tentative findings pertaining to the roots of German nationalism:

1. German national consciousness was already firmly established among German intellectuals and among German nobles when Luther became known through his attack on the traffic in indulgences.
2. German national consciousness at the beginning of the sixteenth century already foreshadows features which German nationalism assumed in the nineteenth century. A feeling of frustration at not achieving political unity was a strong force in the emerging nationalism.
3. In the wake of the Lutheran Reformation and of the appeal of Luther's writings to all classes of German society, the ideas of German humanists on the German nation were able to transcend the class barriers in German society.
4. Notwithstanding their interdependence, the Reformation in

Germany, centred around Luther, and German humanism, were different in origin and outlook. They have to be regarded as separate movements.

5. In spite of its insistence on relying on the Word of God alone, the Lutheran Reformation in Germany had to seek support from territorial princes. Its dependence on territorial governments tended to weaken the witness of its churches in relation to political, social and economic problems.

We still have to examine the question whether and how far the theology of Luther is relevant to the problems inherent in nationalism. In this connection it will be necessary to refer again to the points raised by Erich Fromm and by Karl Barth.

III. The relevance of Luther's theology for the problems inherent in national consciousness and in nationalism.

In an autobiographical statement Luther describes the breakthrough in his theology which changed his whole outlook on life. In meditating day and night on the meaning of the biblical term 'righteousness of God', he discovered:

> The righteousness of God, revealed in the Gospel, is passive. In other words, it is that by which the merciful God justifies us through faith, as is written, 'The righteous shall live by faith'.

Luther continues:

> At this I felt myself straightway born afresh and to have entered through the open gates into paradise itself. There and then the whole face of Scripture was changed. And now in the same degree as I have formerly hated the word 'righteousness of God' even so did I begin to love and extol it as the sweetest of all; thus was this place in St. Paul to me the very gate to paradise.[14]

For Luther this experience of being accepted by God in grace meant acceptance of his own life, of his neighbour and of the world in which he lived. For him there was no longer any need of self-accusation and self-castigation. He could accept himself and his fellow men not because he was good by himself or his fellow men were good by themselves, but because they had been unconditionally accepted by God in Christ. On the other hand Luther realised that the believer is continuously in danger of falling a prey to his inclination towards self-centredness. In this situation the Christian is called upon to rely on the word of God and on the sacraments through which he is strengthened in his fellowship with Christ and through which he is equipped for love towards his fellow man.

The psychologist Erich Fromm, in his remarks on Luther's theology, has not sufficiently taken into account the changes which took place in the Reformer's outlook after he had come to understand the righteousness of God as a divine gift. The individual, according to Luther's interpretation of the gospel, is not forced into submission in order to accept God's love. He can reject God's love and can refuse to respond to it in his relation to his fellow man. In terms of Luther's theology the unconditional acceptance by God prevents a believer from complying with 'the principle of complete submission of the individual to the state and the leader'.

On various occasions Luther openly warned Christians in Germany not to follow blindly leaders who tried to win their support by Christian slogans. In the years 1528-9 the Turks were again threatening Europe. Christians were called upon to fight against the Turks in the name of Christ or to render other support for the war against the Turks. Luther wrote a tract 'On war against the Turks'. He did not deny that protection against the Turks was necessary. Christians, however, must be enabled to participate in the defence of Europe with a good conscience. According to Luther it was not allowed to enlist the support for the war against the Turks by the argument that it was a war for the defence of the Christian faith.

> The emperor (he wrote) is not the head of Christendom or defender of the gospel or the faith. The church and the faith must have a defender other than emperor and kings.
>
> And if the emperor were supposed to destroy the unbelievers and non-Christians, he would have to begin with the Pope, bishops, clergy and perhaps not spare us or himself; for there is enough horrible idolatry in his own empire to make it unnecessary for him to fight the Turks for this reason. There are entirely too many Turks, Jews, heathen and non-Christians among us with open and false doctrine and with offensive, shameful lives. Let the Turk believe and live as he will, just as one lets the papacy and other false Christians live. The emperor's word has nothing to do with the faith; it belongs to physical, worldly things, if God is not to become angry with us. If we pervert his order and throw it into confusion, he too becomes perverse and throws it into confusion . . .[15]

Luther's theology centres around his experience, based on Scripture, that man is accepted by God unconditionally without co-operation on his part. Any concession with regard to this insight would again enslave him to his self-centredness. Luther therefore is concerned that the law in the realm of man's uncon-

ditional acceptance by God, has only significance in so far as it convinces man of his failure to obey God's will. It may not be imposed on him as a stimulus to achieve his justification before God through his own efforts.

> Our faith in Christ, he wrote in 1520 in his treatise on the 'Freedom of a Christian', does not free us from works, but from false opinions concerning works, that is from the foolish presumption that justification is acquired by works. Faith redeems, corrects and preserves our consciences, so that we know that righteousness does not consist in works, although works neither can nor ought to be wanting.[16]

For the proper understanding of Luther's concept of justification by faith it is necessary to be aware that in his view the unconditional acceptance of man by God is the starting point of a new life of love and service to the neighbour, not constrained by man's self-centredness. He therefore points out in the same treatise on the 'Freedom of a Christian':

> The inner man who by faith is created in the image of God, is both joyful and happy because of Christ in whom so many benefits are conferred upon him; and therefore it is his one occupation to serve God without thought of gain, in love that is not constrained.[17]

Service to God in the context of this theology finds its special expression in the service of the Christian to his neighbour in the different structures of political, social and economic life and in inter-personal relations. It comprises all spheres of life. Luther rejects the theory that bishops, priests and monks by virtue of their office have a calling to serve God in a higher way than people in secular professions. In his 'Open letter to the Christian nobility' (1520) he wrote:

> A cobbler, a smith, a peasant—each has the work and office of his trade and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops.[18]

In this connection we have to take account of Luther's understanding of the worldly or temporal realm of God. In the worldly realm God uses man for the preservation of human life, for its protection against disorder and for the development of the resources of nature. Not only the Christian, but also the non-Christian, is God's co-worker in this realm. Here Christians and non-Christians can work together and should work together for the preservation, the protection and the development of human life. In this realm the law has its rightful place in its function of structuring and protecting human life and human relations. If it is not respected, it

must be enforced. The gospel may not, however, be used as law in the worldly realm in order to structure and shape the relations and the conditions of human life. Such use of the gospel would only serve to calm the consciences of people or groups involved in the contest for power, falsely assuring them that they are not exposed to the demands of God.

Against the background of Luther's understanding of the worldly realm of God it becomes possible to evaluate his opinion and his statements on the situation of the peasants in Germany. He was aware that they were exposed to gross injustices and that many of their grievances were justified. On the other hand he strongly objected to the way in which they used the name of Christ for the propagation of their ideas and demands of political, social and economic reforms. In his 'Admonition to Peace' (1525) Luther addressed the princes and lords as well as the peasants. In his address to the peasants he wrote:

> Your name and title ought therefore to indicate that you are people who fight because they will not, and ought not, endure injustice or evil, according to the teaching of nature. You should use that name, and let the name of Christ alone, for that is the kind of works that you are doing![19]

Luther formulated his concept of the two realms in his controversies with two different opponents, with the papal church and with the radical groups in Germany striving to implement a new Christian social order. He accused both these opponents of trying to use the gospel for implementing and stabilising their political power by claiming to act on the authority of Christ. He wrote:

> For the devil is always trying to cook and brew the two kingdoms into one another. The temporal ruler tries to teach and rule Christ in the devil's name and tell him how he ought to run the church and the spiritual power. False papists and the fanatics are always trying to teach and run the temporal order; so the devil gets busy on both sides, and has quite a lot to do. But God will teach him.[20]

The distinction between the worldly realm and the spiritual realm in Luther's theology does not imply a separation of the two. Both are considered as realms in which God follows different strategies for extending his love to mankind. In both realms God fights against the forces of evil which alienate man from the true meaning of his life and from becoming truly human. The different strategies applied by God in the two realms are of a complementary nature. Thus Luther stated in his treatise on 'Temporal authority, to what extent it should be obeyed' (1523):

> For this reason one must carefully distinguish between these

> two governments. Both must be permitted to remain; the one to produce righteousness, the other to bring about external peace and prevent evil deeds. Neither is one sufficient in the world without the other.[21]

Since both realms are the realms of God and since the two different strategies in the two realms are of a complementary nature, Luther does not regard the worldly realm as a realm to which the Word of God has no relevance. The institutions in the worldly realm, the political and the social structures and the actions and the policies followed by the authorities, are to be exposed to the Word of God. They are to be scrutinized whether they serve in a given situation in the best possible way God's love towards all men and whether they satisfy the true needs of the people concerned. An exact analysis of the situation and sound reasoning are necessary. Insights which have been formulated with regard to a specific situation cannot without careful examination be considered to be relevant in a different situation. Thus Luther complains in his tract 'On war against the Turks':

> But it is not fair to forget what the situation was then and what my ground and reasons were, and to take my words and apply them to another situation where those grounds and reasons do not exist.[22]

Luther frequently made pronounced statements on political and juridical problems of his time. He thereby confirmed his conviction that the proclamation of the Word of God may not be limited to the spiritual realm. In his capacity as a theologian Luther took an intense interest in political and legal problems. He devoted much thought to human rights which are to be respected and protected by political authorities. He advocated reforms of the legal system in Germany which aimed at solving conflicts in a non-violent way. The German scholar G. Scharffenorth has recently drawn attention to twelve statements made during the period 1520-1531 by which Luther tried to contribute towards the solution of political problems. He not only addressed individuals, entrusted with special responsibilities in the secular sphere. He was equally concerned about institutional reforms.

Our very general survey of the context in which Luther's doctrine of the two realms is to be evaluated and of its underlying intentions, now obliges us to take account again of Karl Barth's criticism. This criticism is not justified, if it pertains to Luther's theology itself. It is in part justified, if it pertains to the interpretation which Luther's concept of the two realms has been given especially since the latter half of the nineteenth century. At this stage there was great emphasis on the separation of the two realms. Their

complementary function as serving God's love towards mankind was neglected. The wide acceptance which the emphasis on the separation of the two realms received, coincided with the rise of German nationalism. It also coincided with a trend to interpret the history of nations and the history of mankind according to the pattern of the natural sciences at that time. The history of nations and the history of mankind was believed to follow inherent pre-ordained laws which had to be accepted, and which could not be changed fundamentally.

A combination of factors has thus encouraged a trend in Lutheran churches, especially since the latter half of the nineteenth century, to neglect the relevance of the Word of God to political, social and economic problems. It should, however, be noted that the concept of the two realms has in other countries occasionally been interpreted in a way which more closely corresponds to the underlying intentions of Luther. In Norway during the time of the National-Socialist occupation of the country, reflection on Luther's concept of the two kingdoms greatly helped the church to become aware of its political responsibility in that situation.

Conclusions

In summarizing we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The roots of German nationalism are to be sought in German humanism prior to the Reformation.
2. After the latter half of the nineteenth century an interpretation of the concept of the two realms emphasizing their separation contributed to an attitude among German Christians and German churches which allowed political authorities to follow their own devices. This interpretation does, however, not correspond with Luther's understanding of the two realms.
3. The criticisms of Karl Barth and Erich Fromm are partly valid, if they pertain to certain trends in the interpretation of Luther's theology after the age of the Reformation.
4. These criticisms are a challenge to examine whether and how far specific tenets in the doctrinal tradition of a denomination are isolated from their original context and meaning and subordinated to specific interests at work in the churches and among their members.

   A powerful motive for the alienation of such doctrinal tenets from their original meaning can be the concern of the individual Christian and of churches to evade the risk of confessing their faith in a relevant way in a given situation.
5. Luther's concept of the two realms has a far-reaching political significance: Every law, every political, social or economic

programme or measure is to be subjected to the test whether its ultimate aim or purpose corresponds with God's love towards all mankind in a given situation. This concept draws attention to the danger that totalitarian ideologists are used for justifying and sanctifying the domination of one group at the expense of the other. At the same time this concept emphasizes that the worldly realm may not be regarded as a sphere in which God has abdicated his authority and permitted the powers that be or would be to follow their own devices. Christians and churches are committed in the worldly realm to take account and to bear witness of God's love towards all mankind and to be prepared for suffering if such witness is not acceptable.

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NOTES

[1] E. Fromm, *Fear of Freedom*. Routledge and Regan Paul, London, 1960, p.69. Fromm's book was first published in England in 1942.
[2] K. Barth, *Eine Schweizer Stimme 1938-1945*, Zürich, 1945, p. 113.
[3] N. F. Cantor, *Perspectives on the European Past*, vol. II, London, 1971, p. 213.
[4] G. Strauß, *Manifestations of Discontent on the Eve of the Reformation in Germany*, Indiana University Press, 1971, pp. 64-72.
[5] G. Strauß, *Pre-Reformation in Germany*, Harper and Row, 1972, pp. 184-7.
[6] G. Strauß, *Manifestations of Discontent in Germany*, pp. 75-81.
[7] A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, Edward Arnold, 1974, p. 39.
[8] H. Bornkamm, *Thesen und Thesenanschlag Luthers*, Berlin, 1967, pp. 5-7.
[9] A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, p. 106.
[10] Ibid., p. 56.
[11] E. G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery, *Martin Luther*, Edward Arnold, 1970, pp. 54-5.
[12] Ibid., p. 102.
[13] B. Moeller, *The Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1972, pp. 88-90.
[14] E. G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery, *Martin Luther*, p. 6.
[15] J. M. Porter, *Luther: Selected Political Writings*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1974, p. 130.
[16] Ibid., p. 35.
[17] Ibid., pp. 33-4.
[18] Ibid., p. 42.
[19] Ibid., p. 13.
[20] G. Rugg, *The Righteousness of God*, Hodder and Stoughton, 3rd impr. 1968, p. 292.
[21] J. M. Porter, *Luther: Selected Political Writings*, pp. 56-7.
[22] Ibid., p. 3.

NON-TRADITIONAL STUDY STRUCTURES

By T. C. SHIPPEY

> Tradition itself cannot constitute a creative force . . . What is needed to direct it into creative channels is a fresh energy which repudiates dead forms and prevents living ones from becoming static . . . The dialectical synthesis of tradition and anti-tradition is the structure of true creativeness.[1]

Non-traditional study is more an attitude than a system and can thus never be defined except tangentially. This attitude is inclined to put the student and his needs first and the institution and its convenience second. Rather than uniform prescription, it favours diversity of individual opportunity. It de-emphasises time and space, and even course requirements, in favour of competence and, wherever possible, performance. It provides opportunities for the learner of any age or circumstance, for the person who attempts to enrich his life through constant, periodic or occasional study, and for the degree aspirant.

This attitude is not new nor does it imply a rejection of our traditional educational practices. Despite the apparent discrepancies between the non-traditional (or alternate) systems and the formal, few if any colleges or universities are today either totally traditional or totally non-traditional. For this reason the traditionalist and the non-traditionalist are not really adversaries but partners in the enterprise of promoting learning. The traditionalist should take notice of the opportunities for individualistic and independent study and for flexible patterns and new techniques being developed and improved within the non-traditional sector, while the rigour and discipline of the traditional approach should commend itself to the attention of the non-traditionalist.

An example from the late nineteenth century indicates that non-traditional study is certainly not a new concept. The young Abraham Flexner entered the newly formed Johns Hopkins University in 1884 and, as he later recalled:

> . . . soon realised that the funds at my disposal would not permit me to remain in Baltimore more than two years. I determined, if possible, to get my degree by the close of that period. I doubled up on classes and enrolled for more than one class at the same hour, attending lectures and recitations in turn. In the class of English, I decided at the outset that writing daily or weekly themes would be a waste of time. I therefore explained to Professor William Hand Browne that I had already been sending from Louisville communications to *The*

Nation. He asked to see them, and as a result I was promptly excused from a time-consuming requirement. Professor Kimball was equally sensible in dealing with physics, for I had studied Ganot's Physics under Eaton at Louisville High School. When I mentioned this fact to him he gave me offhand an oral examination, and, the result being satisfactory, I was excused and 'passed'.

At the end of the first year I found to my horror that, as the examination came at the same hour as the classes, I could not be in two or three places at once. In those easy-going days one simply went to President Gilman with one's troubles . . . When I explained my predicament, he said, 'Very well; if you know the subjects, that is all we require. Take such examinations as you please among those that conflict, and I will arrange to have you examined separately in the other subjects.' I passed in all, and I succeeded in obtaining my degree in two years.[2]

In this quotation can be seen (in embryo, as it were) some of the processes which today are being labelled as non-traditional: credit by examination, independent study, advanced standing and recognition of work or experience. The very fact that they are now being considered non-traditional, indicates just how infrequently they have been used since Flexner's student days.

Credit by examination is essentially the awarding of credit for theoretical or practical knowledge gained outside the traditional, on-campus, lecture-room experience. Such examinations acknowledge that people do indeed learn either incidentally or purposefully through their experiences in life, and provide an opportunity for such people to receive formal credit and, in some cases, credentials for that learning.

Three types of accreditation can be indentified all of which are covered by the umbrella term 'credit by examination'. Firstly, there is the assignment of credit equivalencies to training programmes not sponsored by colleges or universities; secondly, the assessement of an individual's experience to determine whether it is deserving of credit, and, thirdly, the passing of an achievement test which measures competence in some area of knowledge.

To meet the needs of the first sort of credit, the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experience was created in the United States in 1945 by the American Council on Education. Its purpose was to evaluate military educational programmes and to provide college and university registrars with the information necessary for granting credit. It seemed unreasonable to assume that a man or

woman, who had gained advanced technical competence and some elements of general education in one of the military service institutions, had learned nothing which might be used as credit towards a degree which he or she might have gained during the war years.

The Commission issued three editions of a guide which has become the major work of reference for the assessment of credit. Each institution of tertiary education decides for itself whether it will accept the Commission's recommendations, and more than a thousand colleges and universities in the United States are at present willing to consider the granting of such credits.

The second type of credit, namely, the assessment of the experience of an individual to determine whether it permits the granting of credit, is usually handled in one of two ways. The first is part of established educational practice in fields of study such as medicine, law, nursing, education and social work, and takes the form of experience gained under a mentor who guides and directs a planned field endeavour. The second form is that in which a prospective student or an enrolled student presents evidence of past achievements and requests either advanced standing or credit on this basis. This form still presents major problems because unstructured life activities often cannot be reconciled with formal course requirements, and also because the body of organised and theoretical knowledge which serves as the basis for formal study is often not conveyed by direct experience.

An example of credit being given for experience is related by Stern in his description of a case study at Brooklyn College, an institution which has long been willing to consider the granting of such credits:

> The evaluator in the Department of Art interviewed a man age forty-nine, who was then the executive vice-president of a service corporation but had had considerable experience in writing and television. He had studied painting and fine arts informally and brought to the interview numerous examples of his work in charcoal, watercolour, and oils. His duties on the job involved blueprint-reading, mechanical drawing, and plan-making. He demonstrated to the evaluator both qualitative and quantitative performance in the handling of colour, drawing, and form. He also passed performance tests of his ability to do projection sections, plans, and isometrics. He was examined in contrast printing, developing, enlarging, mounting, and other photographic techniques. In addition, he was examined in the history of drawing and in his knowledge of standard works of arts. As a result, credit was recommended for courses

in Design, Photography, Contemporary Art, and Mechanical Drawing.

The same man had also had long experience in the business world. The evaluator from the Department of Economics studied his experience as an executive and examined him in business practice, industrial relations, managerial labour policies, market development, price control, cost, and financing. Results of this examination showed that the candidate had at least the equivalent knowledge of students who had taken courses in Introduction to Business, Labour Problems, Personnel Management, and Commodity Distribution; credit was recommended for these courses.[3]

Although an evaluation of this nature may greatly benefit an individual, the cost in time is so great and the reliability and validity of the assessments so uncertain, as to lead to the conclusion that this method could not be used on any mass basis. Added to this is the deeply ingrained tradition that the only acceptable way to measure achievement is by means of formal examinations. Until such time as techniques are devised which can inspire confidence in their efficacy and accuracy, the measuring of the educative effect of experience and its equivalent in college or university credits remains in doubt.

The third means of measuring student competence is by written examinations covering either a specific subject or a general field of knowledge. The prototype for this type of credit by examination was created in London almost one hundred and forty years ago. The establishment of the University of London in 1836 as an examining institution only, provides another clear case of a non-traditional approach even in those early days, and provides corroborative evidence that this is not a new concept. The Charter of this institution allowed a candidate (after matriculation) to be admitted to degree examinations when he produced a certificate showing that he had followed a course of instruction at University College, King's College or any institution approved by the Privy Council. In 1849 a Supplemental Charter allowed candidates to study at institutions anywhere in the British Empire even though these institutions were not necessarily accredited themselves and the University of London had no right of inspection over them.[4]

Thus the London External Degree came into being and it has existed ever since although the University ceased to be an examining body only, and began admitting students and providing instruction for them, in 1900. The University of London is today the largest teaching university in the United Kingdom while still

continuing its original purpose as an examining body for external students of whom there were in 1974 approximately thirty-five thousand.

The intermittent anl localised methods of evaluation which had been customary in the United States for the first half of the twentieth century could not be as readily adapted to the external degree structure as could the English pattern of culminative and centralised assessment. This gap began to be filled during the 1960s and 1970s by the creation of college-level achievement examinations. The success at the secondary level of the General Educational Development Programme for the granting of high school equivalency certificates to mature students, together with the Advanced Placement Programme (offering college-level courses in high school) of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), undoubtedly influenced the development of content examinations at the tertiary level.

One of the earlier attempts to use course examinations in recent times was made in 1963 by the New York State Education Department when it established the College Proficiency Examination Programme (CPEP), which makes available to State residents a series of course-oriented tests developed by members of the academic staff of New York institutions of tertiary education. This programme fits into the non-traditional, off-campus, external degree category and was created in an effort to open up the educational opportunities of the State to individuals who had acquired college-level knowledge in ways other than through regular college or university attendance. The State Education Department itself does not grant course credit. This is left to individual institutions, but most colleges and universities in New York State (two hundred of them) now grant credit for these examinations. In no case may an individual earn all of the credits required for a degree without classroom experience and the New York State Board of Regents has recommended that no more than half of the credits required for a degree be granted on the basis of external examinations. Colleges grant credit for successful CPEP performance only after the individual applies for admission as a full- or part-time student at a recognised institution.[5]

Experiments with the measuring of college-level achievement (known as Comprehensive College Tests) were started in the United States in the early 1960s by Educational Testing Services (ETS). After some years the tests became sufficiently well-developed for general use and eventually in 1965 the CEEB, after discussions with ETS, assumed sponsorship of these tests under the title Col-

lege-Level Examination Programme (CLEP). Founded on the belief that what a person knows is more important than how he came to know it, CLEP is designed for people who have learnt by non-traditional methods such as correspondence and university extension courses, educational television and/or radio, adult education programmes, on-the-job training, independent study, and life experience.

Two main types of examination are offered by CLEP, namely, General Examinations which are designed to measure the general education of an individual compared with that of a regularly enrolled student who has successfully completed two years of undergraduate study, and Subject Examinations which are linked more closely to a specific course or subject and are intended to measure an individual's achievement in that particular area.

The number of colleges and universities participating in CLEP and awarding credit for acceptable examination scores had risen in mid-1974 to more than 1100 institutions. The institutions which have acknowledged and accepted CPEP, CLEP, or other written examinations in external degree grogrammes have treated them as partial measures of accomplishment only. The practice in England for a century and a half of awarding degrees solely on the basis of examinations has not yet been introduced on a wide scale in the United States although it is now being undertaken. The development of college-level achievement testing (especially examinations with the breadth and national coverage of CLEP) will more than likely prove to have been the most significant factor in laying the groundwork for the external degree in the United States.

At Harvard, which offers on 'Associate in Arts in Extension' in addition to the Bachelor of Arts, courses are sometimes taught by television and other non-traditional methods. Nevertheless, the extension degree is normally awarded on completion of a coherent and complete traditional degree programme. It can not strictly be construed as being an external or non-traditional degree since it differs little from the traditional degree in respect of admission, instruction, evaluation and certification.

In the United States the adult degree has been built on the belief that adults are so distinctively different from young people that a programme of studies for them should be based at every point on their maturity. Adult degree structures often depart completely from traditional patterns in respect of admission, instruction, evaluation and certification, and for this reason they could be regarded as a type of non-traditional degree. Such degrees are appearing more frequently on college and university campuses

throughout the United States.

The outcome of the general awakening of interest in various types of external degree structures led the CEEB and ETS to open an Office of External Degree Plans in 1971 which changed its title in 1972 to Office of New Degree Programmes. Also significant in 1971 was the creation of the Commission of Non-Traditional study which was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The report of this Commission was published in 1973 under the title *Diversity by Design*.[6] A subcommittee of the Commission, and scholars such as J. R. Valley, devoted much time to external degree structures. One interesting example in New York State is the development of the Regents External Degree which partly resulted from the work of Ewald Nyquist.

The University of the State of New York and the members of its Board of Regents, in theory, control everything to do with learning and teaching in the State. The University has the right to confer degrees but prior to 1972 awarded only honorary ones. In 1970, Nyquist, in his capacity as commissioner for higher education for the State, proposed to the Board of Regents that the University of the State of New York be allowed to award undergraduate degrees to those able to demonstrate that they have knowledge and abilities equivalent to those of a degree recipient from a New York State college or university, regardless of how the candidates had prepared themselves. Such degrees, Nyquist implied, would not compete with those awarded in the customary fashion but would serve those people who are unable to attend institutions of tertiary education.

The Regents External Degree is administered by the Division of Independent Study of the New York State Education Department. There are no entrance requirements based on previous educational attainment and no formal instruction is provided. However, a carefully structured curriculam (based on fairly conventional patterns of concentration and distribution of subject matter with some electives) is designed for each degree. The students may study in any way they choose and their achievements are assessed by means of college-level examinations such as those offered in CPEP or CLEP. This degree has many elements of a non-traditional, external degree since formal admission requirements are abandoned, all effective methods of learning are accepted as valid, and varied methods of measuring achievement are used.

The State University of New York (SUNY) was formed in 1948 by a federation of all the publicity supported colleges and universities (excluding those in New York City). SUNY now has seventy-two

campuses of various sorts and during the last decade a noticeable growth has occurred, not only in the number of institutions but also in the non-traditional degree structures which they have sponsored. The Board of Trustees of SUNY created Empire State College early in 1971 to provide an external degree programme. Supported by a joint grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, this experimental 'college without a campus' nonetheless retains the opportunity for occasional on-campus study and it encourages a close student-teacher relationship.

The central idea of Empire State College is to create an academic programme that will release to the students the resources of the entire state university system while freeing them from the restraints of residence on a single campus. A small core of administrators and academic staff exist at a central headquarters in Saratoga Springs, but the college also maintains, throughout the state, area learning centres where most of the student contact with the institution occurs. Resident tutors at these centres design and direct the programmes, prepare the correspondence courses, approve each student's plan of study, and counsel the students by mail, telephone and periodic meetings. In this way the educational experience of each student is guided and evaluated at every stage by trained scholars. While the student completes assigned papers, reports and examinations, he is largely free of pressures to achieve a particular grade and of specific credit-hour requirements.

Empire State College awards only associate and bachelors' degrees and a student must either have completed high school, hold an equivalency certificate, or be able to demonstrate the capacity to do advanced work. In granting advanced standing, previous credits (such as CLEP or CPEP scores) are taken into account. However, a most important part of the admission process is that a student should understand thoroughly the nature of the Collge, be aware of the way in which its programme operates, and demonstrate a willingness to undertake independent and self-directed study.

Almost everything ranging from admission to certification in the Empire State College programme differs from normal college or university practice, but the requirement relating to length of full-time study or its equivalent still remains an overall determinant of the scope of the degree. As with most other colleges or universities, the student must spend a prescribed amount of time in contact with the College in order to gain its degree.

One of the most interesting ventures in non-traditional tertiary education is the recently initiated 'University Without Walls'

(UWW). Sponsored by the Union for Experimenting Colleges, which is based at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, this unique concept developed between the years 1967-1969 while substantial funding was secured in 1970 from the U.S. Office of Education and the Ford Foundation.

The UWW has an education programme confined mainly to a consortium of twenty co-operating institutions representing a broad range of colleges and universities. Although many of these institutions cluster along the eastern seaboard, sufficient diversity exists to make the consortium a truly national body. Each college or university follows its own distinctive programme for the bachelor's degree using a task force of academic staff, administrators and students. Admission is based on such criteria as student motivation, creativity, independence, job history, and previous life experiences, rather than test scores and grades in school.

The programme is usually individualised, and after a process of orientation, the student moves on to the creation of a plan of action with his teacher-adviser. The student works at a pace determined by his abilities and by the availability of the resources to be used. When he feels ready to present himself for a degree, the final assessment of his cumulative record of learning is done by a committee of academic staff, students, and others with whom the student has been working. Students may take conventional courses at their own colleges, but they may also move about to one or more of the co-operating institutions. They may serve supervised internships in business or hospitals, or study independently with the aid of reading lists, televised lectures, records and tapes. This programme is quite clearly a rejection of the traditional concept of college education and it also widens the conventional notion of 'academic staff' to include experts and talented people from the 'outside world' — businessmen, musicians, government officials, and artists. The UWW concept has grown rapidly and it is interesting to note that UNESCO has granted funds to be used in conducting planning sessions in several European countries in order to explore the feasibility of this concept abroad.

Minnesota Metropolitan State College (MMSC) was authorised in 1871 by the State College Board and fits into a unique place among the non-traditional degree-granting institutions. This institution serves a student body which is beyond the traditional age (seventy-five per cent of MMSC's students are over the age of twenty-five) and it is committed to provide opportunities for the poor minority groups, and women. As Sweet (the founding president) pointed out in a recent publication:

> Specifically, the students whom MMSC serves are adults who have dropped out of college but who have the potential and desire to complete college degrees; adults who have acquired the equivalent of the first two years of college through work or other experiences including military service; . . . and adults whose unique higher education needs have not been met by other institutions.[7]

In order to enrol, students must have completed two or more years of acceptable work (with at least a C-average) at another university or college or be able to demonstrate an equivalent amount of education by other means. Students may apply at any time of the year, and, after receiving guidance and counselling, they join an orientation group which thoroughly examines the students' understanding of the programme and the readiness of each applicant to undertake it. Those who persist with their interest in the programme are assigned to a permanent academic staff adviser with whom they have primary contact throughout the programme.

A degree contract, which is drawn up under the guidance of an Assessment, Advising and Contracting Committee consisting of academic staff and students, is the full responsibility of the student and has to show how an appropriate level of competency is to be achieved in each of the five areas which the College has defined as essential.

Once a student feels that he has completed his degree contract, he requests the appointment of a Final Assessment Committee and prepares evidence of his achievements. If a student cannot satisfy this Committee of his competence, he is allowed to continue until he reaches the stage when he can do so.

The University of California first examined the idea of an external degree in 1970, and, after an all-University Task Force of academic staff and administrators had examined such a possibility, it was found that there was general approval of the idea. A sum of money was voted by the Regents for the planning and development of what eventually became known as the 'Extended University'.

The Freedman Committee (the Task Force mentioned above) had recommended in November, 1971 that a University-wide 'consortium of the camupses' to be called 'New College' should be created, having the right to confer degrees, whether separately or in conjunction with one of the existing campuses. This consortium was formed in July, 1972, but the University has followed a pilot programme with each of the nine campuses, developing a pattern

of work whlch suits its own particular needs.

The new degrees are mainly extension degrees but in most cases the admission standards, the courses, and the teaching staff are the same as for the regular programmes. For this reason the concept of the 'Extended University' appears fairly conventional. However, efforts are being made to incorporate some non-traditional elements into several of the programmes. For example, at both Berkeley and at UCLA attention will be paid, in the admission of students, to the amount and nature of each applicant's work experience. At Irvine and at Santa Barbara new curricula have been developed while in some programmes, closed-circuit television, videotapes, audiotapes, programmed instruction, and intercampus telecommunications are being used. In addition, some programmes are experimenting with short residential courses and seminars and off-campus learning centres.

Although the Freedman Report, with its fifty-four recommendations for sweeping changes in the degree-awarding systems of the University of California, has not been fully implemented, it nevertheless serves as a guide for the expenditure of substantial funds which have been granted to the 'Extended University' concept.

Florida International University, which is one of the nine universities comprising the Florida State University, is a new institution which starts at the third undergraduate year. This university, located in the Miami area, has entered the non-traditional field of non-traditional degrees by offering in its School of Independent Studies an upper divisional external degree programme for the baccalaureate. This programme is available to all Florida residents and offers a number of subject variations. Intending students are interviewed, either in Miami or in other parts of the state, by a team of university representatives. A successful applicant and his programme adviser then devise an 'education contract plan' to meet the degree requirements. This may include courses at available institutions or study by other acceptable means, and provides for the assessment of the student's achievements.

Other examples of non-traditional degree structures are institutions such as the Community College of Vermont with its external associate degree opportunities and Central New York Regional Learning Service which is based on a consortium of fifteen public and private colleges and offers various educational services loosely based on Samuel B. Gould's radical concept known as a 'communiversity', i.e. a loose federation of all the educational and cultural forces of a community—at every age level.

Mention should also be made of institutions which have imitated or adapted the London prototype of the external degree by examination. An early example was the founding in India in 1857 of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as examining and regulating bureaux. Although the pattern of development of Indian universities has changed, it is worth nothing that of the seventy-six institutions which existed in the early 1970s, fifty-two served primarily to establish standards and to administer examinations. However, it must be started that almost all students in India are full-time and that opportunities for part-time or independent degree study are virtually non-existent since there are few evening colleges, correspondence courses or extension divisions at university level.

Another example of an institution modelled on the University of London is the University of South Africa. Initially the royal charter to confer degree in South Africa had been granted in 1875 to the University of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1916 the university system was changed and the governing institution, known as the University of South Africa (UNISA) was constituted with a number of constituent university colleges under its aegis. In 1946 UNISA started a new function — that of providing instruction by correspondence — and this has become its dominant service to matriculated students of all races in South Africa. Students may form discussion groups, they may write letters to their tutors or call on them, and during certain periods they may attend courses held at UNISA headquarters in Pretoria. A recent development has been the establishment of three regional offices at Cape Town, Windhoek and Durban where visiting lecturers conduct group discussions with students in those areas and often provide individual help as well. Essentially, however, teaching is by correspondence, and learning is undertaken independently and for this reason the work done by UNISA and its students, although requiring formal examinations after each year of study and regular essay and other assigments, could be described as non-traditional and as a variation on the credit by examination theme.

The prototype of the institution using television to prepare students for credit by examination is Chicago TV College which has been offering associate degree courses on open circuit television since 1955. This institution could certainly be described as unique and as non-traditional and it has been imitated in various forms by, for example, the Bavarian Telekolleg, the Open University in England, various experimental systems in Australia and in Canada, a university-of-the-air in Japan, TV College of Miami-

Dade Junior College in Florida, Northern Virginia Community College's Station WNVT/Channel 53, Coast Communiversity in Orange County, California, and many other equivalent institutions.

Since it opened in 1971 the Open University (OU) in England has stimulated much interest and it deserves special mention because of the unusual, non-traditional elements which it offers to the public. This institution was started in an attempt to democratise the traditionally elitist university education in England and Wales and to provide an alternative approach for non-matriculated adults — its only entrance requirement being that students should be at least twenty-one years old. Students are taught by television and radio programmes. Local study centres are provided all over England where they can meet their tutors regulary. They may participate in a week of seminars and lectures at regional centres. Students can gain a correspondence external degree in six basic study areas. The successful implementation, on a massive scale, of the Open University has caused many nations to reconsider their long-term plans for the development of traditional tertiary education institutions. Some attempts have been made to transplant, either wholly or in part, the OU model. At least three American institutions are making trial use of some of the OU teaching material on an optional basis: the University of Houston, the University of Maryland and Rutgers University. This project started in 1972 and is administered by the CEEB and evaluated by ETS.

Another American institution resembling the OU is the State University of Nebraska. This is a cooperative venture of the educational institution of the state and is still at an experimental stage. Initially it will only offer the first two years of collegiate instruction by means of television, radio, correspondence instruction, laboratory kits, videotape and other materials, while study centres are being established throughout the state.

Throughout the United States and other parts of the world many systems or institutions of tertiary education have established or are considering the establishment of external degree programmes, many of which are distinctly non-traditional. There is no overall design in this extensive experimentation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but it is possible to distinguish four novel features within external degree programmes, namely, a different type of curriculm, a new kind of teaching staff, a new student population. and a new arrangement of time and space requirements.

No one would deny that a factor in the development of external

degree programmes and other non-traditional degree structures is a search for economy, and some sceptics feel that university and college officials in many parts of the world are desperatly trying to ease financial problems by attempting to educate more students for less money. The fact that many leading private universities in the United States now demand between $6,000 and $7,000 a year for residence and tuition fees has obviously resulted in a serious search for new ways of providing high-quality education at a low cost. However, there are more fundamental reasons for these attempts to restructure tertiary education. These reasons stem from qualitative and quantitative changes in American European youth, in the character of American and European society, and in present trends within tertiary education itself.

The old yardsticks of tertiary education — years in residence, credit-hours for courses, grading, staff-student radio — become increasingly difficult to apply. The notions that there is a fixed 'body of knowledge' to be delivered to the young, that academic staff necessarily know what is best for students, and that the departmental major is the only desirable method of organising intellectual enquiry, are being seriously challenged.

The re-emergence of the external degree and the development of numerous non-traditional degree structures has generated a great deal of controversy among academic teachers in all parts of the world. In the United States, more particularly, the interest expressed by the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and the United States office of Education, has forced college and university administrators to examine and consider such possibilities. However, there is real danger of a lowering of academic standards, and it is in an attempt to maintain standards, that that Commission on Non-Traditional Study was formed in 1971 under the sponsorship of the CEEB and ETS. This Commission provides mechanisms for ensuring that the provision of external degrees does not degenerate, that educationally sound procedures are established and practices followed, and that appropriate, meaningful models are designed.

The programmes already established and the many proposals for off-campus or non-campus study contain many details to be worked out and many objections and problems to be overcome. They nevertheless represent serious efforts to experiment with fresh patterns of undergraduate education. The profound transformations in young people, in society, and in tertiary education, as well as the grave financial condition of educational institutions, compel radial changes in the venerable but outmoded patterns of

American and English collegiate study.

As the recent Carnegie Commission report *Less Time, More Options* suggested, today's colleges and universities clearly must offer many tracks, many options, and many different programmes to serve the new variety of students and to assist in the exploration of new areas of intellectual enquiry. Large universities may have to break up into several colleges. Smaller colleges may have to establish links with other colleges and other kinds of learning institutions in society and all will have to allow increased opportunities for independent and off-campus study.[8]

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NATALIA

The Journal of the Natal Society

Number 6 September 1976

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