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(ARTS AND SCIENCE)
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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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PERIYAR UNIVERSITY
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MASTER OF ARTS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
(M.A., ENGLISH LITERATURE)

SEMESTER PATTERN

Under Choice Based Credit System

REGULATIONS AND SYLLABUS FOR AFFILIATED COLLEGES

(Effective from the Academic year 2017-2018/

2019-2020 onwards)

PERIYAR UNIVERSITY

REGULATIONS

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

- To educate students in both the artistry and utility of the English language through the study of literature and other contemporary forms of culture.
- To make students aware of the different communicative skills, and to develop among them an ability to effectively communicate in English, both in written and spoken modes.
- To provide students with the critical faculties necessary in an academic environment, on the job, and in an increasingly complex, interdependent world.

M. A. ENGLISH

SEMESTER – I

ELECTIVE IV

ENGLISH LITERATURE FOR COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

REFERENCE

1. Upkar's Text
2. Trueman's-CBSE-UGC – NET / SET

A Brief History of British Literature

THE AGE OF CHAUCER AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING (1350-1550)

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. The history of England during this period is largely a record of strife and confusion. The struggle of the House of Commons against the despotism of kings; the Hundred Years War with France, in which those whose fathers had been Celts, Danes, Saxons, Normans, were now fighting shoulder to shoulder as Englishmen all; the suffering of the common people, resulting in the Peasant Rebellion; the barbarity of the nobles, who were destroying one another in the Wars of the Roses; the beginning of commerce and manufacturing, following the lead of Holland, and the rise of a powerful middle class; the belated appearance of the Renaissance, welcomed by a few scholars but unnoticed by the masses of people, who remained in dense ignorance,--even such a brief catalogue suggests that many books must be read before we can enter into the spirit of fourteenth-century England. We shall note here only two circumstances, which may help us to understand Chaucer and the age in which he lived.

The first is that the age of Chaucer, if examined carefully, shows many striking resemblances to our own. It was, for example, an age of warfare; and, as in our own age of hideous inventions, military methods were all upset by the discovery that the foot soldier with his blunderbuss was more potent than the panoplied knight on horseback. While war raged abroad, there was no end of labour troubles at home, strikes, "lockouts," assaults on imported workmen (the Flemish weavers brought in by Edward III), and no end of experimental laws to remedy the evil. The Turk came into Europe, introducing the Eastern and the Balkan questions, which have ever since troubled us. Imperialism was rampant, in Edward's claim to France, for example, or in John of Gaunt's attempt to annex Castile. Even "feminism" was in the air, and its merits were shrewdly debated by Chaucer's Wife of Bath and his Clerk of Oxenford.

A second interesting circumstance is that this medieval age produced two poets, Langland and Chaucer, who were more realistic even than present-day writers in their portrayal of life, and who together gave us such a picture of English society as no other poets have ever equalled. Langland wrote his 'Piers Plowman' in the familiar Anglo-Saxon style for the common people, and pictured their life to the letter; while Chaucer wrote his 'Canterbury Tales', a poem shaped after Italian and French models, portraying the holiday side of the middle and upper classes. Langland drew a terrible picture of a degraded land, desperately in need of justice, of education, of reform in church and state; Chaucer showed a gay company of pilgrims riding through a prosperous country which he called his "Merrie England." Perhaps the one thing in common with these two poets, the early types of Puritan and Cavalier, was their attitude towards democracy. Langland preached the gospel of labour, far more powerfully than Carlyle ever preached it, and exalted honest work as the patent of nobility. Chaucer, writing for the court, mingled his characters in the most democratic kind of fellowship.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER (c. 1340-1400)

It was the habit of Old-English chieftains to take their scops with them into battle, to the end that the scop's poem might be true to the outerworld of fact as well as to the inner world of ideals. The search for "local color" is, therefore, not the newest thing in fiction but the oldest thing in poetry. Chaucer, the first in time of our great English poets, was true to this old tradition. He was page, squire, soldier, statesman, diplomat, traveller; and then he was a poet, who portrayed in verse the many-coloured life which he knew intimately at first hand.

For example, Chaucer had to describe a tournament, in the Knight's Tale; but instead of using his imagination, as other romancers had always done, he drew a vivid picture of one of those gorgeous pageants of decaying chivalry with which London diverted the French king, who had been brought prisoner to the city after the victory of the Black Prince at Poitiers. So with his Tabard Inn, which is a real English inn, and with his Pilgrims, who are real pilgrims; and so with every other scene or character he described. His speciality was human nature, his strong point observation, his method essentially modern. And by "modern" we mean that he portrayed the men and women of his own day so well, with such sympathy and humor and wisdom, that we recognize and welcome them as friends or neighbours, who are the same in all ages. From this viewpoint Chaucer is more modern than Tennyson or Longfellow.

LIFE. Chaucer's boyhood was spent in London, near Westminster, where the brilliant court of Edward was visible to the favoured ones; and near the Thames, where the world's commerce, then beginning to ebb and flow with the tides, might be seen of every man. His father was a vintner, or wine merchant, who had enough influence at court to obtain for his son a place in the house of the Princess Elizabeth. Behold then our future poet beginning his knightly training as page to a highborn lady. Presently he accompanied the Black Prince to the French wars, was taken prisoner and ransomed, and on his return entered the second stage of knighthood as esquire or personal attendant to the king. He married a maid of honour related to John of Gaunt, the famous Duke of Lancaster, and at thirty had passed from the rank of merchant into official and aristocratic circles.

The literary work of Chaucer is conveniently, but not accurately, arranged in three different periods. (1) While attached to the court, one of his duties was to entertain the king and his visitors in their leisure. French poems of love and chivalry were then in demand, and of these Chaucer had great store; but English had recently replaced French even at court, and King Edward and Queen Philippa, both patrons of art and letters, encouraged Chaucer to write in English. So he made translations of favourite poems into English, and wrote others in imitation of French models. These early works, the least interesting of all, belong to what is called the period of French influence.

(2) Then Chaucer, who had learned the art of silence as well as of speech, was sent abroad on a series of diplomatic missions. In Italy he probably met the poet Petrarch (as we infer from the Prologue to the Clerk's Tale) and became familiar with the works of Dante and Boccaccio. His subsequent poetry shows a decided advance in range and originality, partly because of his own growth, no doubt, and partly because of his better models. This second period, of about fifteen years, is called the time of Italian influence.

(3) In the third or English period Chaucer returned to London and was a busy man of affairs; for at the English court, unlike those of France and Italy, a poet was expected to earn his pension by some useful work, literature being regarded as a recreation. He was in turn comptroller of customs and superintendent of public works; also he was at times well supplied with money, and again, as the political fortunes of his patron John of Gaunt waned, in sore need of the comforts of life. Two poems of this period are supposed to contain autobiographical material: *Legend of Good Women* and *The House of Fame*.

Such are the scanty facts concerning England's first great poet, the more elaborate biographies being made up chiefly of guesses or doubtful inferences. He died in the year 1400, and was buried in St. Benet's chapel in Westminster Abbey, a place now revered by all lovers of literature as the Poets' Corner.

EARLY WORKS OF CHAUCER. In his first period, which was dominated by French influence, Chaucer probably translated parts of the *'Roman de la Rose'*, a dreary allegorical poem in which love is represented as a queen-rose in a garden, surrounded by her court and ministers. In endeavoring to pluck this rose the lover learns the "commandments" and "sacraments" of love, and meets with various adventures at the hands of Virtue, Constancy, and other shadowy personages of less repute. Such allegories were the delight of the Middle Ages; now they are as dust and ashes. Other and better works of this period are *'The Book of the Duchess'*, an elegy written on the death of Blanche, wife of Chaucer's patron, and various minor poems, such as *"Compleynte unto Pitee,"* the dainty love song *"To Rosemunde,"* and *"Truth"* or the *"Ballad of Good Counsel."*

Characteristic works of the second or Italian period are *'The House of Fame'*, *'The Legend of Good Women'*, and especially *'Troilus and Criseyde'*. The last-named, though little known to modern readers, is one of the most remarkable narrative poems in our literature. It began as a retelling of a familiar romance; it ended in an original poem, which might easily be made into a drama or a "modern" novel.

The scene opens in Troy, during the siege of the city by the Greeks. The hero Troilus is a son of Priam, and is second only to the mighty Hector in warlike deeds. Devoted as he is to glory, he scoffs at lovers until the moment when his eye lights on Cressida. She is a beautiful young widow, and is free to do as she pleases for the moment, her father Calchas having gone over to the Greeks to escape the doom which he sees impending on Troy. Troilus falls desperately in love with Cressida, but she does not know or care, and he is ashamed to speak his mind after scoffing so long at love. Then appears Pandarus, friend of Troilus and uncle to Cressida, who soon learns the secret and brings the young people together. After a long courtship with interminable speeches (as in the old romances) Troilus wins the lady, and all goes happily until Calchas arranges to have his daughter brought to him in exchange for a captured Trojan warrior. The lovers are separated with many tears, but Cressida comforts the despairing Troilus by promising to hoodwink her doting father and return in a few days. Calchas, however, loves his daughter too well to trust her in a city that must soon be given over to plunder, and keeps her safe in the Greek camp. There the handsome young Diomedes wins her, and presently Troilus is killed in battle by Achilles.

Such is the old romance of feminine fickleness, which had been written a hundred times before Chaucer took it bodily from Boccaccio. Moreover he humoured the old romantic delusion which required that a lover should fall sick in the absence of his mistress, and turn pale or swoon at the sight of her; but he added to the tale many elements not found in the old romances, such as real men and women, humour, pathos, analysis of human motives, and a sense of impending tragedy which comes not from the loss of wealth or happiness but of character. Cressida's final thought of her first lover is intensely pathetic, and a whole chapter of psychology is summed up in the line in which she promises herself to be true to Diomedes at the very moment when she is false to Troilus.

THE CANTERBURY TALES. The plan of gathering a company of people and letting each tell his favourite story has been used by so many poets, ancient and modern, that it is idle to seek the origin of it. Chaucer's plan, however, is more comprehensive than any other in that it includes all classes of society; it is also more original in that it does not invent heroic characters but takes such men and women as one might meet in any assembly, and shows how typical they are of humanity in all ages. As Lowell says, Chaucer made use in his *'Canterbury Tales'* of two things that are everywhere regarded as symbols of human life; namely, the short journey and the inn. We might add, as an indication of Chaucer's philosophy, that his inn is a comfortable one, and that the journey is made in pleasant company and in fair weather.

An outline of Chaucer's great work is as follows. On an evening in springtime the poet comes to Tabard Inn, in Southwark, and finds it filled with a merry company of men and women bent on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas a Becket in Canterbury. After supper appears the jovial host, Harry Bailey, who finds the company so attractive that he must join it on its pilgrimage. He proposes that, as they shall be long on the way, they shall furnish their own entertainment by telling stories, the best tale to be rewarded by the best of suppers when the pilgrims return from Canterbury. They assent joyfully, and on the morrow begin their journey, cheered by the Knight's Tale as they ride forth under the sunrise. The light of morning and of springtime is upon this work, which is commonly placed at the beginning of modern English literature.

As the journey proceeds we note two distinct parts to Chaucer's record. One part, made up of prologues and interludes, portrays the characters and action of the present comedy; the other part, consisting of stories, reflects the comedies and tragedies of long ago. The one shows the perishable side of the men and women of Chaucer's day, their habits, dress, conversation; the other reveals an imperishable world of thought, feeling, ideals, in which these same men and women discover their kinship to humanity. It is possible, since some of the stories are related to each other, that Chaucer meant to arrange the 'Canterbury Tales' in dramatic unity, so as to make a huge comedy of human society; but the work as it comes down to us is fragmentary, and no one has discovered the order in which the fragments should be fitted together.

The Prologue is perhaps the best single fragment of the 'Canterbury Tales'. In it Chaucer introduces us to the characters of his drama: to the grave Knight and the gay Squire, the one a model of Chivalry at its best, "a verray parfit gentil knight," the other a young man so full of life and love that "he slept namore than dooth a nightingale"; to the modest Prioress, also, with her pretty clothes, her exquisite manners, her boarding-school accomplishments. In contrast to this dainty figure is the coarse Wife of Bath, as garrulous as the nurse in 'Romeo and Juliet'. So one character stands to another as shade to light, as they appear in a typical novel of Dickens. The Church, the greatest factor in medieval life, is misrepresented by the hunting Monk and the begging Friar, and is well represented by the Parson, who practised true religion before he preached it. Trade is represented by the Merchant, scholarship by the poor Clerk of Oxenford, the professions by the Doctor and the Man-of-law, common folk by the Yeoman, Franklyn (farmer), Miller and many others of low degree. Prominent among the latter was the Shipman. From this character, whom Stevenson might have borrowed for his 'Treasure Island', we infer the barbarity that prevailed when commerce was new, when the English sailor was by turns smuggler or pirate, equally ready to sail or scuttle a ship, and to silence any tongue that might tell tales by making its wretched owner "walk the plank." Chaucer's description of the latter process is a masterpiece of piratical humour.

Some thirty pilgrims appear in the famous Prologue, and as each was to tell two stories on the way to Canterbury, and two more on the return, it is probable that Chaucer contemplated a work of more than a hundred tales. Only four-and-twenty were completed, but these are enough to cover the field of light literature in that day, from the romance of love to the humorous animal fable. Between these are wonder-stories of giants and fairies, satires on the monks, parodies on literature, and some examples of coarse horseplay for which Chaucer offers an apology, saying that he must let each pilgrim tell his tale in his own way.

A round dozen of these tales may still be read with pleasure; but, as a suggestion of Chaucer's variety, we name only three: the Knight's romance of "Palamon and Arcite," the Nun's Priest's fable of "Chanticleer," and the Clerk's old ballad of "Patient Griselda." The last-named will be more interesting if we remember that the subject of woman's rights had been hurled at the heads of the pilgrims by the Wife of Bath, and that the Clerk told his story to illustrate his different ideal of womanhood.

THE CHARM OF CHAUCER. The first of Chaucer's qualities is that he is an excellent story-teller; which means that he has a tale to tell, a good method of telling it, and a philosophy of life which gives us something to think about aside from the narrative. He had a profound insight of human nature, and in telling the simplest story was sure to slip in some nugget of wisdom or humour.

There are literally hundreds of such "good things" which make Chaucer a constant delight to those who, by a very little practice, can understand him almost as easily as Shakespeare. Moreover he was a careful artist; he knew the principles of poetry and of story-telling, and before he wrote a song or a tale he considered both his subject and his audience.

A second quality of Chaucer is his power of observation, a power so extraordinary that, unlike other poets, he did not need to invent scenes or characters but only to describe what he had seen and heard in this wonderful world.

In the 'Canterbury Tales' alone he employs more than a score of characters, and hardly a romantic hero among them; rather does he delight in plain men and women, who reveal their quality not so much in their action as in their dress, manner, or tricks of speech. For Chaucer has the glance of an Indian, which passes over all obvious matters to light upon one significant detail; and that detail furnishes the name or the adjective of the object. Sometimes his descriptions of men or nature are microscopic in their accuracy, and again in a single line he awakens the reader's imagination.

Next to his power of description, Chaucer's best quality is his humour, a humour which is hard to phrase, since it runs from the keenest wit to the broadest farce, yet is always kindly and human. Sometimes his humour is delicate, as in touching up the foibles of the Doctor or the Man-of-law, or in the Priest's translation of Chanticleer's evil remark about women. The humour broadens in the Wife of Bath, who tells how she managed several husbands by making their lives miserable; and occasionally it grows a little grim, as when the Maunciple tells the difference between a big and a little rascal.

A fourth quality of Chaucer is his broad tolerance, his absolute disinterestedness. He leaves reforms to Wyclif and Langland, and can laugh with the Shipman who turns smuggler, or with the worldly Monk whose "jingling" bridle keeps others as well as himself from hearing the chapel bell. He will not even criticize the fickle Cressida for deserting Troilus, saying that men tell tales about her, which is punishment enough for any woman. In fine, Chaucer is content to picture a world in which the rain falleth alike upon the just and the unjust, and in which the latter seem to have a liberal share of the umbrellas. He enjoys it all, and describes its inhabitants as they are, not as he thinks

they ought to be. The reader may think that this or that character deserves to come to a bad end; but not so Chaucer, who regards them all as kindly, as impersonally as Nature herself.

So the Canterbury pilgrims are not simply fourteenth-century Englishmen; they are human types whom Chaucer met at the Tabard Inn, and whom later English writers discover on all of earth's highways. One appears unchanged in Shakespeare's drama, another in a novel of Jane Austen, a third lives over the way or down the street. From century to century they change not, save in name or dress. The poet who described or created such enduring characters stands among the few who are called universal writers.

TITBITS:-

Chaucer's patron—John of Gaunt. He used the Southeast Midland dialect which later on was accepted as Standard English. Introduced the heroic couplet in 'The Legend of Good Women'. Frame work of *The Canterbury Tales* is borrowed from Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Name of the inn in *The Canterbury Tales*—Tabbard Inn. Name of the host / owner of the inn—Harry Bailley. The Friar's name is Hubert, and the Prioress' name is Eglentyne. The parson's tale which concludes the work is a prose treatise. The General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* is also called 'portrait gallery of 14th century England,' in Dryden's words "God's plenty". Chaucer also called the father of English poetry.

CHAUCEER'S CONTEMPORARIES AND SUCCESSORS

Someone has compared a literary period to a wood in which a few giant oaks lift head and shoulders above many other trees, all nourished by the same soil and air. If we follow this figure, Langland and Wyclif are the only growths that tower beside Chaucer, and Wyclif was a reformer who belongs to English history rather than to literature.

LANGLAND. William Langland (c. 1332--1400) is a great figure in obscurity. We are not certain even of his name, and we must search his work to discover that he was, probably, a poor lay-priest whose life was governed by two motives: a passion for the poor, which led him to plead their cause in poetry, and a longing for all knowledge:

His chief poem, 'Piers Plowman' (c. 1362), is the greatest poem of the Middle English Alliterative Revival and is principally divided into two parts- 'Visio' and 'Vita'. It is a series of visions in which are portrayed the shams and impostures of the age and the misery of the common people. The poem is, therefore, as the heavy shadow which throws into relief the bright picture of the 'Canterbury Tales'.

For example, while Chaucer portrays the Tabard Inn with its good cheer and merry company, Langland goes to another inn on the next street; there he looks with pure eyes upon sad or evil-faced men and women, drinking, gaming, quarrelling, and pictures a scene of physical and moral degradation. One must look on both pictures to know what an English inn was like in the fourteenth century.

Because of its crude form and dialect 'Piers Plowman' is hard to follow; but to the few who have read it and entered into Langland's vision—shared his passion for the poor, his hatred of shams, his belief in the gospel of honest work, his humor and satire and philosophy—it is one of the most powerful and original poems in English literature. The working classes were beginning to assert themselves in this age, and to proclaim "the rights of man." Langland's poem, written in the midst of the labour agitation, was the first glorification of labour to appear in English literature.

SIR THOMAS MALORY. Judged by its influence, the greatest prose work of the fifteenth century was the 'Morte d'Arthur' of Thomas Malory (d. 1471). Of the English knight who compiled this work very little is known beyond this, that he sought to preserve in literature the spirit of medieval knighthood and religion. Malory's spirit is indicated by the fact that he passed over all extravagant tales of foreign heroes and used only the best of the Arthurian Romances. The Arthurian stories were told first, by Geoffrey, then by Layamon, and finally by Malory, who copied the tale from French sources. These had been left in a chaotic state by poets, and Malory brought order out of the chaos by omitting tedious fables and arranging his material in something like dramatic unity under three heads: the Coming of Arthur with its glorious promise, the Round Table, and the Search for the Holy Grail. Into this holy quest sin enters like a serpent; then in quick succession tragedy, rebellion, the passing of Arthur, the penitence of guilty Lancelot and Guinevere.

These old Arthurian legends, as they appear in 'Morte d'Arthur,' are notable as an example of fine old English prose, as a reflection of the enduring ideals of chivalry, and finally as a storehouse in which Spenser, Tennyson and many others have found material for some of their noblest poems.

CAXTON. William Caxton (1422-91) is famous for having brought the printing press to England, but he has other claims to literary renown. He was editor as well as printer; he translated more than a score of the books which came from his press; and, finally, it was he who did more than any other man to fix a standard of English speech.

In Caxton's day several dialects were in use, and, as we infer from one of his prefaces, he was doubtful which was most suitable for literature or most likely to become the common speech of England. His doubt was dissolved by the time he had printed the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Morte d'Arthur*. Many other works followed in the same "King's English"; his successor at the printing press, Wynkyn de Worde, continued in the same line; and when, less than sixty years after the first English book was printed, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had found its way to every shire in England, there was no longer room for doubt that the East-Midland dialect had become the

standard of the English nation. We have been speaking and writing that dialect ever since.

The Story of the Printing Press

The story of how printing came to England, not as a literary but as a business venture, is a very interesting one. Caxton was an English merchant who had established himself at Bruges, then one of the trading centres of Europe. There his business prospered, and he became governor of the House of the English Guild of Merchant Adventurers. There is romance in the very name. With moderate wealth came leisure to Caxton, and he indulged his literary taste by writing his own version of some popular romances concerning the siege of Troy, being encouraged by the English princess Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, into whose service he had entered.

Copies of his work being in demand, Caxton consulted the professional copyists, whose beautiful work we read about in a remarkable novel called 'The Cloister and the Hearth'. Then suddenly came to Bruges the rumour of Gutenberg's discovery of printing from movable types, and Caxton hastened to Germany to investigate the matter, led by the desire to get copies of his own work as cheaply as possible. The discovery fascinated him; instead of a few copies of his manuscript he brought back to Bruges a press, from which he issued his 'Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy' (1474), which was probably the first book to appear in English print. Another book of Caxton's, 'The Game and Playe of the Chesse' (1475) was long accorded this honor, but it is fairly certain that the book on chess-playing was printed in Bruges. Quick to see the commercial advantages of the new invention, Caxton moved his printing press to London, near Westminster Abbey, where he brought out in 1477 his 'Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers', the first book ever printed on English soil.

From the very outset Caxton's venture was successful, and he was soon busy in supplying books that were most in demand. He has been criticized for not printing the classics and other books of the New Learning; but he evidently knew his business and his audience, and aimed to give people what they wanted, not what he thought they ought to have. Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales', Malory's 'Morte d'Arthur', Mandeville's 'Travels', Aesop's 'Fables', parts of the 'Aeneid', translations of French romances, lives of the saints (The Golden Legend), cookbooks, prayer books, books of etiquette,--the list of Caxton's eighty-odd publications becomes significant when we remember that he printed only popular books, and that the titles indicate the taste of the age which first looked upon the marvel of printing.

POPULAR BALLADS. If it be asked, "What is a ballad?" any positive answer will lead to disputation. Originally the ballad was probably a chant to accompany a dance, and so it represents the earliest form of poetry. In theory, as various definitions indicate, it is a short poem telling a story of some exploit, usually of a valorous kind. In common practice, from Chaucer to Tennyson, the ballad is almost any kind of short poem treating of any event, grave or gay, in any descriptive or dramatic way that appeals to the poet.

For the origin of the ballad one must search far back among the social customs of primitive times. That the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with it appears from the record of Tacitus, who speaks of their 'carmina' or narrative songs; but, with the exception of "The Fight at Finnsburgh" and a few other fragments, all these have disappeared.

During the Middle Ages ballads were constantly appearing among the common people, but they were seldom written, and found no standing in polite literature. In the eighteenth century, however, certain men who had grown weary of the formal poetry of Pope and his school turned for relief to the old vigorous ballads of the people, and rescued them from oblivion. The one book to which, more than any other, we owe the revival of interest in balladry is 'Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry' (1765).

The best of our ballads date in their present form from the fifteenth or sixteenth century; but the originals were much older, and had been transmitted orally for years before they were recorded on manuscript. As we study them we note, as their first characteristic, that they spring from the unlettered common people, that they are by unknown authors, and that they appear in different versions because they were changed by each minstrel to suit his own taste or that of his audience.

A second characteristic is the objective quality of the ballad, which deals not with a poet's thought or feeling (such subjective emotions give rise to the lyric) but with a man or a deed. Directness, vigour, dramatic action, an ending that appeals to the imagination, most of the good qualities of story-telling are found in famous ballads such as "Sir Patrick Spens", an old Scottish ballad. Other good ballads, which take us out under the open sky among vigorous men, are certain parts of "The Gest of Robin Hood," "Mary Hamilton," "The Wife of Usher's Well," "The Wee Wee Man," "Fair Helen," "Hind Horn," "Bonnie George Campbell," "Johnnie O'Cockley's Well," "Catharine Jaffray" (from which Scott borrowed his "Lochinvar"), and especially "The Nutbrown Mayde," sweetest and most artistic of all the ballads, which gives a popular and happy version of the tale that Chaucer told in his "Patient Griselda."

*** Refer M.H. Abrams' Glossary for more points.

SUMMARY. The period included in the Age of Chaucer and the Revival of Learning covers two centuries, from 1350 to 1550. The chief literary figure of the period, and one of the greatest of English poets, is Geoffrey Chaucer, who died in the year 1400. He was greatly influenced by French and Italian models; he wrote for the middle and upper classes; his greatest work was *The Canterbury Tales*.

Langland, another poet contemporary with Chaucer, is famous for his 'Piers Plowman', a powerful poem aiming at social reform, and vividly portraying the life of the common people. It is written in the old Saxon manner, with accent and alliteration, and is difficult to read in its original form.

After the death of Chaucer a century and a half passed before another great writer appeared in England. The

time was one of general decline in literature, and the most obvious causes were: the Wars of the Roses, which destroyed many of the patrons of literature; the Reformation, which occupied the nation with religious controversy; and the Renaissance or Revival of Learning, which turned scholars to the literature of Greece and Rome rather than to English works.

In our study of the latter part of the period we reviewed: (1) the rise of the popular ballad, which was almost the only type of literature known to the common people. (2) The work of Malory, who arranged the best of the Arthurian legends in his 'Morte d'Arthur.' (3) The work of Caxton, who brought the first printing press to London, and who was instrumental in establishing the East-Midland dialect as the literary language of England.

THE ELIZABETHAN AGE (1550-1620)

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea, ...
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England!

Shakespeare, *King Richard II*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. In such triumphant lines, falling from the lips of that old imperialist John of Gaunt, did Shakespeare reflect, not the rebellious spirit of the age of Richard II, but the boundless enthusiasm of his own times, when the defeat of Spain's mighty Armada had left England "in splendid isolation," unchallenged mistress of her own realm and of the encircling sea. For it was in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign that England found herself as a nation, and became conscious of her destiny as a world empire.

There is another and darker side to the political shield, but the student of literature is not concerned with it. We are to remember the patriotic enthusiasm of the age, overlooking the frequent despotism of "good Queen Bess" and entering into the spirit of national pride and power that thrilled all classes of Englishmen during her reign, if we are to understand the outburst of Elizabethan literature. Nearly two centuries of trouble and danger had passed since Chaucer died, and no national poet had appeared in England. The Renaissance came, and the Reformation, but they brought no great writers with them. During the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign not a single important literary work was produced; then suddenly appeared the poetry of Spenser and Chapman, the prose of Hooker, Sidney and Bacon, the dramas of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and a score of others, all voicing the national feeling after the defeat of the Armada, and growing silent as soon as the enthusiasm began to wane.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS. Next to the patriotic spirit of Elizabethan literature, its most notable qualities are its youthful freshness and vigor, its romantic spirit, its absorption in the theme of love, its extravagance of speech, its lively sense of the wonder of heaven and earth. The ideal beauty of Spenser's poetry, the bombast of Marlowe, the boundless zest of Shakespeare's historical plays, the romantic love celebrated in unnumbered lyrics,--all these speak of youth, of springtime, of the joy and the heroic adventure of human living.

This romantic enthusiasm of Elizabethan poetry and prose may be explained by the fact that, besides the national impulse, three other inspiring influences were at work. The first in point of time was the rediscovery of the classics of Greece and Rome, beautiful old poems, which were as new to the Elizabethans as to Keats when he wrote his immortal sonnet, beginning: "Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold." (*On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*).

The second awakening factor was the widespread interest in nature and the physical sciences, which spurred many another Elizabethan besides Bacon to "take all knowledge for his province." This new interest was generally romantic rather than scientific, was more concerned with marvels, like the philosopher's stone that would transmute all things to gold, than with the simple facts of nature. Bacon's chemical changes, which follow the "instincts" of metals, are almost on a par with those other changes described in Shakespeare's song of Ariel:

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.

The third factor which stimulated the Elizabethan imagination was the discovery of the world beyond the Atlantic, a world of wealth, of beauty, of unmeasured opportunity for brave spirits, in regions long supposed to be possessed of demons, monsters, Othello's impossible

cannibals that each other eat,
The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

THE NEW WORLD

When Drake returned from his voyage around the world he brought to England two things: a tale of vast regions just over the world's rim that awaited English explorers and a ship loaded to the hatches with gold and jewels. That the latter treasure was little better than a pirate's booty; that it was stolen from the Spaniards, who had taken it from poor savages at the price of blood and torture, all this was not mentioned. The queen and her favourites shared the treasure with Drake's buccaneers, and the New World seemed to them a place of barbaric splendour, where the savage's wattled hut was roofed with silver, his garments beaded with all precious jewels.

Before the American settlements opened England's eyes to the stern reality of things, it was the romance of the New World that appealed most powerfully to the imagination, and that influenced Elizabethan literature to an extent which we have not yet begun to measure.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE. We shall understand the imitative quality of early Elizabethan poetry if we read it in the light of these facts: that in the sixteenth century England was far behind other European nations in culture; that the Renaissance had influenced Italy and Holland for a century before it crossed the Channel; that, at a time when every Dutch peasant read his Bible, the masses of English people remained in dense ignorance, and the majority of the official classes were like Shakespeare's father and daughter in that they could neither read nor write. So, when the new national spirit began to express itself in literature, Englishmen turned to the more cultured nations and began to imitate them in poetry, as in dress and manners. Shakespeare gives us a hint of the matter when he makes Portia ridicule the apishness of the English. In *The Merchant of Venice* (Act I, scene 2) the maid Nerissa is speaking of various princely suitors for Portia's hand. She names them over, Frenchman, Italian, Scotsman, German; but Portia makes fun of them all. The maid tries again:

Nerissa. What say you, then, to Falconbridge, the young baron of England?

Portia. You know I say nothing to him, for he understands not me, nor I him: he hath neither Latin, French, nor Italian; and you will come into the court and swear that I have a poor pennyworth in the English. He is a proper man's picture, but, alas, who can converse with a dumb show? How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany and his behaviour every where.

When Wyatt and Surrey brought the sonnet to England, they brought also the habit of imitating the Italian poets; and this habit influenced Spenser and other Elizabethans even more than Chaucer had been influenced by Dante and Petrarch. It was the fashion at that time for Italian gentlemen to write poetry; they practised the art as they practised riding or fencing; and presently scores of Englishmen followed Sidney's example in taking up this phase of foreign education. It was also an Italian custom to publish the works of amateur poets in the form of anthologies, and soon there appeared in England 'The Paradise of Dainty Devices, A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions' and other such collections, the best of which was 'England's Helicon' (1600). Still another foreign fashion was that of writing a series of sonnets to some real or imaginary mistress; and that the fashion was followed in England is evident from Spenser's 'Amoretti', Sidney's 'Astrophel and Stella', Shakespeare's 'Sonnets', and other less-famous effusions.

SPENSER AND THE LYRIC POETS

LYRICS OF LOVE. Love was the subject of a very large part of the minor poems of the period, the monotony being relieved by an occasional ballad, such as Drayton's "Battle of Agincourt" and his "Ode to the Virginian Voyage," the latter being one of the first poems inspired by the New World. Since love was still subject to literary rules, as in the metrical romances, it is not strange that most Elizabethan lyrics seem to the modern reader artificial. They deal largely with goddesses and airy shepherd folk; they contain many references to classic characters and scenes, to Venus, Olympus and the rest; they are nearly all characterized by extravagance of language.

MUSIC AND POETRY. Another reason for the outburst of lyric poetry in Elizabethan times was that choral music began to be studied, and there was great demand for new songs. Then appeared a theory of the close relation between poetry and music, which was followed by the American poet Lanier more than two centuries later. Much of Lanier's verse seems more like a musical improvisation than like an ordinary poem. His theory that music and poetry are subject to the same laws is developed in his 'Science of English Verse.' The stage caught up the new fashion, and hundreds of lyrics appeared in the Elizabethan drama.

EDMUND SPENSER (1552-1599)

Spenser was the second of the great English poets, and it is but natural to compare him with Chaucer, who was the first. In respect of time nearly two centuries separate these elder poets; in all other respects, in aims, ideals, methods, they are as far apart as two men of the same race can well be.

LIFE. Very little is known of Spenser; he appears in the light, then vanishes into the shadow, like his Arthur of *The Faery Queen*. We see him for a moment in the midst of rebellion in Ireland, or engaged in the scramble for preferment among the queen's favourites; he disappears, and from his obscurity comes a poem that is like the distant ringing of a chapel bell, faintly heard in the clatter of the city streets. We shall try here to understand this poet by dissolving some of the mystery that envelops him.

He was born in London, and spent his youth amid the political and religious dissensions of the times of Mary and Elizabeth. For all this turmoil Spenser had no stomach; he was a man of peace, of books, of romantic dreams. He was of noble family, but poor; his only talent was to write poetry, and as poetry would not buy much bread in those days, his pride of birth was humbled in seeking the patronage of nobles.

To the liberality of a patron he owed his education at Cambridge. It was then the heyday of Renaissance studies, and Spenser steeped himself in Greek, Latin and Italian literatures. Everything that was antique was then in favor at the universities; there was a revival of interest in Old-English poetry, which accounts largely for Spenser's use of obsolete words and his imitation of Chaucer's spelling.

After graduation he spent some time in the north of England, probably as a tutor, and had an unhappy love affair, which he celebrated in his poems to Rosalind. Then he returned to London, lived by favor in the houses of Sidney and Leicester, and through these powerful patrons was appointed secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, the queen's deputy in Ireland.

From this time on our poet is represented as a melancholy Spenser's "exile," but that is a poetic fiction. At that time Ireland, having refused to follow the Reformation, was engaged in a desperate struggle for civil and religious liberty. Every English army that sailed to crush this rebellion was accompanied by a swarm of parasites, each inspired by the hope of getting one of the rich estates that were confiscated from Irish owners. Spenser seems to have been one of these expectant adventurers who accompanied Lord Grey in his campaign of brutality. To the horrors of that campaign the poet was blind; his sympathies were all for his patron Grey, who appears in *The Faery Queen* as Sir Artegall, "the model of true justice."

For his services Spenser was awarded the castle of Kilcolman and 3000 acres of land, which had been taken from the Earl of Desmond. In the same way Raleigh became an Irish landlord, with 40,000 acres to his credit; and so these two famous Elizabethans were thrown together in exile, as they termed it. Both longed to return to England, to enjoy London society and the revenues of Irish land at the same time, but unfortunately one condition of their immense grants was that they should occupy the land and keep the rightful owners from possessing it.

In Ireland Spenser began to write his masterpiece 'The Faery Queen'. Raleigh, to whom the first three books were read, was so impressed by the beauty of the work that he hurried the poet off to London, and gained for him the royal favour. In the poem "Colin Clout's Come Home Again" we may read Spenser's account of how the court impressed him after his sojourn in Ireland.

The publication of the first parts of *The Faery Queen* (1590) raised Spenser to the foremost place in English letters. He was made poet-laureate, and used every influence of patrons and of literary success to the end that he be allowed to remain in London, but the queen was flint-hearted, insisting that he must give up his estate or occupy it. So he returned sorrowfully to "exile," and wrote three more books of *The Faery Queen*. To his other offices was added that of sheriff of County Cork, an adventurous office for any man even in times of peace, and for a poet, in a time of turmoil, an invitation to disaster. Presently another rebellion broke out, Kilcolman castle was burned, and the poet's family barely escaped with their lives. It was said by Ben Jonson that one of Spenser's children and some parts of 'The Faery Queen' perished in the fire, but the truth of the saying has not been established.

Soon after this experience, which crushed the poet's spirit, he was ordered on official business to London, and died on the journey in 1599. As he was buried beside Chaucer, in Westminster Abbey, poets were seen casting memorial verses and the pens that had written them into his tomb.

In character Spenser was unfitted either for the intrigues among Elizabeth's favourites or for the more desperate scenes amid which his Lot was cast. Unlike his friend Raleigh, who was a man of action, Spenser was essentially a dreamer, and except in Cambridge he seems never to have felt at home. His criticism of the age as barren and hopeless, and the melancholy of the greater part of his work, indicate that for him, at least, the great Elizabethan times were "out of joint." The world, which thinks of Spenser as a great poet, has forgotten that he thought of himself as a disappointed man.

WORKS OF SPENSER. The poems of Spenser may be conveniently grouped in three classes. In the first are the pastorals of 'The Shepherd's Calendar', in which he reflects some of the poetical fashions of his age. In the second are the allegories of *The Faery Queen*, in which he pictures the state of England as a struggle between good and evil. In the third class are his occasional poems of friendship and love, such as the 'Amoretti'. All his works are alike musical, and all remote from ordinary life, like the eerie music of a wind harp.

'The Shepherd's Calendar' (1579) is famous as the poem which announced that a successor to Chaucer had at last appeared in England. It is an amateurish work in which Spenser tried various meters; and to analyze it is to discover two discordant elements, which we may call fashionable poetry and puritanic preaching. Let us understand these elements clearly, for apart from them the 'Calendar' is a meaningless work.

It was a fashion among Italian poets to make eclogues or pastoral poems about shepherds, their dancing, piping, love-making, everything except a shepherd's proper business. Spenser followed this artificial fashion in his 'Calendar' by making twelve pastorals, one for each month of the year. These all take the form of conversations, accompanied by music and dancing, and the personages are Cuddie, Diggon, Hobbinoll, and other fantastic shepherds. According to poetic custom these should sing only of love; but in Spenser's day religious controversy was rampant, and flattery might not be overlooked by a poet who aspired to royal favour. So while the January pastoral tells of the unhappy love of Colin Clout (Spenser) for Rosalind, the springtime of April calls for a song in praise of Elizabeth. In May the shepherds are rival pastors of the Reformation, who end their sermons with an animal fable; in

summer they discourse of Puritan theology; October brings them to contemplate the trials and disappointments of a poet, and the series ends with a parable comparing life to the four seasons of the year. It was modelled on the eclogues of Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuan and Marot. Though the entire work is in the form of dialogues among shepherds, the first and the last ones are complaints by 'Colin Clout'. The moralizing of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' and the uncouth spelling which Spenser affected detract from the interest of the poem; but one who has patience to read it finds on almost every page some fine poetic line, and occasionally a good song.

THE FAERIE QUEENE (first three books pub. In 1590; all together in 1596). Let us hear one of the stories of this celebrated poem, and after the tale is told we may discover Spenser's purpose in writing all the others.

From the court of Gloriana, Queen of Faery, the gallant Sir Guyon sets out on adventure bent, and with him is a holy Palmer, or pilgrim, to protect him from the evil that lurks by every wayside. Hardly have the two entered the first wood when they fall into the hands of the wicked Archimago, who spends his time in devising spells or enchantments for the purpose of leading honest folk astray. Escaping from the snare, Guyon hears a lamentation, and turns aside to find a beautiful woman dying beside a dead knight. Her story is that her man has been led astray by the Lady Acrasia, who leads many knights to her Bower of Bliss, and there makes them forget honour and knightly duty. Guyon vows to right this wrong, and proceeds on the adventure.

With the Palmer and a boatman he embarks in a skiff and crosses the Gulf of Greediness, deadly whirlpools on one side, and on the other the Magnet Mountain with wrecks of ships strewn about its foot. Sighting the fair Wandering Isles, he attempts to land, attracted here by a beautiful damsel, there by a woman in distress; but the Palmer tells him that these seeming women are evil shadows placed there to lead men astray. Next he meets the monsters of the deep, "sea-shouldering whales," "scolopendras," "grisly wassermans," "mighty monoceroses with unmeasured tails." Escaping these, he meets a greater peril in the mermaids, who sing to him alluringly. Many other sea-dangers are passed before Guyon comes to land, where he is immediately charged by a bellowing herd of savage beasts. Only the power of the Palmer's holy staff saves the knight from annihilation.

This is the last physical danger which Guyon encounters. As he goes forward the country becomes an earthly paradise, where pleasures call to him from every side. It is his soul, not his body, which is now in peril. Here is the Palace of Pleasure, its wondrous gates carved with images representing Jason's search for the Golden Fleece. Beyond it are parks, gardens, fountains, and the beautiful Lady Excess, who squeezes grapes into a golden cup and offers it to Guyon as an invitation to linger. Amid such allurements Guyon comes at last to where beautiful Acrasia lives, with knights who forget their knighthood. From the open portal comes a melody, the voice of an unseen singer lifting up the old song of Epicurus and of Omar.

The following scenes in the Bower of Bliss were plainly suggested by the Palace of Circe, in the 'Odyssey'; but where Homer is direct, simple, forceful, Spenser revels in luxuriant details. He charms all Guyon's senses with colour, perfume, beauty, harmony; then he remembers that he is writing a moral poem, and suddenly his delighted knight turns reformer. He catches Acrasia in a net woven by the Palmer, and proceeds to smash her exquisite abode with puritanic thoroughness.

As they fare forth after the destruction, the herd of horrible beasts is again encountered, and lo! all these creatures are men whom Acrasia has transformed into brutal shapes. The Palmer "strooks" them all with his holy staff, and they resume their human semblance. Some are glad, others wroth at the change; and one named Grylle, who had been a hog, reviles his rescuers for disturbing him.

Such is Spenser's story of Sir Guyon, or Temperance. It is a long story, drifting through eighty-seven stanzas, but it is only a final chapter or canto of the second book of 'The Faery Queen'. Preceding it are eleven other cantos which serve as an introduction. So leisurely is Spenser in telling a tale! One canto deals with the wiles of Archimago and of the "false witch" Duessa; in another the varlet Braggadocchio steals Guyon's horse and impersonates a knight, until he is put to shame by the fair huntress Belphebe, who is Queen Elizabeth in disguise. There are at least a dozen more stanzas devoted to her voice, her eyes, her hair, her more than mortal beauty. Other cantos of the same book are devoted to Guyon's temptations; to his victories over Furor and Mammon; to his rescue of the Lady Alma, besieged by a horde of villains in her fair Castle of Temperance. In this castle was an aged man, blind but forever doting over old records; and this gives Spenser the inspiration for another long canto devoted to the ancient kings of Britain. So all is fish that comes to this poet's net; but as one who is angling for trout is vexed by the nibbling of chubs, the reader grows weary of Spenser's story before his story really begins.

Other books of 'The Faerie Queen' are so similar in character to the one just described that a canto from any one of them may be placed without change in any other. In the first book, for example, the Redcross Knight (Holiness) fares forth accompanied by the Lady Una (Religion). Straightway they meet the enchanter Archimago, who separates them by fraud and magic. The Redcross Knight, led to believe that his Una is false, comes, after many adventures, to Queen Lucifera in the House of Pride; meanwhile Una wanders alone amidst perils, and by her beauty subdues the lion and the satyrs of the wood. The rest of the book recounts their adventures with paynims, giants and monsters, with Error, Avarice, Falsehood and other allegorical figures.

It is impossible to outline such a poem, for the simple reason that it has no outlines. It is a phantasmagoria of beautiful and grotesque shapes, of romance, morality and magic. Reading it is like watching cloud masses, aloft and remote, in which the imagination pictures men, monsters, landscapes, which change as we view them without cause or consequence. Though *The Faery Queen* is overfilled with adventure, it has no action, as we ordinarily understand the term. Its continual motion is without force or direction, like the vague motions of a dream.

What, then, was Spenser's object in writing 'The Faery Queen'? His professed object was to use poetry in the service of morality by portraying the political and religious affairs of England as emblematic of a worldwide conflict between good and evil. According to his philosophy (which, he tells us, he borrowed from Aristotle) there were twelve chief virtues, and he planned twelve books to celebrate them. Only six of these books are extant, treating of the Redcross Knight or Holiness, Sir Guyon or Temperance, Britomartis or Chastity, Cambel and Triamond or Friendship, Sir Artegall or Justice, and Sir Calidore or Courtesy. The rest of the allegory, if written, may have been destroyed in the fire of Kilcolman. In each book a knight or a lady representing a single virtue goes forth into the world to conquer evil. In all the books Arthur, or Magnificence (the sum of all virtue), is apt to appear in any crisis; Lady Una represents religion; Archimago is another name for heresy, and Duessa for falsehood; and in order to give point to Spenser's allegory the courtiers and statesmen of the age are all flattered as glorious virtues or condemned as ugly vices.

Those who are fond of puzzles may delight in giving names and dates to these allegorical personages, in recognizing Elizabeth in Belphoebe or Britomart or Marcella, Sidney in the Redcross Knight, Leicester in Arthur, Raleigh in Timias, Mary Stuart in Duessa, and so on through the list of characters good or evil. The beginner will wisely ignore all such interpretation, and for two reasons: first, because Spenser's allegories are too shadowy to be taken seriously; and second, because as a chronicler of the times he is outrageously partisan and untrustworthy. In short, to search for any reality in *The Faery Queen* is to spoil the poem as a work of the imagination. "If you do not meddle with the allegory," said Hazlitt, "the allegory will not meddle with you."

MINOR POEMS. The minor poems of Spenser are more interesting, because more human, than the famous work which we have just considered. Prominent among these poems are the 'Amoretti', a collection of sonnets written in honour of the Irish girl Elizabeth, who became the poet's wife. They are artificial, to be sure, but no more so than other love poems of the period. In connection with a few of these sonnets may be read Spenser's four "Hymns" (in honour of Love, Beauty, Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty) and especially his "Epithalamium," a marriage hymn which Brooke calls, with pardonable enthusiasm, "the most glorious love song in the English language."

A CRITICISM OF SPENSER. In reading *The Faery Queen* one must note the contrast between Spenser's matter and his manner. His matter is: religion, chivalry, mythology, Italian romance, Arthurian legends, the struggles of Spain and England on the Continent, the Reformation, the turmoil of political parties, the appeal of the New World, a summary of all stirring matters that interested his own tumultuous age. His manner is the reverse of what one might expect under the circumstances. He writes no stirring epic of victory or defeat, and never a downright word of a downright man, but a dreamy, shadowy, soothing narrative. The dreamy stanzas (and they abound in every book of *The Faery Queen*) are poems in themselves; but unfortunately they distract attention from the story, which soon loses all progression and becomes as the rocking of an idle boat on the swell of a placid sea. The invention of this melodious stanza, ever since called "Spenserian," was in itself a notable achievement which influenced all subsequent English poetry. The Spenserian was an improvement on the 'ottava-rima', or eight-line stanza, of the Italians. It has been used by Burns in "The Cotter's Saturday Night," by Shelley in "The Revolt of Islam," by Byron in "Childe Harold," by Keats in "The Eve of St. Agnes," and by many other poets.

As Spenser's faults cannot be ignored, let us be rid of them as quickly as possible. We record, then: the unreality of his great work; its lack of human interest, which causes most of us to drop the poem after a single canto; its affected antique spelling; its use of 'fone' (foes), 'dan' (master), 'teene' (trouble), 'swink' (labor), and of many more obsolete words; its frequent torturing of the king's English to make a rime; its utter lack of humour, often appearing in absurd lines.

Such defects are more than offset by Spenser's poetic virtues. We note, first, the moral purpose which allies him with the medieval poets in aim, but not in method. By most medieval romancers virtue was regarded as a means to an end, as in the 'Morte d' Arthur', where a knight made a vow of purity in order to obtain a sight of the Holy Grail. With Spenser virtue is not a means but an end, beautiful and desirable for its own sake; while sin is so pictured that men avoid it because of its intrinsic ugliness. This is the moral secret of *The Faery Queen*, in which virtues are personified as noble knights or winsome women, while the vices appear in the repulsive guise of hags, monsters and "loathy beasts."

Spenser's sense of ideal beauty or, as Lanier expressed it, "the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty," is perhaps his greatest poetic quality. He is the poet-painter of the Renaissance; he fills his pages with descriptions of airy loveliness, as Italian artists covered the high ceilings of Venice with the reflected splendor of earth and heaven. Moreover, his sense of beauty found expression in such harmonious lines that one critic describes him as having set beautiful figures moving to exquisite music.

To his generation Spenser was able to form an alloy of Chaucer, French and Italian poets. In consequence of this beauty and melody, he has been the inspiration of nearly all later English singers. Milton was one of the first to call him master, and then in a long succession such diverse poets as Dryden, Burns, Wordsworth, Scott, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Tennyson and Swinburne. The poet of "Faery" has influenced all these and more so deeply that he has won the distinctive title of "the poets' poet."

TIT BITS:-

- His 'The Shepherdes Calendar' is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.
- *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (pub.1595) is dedicated to Raleigh. *Epithalamion* (pub.1595) is dedicated to Elizabeth Boyle, Spenser's wife.
- *Astrophel* is a pastoral elegy written on the death of Sir Philip Sidney.
- *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1633) - a prose work which argues for reformation of Ireland.
- *Prothalamion* (1596) - celebration of double marriage of the two daughters of the Earl of Worcester.
- Milton referred to Spenser as a 'Sage and Serious writer'.
- Dryden called Milton 'the poetical son of Spenser'.
- Charles Lamb called Spenser 'the poet's poet'.

THE DRAMATISTS

"Few events in our literary history are so startling as this sudden rise of the Elizabethan drama," says Green in his 'History of the English People', and his judgment is echoed by other writers who speak of the "marvellous efflorescence" of the English drama as a matter beyond explanation. Startling it may be, with its frank expression of a nation's life, the glory and the shame of it; but there is nothing sudden or inexplicable about it, as we may see by reviewing the history of playwriting in England.

THE RELIGIOUS DRAMA. In its simplicity the drama is a familiar story retold to the eye by actors who "make believe" that they are the heroes of the action. In this elemental form the play is almost as old as humanity. Indeed, it seems to be a natural impulse of children to act a story which has given them pleasure; of primitive men also, who from time immemorial have kept alive the memory of tribal heroes by representing their deeds in play or pantomime. Thus, certain parts of 'Hiawatha' are survivals of dramatic myths that were once acted at the spring assembly of the Algonquin Indians. An interesting fact concerning these primitive dramas, whether in India or Greece or Persia, is that they were invariably associated with some religious belief or festival.

A later example of this is found in the Church, which at an early age began to make its holy-day services more impressive by means of Miracle plays and Mysteries. At Christmas time, for example, the beautiful story of Bethlehem would be made more vivid by placing in a corner of the parish church an image of a babe in a manger, with shepherds and the Magi at hand, and the choir in white garments chanting the 'Gloria in excelsis'. Other festivals were celebrated in a similar way until a cycle of simple dramas had been prepared, clustering around four cardinal points of Christian teaching; namely, Creation, the Fall, Redemption, and Doomsday or the Last Judgment.

At first such plays were given in the church, and were deeply religious in spirit. They made a profound impression in England especially, where people flocked in such numbers to see them that presently they overflowed to the churchyard, and from there to the city squares or the town common. Once outside the church, they were taken up by the guilds or trades-unions, in whose hands they lost much of their religious character. Actors were trained for the stage rather than for the church, and to please the crowds elements of comedy and buffoonery were introduced, until the sacred drama degenerated into a farce. Here and there, however, a true Miracle survived and kept its character unspotted even to our own day, as in the famous Passion Play at Oberammergau.

When and how these plays came to England is unknown. By the year 1300 they were extremely popular, and continued so until they were replaced by the Elizabethan drama. Most of the important towns of England had each its own cycle of plays [At present only four good cycles of Miracles are known to exist; namely, the Chester, York, Townley (or Wakefield) and Coventry plays. The number of plays varies, from twenty-five in the Chester to forty-eight in the York cycle.] which were given once a year, the performance lasting from three to eight days in a prolonged festival. Every guild responsible for a play had its own stage, which was set on wheels and drawn about the town to appointed open places, where a crowd was waiting for it. When it passed on, to repeat the play to a different audience, another stage took its place. The play of "Creation" would be succeeded by the "Temptation of Adam and Eve," and so on until the whole cycle of Miracles from "Creation" to "Doomsday" had been performed. It was the play not the audience that moved, and in this trundling about of the stage van we are reminded of Thespis, the alleged founder of Greek tragedy, who went about with his cart and his play from one festival to another.

Two other dramatic types, the Morality and the Interlude, probably grew out of the religious drama. In one of the old Miracles we find two characters named Truth and Righteousness, who are severe in their denunciation of Adam, while Mercy and Peace plead for his life. Other virtues appear in other Miracles, then Death and the Seven Deadly Sins, until we have a play in which all the characters are personified virtues or vices. Such a play was called a Morality, and it aimed to teach right conduct, as the Miracles had at first aimed to teach right doctrine.

The Interlude was at first a crude sketch, a kind of ancient side show, introduced into the Miracle plays after the latter had been taken up by the guilds. A boy with a trained pig, a quarrel between husband and wife,--any farce was welcome so long as it amused the crowd or enlivened the Miracle. In time, however, the writing of Interludes became a profession; they improved rapidly in character, were separated from the Miracles, and were performed at entertainments or "revels" by trade guilds, by choir boys and by companies of strolling actors or "minstrels." At the close of such entertainments the minstrels would add a prayer for the king (an inheritance from the religious drama), and this impressive English custom still survives in the singing of "God Save the King" at the end of a public assembly.

THE SECULAR DRAMA. When the Normans came to England they brought with them a love of pageants, or spectacles, that was destined to have an important influence on the drama. These pageants, representing scenes from history or mythology (such as the bout between Richard and Saladin, or the combat between St. George and the Dragon), were staged to celebrate feasts, royal weddings, treaties or any other event that seemed of special importance. From Norman times they increased steadily in favour until Elizabeth began her “progresses” through England, when every castle or town must prepare a play or pageant to entertain the royal visitor.

From simple pantomime the pageant developed into a masque; that is, a dramatic entertainment accompanied by poetry and music. Hundreds of such masques were written and acted before Shakespeare’s day; the taste for them survived long after the Elizabethan drama had decayed; and a few of them, such as ‘The Sad Shepherd’ of Ben Jonson and the ‘Comus’ of Milton, may still be read with pleasure.

While the nobles were thus occupied with pageants and masques, the common people were developing a crude drama in which comedy predominated. Such were the Christmas plays or “mummings,” introducing the characters of Merry Andrew and Old King Cole, which began in England before the Conquest, and which survived in country places down to our own times. [In Hardy’s novel *The Return of the Native* may be found a description of these mumblings (from “mum,” a mask) in the nineteenth century. In Scott’s novel ‘The Abbot’ we have a glimpse of other mumblings, such as were given to celebrate feast days of the Church.] More widespread than the mumblings were crude spectacles prepared in celebration of secular holidays, the May Day plays, for example, which represented the adventures of Robin Hood and his merry men. To these popular comedies the Church contributed liberally, though unwillingly; its holy days became holidays to the crowd, and its solemn fasts were given over to merriment, to the ‘festa fatuorum’, or play of fools, in which such characters as Boy Bishop, Lord of Misrule and various clowns or jesters made a scandalous caricature of things ecclesiastical. Such plays, prepared largely by clerks and choir boys, were repeatedly denounced by priest or bishop, but they increased rapidly from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

By the latter date England seemed in danger of going spectacle-mad; and we may understand the symptoms if we remember that the play was then almost the only form of popular amusement; that it took the place of the modern newspaper, novel, political election and ball game, all combined. The trade guilds, having trained actors for the springtime Miracles, continued to give other plays throughout the year. The servants of a nobleman, having given a pageant to welcome the queen, went out through the country in search of money or adventure, and presented the same spectacle wherever they could find an audience. When the Renaissance came, reviving interest in the classics, Latin plays were taken up eagerly and presented in modified form by every important school or university in England. In this way our first regular comedy, ‘Ralph Royster Doyster’ (written by Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton, and acted by his schoolboys c. 1552), was adapted from an old Latin comedy, the ‘Miles Gloriosus’ of Plautus.

The awakened interest in music had also its influences on the English drama. The choir boys of a church were frequently called upon to furnish music at a play, and from this it was but a step to furnish both the play and the music. So great was the demand to hear these boys that certain choir masters (those of St. Paul’s and the Chapel Royal) obtained the right to take any poor boy with a good voice and train him, ostensibly for the service of the Church, but in reality to make a profitable actor out of him. This dangerous practice was stimulated by the fact that the feminine parts in all plays had to be taken by boys, the stage being then deemed an unfit place for a woman. And it certainly was. If a boy “took to his lines,” his services were sold from one company to another, much as the popular ball player is now sold, but with this difference, that the poor boy had no voice or profit in the transaction. Some of these lads were cruelly treated; all were in danger of moral degradation. The abuse was finally suppressed by Parliament, but not until the choir-boy players were rivals of the regular companies, in which Shakespeare and Ben Jonson played their parts.

CLASSICAL AND ENGLISH DRAMA. At the time of Shakespeare’s birth two types of plays were represented in England. The classic drama, modeled upon Greek or Roman plays, was constructed according to the dramatic “unities,” which Aristotle foreshadowed in his ‘Treatise on Poetry’. According to this authority, every play must be concerned with a “single, important and complete event”; in other words, it must have “unity of action.” A second rule, relating to “unity of time,” required that the events represented in a play must all occur within a single day. A third provided that the action should take place in the same locality, and this was known as the “unity of place.” Other rules of classic drama required that tragedy and comedy should not occur in the same play, and that battles, murders and all such violent affairs should never be represented on the stage but be announced at the proper time by a messenger.

The native plays ignored these classic unities. The public demanded chronicle plays, for example, in which the action must cover years of time, and jump from court to battlefield in following the hero. Tragedy and comedy, instead of being separated, were represented as meeting at every crossroad or entering the church door side by side. So the most solemn Miracles were scandalized by humorous Interludes, and into the most tragic of Shakespeare’s scenes entered the fool and the jester. A Greek playwright might object to brutalizing scenes before a cultured audience, but the crowds who came to an Elizabethan play were of a temper to enjoy a Mohawk scalp dance. They were accustomed to violent scenes and sensations; they had witnessed the rack and gibbet in constant operation; they were familiar with the sight of human heads decorating the posts of London Bridge or carried about on the pikes of soldiers. After witnessing such horrors free of cost, they would follow their queen and pay their money to see a chained bear torn to pieces by ferocious bulldogs. Then they would go to a play, and throw stones or dead cats at the actors if their tastes were not gratified.

To please such crowds no stage action could possibly be too rough; hence the riotousness of the early theaters, which for safety were placed outside the city limits; hence also the blood and thunder of Shakespeare's 'Adronicus' and the atrocities represented in the plays of Kyd and Marlowe.

Following such different ideals, two schools of playwrights appeared in England. One school, the University Wits, to whom we owe our first real tragedy, *Gorboduc*, [This play, called also *Ferrex and Porrex*, was written by Sackville and Norton, and played in 1562, only two years before Shakespeare's birth. It related how Gorboduc divided his British kingdom between his two sons, who quarreled and threw the whole country into rebellion--a story much like that used by Shakespeare in 'King Lear'. The violent parts of this first tragedy were not represented on the stage but were announced by a messenger. At the end of each act a "chorus" summed up the situation, as in classic tragedy. *Gorboduc* differed from all earlier plays in that it was divided into acts and scenes, and was written in blank verse. It is generally regarded as the first in time of the Elizabethan dramas. A few comedies divided into acts and scenes were written before *Gorboduc*, but not in the blank verse with which we associate an Elizabethan play.] aimed to make the English drama like that of Greece and Rome. The other, or native, school aimed at a play which should represent life, or please the crowd, without regard to any rules ancient or modern. The best Elizabethan drama was a combination of classic and native elements, with the latter predominating.

SHAKESPEARE'S PREDECESSORS. In a general way, all unknown men who for three centuries had been producing miracle plays, moralities, interludes, masques and pageants were Shakespeare's predecessors; but we refer here to a small group of playwrights who rapidly developed what is now called the Elizabethan drama. The time was the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

By that time England was as excited over the stage as a modern community over the "movies." Plays were given on every important occasion by choir boys, by noblemen's servants, by court players governed by the Master of Revels, by grammar schools and universities, by trade guilds in every shire of England. Actors were everywhere in training, and audiences gathered as to a bull-baiting whenever a new spectacle was presented. Then came the awakening of the national consciousness, the sense of English pride and power after the defeat of the Armada, and this new national spirit found expression in hundreds of chronicle plays representing the past glories of Britain.

It was at this "psychological moment," when English patriotism was aroused and London was as the heart of England, that a group of young actors—Greene, Lyly, Peele, Dekker, Nash, Kyd, Marlowe, and others of less degree—seized upon the crude popular drama, enlarged it to meet the needs of the time, and within a single generation made it such a brilliant reflection of national thought and feeling as no other age has thus far produced.

MARLOWE. The best of these early playwrights, each of whom contributed some element of value, was Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593), who is sometimes called the father of the Elizabethan drama. He appeared in London sometime before 1587, when his first drama *Tamburlaine* took the city by storm. The prologue of this drama is at once a criticism and a promise:

From jiggling veins of rhyming mother-wits,
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threatening the world with high-astounding terms,
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.

The "jiggling" refers to the doggerel verse of the earlier drama, and "clownage" to the crude horseplay intended to amuse the crowd. For the doggerel is substituted blank verse, "Marlowe's mighty line" as it has ever since been called, since he was the first to use it with power; and for the "clownage" he promises a play of human interest revolving around a man whose sole ambition is for world power,--such ambition as stirred the English nation when it called halt to the encroachments of Spain, and announced that henceforth it must be reckoned with in the councils of the Continent. Though *Tamburlaine* is largely rant and bombast, there is something in it which fascinates us like the sight of a wild bull on a rampage; for such was Timur, the hero of the first play to which we confidently give the name Elizabethan. In the latter part of the play the action grows more intense; there is a sense of tragedy, of impending doom, in the vain attempt of the hero to oppose fate. He can conquer a world but not his own griefs; he ends his triumphant career with a pathetic admission of failure: "And Tamburlaine, the Scourge of God, must die."

The succeeding plays of Marlowe are all built on the same model; that is, they are one-man plays, and the man is dominated by a passion for power. *Doctor Faustus*, the most poetical of Marlowe's works, is a play representing a scholar who hungers for more knowledge, especially the knowledge of magic. In order to obtain it he makes a bargain with the devil, selling his soul for twenty-four years of unlimited power and pleasure. *The Jew of Malta* deals with the lust for such power as wealth gives, and the hero is the money-lender Barabas, a monster of avarice and hate, who probably suggested to Shakespeare the character of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*. The last play written by Marlowe was *Edward II*, which dealt with a man who might have been powerful, since he was a king, but who furnished a terrible example of weakness and petty tyranny that ended miserably in a dungeon.

After writing these four plays with their extraordinary promise, Marlowe, who led a wretched life, was stabbed in a tavern brawl. The splendid work which he only began (for he died under thirty years of age) was immediately taken up by the greatest of all dramatists, Shakespeare.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)

Shakespeare's name has become a signal for enthusiasm. He wrote in his day some thirty-seven plays and a few poems; since then as many hundred volumes have been written in praise of his accomplishment. He died three centuries ago, without caring enough for his own work to print it. At the present time unnumbered critics, historians, scholars, are still explaining the mind and the art displayed in that same neglected work. Most of these eulogists begin or end their volumes with the remark that Shakespeare is so great as to be above praise or criticism. As Taine writes, before plunging into his own analysis, "Lofty words, eulogies are all used in vain; Shakespeare needs not praise but comprehension merely."

LIFE. It is probably because so very little is known about Shakespeare that so many bulky biographies have been written of him. Not a solitary letter of his is known to exist; not a play comes down to us as he wrote it. A few documents written by other men, and sometimes ending in a sprawling signature by Shakespeare, which looks as if made by a hand accustomed to almost any labor except that of the pen,--these are all we have to build upon. One record, in dribbling Latin, relates to the christening of "Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere"; a second, unreliable as a village gossip, tells an anecdote of the same person's boyhood; a third refers to Shakespeare as "one of his Majesty's poor players"; a fourth records the burial of the poet's son Hamnet; a fifth speaks of "Willi. Shakspere, gentleman"; a sixth is a bit of wretched doggerel inscribed on the poet's tombstone; a seventh tells us that in 1622, only six years after the poet's death, the public had so little regard for his art that the council of his native Stratford bribed his old company of players to go away from the town without giving a performance. It is from such dry and doubtful records that we must construct a biography, supplementing the meager facts by liberal use of our imagination.

In the beautiful Warwickshire village of Stratford our poet was born, probably in the month of April, in 1564. His mother, Mary Arden, was a farmer's daughter; his father was a butcher and small tradesman, who at one time held the office of high bailiff of the village. There was a small grammar school in Stratford, and Shakespeare may have attended it for a few years. When he was about fourteen years old his father, who was often in lawsuits, was imprisoned for debt, and the boy probably left school and went to work. At eighteen he married Anne Hathaway, a peasant's daughter eight years older than himself; at twenty-three, with his father still in debt and his own family of three children to provide for, Shakespeare took the footpath that led to the world beyond his native village. Such is the prevalent opinion of Shakespeare's early days; but we are dealing here with surmises, not with established facts. There are scholars who allege that Shakespeare's poverty is a myth; that his father was prosperous to the end of his days; that he probably took the full course in Latin and Greek at the Stratford school. Almost everything connected with the poet's youth is still a matter of dispute.

From Stratford he went to London, from solitude to crowds, from beautiful rural scenes to dirty streets, from natural country people to seekers after the bubble of fame or fortune. Why he went is largely a matter of speculation. That he was looking for work; that he followed a company of actors, as a boy follows a circus; that he was driven out of Stratford after poaching on the game preserves of Sir Thomas Lucy, whom he ridiculed in the plays of *Henry VI* and *Merry Wives*, these and other theories are still debated. The most probable explanation of his departure is that the stage lured him away, as the printing press called the young Franklin from whatever else he undertook; for he seems to have headed straight for the theater, and to have found his place not by chance or calculation but by unerring instinct. England was then, as we have noted, in danger of going stage mad, and Shakespeare appeared to put method into the madness.

Beginning, undoubtedly, as an actor of small parts, he soon learned the tricks of the stage and the humors of his audience. His first dramatic work was to revise old plays, giving them some new twist or setting to please the fickle public. Then he worked with other playwrights, with Lyly and Peele perhaps, and the horrors of his *Titus Andronicus* are sufficient evidence of his collaboration with Marlowe. Finally he walked alone, having learned his steps, and *Romeo and Juliet* and *Midsummer Nights Dream* announced that a great poet and dramatist had suddenly appeared in England.

This experimental period of Shakespeare's life in London was apparently a time of health, of joyousness, of enthusiasm which comes with the successful use of one's powers. It was followed by a period of gloom and sorrow, to which something of bitterness was added. What occasioned the change is again a matter of speculation. The first conjecture is that Shakespeare was a man to whom the low ideals of the Elizabethan stage were intolerable, and this opinion is strengthened after reading certain of Shakespeare's sonnets, which reflect a loathing for the theaters and the mannerless crowds that filled them. Another conjectural cause of his gloom was the fate of certain noblemen with whom he was apparently on terms of friendship, to whom he dedicated his poems, and from whom he received substantial gifts of money. Of these powerful friends, the Earl of Essex was beheaded for treason, Pembroke was banished, and Southampton had gone to that grave of so many high hopes, the Tower of London. Shakespeare may have shared the sorrow of these men, as once he had shared their joy, and there are critics who assume that he was personally implicated in the crazy attempt of Essex at rebellion.

Whatever the cause of his grief, Shakespeare shows in his works that he no longer looks on the world with the clear eyes of youth. The great tragedies of this period, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Cesar*, all portray man not as a being of purpose and high destiny, but as the sport of chance, the helpless victim who cries out, as in *Henry IV*, for a sight of the Book of Fate, wherein is shown

how chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors! O, if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
Would shut the book, and sit him down and die.

For such a terrible mood London offered no remedy. For a time Shakespeare seems to have gloried in the city; then he wearied of it, grew disgusted with the stage, and finally, after some twenty-four years (c. 1587-1611), sold his interest in the theaters, shook the dust of London from his feet, and followed his heart back to Stratford. There he adopted the ways of a country gentleman, and there peace and serenity returned to him. He wrote comparatively little after his retirement; but the few plays of this last period, such as *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, are the mellowest of all his works.

After a brief period of leisure, Shakespeare died at his prime in 1616, and was buried in the parish church of Stratford. Of his great works, now the admiration of the world, he thought so little that he never collected or printed them. From these works many attempts are made to determine the poet's character, beliefs, philosophy,--a difficult matter, since the works portray many types of character and philosophy equally well. The testimony of a few contemporaries is more to the point, and from these we hear that our poet was "very good company," "of such civil demeanor," "of such happy industry," "of such excellent fancy and brave notions," that he won in a somewhat brutal age the characteristic title of "the gentle Shakespeare."

THE DRAMAS OF SHAKESPEARE. In Shakespeare's day playwrights were producing various types of drama: the chronicle play, representing the glories of English history; the domestic drama, portraying homely scenes and common people; the court comedy (called also Lylian comedy, after the dramatist who developed it), abounding in wit and repartee for the delight of the upper classes; the melodrama, made up of sensational elements thrown together without much plot; the tragedy of blood, centering in one character who struggles amidst woes and horrors; romantic comedy and romantic tragedy, in which men and women were more or less idealized, and in which the elements of love, poetry, romance, youthful imagination and enthusiasm predominated.

It is interesting to note that Shakespeare essayed all these types--the chronicle play in *Henry IV*, the domestic drama in *Merry Wives*, the court comedy in *Loves Labor's Lost*, the melodrama in *Richard III*, the tragedy of blood in *King Lear*, romantic tragedy in *Romeo and Juliet*, romantic comedy in *As You Like It*--and that in each he showed such a mastery as to raise him far above all his contemporaries.

EARLY DRAMAS

In his experimental period of work (c. 1590-1595) Shakespeare began by revising old plays in conjunction with other actors. *Henry VI* is supposed to be an example of such tinkering work. The first part of this play (performed by Shakespeare's company in 1592) was in all probability an older work made over by Shakespeare and some unknown dramatist. From the fact that Joan of Arc appears in the play in two entirely different characters, and is even made to do battle at Rouen several years after her death, it is almost certain that *Henry VI* in its present form was composed at different times and by different authors.

Love's Labor's Lost is an example of the poet's first independent work. In this play such characters as Holofernes the schoolmaster, Costard the clown and Adriano the fantastic Spaniard are all plainly of the "stock" variety; various rimes and meters are used experimentally; blank verse is not mastered; and some of the songs, such

as "On a Day," are more or less artificial. Other plays of this early experimental period are *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Richard III*, the latter of which shows the influence and, possibly, the collaboration of Marlowe.

SECOND PERIOD

In the second period (c. 1595-1600) Shakespeare constructed his plots with better skill, showed a greater mastery of blank verse, created some original characters, and especially did he give free rein to his romantic imagination. All doubt and experiment vanished in the confident enthusiasm of this period, as if Shakespeare felt within himself the coming of the sunrise in *Romeo and Juliet*:

Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.

Though some of his later plays are more carefully finished, in none of them are we so completely under the sway of poetry and romance as in these early works, written when Shakespeare first felt the thrill of mastery in his art.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, the practical affairs of life seem to smother its poetic dreams; but note how the dream abides with us after the play is over. The spell of the enchanted forest is broken when the crowd invades its solitude; the witchery of moonlight fades into the light of common day; and then comes Theseus with his dogs to drive not the foxes but the fairies out of the landscape. As Chesterton points out, this masterful man, who has seen no fairies, proceeds to arrange matters in a practical way, with a wedding, a feast and a pantomime, as if these were the chief things of life. So, he thinks, the drama is ended; but after he and his noisy followers have departed to slumber, lo! enter once more Puck, Oberon, Titania and the whole train of fairies, to repeople the ancient world and dance to the music of Mendelssohn:

Hand in hand, with fairy grace,

While we sing, and bless this place.

So in *The Merchant of Venice* with its tragic figure of Shylock, who is hurried off the stage to make place for a final scene of love, moonlight and music; so in every other play of this period, the poetic dream of life triumphs over its practical realities.

THIRD PERIOD

During the third period, of maturity of power (c. 1600-1610), Shakespeare was overshadowed by some personal grief or disappointment. He wrote his "farewell to mirth" in *Twelfth Night*, and seems to have reflected his own perturbed state in the lines which he attributes to Achilles in *Troilus and Cressida*:

My mind is troubled, like a fountain stirr'd,
And I myself see not the bottom of it.

His great tragedies belong to this period, tragedies which reveal increased dramatic power in Shakespeare, but also his loss of hope, his horrible conviction that man is not a free being but a puppet blown about by every wind of fate or circumstance. In *Hamlet* great purposes wait upon a feeble will, and the strongest purpose may be either wrecked or consummated by a trifle. The whole conception of humanity in this play suggests a clock, of which, if but one small wheel is touched, all the rest are thrown into confusion. In *Macbeth* a man of courage and vaulting ambition turns coward or traitor at the appearance of a ghost, at the gibber of witches, at the whisper of conscience, at the taunts of his wife. In *King Lear* a monarch of high disposition drags himself and others down to destruction, not at the stern command of fate, but at the mere suggestion of foolishness. In *Othello* love, faith, duty, the fidelity of a brave man, the loyalty of a pure woman, all are blasted, wrecked, dishonored by a mere breath of suspicion blown by a villain.

LAST DRAMAS

In his final period, of leisurely experiment (c.1610-1616), Shakespeare seems to have recovered in Stratford the cheerfulness that he had lost in London. He did little work during this period, but that little is of rare charm and sweetness. He no longer portrayed human life as a comedy of errors or a tragedy of weakness but as a glowing romance, as if the mellow autumn of his own life had tinged all the world with its own golden hues. With the exception of *As You Like It* (written in the second period), in which brotherhood is pictured as the end of life, and love as its unfailing guide, it is doubtful if any of the earlier plays leaves such a wholesome impression as *The Winter's Tale* or *The Tempest*, which were probably the last of the poet's works.

Following is a list of Shakespeare's thirty-four plays (or thirty-seven, counting the different parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry VI*) arranged according to the periods in which they were probably written. The dates are approximate, not exact, and the chronological order is open to question:

FIRST PERIOD, EARLY EXPERIMENT (1590-1595). *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Richard III*, *Richard II*, *King John*.

SECOND PERIOD, DEVELOPMENT (1595-1600). *Romeo and Juliet*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*.

THIRD PERIOD, MATURITY AND TROUBLE (1600-1610). *Twelfth Night*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*.

FOURTH PERIOD, LATER EXPERIMENT (1610-1616). *Coriolanus*, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, *Henry VIII* (left unfinished, completed probably by Fletcher).

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

The most convenient arrangement of these plays appears in the *First Folio* (1623). This was the first edition of Shakespeare's plays. It was prepared seven years after the poet's death by two of his fellow actors, Heminge and Condell. It contained all the plays now attributed to Shakespeare with the exception of *Pericles* where they are grouped in three classes called tragedies, comedies and historical plays. The tragedy is a drama in which the characters are the victims of unhappy passions, or are involved in desperate circumstances. The style is grave and dignified, the movement stately; the ending is disastrous to individuals, but illustrates the triumph of a moral principle. These rules of true tragedy are repeatedly set aside by Shakespeare, who introduces elements of buffoonery, and who contrives an ending that may stand for the triumph of a principle but that is quite likely to be the result of accident or madness. His best tragedies are *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Othello*.

Comedy is a type of drama in which the elements of fun and humor predominate. The style is gay; the action abounds in unexpected incidents; the ending brings ridicule or punishment to the villains in the plot, and satisfaction to all worthy characters. Among the best of Shakespeare's comedies, in which he is apt to introduce serious or tragic elements, are *As You Like It*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*.

Strictly speaking there are only two dramatic types, all others, such as farce, melodrama, tragi-comedy, lyric drama, or opera, and chronicle play, being modifications of comedy or tragedy. The historical play, to which Elizabethans were devoted, aimed to present great scenes or characters from a past age, and were generally made up of both tragic and comic elements. The best of Shakespeare's historical plays are *Julius Caesar*, *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Richard III* and *Coriolanus*.

There is no better way to feel the power of Shakespeare than to read in succession three different types of plays, such as the comedy of *As You Like It*, the tragedy of *Macbeth* and the historical play of *Julius Caesar*. Another excellent trio is *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry IV*; and the reading of these typical plays might well be concluded with *The Tempest*, which was probably Shakespeare's last word to his Elizabethan audience.

THE QUALITY OF SHAKESPEARE. As the thousand details of a Gothic cathedral receive character and meaning from its towering spire, so all the works of Shakespeare are dominated by his imagination. That imagination of his was both sympathetic and creative. It was sympathetic in that it understood without conscious effort all kinds of men, from clowns to kings, and all human emotions that lie between the extremes of joy and sorrow; it was creative in that, from any given emotion or motive, it could form a human character who should be completely governed by that motive. Ambition in *Macbeth*, pride in *Coriolanus*, wit in *Mercutio*, broad humor in *Falstaff*, indecision in *Hamlet*, pure fancy in *Ariel*, brutality in *Richard*, a passionate love in *Juliet*, a merry love in *Rosalind*, an ideal love in *Perdita*, such characters reveal Shakespeare's power to create living men and women from a single motive or emotion.

Or take a single play, *Othello*, and disregarding all minor characters, fix attention on the pure devotion of Desdemona, the jealousy of Othello, the villainy of Iago. The genius that in a single hour can make us understand these contrasting characters as if we had met them in the flesh, and make our hearts ache as we enter into their joy, their anguish, their dishonor, is beyond all ordinary standards of measurement. And *Othello* must be multiplied many times before we reach the limit of Shakespeare's creative imagination. He is like the genii of the 'Arabian Nights', who produce new marvels while we wonder at the old. Such an overpowering imagination must have created wildly, fancifully, had it not been guided by other qualities: by an observation almost as keen as that of Chaucer, and by the saving grace of humor. We need only mention the latter qualities, for if the reader will examine any great play of Shakespeare, he will surely find them in evidence: the observation keeping the characters of the poet's imagination true to the world of men and women, and the humor preventing some scene of terror or despair from overwhelming us by its terrible reality.

HIS FAULTS

In view of these and other qualities it has become almost a fashion to speak of the "perfection" of Shakespeare's art; but in truth no word could be more out of place in such a connection. As Ben Jonson wrote in his 'Timber':

"I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honor to Shakespeare that in his writing, whatever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, 'Would he had blotted a thousand.'"

Even in his best work Shakespeare has more faults than any other poet of England. He is in turn careless, extravagant, profuse, tedious, sensational; his wit grows stale or coarse; his patriotism turns to bombast; he mars even such pathetic scenes as the burial of Ophelia by buffoonery and brawling; and all to please a public that was given to bull-baiting.

These certainly are imperfections; yet the astonishing thing is that they pass almost unnoticed in Shakespeare. He reflected his age, the evil and the good of it, just as it appeared to him; and the splendor of his representation is such that even his faults have their proper place, like shadows in a sunlit landscape.

HIS VIEW OF LIFE

Of Shakespeare's philosophy we may say that it reflected equally well the views of his hearers and of the hundred characters whom he created for their pleasure. Of his personal views it is impossible to say more than this, with truth: that he seems to have been in full sympathy with the older writers whose stories he used as the sources of his drama. [The chief sources of Shakespeare's plays are: (1) Older plays, from which he made half of his dramas, such as *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, *King John*. (2) Holinshed's *Chronicles*, from which he obtained material for his English historical plays. (3) Plutarch's *Lives*, translated by North, which furnished him material for *Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*. (4) French, Italian and Spanish romances, in translations, from which he obtained the stories of *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*.] Now these stories commonly reflected three things besides the main narrative: a problem, its solution, and the consequent moral or lesson. The problem was a form of evil; its solution depended on goodness in some form; the moral was that goodness triumphs finally and inevitably over evil.

Many such stories were cherished by the Elizabethans, the old tale of "Gammelyn" for example (from which came *As You Like It*); and just as in our own day popular novels are dramatized, so three centuries ago audiences demanded to see familiar stories in vigorous action. That is why Shakespeare held to the old tales, and pleased his audience, instead of inventing new plots. But however much he changed the characters or the action of the story, he remained always true to the old moral:

That goodness is the rule of life,
And its glory and its triumph.

Shakespeare's women are his finest characters, and he often portrays the love of a noble woman as triumphing over the sin or weakness of men. He has little regard for abnormal or degenerate types, such as appear in the later Elizabethan drama; he prefers vigorous men and pure women, precisely as the old story-tellers did; and if Richard or some other villain overruns his stage for an hour, such men are finally overwhelmed by the very evil which they had planned for others. If they drag the innocent down to a common destruction, these pure characters never seem to us

to perish; they live forever in our thought as the true emblems of humanity.

MORAL EMPHASIS

It was Charles Lamb who referred to a copy of Shakespeare's plays as "this manly book." The expression is a good one, and epitomizes the judgment of a world which has found that, though Shakespeare introduces evil or vulgar elements into his plays, his emphasis is always upon the right man and the right action. This may seem a trite thing to say in praise of a great genius; but when you reflect that Shakespeare is read throughout the civilized world, the simple fact that the splendor of his poetry is balanced by the rightness of his message becomes significant and impressive. It speaks not only for Shakespeare but for the moral quality of the multitudes who acknowledge his mastery. Wherever his plays are read, on land or sea, in the crowded cities of men or the far silent places of the earth, there the solitary man finds himself face to face with the unchanging ideals of his race, with honour, duty, courtesy, and the moral imperative,

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA AFTER SHAKESPEARE

The drama began to decline during Shakespeare's lifetime. Even before his retirement to Stratford other popular dramatists appeared who catered to a vulgar taste by introducing more sensational elements into the stage spectacle. In consequence the drama degenerated so rapidly that in 1642, only twenty-six years after the master dramatist had passed away, Parliament closed the theaters as evil and degrading places. This closing is charged to the zeal of the Puritans, who were rapidly rising into power, and the charge is probably well founded. So also was the Puritan zeal. One who was compelled to read the plays of the period, to say nothing of witnessing them, must thank these stern old Roundheads for their insistence on public decency and morality. In the drama of all ages there seems to be a terrible fatality which turns the stage first to levity, then to wickedness, and which sooner or later calls for reformation.

Among those who played their parts in the rise and fall of the drama, the chief names are Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Middleton, Webster, Heywood, Dekker, Massinger, Ford and Shirley. Concerning the work of these dramatists there is wide diversity of opinion. Lamb regards them, Beaumont and Fletcher especially, as "an inferior sort of Sidneys and Shakespeares."

Landon writes of them poetically:

They stood around
The throne of Shakespeare, sturdy but unclean.

Lowell finds some small things to praise in a large collection of their plays. Hazlitt regards them as "a race of giants, a common and noble brood, of whom Shakespeare was simply the tallest." Dyce, who had an extraordinary knowledge of all these dramatists, regards such praise as absurd, saying that "Shakespeare is not only immeasurably superior to the dramatists of his time, but is utterly unlike them in almost every respect."

We shall not attempt to decide where such doctors disagree. It may not be amiss, however, to record this personal opinion: that these playwrights added little to the drama and still less to literature, and that it is hardly worth while to search out their good passages amid a welter of repulsive details. If they are to be read at all, the student will find enough of their work for comparison with the Shakespearean drama in a book of selections, such as Lamb's 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poetry' or Thayer's 'The Best Elizabethan Plays'.

BENJAMIN JONSON (1572/3 -1637). The greatest figure among these dramatists was Jonson,--"O rare Ben Jonson" as his epitaph describes him, "O rough Ben Jonson" as he was known to the playwrights with whom he waged literary warfare. His first notable play, *Every Man in His Humour*, satirizing the fads or humors of London, was acted by Shakespeare's company, and Shakespeare played one of the parts. Then Jonson fell out with his fellow actors, and wrote *The Poetaster* (acted by a rival company) to ridicule them and their work. Shakespeare was silent, but the cudgels were taken up by Marston and Dekker, the latter of whom wrote, among other and better plays, *Satiromastix*, which was played by Shakespeare's company as a counter attack on Jonson.

The value of Jonson's plays is that they give us vivid pictures of Elizabethan society, its speech, fashions, amusements, such as no other dramatist has drawn. Shakespeare pictures men and women as they might be in any age; but Jonson is content to picture the men and women of London as they appeared superficially in the year 1600. His chief comedies, which satirize the shams of his age, are: *Volpone, or the Fox*, a merciless exposure of greed and avarice; *The Alchemist*, a study of quackery as it was practiced in Elizabethan days; *Bartholomew Fair*, a riot of folly; and *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman*, which would now be called a roaring farce. His chief tragedies are *Sejanus* (his first tragedy) and *Catiline*.

In later life Jonson was appointed poet laureate, and wrote many masques, such as the 'Masque of Beauty' and the unfinished 'Sad Shepherd'. These and a few lyrics, such as the "Triumph of Charis" and the song beginning, "Drink to me only with thine eyes," are the pleasantest of Jonson's works. At the end he abandoned the drama, as Shakespeare had done, and lashed it as severely as any Puritan in the ode beginning, "Come leave the loathed stage."

TIT BITS:-

- *Cynthia's Revels* is Jonson's allegorical comedy.
- *Poetaster* attacks Dekker and Marston.
- *A Tale of a Tub* (1633)—a satire which shows a relatively unsuccessful reliance on allegory and symbolism.

THE PROSE WRITERS

Unless one have antiquarian tastes, there is little in Elizabethan prose to reward the reader. Strange to say, the most tedious part of it was written by literary men in what was supposed to be a very fine style; while the small part that still attracts us (such as Bacon's 'Essays' or Hakluyt's 'Voyages') was mostly written by practical men with no thought for literary effect.

This curious result came about in the following way. In the sixteenth century poetry was old, but English prose was new; for in the two centuries that had elapsed since Mandeville wrote his *Travels*, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1475) and Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1563) are about the only two books that can be said to have a prose style. Then, just as the Elizabethans were turning to literature, John Lyly appeared with his *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit* (1578), an alleged novel made up of rambling conversations upon love, education, fashion, everything that came into the author's head. The style was involved, artificial, tortured; it was loaded with conceits, antitheses and decorations.

EUPHUISM

This "high fantastical" style, ever since called euphuistic, created a sensation. The age was given over to extravagance and the artificial elegance of 'Euphues' seemed to match the other fashions. Just as Elizabethan men and women began to wear grotesque ruffs about their necks as soon as they learned the art of starching from the Dutch, so now they began to decorate their writing with the conceits of Lyly. Lyly did not invent the fashion; he carried to an extreme a tendency towards artificial writing which was prevalent in England and on the Continent. As is often the case, it was the extreme of fashion that became fashionable. The principal characteristics of this style are the excessive use of antithesis (which is pursued regardless of sense), emphasized by alliteration, use of allusions to historical and mythological personages and to natural history. Sir Walter Scott satirized Euphuism in the character of Sir Piercie Shafton in *The Monastery* and Charles Kingsley defended *Euphues* in *Westward Ho!*

Only a year after *Euphues* appeared, Spenser published *The Shepherd's Calendar*, and his prose notes show how quickly the style, like a bad habit, had taken possession of the literary world. Shakespeare ridicules the fashion in the character of Holofernes, in *Love's Labor's Lost*, yet he follows it as slavishly as the rest. He could write good prose when he would, as is shown by a part of Hamlet's speech; but as a rule he makes his characters speak as if the art of prose were like walking a tight rope, which must be done with a balancing pole and some contortions. The scholars who produced the translation of the Scriptures known as the Authorized Version could certainly write well; yet if you examine their Dedication, in which, uninfluenced by the noble sincerity of the Bible's style, they were free to follow the fashion, you may find there the two faults of Elizabethan prose; namely, the habit of servile flattery and the sham of euphuism.

Among prose writers of the period the name that appears most frequently is that of Philip Sidney (1554-1586). He wrote one of our first critical essays, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (c. 1581). Sidney wrote also the pastoral romance *Arcadia* which was famous in its day, and in which the curious reader may find an occasional good passage, such as the prayer to a heathen god, "O All-seeing Light,"—a prayer that became historic and deeply pathetic when King Charles repeated it, facing death on the scaffold. That was in 1649, more than half a century after *Arcadia* was written.

TIT BITS:-

- Sidney's *Astrophel Stella* - first sonnet sequence in English literature.
- *An Apologie for Poetrie* was written in response to Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, which was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.

THE KING JAMES BIBLE

The finest example of the prose of the period is the King James or Authorized Version of the Bible, which appeared in 1611. This translation was so much influenced by the earlier work of Wyclif, Tyndale, and many others, that its style cannot properly be called Elizabethan or Jacobean; it is rather an epitome of English at its best in the two centuries between Chaucer and Shakespeare. The forty-seven scholars who prepared this translation aimed at a faithful rendering of the Book which, aside from its spiritual teaching, contains some of the noblest examples of style in the whole range of human literature: the elemental simplicity of the Books of Moses, the glowing poetry of Job and the Psalms, the sublime imagery of Isaiah, the exquisite tenderness of the Parables, the forged and tempered argument of the Epistles, the gorgeous coloring of the Apocalypse. All these elements entered in some degree into the translation of 1611, and the result was a work of such beauty, strength and simplicity that it remained a standard of English prose for more than three centuries. It has not only been a model for our best writers; it has pervaded all the minor literature of the nation, and profoundly influenced the thought and the expression of the whole English-speaking world.

FRANCIS BACON (1561-1626)

“My name and memory I leave to foreign nations, and to mine own country ‘after some time is passed over’,” said Bacon in his will. That reference to the future meant, not that England might learn to forget and forgive (for Bacon was not greatly troubled by his disgrace), but that she might learn to appreciate his ‘Instauratio Magna’. In the same document the philosopher left magnificent bequests for various purposes, but when these were claimed by the beneficiaries it was learned that the debts of the estate were three times the assets. This high-sounding will is an epitome of Bacon’s life and work.

LIFE. Bacon belongs with Sidney and Raleigh in that group of Elizabethans who aimed to be men of affairs, politicians, reformers, explorers, rather than writers of prose or poetry. He was of noble birth, and from an early age was attached to Queen Elizabeth’s court. There he expected rapid advancement, but the queen and his uncle (Lord Burghley) were both a little suspicious of the young man who, as he said, had “taken all knowledge for his province.”

Failing to advance by favour, Bacon studied law and entered Parliament, where he rose rapidly to leadership. When Elizabeth died, Bacon saw his way open. He offered his services to the royal favorite, Buckingham, and was soon in the good graces of King James. He was made Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans; he married a rich wife; he rose rapidly from one political honor to another, until at sixty he was Lord High Chancellor of England. So his threefold ambition for position, wealth and power was realized. It was while he held the highest state office that he published his ‘Novum Organum’, which established his reputation as “the first philosopher in Europe.” That was in 1620, the year when a handful of Pilgrims sailed away unnoticed on one of the world’s momentous voyages.

After four years of power Bacon, who had been engaged with Buckingham in selling monopolies, and in other schemes to be rich at the public expense, was brought to task by Parliament. He was accused of receiving bribes, confessed his guilt (it is said to shield the king and Buckingham, who had shared the booty), was fined, imprisoned, banished from court, and forbidden to hold public office again. All these punishments except the last were remitted by King James, to whom Bacon had been a useful tool. His last few years were spent in scientific study at Gorhambury, where he lived proudly, keeping up the appearance of his former grandeur, until his death in 1626.

WORKS OF BACON. The *Essays* of Bacon are so highly esteemed that the critic Hallam declares it would be “derogatory to a man of the slightest claim to polite letters” to be unacquainted with them. His first venture was a tiny volume called *Essays, Religious Meditations, Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion* (1597). This was modeled upon a French work by Montaigne (*Essais*, 1580) and was considered of small consequence by the author. As time went on, and his ambitious works were overlooked in favor of his sketches, he paid more attention to the latter, revising and enlarging his work until the final edition of fifty-eight essays appeared in 1625. Then it was that Bacon wrote, “I do now publish my *Essays*, which of all my works have been most current; for that, as it seems, they come home to men’s business and bosoms.”

The spirit of these works may be judged by the essay “Of Friendship.” This promises well, for near the beginning we read, “A crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talking is but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love.” As we read on, however, we find nothing of the love that beareth all things for a friend’s sake. We are not even encouraged to be friendly, but rather to cultivate the friendship of other men for the following advantages: that a friend is useful in saving us from solitude; that he may increase our joy or diminish our trouble; that he gives us good counsel; that he can finish our work or take care of our children, if need be; and finally, that he can spare our modesty while trumpeting our virtues:

“How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself! A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend’s mouth, which are blushing in a man’s own.”

In old Arabic manuscripts one frequently finds a record having the appearance of truth; but at the very end, in parenthesis, one reads, “This is all a lie,” or “This was my thought when I was sick,” or some other enlightening climax. Bacon’s essay “Of Friendship” might be more in accord with the verities if it had a final note to the effect that the man who cultivates friendship in the Baconian way will never have or deserve a friend in the world.

So with many other Baconian essays: with “Love” for example, in which we are told that it is impossible for a man to love and be wise; or with “Negotiations,” which informs us that, unless a man intends to use his letter to justify himself (lo! the politician), it is better to deal by speech than by writing; for a man can “disavow or expound” his speech, but his written word may be used against him. There maybe some disagreement about the value of what Bacon says in his *Essays*, but there can be none about the brilliance of the way in which it is expressed. Some would characterize his writings by quoting Pope’s line - ‘What oft was thought, but never so well expressed.’ The openings of his *Essays* are impressive for there is no ‘lead in’, the oracle speaks and the voice is unmistakable. The reader cannot skim through Bacon, for every rift is loaded with ore. The style may be stiff and formal, but the construction of each Essay is simple. The terse, epigrammatic style is perhaps the only possible vehicle for the density of the thought expressed by Bacon.

TIT BITS:-

- The secondary title of Bacon's *Essays* is 'Counsels Civil and Moral'.
- *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) - a philosophical treatise on the state of knowledge in his own times.
- *The New Atlantis* (1627) - a treatise of political philosophy in the form of a fable.

BACON'S VIEW OF LIFE

To some men, to most men, life offers a problem to be solved by standards that are eternally right; to others life is a game, the object is to win, and the rules may be manipulated to one's own advantage. Bacon's moral philosophy was that of the gamester; his leading motive was self-interest; so when he wrote of love or friendship or any other noble sentiment he was dealing with matters of which he had no knowledge. The best he could offer was a "counsel of prudence," and many will sympathize with John Wesley, who declared that worldly prudence is a quality from which an honest man should pray God to be delivered.

It is only when Bacon deals with practical matters, leaving the high places of life, where he is a stranger, to write of "Discourse" or "Gardens" or "Seeming Wise" that his essays begin to strike home by their vigor and vitality. Though seldom profound or sympathetic, they are notable for their keen observation and shrewd judgment of the ambitious world in which the author himself lived. Among those that are best worth reading are "Studies," "Wisdom for a Man's Self," "Riches," "Great Place," "Atheism," and "Travel."

The style of these essays is in refreshing contrast to most Elizabethan prose, to the sonorous periods of Hooker, to the ramblings of Sidney, to the conceits of Lyly and Shakespeare. The sentences are mostly short, clear, simple; and so much meaning is crystallized in them that they overshadow even the "Poor Richard" maxims of Franklin, the man who had a genius for packing worldly wisdom into a convenient nutshell. They are in the form of nuggets of pure gold.

Other works of Bacon are seldom read, and may be passed over lightly. We mention only, as indicative of his wide range, his *History of Henry VII*, his Utopian romance *The New Atlantis*, his *Advancement of Learning* and his *Novum Organum*. The last two works, one in English, the other in Latin, were parts of the *Instauratio Magna*, or *The Great Institution of True Philosophy*, a colossal work which Bacon did not finish, which he never even outlined very clearly.

The aim of the *Instauratio* was, first, to sweep away ancient philosophy and the classic education of the universities; and second, to substitute a scheme of scientific study to the end of discovering and utilizing the powers of nature. It gave Bacon his reputation (in Germany especially) of a great philosopher and scientist, and it is true that his vision of vast discoveries has influenced the thought of the world; but to read any part of his great work is to meet a mind that seems ingenious rather than philosophical, and fanciful rather than scientific. He had what his learned contemporary Peter Heylyn termed "a chymical brain," a brain that was forever busy with new theories; and the leading theory was that some lucky man would discover a key or philosopher's stone or magic 'sesame' that must straightway unlock all the secrets of nature.

Meanwhile the real scientists of his age were discovering secrets in the only sure way, of hard, self-denying work. Gilbert was studying magnetism, Harvey discovering the circulation of the blood, Kepler determining the laws that govern the planets' motions, Napier inventing logarithms, and Galileo standing in ecstasy beneath the first telescope ever pointed at the stars of heaven.

Of the work of these scientific heroes Bacon had little knowledge, and for their plodding methods he had no sympathy. He was Viscount, Lord Chancellor, "high-browed Verulam," and his heaven-scaling 'Instauratio' which, as he said, was "for the glory of the Creator and for the relief of man's estate" must have something stupendous, Elizabethan, about it, like the victory over the Armada. In his plans there was always an impression of vastness; his miscellaneous works were like the strange maps that geographers made when the wonders of a new world opened upon their vision. Though he never made an important discovery, his conviction that knowledge is power and that there are no metes or bounds to knowledge, his belief that the mighty forces of nature are waiting to do man's bidding, his thought of ships that navigate the air as easily as the sea, all this Baconian dream of mental empire inspired the scientific world for three centuries. It was as thoroughly Elizabethan in its way as the voyage of Drake or the plays of Shakespeare.

SUMMARY. The most remarkable feature of the Elizabethan age was its patriotic enthusiasm. This enthusiasm found its best expression on the stage, in the portrayal of life in vigorous action; and dramas were produced in such number and of such quality that the whole period is sometimes called the age of the play. It was a time of poetry rather than of prose, and nearly all of the poetry is characterized by its emotional quality, youthful freshness of feeling, quickened imagination, and an extravagance of language which overflows, in a kind of glorious bombast.

Our study of the literature of the age includes: (1) The outburst of lyric poetry. (2) The life and works of Spenser, second in time of the great English poets. (3) A review of the long history of the drama, from the earliest church spectacle, through miracle, morality, interlude, pageant and masque to the Elizabethan drama. (4) The immediate forerunners of Shakespeare, of whom the most notable was Marlowe. (5) The life and work of Shakespeare. (6) Ben Jonson, the successors of Shakespeare, and the rapid decline of the drama. (7) Elizabethan prose; the appearance of euphuism; Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie'; the Authorized Version of the Scriptures; and the life and work of Francis Bacon.

THE PURITAN AGE AND THE RESTORATION (1625-1700)

Milton, thou shouldst be living at this hour.
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters; altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again,
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Wordsworth, "Sonnet on Milton"

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. The period from the accession of Charles I in 1625 to the Revolution of 1688 was filled with a mighty struggle over the question whether king or Commons should be supreme in England. On this question the English people were divided into two main parties. On one side were the Royalists, or Cavaliers, who upheld the monarch with his theory of the divine right of kings; on the other were the Puritans, or Independents, who stood for the rights of the individual man and for the liberties of Parliament and people. The latter party was at first very small; it had appeared in the days of Langland and Wyclif, and had been persecuted by Elizabeth; but persecution served only to increase its numbers and determination. Though the Puritans were never a majority in England, they soon ruled the land with a firmness it had not known since the days of William the Conqueror. They were primarily men of conscience, and no institution can stand before strong men whose conscience says the institution is wrong. That is why the degenerate theaters were not reformed but abolished; that is why the theory of the divine right of kings was shattered as by a thunderbolt when King Charles was sent to the block for treason against his country.

The struggle reached a climax in the Civil War of 1642, which ended in a Puritan victory. As a result of that war, England was for a brief period a commonwealth, disciplined at home and respected abroad, through the genius and vigor and tyranny of Oliver Cromwell. When Cromwell died (1658) there was no man in England strong enough to take his place, and two years later "Prince Charlie," who had long been an exile, was recalled to the throne as Charles II of England. He had learned nothing from his father's fate or his own experience, and proceeded by all evil ways to warrant this "Epitaph," which his favorite, Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, pinned on the door of his bedchamber:

Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one.

The next twenty years are of such disgrace and national weakness that the historian hesitates to write about them. It was called the period of the Restoration, which meant, in effect, the restoration of all that was objectionable in monarchy. Another crisis came in the Revolution of 1688, when the country, aroused by the attempt of James II to establish another despotism in Church and state, invited Prince William of Orange (husband of the king's daughter Mary) to the English throne. That revolution meant three things:

1. the supremacy of Parliament, the beginning of modern England, and
2. the final triumph of the principle of political liberty for which
3. the Puritan had fought and suffered hardship for a hundred years.

TYPICAL WRITERS. Among the writers of the period three men stand out prominently, and such was the confusion of the times that in the whole range of our literature it would be difficult to find three others who differ more widely in spirit or method. Milton represents the scholarship, the culture of the Renaissance, combined with the moral earnestness of the Puritan. Bunyan, a poor tinker and lay preacher, reflects the tremendous spiritual ferment among the common people. And Dryden, the cool, calculating author who made a business of writing, regards the Renaissance and Puritanism as both things of the past. He lives in the present, aims to give readers what they like, follows the French critics of the period who advocate writing by rule, and popularizes that cold, formal, precise style which, under the assumed name of classicism, is to dominate English poetry during the following century.

JOHN MILTON (1608-1674)

To such as regard poetry as the means of an hour's pleasant recreation he brings no message; his "errand" is to those who, like Sidney, regard poetry as the handmaiden of virtue, or, like Aristotle, as the highest form of human history.

LIFE. Milton was born in London (1608) at a time when Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists were in their glory. He grew up in a home where the delights of poetry and music were added to the moral discipline of the Puritan. Before he was twelve years old he had formed the habit of studying far into the night; and his field included not only Greek, Latin, Hebrew and modern European literatures, but mathematics, science, theology and music. His parents had devoted him in infancy to noble ends, and he joyously accepted their dedication, saying, "He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well ... ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best

and honorablest things.”

From St. Paul's school Milton went to Christ's College, Cambridge, took his master's degree, wrote a few poems in Latin, Italian and English, and formed a plan for a great epic, “a poem that England would not willingly let die.” Then he retired to his father's country-place at Horton, and for six years gave himself up to music, to untutored study, and to that formal pleasure in nature which is reflected in his work. Five short poems were the only literary result of this retirement, but these were the most perfect of their kind that England had thus far produced.

Milton's next step, intended like all others to cultivate his talent, took him to the Continent. For fifteen months he traveled through France and Italy, and was about to visit Greece when, hearing of the struggle between king and Parliament, he set his face towards England again. “For I thought it base,” he said, “to be traveling at my ease for culture when my countrymen at home were fighting for liberty.”

To find himself, or to find the service to which he could devote his great learning, seems to have been Milton's object after his return to London (1639). While he waited he began to educate his nephews, and enlarged this work until he had a small private school, in which he tested some of the theories that appeared later in his ‘Tractate on Education’. Also he married, in haste it seems, and with deplorable consequences. His wife, Mary Powell, the daughter of a Cavalier, was a pleasure-loving young woman, and after a brief experience of Puritan discipline she wearied of it and went home. She has been amply criticized for her desertion, but Milton's house must have been rather chilly for any ordinary human being to find comfort in. To him woman seemed to have been made for obedience, and man for rebellion; his toplofty doctrine of masculine superiority found expression in a line regarding Adam and Eve, “He for God only, she for God in him,”--an old delusion, which had been seriously disturbed by the first woman.

For a period of near twenty years Milton wrote but little poetry, his time being occupied with controversies that were then waged even more fiercely in the press than in the field. It was after the execution of King Charles (1649), when England was stunned and all Europe aghast at the Puritans' daring, that he published his ‘Tenure of Kings and Magistrates’, the argument of which was, that magistrates and people are equally subject to the law, and that the divine right of kings to rule is as nothing beside the divine right of the people to defend their liberties. That argument established Milton's position as the literary champion of democracy. He was chosen Secretary of the Commonwealth, his duties being to prepare the Latin correspondence with foreign countries, and to confound all arguments of the Royalists. During the next decade Milton's pen and Cromwell's sword were the two outward bulwarks of Puritanism, and one was quite as ready and almost as potent as the other.

It was while Milton was thus occupied that he lost his eyesight, “his last sacrifice on the altar of English liberty.” His famous “Sonnet on his Blindness” is a lament not for his lost sight but for his lost talent; for while serving the Commonwealth he must abandon the dream of a great poem that he had cherished all his life:

When I consider how my light is spent
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent, which is death to hide,
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he returning chide;
“Doth God exact day labour, light denied?”
I fondly ask; but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, “God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts. Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best. His state
Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait.”

With the Restoration (1660) came disaster to the blind Puritan poet, who had written too harshly against Charles I to be forgiven by Charles II. He was forced to hide; his property was confiscated; his works were burned in public by the hangman; had not his fame as a writer raised up powerful friends, he would have gone to the scaffold when Cromwell's bones were taken from the grave and hanged in impotent revenge. He was finally allowed to settle in a modest house, and to be in peace so long as he remained in obscurity. So the pen was silenced that had long been a scourge to the enemies of England.

His home life for the remainder of his years impresses us by its loneliness and grandeur. He who had delighted as a poet in the English country, and more delighted as a Puritan in the fierce struggle for liberty, was now confined to a small house, going from study to porch, and finding both in equal darkness. He who had roamed as a master through the wide fields of literature was now dependent on a chance reader. His soul also was afflicted by the apparent loss of all that Puritanism had so hardly won, by the degradation of his country, by family troubles; for his daughters often rebelled at the task of taking his dictation, and left him helpless. Saddest of all, there was no love in the house, for with all his genius Milton could not inspire affection in his own people; nor does he ever reach the heart of his readers.

In the midst of such scenes, denied the pleasure of hope, Milton seems to have lived largely in his memories. He took up his early dream of an immortal epic, lived with it seven years in seclusion, and the result was ‘Paradise

Lost'. This epic is generally considered the finest fruit of Milton's genius, but there are two other poems that have a more personal and human significance. In the morning of his life he had written 'Comus', and the poem is a reflection of a noble youth whose way lies open and smiling before him. Almost forty years later, or just before his death in 1674, he wrote 'Samson Agonistes', and in this tragedy of a blind giant, bound, captive, but unconquerable, we have a picture of the agony and moral grandeur of the poet who takes leave of life.

THE EARLY POEMS. Milton's first notable poem, written in college days, was the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," a chant of victory and praise such as Pindar might have written had he known the meaning of Christmas. In this boyish work one may find the dominant characteristic of all Milton's poetry; namely, a blending of learning with piety, a devotion of all the treasures of classic culture to the service of religion.

Among the earliest of the Horton poems (so-called because they were written in the country-place of that name) are "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," two of the most widely quoted works in our literature. They should be read in order to understand what people have admired for nearly three hundred years, if not for their own beauty. "L'Allegro" (from the Italian, meaning "the cheerful man") is the poetic expression of a happy state of mind, and "Il Penseroso" [The name is generally translated into "melancholy," but the latter term is now commonly associated with sorrow or disease. To Milton "melancholy" meant "pensiveness." In writing "Il Penseroso" he was probably influenced by a famous book, Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy', which appeared in 1621 and was very widely read.] of a quiet, thoughtful mood that verges upon sadness, like the mood that follows good music. Both poems are largely inspired by nature, and seem to have been composed out of doors, one in the morning and the other in the evening twilight.

'Comus' (1634), another of the Horton poems, is to many readers the most interesting of Milton's works. In form it is a masque, that is, a dramatic poem intended to be staged to the accompaniment of music; in execution it is the most perfect of all such poems inspired by the Elizabethan love of pageants. We may regard it, therefore, as a late echo of the Elizabethan drama, which, like many another echo, is sweeter though fainter than the original. It was performed at Ludlow Castle, before the Earl of Bridgewater, and was suggested by an accident to the Earl's children, a simple accident, in which Milton saw the possibility of "turning the common dust of opportunity to gold."

The story is that of a girl who becomes separated from her brothers in a wood, and is soon lost. The magician Comus appears with his band of revelers, and tries to bewitch the girl, to make her like one of his own brutish followers. She is protected by her own purity, is watched over by the Attendant Spirit, and finally rescued by her brothers. The story is somewhat like that of the old ballad of "The Children in the Wood," but it is here transformed into a kind of morality play. [In mythology Comus, the god of revelry, was represented as the son of Dionysus (Bacchus, god of wine), and the witch Circe. In Greek poetry Comus is the leader of any gay band of satyrs or dancers. Milton's masque of 'Comus' was influenced by a similar story in Peele's 'Old Wives' Tale', by Spenser's "Palace of Pleasure" in 'The Faery Queen,' and by Homer's story of the witch Circe in the 'Odyssey'.]

In this masque may everywhere be seen the influence of Milton's predecessors and the stamp of his own independence; his Puritan spirit also, which must add a moral to the old pagan tales. Thus, Miranda wandering about the enchanted isle (in Shakespeare's 'The Tempest') hears strange, harmonious echoes, to which Caliban gives expression. The bewildered girl in 'Comus' also hears mysterious voices, and has glimpses of a world not her own; but, like Sir Guyon of 'The Faery Queen', she is on moral guard against all such deceptions. Again, in 'The Tempest' we meet "the frisky spirit" Ariel, who sings of his coming freedom from Prospero's service. The Attendant Spirit in 'Comus' has something of Ariel's gayety, but his joy is deeper-seated; he serves not the magician Prospero but the Almighty, and comes gladly to earth in fulfilment of the divine promise, "He shall give His angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways." When his work is done he vanishes, like Ariel, but with a song which shows the difference between the Elizabethan, or Renaissance, conception of sensuous beauty (that is, beauty which appeals to the physical senses) and the Puritan's idea of moral beauty, which appeals to the soul.

'Lycidas' (1637), last of the Horton poems, is an elegy occasioned by the death of one who had been Milton's fellow student at Cambridge. It was an old college custom to celebrate important events by publishing a collection of Latin or English poems, and 'Lycidas' may be regarded as Milton's wreath, which he offered to the memory of his classmate and to his university. The poem is beautifully fashioned, and is greatly admired for its classic form; but it is cold as any monument, without a touch of human grief or sympathy. Probably few modern readers will care for it as they care for Tennyson's 'In Memoriam', a less perfect elegy, but one into which love enters as well as art. Other notable English elegies are the 'Thyrsis' of Matthew Arnold and the 'Adonais' of Shelley.

Milton's Left Hand. This expression was used by Milton to designate certain prose works written in the middle period of his life, at a time of turmoil and danger. These works have magnificent passages which show the power and the harmony of our English speech, but they are marred by other passages of bitter railery and invective. The most famous of all these works is the noble plea called 'Areopagitica:' [From the Areopagus or forum of Athens, the place of public appeal. This was the "Mars Hill" from which St. Paul addressed the Athenians, as recorded in the Book of Acts.] 'a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing' (1644).

There was a law in Milton's day forbidding the printing of any work until it had been approved by the official Licensor of Books. Such a law may have been beneficial at times, but during the seventeenth century it was another instrument of tyranny, since no Licensor would allow anything to be printed against his particular church or government. When 'Areopagitica' was written the Puritans of the Long Parliament were virtually rulers of England,

and Milton pleaded with his own party for the free expression of every honest opinion, for liberty in all wholesome pleasures, and for tolerance in religious matters. His stern confidence in truth, that she will not be weakened but strengthened by attack, is summarized in the famous sentence, "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue."

Two interesting matters concerning 'Areopagitica' are: first, that this eloquent plea for the freedom of printing had to be issued in defiance of law, without a license; and second, that Milton was himself, a few years later, under Cromwell's iron government, a censor of the press.

THE SONNETS

Milton's rare sonnets seem to belong to this middle period of strife, though some of them were written earlier. Since Wyatt and Surrey had brought the Italian sonnet to England this form of verse had been employed to sing of love; but with Milton it became a heroic utterance, a trumpet Wordsworth calls it, summoning men to virtue, to patriotism, to stern action. The most personal of these sonnets are "On Having Arrived at the Age of Twenty-three," "On his Blindness" and "To Cyriack Skinner"; the most romantic is "To the Nightingale"; others that are especially noteworthy are "On the Late Massacre," "On his Deceased Wife" and "To Cromwell."

MILTON'S LATER POETRY. The three poems of Milton's later life are 'Paradise Lost', 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes'. The last-named has been referred to above under "His Masterpiece". 'Paradise Regained' contains some noble passages, but is inferior to 'Paradise Lost', on which the poet's fame chiefly rests.

It was in 1658, the year of Cromwell's death, when the political power of Puritanism was tottering, that Milton in his blindness began to write 'Paradise Lost'. After stating his theme he begins his epic, as Virgil began the 'Aeneid', in the midst of the action; so that in reading his first book it is well to have in mind an outline of the whole story, which is as follows:

PLAN OF PARADISE LOST

The scene opens in Heaven, and the time is before the creation of the world. The archangel Lucifer rebels against the Almighty, and gathers to his banner an immense company of the heavenly hosts, of angels and flaming cherubim. A stupendous three days' battle follows between rebel and loyal legions, the issue being in doubt until the Son goes forth in his chariot of victory. Lucifer and his rebels are defeated, and are hurled over the ramparts of Heaven. Down, down through Chaos they fall "nine times the space that measures day and night," until they reach the hollow vaults of Hell.

In the second act (for *Paradise Lost* has some dramatic as well as epic construction) we follow the creation of the earth in the midst of the universe; and herein we have an echo of the old belief that the earth was the center of the solar system. Adam and Eve are formed to take in the Almighty's affection the place of the fallen angels. They live happily in Paradise, watched over by celestial guardians. Meanwhile Lucifer and his followers are plotting revenge in Hell. They first boast valiantly, and talk of mighty war; but the revenge finally degenerates into a base plan to tempt Adam and Eve and win them over to the fallen hosts.

The third act shows Lucifer, now called Satan or the Adversary, with his infernal peers in Pandemonium, plotting the ruin of the world. He makes an astounding journey through Chaos, disguises himself in various forms of bird or beast in order to watch Adam and Eve, is detected by Ithuriel and the guardian angels, and is driven away. Thereupon he haunts vast space, hiding in the shadow of the earth until his chance comes, when he creeps back into Eden by means of an underground river. Disguising himself as a serpent, he meets Eve and tempts her with the fruit of a certain "tree of knowledge," which she has been forbidden to touch. She eats the fruit and shares it with Adam; then the pair are discovered in their disobedience, and are banished from Paradise. [In the above outline we have arranged the events in the order in which they are supposed to have occurred. Milton tells the story in a somewhat confused way.]

MILTON'S MATERIALS

It is evident from this outline that Milton uses material from two different sources, one an ancient legend which Cadmon employed in his Paraphrase, the other the Bible narrative of Creation. Though the latter is but a small part of the epic, it is as a fixed center about which all other interests are supposed to revolve. In reading *Paradise Lost*, therefore, with its vast scenes and colossal figures, one should keep in mind that every detail was planned by Milton to be closely related to his central theme, which is the fall of man.

In using such diverse materials Milton met with difficulties, some of which (the character of Lucifer, for example) were too great for his limited dramatic powers. In Books I and II Lucifer is a magnificent figure, the proudest in all literature, a rebel with something of celestial grandeur about him. In other books of *Paradise Lost* the same character appears not as the heroic rebel but as the sneaking "father of lies," all his grandeur gone, creeping as a snake into Paradise or sitting in the form of an ugly toad "squat at Eve's ear," whispering petty deceits to a woman while she sleeps. It is probable that Milton meant to show here the moral results of rebellion, but there is little in his poem to explain the sudden degeneracy from Lucifer to Satan.

MATTER AND MANNER

The reader will note the strong contrast between Milton's matter and his manner. His matter is largely mythical, and the myth is not beautiful or even interesting, but childish for the most part and frequently grotesque. Indeed, all Milton's celestial figures, with the exception of the original Lucifer, are as banal as those of the old miracle plays; and his Adam and Eve are dull, wooden figures that serve merely to voice the poet's theology or moral sentiments.

In contrast with this unattractive matter, Milton's manner is always and unmistakably "the grand manner." His imagination is lofty, his diction noble, and the epic of 'Paradise Lost' is so filled with memorable lines, with gorgeous descriptions, with passages of unexampled majesty or harmony or eloquence, that the crude material which he injects into the Bible narrative is lost sight of in our wonder at his superb style.

THE QUALITY OF MILTON. If it be asked, What is Milton's adjective? the word "sublime" rises to the lips as the best expression of his style. This word (from the Latin 'sublimis', meaning "exalted above the ordinary") is hard to define, but may be illustrated from one's familiar experience.

You stand on a hilltop overlooking a mighty landscape on which the new snow has just fallen: the forest bending beneath its soft burden, the fields all white and still, the air scintillating with light and color, the whole world so clean and pure that it seems as if God had blotted out its imperfections and adorned it for his own pleasure. That is a sublime spectacle, and the soul of man is exalted as he looks upon it. Or here in your own village you see a woman who enters a room where a child is stricken with a deadly and contagious disease. She immolates herself for the suffering one, cares for him and saves him, then lays down her own life. That is a sublime act. Or you hear of a young patriot captured and hanged by the enemy, and as they lead him forth to death he says, "I regret that I have but one life to give to my country." That is a sublime expression, and the feeling in your heart as you hear it is one of moral sublimity.

SUBLIMITY

The writer who lifts our thought and feeling above their ordinary level, who gives us an impression of outward grandeur or of moral exaltation, is a sublime writer, has a sublime style; and Milton more than any other poet deserves the adjective. His scenes are immeasurable; mountain, sea and forest are but his playthings; his imagination hesitates not to paint Chaos, Heaven, Hell, the widespread Universe in which our world hangs like a pendant star and across which stretches the Milky Way. No other poet could find suitable words for such vast themes, but Milton never falters. Read the assembly of the fallen hosts before Lucifer in Book I of 'Paradise Lost', or the opening of Hellgates in Book II, or the invocation to light in Book III, or Satan's invocation to the sun in Book IV, or the morning hymn of Adam and Eve in Book V; or open 'Paradise Lost' anywhere, and you shall soon find some passage which, by the grandeur of its scene or by the exalted feeling of the poet as he describes it, awakens in you the feeling of sublimity.

HARMONY

The harmony of Milton's verse is its second notable quality. Many of our poets use blank verse, as many other people walk, as if they had no sense of rhythm within them; but Milton, by reason of his long study and practice of music, seems to be always writing to melody. In consequence it is easy to read his most prolix passages, as it is easy to walk over almost any kind of ground if one but keeps step to outward or inward music. Not only is Milton's verse stately and melodious, but he is a perfect master of words, choosing them for their sound as well as for their sense, as a musician chooses different instruments to express different emotions.

In dealing with a poet of such magnificent qualities one should be wary of criticism. That Milton's poetry has little human interest, no humor, and plenty of faults, may be granted. His 'Paradise Lost' especially is overcrowded with mere learning or pedantry in one place and with pompous commonplaces in another. But such faults appear trivial, unworthy of mention in the presence of a poem that is as a storehouse from which the authors and statesmen of three hundred years have drawn their choicest images and expressions. It stands forever as our supreme example of sublimity and harmony,-that sublimity which reflects the human spirit standing awed and reverent before the grandeur of the universe; that harmony of expression at which every great poet aims and which Milton attained in such measure that he is called the organ-voice of England.

TIT BITS:-

- It was William Blake who commented "Milton was of the devil's party without knowing it" (regarding 'Paradise Lost') in his 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell'.
- 'Lycidas' (1637) a pastoral elegy written on the death of Edward King.
- 'Of Reformation in England' (1641), first treatise upon the government of the Church.
- 'Areopagitica' (1644) plea for freedom of press.
- 'Samson Agonistes' (1671) is a tragedy; a closet drama dealing with the last phase of the life of the Samson of the Book of Judges.
- Pandemonium - palace of Satan.

JOHN BUNYAN (1628-1688)

There is a striking contrast between the poet and the prose writer of the Puritan age. Milton the poet is a man of culture, familiar with the best literature of all ages; Bunyan the prose writer is a poor, self-taught laborer who reads his Bible with difficulty, stumbling over the hard passages. Milton writes for the cultivated classes, in harmonious verse adorned with classic figures; Bunyan speaks for common men in sinewy prose, and makes his meaning clear by homely illustrations drawn from daily life. Milton is a solitary and austere figure, admirable but not lovable; Bunyan is like a familiar acquaintance, ruddy-faced, clear-eyed, who wins us by his sympathy, his friendliness, his good sense and good humor. He is known as the author of one book, 'The Pilgrim's Progress', but that book has probably had more readers than any other that England has ever produced.

LIFE. During Bunyan's lifetime England was in a state of religious ferment or revival, and his experience of it is vividly portrayed in a remarkable autobiography called 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of sinners'. In reading this book we find that his life is naturally separated into two periods. His youth was a time of struggle with doubts and temptations; his later years were characterized by inward peace and tireless labor. His peace meant that he was saved, his labor that he must save others. Here, in a word, is the secret of all his works.

He was born (1628) in the village of Elstow, Bedfordshire, and was the son of a poor tinker. He was sent to school long enough to learn elementary reading and writing; then he followed the tinker's trade; but at the age of sixteen, being offended at his father's second marriage, he ran away and joined the army.

As a boy Bunyan had a vivid but morbid imagination, which led him to terrible doubts, fears, fits of despondency, hallucinations. On such a nature the emotional religious revivals of the age made a tremendous impression. He followed them for years, living in a state of torment, until he felt himself converted; whereupon he turned preacher and began to call other sinners to repentance. Such were his native power and rude eloquence that, wherever he went, the common people thronged to hear him.

After the Restoration all this was changed. Public meetings were forbidden unless authorized by bishops of the Established Church, and Bunyan was one of the first to be called to account. When ordered to hold no more meetings he refused to obey, saying that when the Lord called him to preach salvation he would listen only to the Lord's voice. Then he was thrown into Bedford jail. During his imprisonment he supported his family by making shoe laces, and wrote 'Grace Abounding' and 'The Pilgrim's Progress'.

After his release Bunyan became the most popular writer and preacher in England. He wrote a large number of works, and went cheerfully up and down the land, preaching the gospel to the poor, helping the afflicted, doing an immense amount of good. He died (1688) as the result of exposure while on an errand of mercy. His works were then known only to humble readers, and not until long years had passed did critics awaken to the fact that one of England's most powerful and original writers had passed away with the poor tinker of Elstow.

WORKS OF BUNYAN. From the pen of this uneducated preacher came nearly sixty works, great and small, the most notable of which are: 'Grace Abounding the Chief of Sinners' (1666), a kind of spiritual autobiography; 'The Holy War' I think its 'The Holy City, or The New Jerusalem' (1665), a prose allegory with a theme similar to that of Milton's epic; and 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman' (1682), an allegory as well as a character study which was a forerunner of the English novel. These works are seldom read, and Bunyan is known to most readers as the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' (1678). This is the famous allegory [Allegory is figurative writing, in which some outward object or event is described in such a way that we apply the description to humanity, to our mental or spiritual experiences. The object of allegory, as a rule, is to teach moral lessons, and in this it is like a drawn-out fable and like a parable. The two greatest allegories in our literature are Spenser's 'Faery Queen' and Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress'.] in which, under guise of telling the story of a pilgrim in search of a city, Bunyan portrays the experiences of humanity in its journey from this world to the next. Here is an outline of the story:

STORY OF PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

In the City of Destruction lives a poor sinner called Christian. When he learns that the city is doomed, he is terrified and flees out of it, carrying a great burden on his back. He is followed by the jeers of his neighbors, who have no fear. He seeks a safe and abiding city to dwell in, but is ignorant how to find it until Evangelist shows him the road.

As he goes on his journey Mr. Worldly Wiseman meets him and urges him to return; but he hastens on, only to plunge into the Slough of Despond. His companion Pliable is here discouraged and turns back. Christian struggles on through the mud and reaches the Wicket Gate, where Interpreter shows him the way to the Celestial City. As he passes a cross beside the path, the heavy burden which he carries (his load of sins) falls off of itself. Then with many adventures he climbs the steep hill Difficulty, where his eyes behold the Castle Beautiful. To reach this he must pass some fearful lions in the way, but he adventures on, finds that the lions are chained, is welcomed by the porter Watchful, and is entertained in the castle overnight.

Dangers thicken and difficulties multiply as he resumes his journey. His road is barred by the demon Apollyon, whom he fights to the death. The way now dips downward into the awful Valley of the Shadow. Passing through this, he enters the town of Vanity, goes to Vanity Fair, where he is abused and beaten, and where his companion Faithful is condemned to death. As he escapes from Vanity, the giant Despair seizes him and hurls him into the gloomy dungeon of Doubt. Again he escapes, struggles onward, and reaches the Delectable Mountains. There for the first time he sees the Celestial City, but between him and his refuge is a river, deep and terrible, without

bridge or ford. He crosses it, and the journey ends as angels come singing down the streets to welcome Christian into the city. [This is the story of the first part of 'Pilgrim's Progress', which was written in Bedford jail, but not published till some years later. In 1684 Bunyan published the second part of his story, describing the adventures of Christiana and her children on their journey to the Celestial City.]

Such an outline gives but a faint idea of Bunyan's great work, of its realistic figures, its living and speaking characters, its knowledge of humanity, its portrayal of the temptations and doubts that beset the ordinary man, its picturesque style, which of itself would make the book stand out above ten thousand ordinary stories. 'Pilgrim's Progress' is still one of our best examples of clear, forceful, idiomatic English; and our wonder increases when we remember that it was written by a man ignorant of literary models. But he had read his Bible daily until its style and imagery had taken possession of him; also he had a vivid imagination, a sincere purpose to help his fellows, and his simple rule of rhetoric was to forget himself and deliver his message.

JOHN DRYDEN (1631-1700)

For fifty years Dryden lived in the city of Milton, in the country of John Bunyan; but his works might indicate that he inhabited a different planet. Unlike his two great contemporaries, his first object was to win favor; he sold his talent to the highest bidder, won the leading place among second-rate Restoration writers, and was content to reflect a generation which had neither the hearty enthusiasm of Elizabethan times nor the moral earnestness of Puritanism.

LIFE. Knowledge of Dryden's life is rather meager, and as his motives are open to question we shall state here only a few facts. He was born of a Puritan and aristocratic family, at Aldwinkle, in 1631. After an excellent education, which included seven years at Trinity College, Cambridge, he turned to literature as a means of earning a livelihood, taking a worldly view of his profession and holding his pen ready to serve the winning side. Thus, he wrote his "Heroic Stanzas," which have a hearty Puritan ring, on the death of Cromwell; but he turned Royalist and wrote the more flattering "Astraea Redux" to welcome Charles II back to power.

In literature Dryden proved himself a man of remarkable versatility. Because plays were in demand, he produced many that catered to the evil tastes of the Restoration stage,--plays that he afterwards condemned unsparingly. He was equally ready to write prose or verse, songs, criticisms, political satires. In 1670 he was made poet laureate under Charles II; his affairs prospered; he became a literary dictator in London, holding forth nightly in Will's Coffeehouse to an admiring circle of listeners. After the Revolution of 1688 he lost his offices, and with them most of his income.

In his old age, being reduced to hackwork, he wrote obituaries, epitaphs, paraphrases of the tales of Chaucer, translations of Latin poets,--anything to earn an honest living. He died in 1700, and was buried beside Chaucer in Westminster Abbey.

Such facts are not interesting; nor do they give us a true idea of the man Dryden. To understand him we should have to read his works (no easy or pleasant task) and compare his prose prefaces, in which he is at his best, with the comedies in which he is abominable. When not engaged with the degenerate stage, or with political or literary or religious controversies, he appears sane, well-balanced, good-tempered, manly; but the impression is not a lasting one. He seems to have catered to the vicious element of his own age, to have regretted the misuse of his talent, and to have recorded his own judgment in two lines from his ode "To the Memory of Mrs. Killigrew":

O gracious God, how far have we
Profaned thy heavenly grace of poesy!

WORKS OF DRYDEN. The occasional poems written by Dryden may be left in the obscurity into which they fell after they had been applauded. The same may be said of his typical poem "Annus Mirabilis," which describes the wonderful events of the year 1666, a year which witnessed the taking of New Amsterdam from the Dutch and the great fire of London. Both events were celebrated in a way to contribute to the glory of King Charles and to Dryden's political fortune. Of all his poetical works, only the odes written in honor of St. Cecilia are now remembered. The second ode, "Alexander's Feast," is one of our best poems on the power of music.

PLAYS: Dryden's numerous plays show considerable dramatic power, and every one of them contains some memorable line or passage; but they are spoiled by the author's insincerity in trying to satisfy the depraved taste of the Restoration stage. He wrote one play, "All for Love", to please himself, he said, and it is noticeable that this play is written in blank verse and shows the influence of Shakespeare, who was then out of fashion. If any of the plays are to be read, "All for Love" should be selected, though it is exceptional, not typical, and gives but a faint idea of Dryden's ordinary dramatic methods.

SATIRES: In the field of political satire Dryden was a master, and his work here is interesting as showing that unfortunate alliance between literature and politics which led many of the best English writers of the next century to sell their services to the Whigs or Tories. Dryden sided with the later party and, in a kind of allegory of the Bible story of Absalom's revolt against David, wrote "Absalom and Achitophel" to glorify the Tories and to castigate the Whigs. This powerful political satire was followed by others in the same vein, and by "MacFlecknoe," which satirized certain poets with whom Dryden was at loggerheads. As a rule, such works are for a day, having no enduring interest because

they have no human kindness, but occasionally Dryden portrays a man of his own time so well that his picture applies to the vulgar politician of all ages.

These satires of Dryden were largely influential in establishing the heroic couplet, [The heroic couplet consists of two iambic pentameter lines that rhyme.] which dominated the fashion of English poetry for the next century. The couplet had been used by earlier poets, Chaucer for example; but in his hands it was musical and unobtrusive, a minor part of a complete work. With Dryden, and with his contemporary Waller, the making of couplets was the main thing; in their hands the couplet became “closed,” that is, it often contained a complete thought, a criticism, a nugget of common sense, a poem in itself, as in this aphorism from “MacFlecknoe”:

All human things are subject to decay,
And when Fate summons, monarchs must obey.
For Dryden the true end of satire is the amendment of vices by corrections.

PROSE WORKS: In his prose works Dryden proved himself the ablest critic of his time, and the inventor of a neat, serviceable style which, with flattery to ourselves, we are wont to call modern. Among his numerous critical works we note especially “An Essay of Dramatic Poesy,” “Of Heroic Plays,” “Discourse on Satire,” and the Preface to his “Fables”. These have not the vigor or picturesqueness of Bunyan’s prose, but they are written clearly, in short sentences, with the chief aim of being understood. If we compare them with the sonorous periods of Milton, or with the pretty involutions of Sidney, we shall see why Dryden is called “the father of modern prose.” His sensible style appears in this criticism of Chaucer:

He must have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his “Canterbury Tales” the various manners and humours (as we now call them) of the whole English nation in his age. Not a single character has escaped him.... We have our fathers and great-grand-dames all before us as they were in Chaucer’s days: their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names than those of monks and friars and canons and lady abbesses and nuns; for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature though everything is altered.

TIT BITS:-

- Dryden became poet laureate in 1668.
- ‘Of Dramatic Poesy’ is an essay largely concerned with justifying Dryden’s practice as a playwright.
- ‘Aureng-Zebe’ is a tragedy by Dryden pub. in 1676.
- ‘All for Love, or The World Well Lost’ (1678) a tragedy written in blank verse is an imitation of Shakespeare’s ‘Antony and Cleopatra’.
- Buchingham criticized Dryden as Bayes in ‘The Rehearsal’ (1671).
- His principal opponent was Shadwell whom Dryden ridiculed in ‘Mac Flecknoe’ (1682). Pope borrowed the idea of ‘Mac Flecknoe’ for the basis of his ‘Dunciad’.
- ‘Astrea Redux’ (1660) celebrates restoration of Charles II.
- ‘The Medal’ (1682) - satire on Shaftesbury.
- In his ‘The Hind and the Panther’ (1687) Catholic Church stands for Hind and the Church of England for Panther. The work is an attempt to reconcile Anglican and Catholic political interests, while at the same time defending Catholic doctrine.

PURITAN AND CAVALIER VERSE. The numerous minor poets of this period are often arranged in groups, but any true classification is impossible since there was no unity among them. Each was a law unto himself, and the result was to emphasize personal oddity or eccentricity. It would seem that in writing of love, the common theme of poets, Puritan and Cavalier must alike speak the common language of the heart; but that is precisely what they did not do. With them love was no longer a passion, or even a fashion, but any fantastic conceit that might decorate a rime. Thus, Suckling habitually made love a joke. Crashaw turned from his religious poems to sing of love in a way to appeal to the Transcendentalists, of a later age. And Donne must search out some odd notion from natural (or unnatural) history, making love a spider that turns the wine of life into poison; or from mechanics, comparing lovers to a pair of dividers. Several of these poets, commonly grouped in a class which includes Donne, Herbert, Cowley, Crashaw, and others famous in their day, received the name of metaphysical poets, not because of their profound thought, but because of their eccentric style and queer figures of speech. Of all this group George Herbert (1593-1633) is the sanest and the sweetest. His chief work, “The Temple”, is a collection of poems celebrating the beauty of holiness, the sacraments, the Church, the experiences of the Christian life. Some of these poems are ingenious conceits, and deserve the derisive name of “metaphysical” which Dr. Johnson flung at them; but others, such as “Virtue,” “The Pulley,” “Love” and “The Collar,” are the expression of a beautiful and saintly soul, speaking of the deep things of God; and speaking so quietly withal that one is apt to miss the intensity that lurks even in his calmest verses.

CAVALIER POETS

In contrast with the disciplined Puritan spirit of Herbert is the gayety of another group, called the Cavalier poets, among whom are Carew, Suckling and Lovelace. They reflect clearly the spirit of the Royalists who followed King Charles with a devotion worthy of a better master. Robert Herrick (1591-1634) is the best known of this group, and

his only book, "Hesperides and Noble Numbers" (1648), reflects the two elements found in most of the minor poetry of the age; namely, Cavalier gaiety and Puritan seriousness. In the first part of the book are some graceful verses celebrating the light loves of the Cavaliers and the fleeting joys of country life. In "Noble Numbers" such poems as "Thanksgiving," "A True Lent," "Litany," and the child's "Ode on the Birth of Our Saviour" reflect the better side of the Cavalier, who can be serious without pulling a long face, who goes to his devotions cheerfully, and who retains even in his religion what Andrew Lang calls a spirit of unregenerate happiness.

BUTLER'S HUDIBRAS

Samuel Butler (1612-1680) may also be classed with the Cavalier poets, though in truth he stands alone in this age, a master of doggerel rime and of ferocious satire. His chief work, "Hudibras", a grotesque caricature of Puritanism, appeared in 1663, when the restored king and his favorites were shamelessly plundering the government. The poem (probably suggested by "Don Quixote") relates a rambling story in the doggerel style of the adventures of Sir Hudibras, a sniveling Puritan knight, and his squire Ralpho.

Such doggerels were the stuff that the Royalists quoted to each other as wit; and the wit was so dear to king and courtiers that they carried copies of "Hudibras" around in their pockets. The poem was enormously popular in its day, and some of its best lines are still quoted; but the selections we now meet give but a faint idea of the general scurrility of a work which amused England in the days when the Puritan's fanaticism was keenly remembered, his struggle for liberty quite forgotten.

PROSE WRITERS. Of the hundreds of prose works that appeared in Puritan times very few are now known even by name. Their controversial fires are sunk to ashes; even the causes that produced or fanned them are forgotten. Meanwhile we cherish a few books that speak not of strife but of peace and charity.

Thomas Browne (1605-1682) was a physician, vastly learned in a day when he and other doctors gravely prescribed herbs or bloodsuckers for witchcraft; but he was less interested in his profession than in what was then called modern science. His most famous work is "Religio Medici" (Religion of a Physician, 1642), a beautiful book, cherished by those who know it as one of the greatest prose works in the language. His "Hydriotaphia" or "Urn Burial" (1658) is even more remarkable for its subtle thought and condensed expression; but its charm, like that of the Silent Places, is for the few who can discover and appreciate it. It is called the first archaeological treatise in English.

Isaac Walton (1593-1683), or Isaak, as he always wrote it, was a modest linen merchant who, in the midst of troublous times, kept his serenity of spirit by attending strictly to his own affairs, by reading good books, and by going fishing. His taste for literature is reflected with rare simplicity in his "Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, George Herbert and Bishop Sanderson", a series of biographies which are among the earliest and sweetest in our language. Their charm lies partly in their refined style, but more largely in their revelation of character; for Walton chose men of gentle spirit for his subjects, men who were like himself in cherishing the still depths of life rather than its noisy shallows, and wrote of them with the understanding of perfect sympathy.

Walton's love of fishing, and of all the lore of trout brooks and spring meadows that fishing implies, found expression in "The Compleat Angler, or Contemplative Man's Recreation" (1653). This is a series of conversations in which an angler convinces his friends that fishing is not merely the sport of catching fish, but an art that men are born to, like the art of poetry. Even such a hard-hearted matter as impaling a minnow for bait becomes poetical, for this is the fashion of it: "Put your hook in at his mouth, and out at his gills, and do it as if you loved him." It is enough to say of this old work, the classic of its kind, that it deserves all the honor which the tribe of anglers have given it, and that you could hardly find a better book to fall asleep over after a day's fishing.

EVELYN AND PEPYS

No such gentle, human, lovable books were produced in Restoration times. The most famous prose works of the period are the diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys. The former was a gentleman, and his "Diary" is an interesting chronicle of matters large and small from 1641 to 1697. Pepys, though he became Secretary of the Admiralty and President of the Royal Society, was a gossip, a chatterbox, with an eye that loved to peek into closets and a tongue that ran to slander. His "Diary", covering the period from 1660 to 1669, is a keen but malicious exposition of private and public life during the Restoration.

SUMMARY. The literary period just studied covers the last three quarters of the seventeenth century. Its limits are very indefinite, merging into Elizabethan romance on the one side, and into eighteenth century formalism on the other. Historically, the period was one of bitter conflict between two main political and religious parties, the Royalists, or Cavaliers, and the Puritans. The literature of the age is extremely diverse in character, and is sadly lacking in the unity, the joyousness, the splendid enthusiasm of Elizabethan prose and poetry.

The greatest writer of the period was John Milton. He is famous in literature for his early or Horton poems, which are Elizabethan in spirit; for his controversial prose works, which reflect the strife of the age; for his epic of "Paradise Lost", and for his tragedy of "Samson".

Another notable Puritan, or rather Independent, writer was John Bunyan, whose works reflect the religious ferment of the seventeenth century. His chief works are "Grace Abounding", a kind of spiritual biography, and "The Pilgrim's Progress", an allegory of the Christian life which has been more widely read than any other English book.

The chief writer of the Restoration period was John Dryden, a professional author, who often catered to the

coarser tastes of the age. There is no single work by which he is gratefully remembered. He is noted for his political satires, for his vigorous use of the heroic couplet, for his modern prose style, and for his literary criticisms.

Among the numerous minor poets of the period, Robert Herrick and George Herbert are especially noteworthy. A few miscellaneous prose works are the "Religio Medici" of Thomas Browne, "The Compleat Angler" of Isaac Walton, and the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

HISTORY OF THE PERIOD. The most striking political feature of the times was the rise of constitutional and party government. The Revolution of 1688, which banished the Stuarts, had settled the king question by making Parliament supreme in England, but not all Englishmen were content with the settlement. No sooner were the people in control of the government than they divided into hostile parties: the liberal Whigs, who were determined to safeguard popular liberty, and the conservative Tories, with tender memories of kingcraft, who would leave as much authority as possible in the royal hands. On the extreme of Toryism was a third party of zealots, called the Jacobites, who aimed to bring the Stuarts back to the throne, and who for fifty years filled Britain with plots and rebellion. The literature of the age was at times dominated by the interests of these contending factions.

The two main parties were so well balanced that power shifted easily from one to the other. To overturn a Tory or a Whig cabinet only a few votes were necessary, and to influence such votes London was flooded with pamphlets. Even before the great newspapers appeared, the press had become a mighty power in England, and any writer with a talent for argument or satire was almost certain to be hired by party leaders. Addison, Steele, Defoe, Swift,--most of the great writers of the age were, on occasion, the willing servants of the Whigs or Tories. So the new politician replaced the old nobleman as a patron of letters.

SOCIAL LIFE. Another feature of the age was the rapid development of social life. In earlier ages the typical Englishman had lived much by himself; his home was his castle, and in it he developed his intense individualism; but in the first half of the eighteenth century some three thousand public coffeehouses and a large number of private clubs appeared in London alone; and the sociability of which these clubs were an expression was typical of all English cities. Meanwhile country life was in sore need of refinement.

The influence of this social life on literature was inevitable. Nearly all writers frequented the coffeehouses, and matters discussed there became subjects of literature; hence the enormous amount of eighteenth-century writing devoted to transient affairs, to politics, fashions, gossip. Moreover, as the club leaders set the fashion in manners or dress, in the correct way of taking snuff or of wearing wigs and ruffles, so the literary leaders emphasized formality or correctness of style, and to write prose like Addison, or verse like Pope, became the ambition of aspiring young authors.

SPREAD OF EMPIRE. Two other significant features of the age were the large part played by England in Continental wars, and the rapid expansion of the British empire. These Continental wars, which have ever since influenced British policy, seem to have originated (aside from the important matter of self-interest) in a double motive: to prevent any one nation from gaining overwhelming superiority by force of arms, and to save the smaller "buffer" states from being absorbed by their powerful neighbors. Thus the War of the Spanish Succession (1711) prevented the union of the French and Spanish monarchies, and preserved the smaller states of Holland and Germany.

The expansion of the empire, on the whole the most marvelous feature of English history, received a tremendous impetus in this age when India, Australia and the greater part of North America were added to the British dominions, and when Captain Cook opened the way for a belt of colonies around the whole world.

The influence of the last-named movement hardly appears in the books which we ordinarily read as typical of the age. There are other books, however, which one may well read for his own unhampered enjoyment: such expansive books as Hawkesworth's "Voyages" (1773), corresponding to Hakluyt's famous record of Elizabethan exploration, and especially the "Voyages of Captain Cook", which take us from the drawing-room chatter of politics or fashion or criticism into a world of adventure and great achievement. In such works, which make no profession of literary style, we feel the lure of the sea and of lands beyond the horizon, which is as the mighty background of English literature from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day.

It is difficult to summarize the literature of this age, or to group such antagonistic writers as Swift and Addison, Pope and Burns, Defoe and Johnson, Goldsmith and Fielding, with any fine discrimination. It is simply for convenience, therefore, that we study eighteenth-century writings in three main divisions: the reign of so-called classicism, the revival of romantic poetry, and the beginnings of the modern novel. As a whole, it is an age of prose rather than of poetry, and in this respect it differs from all preceding ages of English literature.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CLASSICISM. In our literature the word "classic" was probably first used in connection with the writers of Greece and Rome, and any English work which showed the influence of such writers was said to have a classic style. If we seek to the root of the word, we shall find that it refers to the "classici", that is, to the highest of the classes into which the census divided the Roman people; hence the proper use of "classic" to designate the writings that have won first rank in any nation. As Goethe said, "Everything that is good in literature is classical."

Gradually, however, the word "classic" came to have a different meaning, a meaning now expressed by the

word “formal.” In the Elizabethan age, as we have seen, critics insisted that English plays should conform to the rules or “unities” of the Greek drama, and plays written according to such rules were called classic. Again, in the eighteenth century, English poets took to studying ancient authors, especially Horace, to find out how poetry should be written. Having discovered, as they thought, the rules of composition, they insisted on following such rules rather than individual genius or inspiration. It is largely because of this adherence to rules, this slavery to a fashion of the time, that so much of eighteenth-century verse seems cold and artificial, a thing made to order rather than the natural expression of human feeling. The writers themselves were well satisfied with their formality, however, and called their own the Classic or Augustan age of English letters. Though the eighteenth century was dominated by this formal spirit, it had, like every other age, its classic and romantic movements. The work of Gray, Burns and other romantic poets will be considered later.

ALEXANDER POPE (1688-1744)

It was in 1819 that a controversy arose over the question, Was Pope a poet? To have asked that in 1719 would have indicated that the questioner was ignorant; to have asked it a half century later might have raised a doubt as to his sanity, for by that time Pope was acclaimed as a master by the great majority of poets in England and America. We judge now, looking at him in perspective and comparing him with Chaucer or Burns, that he was not a great poet but simply the kind of poet that the age demanded. He belongs to eighteenth-century London exclusively, and herein he differs from the master poets who are at home in all places and expressive of all time.

LIFE. Pope is an interesting but not a lovable figure. Against the petty details of his life we should place, as a background, these amazing achievements: that this poor cripple, weak of body and spiteful of mind, was the supreme literary figure of his age; that he demonstrated how an English poet could live by his pen, instead of depending on patrons; that he won greater fame and fortune than Shakespeare or Milton received from their contemporaries; that he dominated the fashion of English poetry during his lifetime, and for many years after his death.

Pope was born in London, in the year of the Revolution (1688). Soon after that date his father, having gained a modest fortune in the linen business, retired to Binfield, on the fringe of Windsor Forest. There Pope passed his boyhood, studying a little under private tutors, forming a pleasurable acquaintance with Latin and Greek poets. From fourteen to twenty, he tells us, he read for amusement; but from twenty to twenty-seven he read for “improvement and instruction.” The most significant traits of these early years were his determination to be a poet and his talent for imitating any writer who pleased him. Dryden was his first master, from whom he inherited the couplet, then he imitated the French critic Boileau and the Roman poet Horace. By the time he was twenty four the publication of his “Essay on Criticism” and “The Rape of the Lock” had made him the foremost poet of England. By his translation of Homer he made a fortune, with which he bought a villa at Twickenham. There he lived in the pale sunshine of literary success, and there he quarreled with every writer who failed to appreciate his verses, his jealousy overflowing at last in “The Dunciad” (Iliad of Dunces), a witty but venomous lampoon, in which he took revenge on all who had angered him.

Next to his desire for glory and revenge, Pope loved to be considered a man of high character, a teacher of moral philosophy. His ethical teaching appears in his “Moral Epistles”, his desire for a good reputation is written large in his Letters, which he secretly printed, and then alleged that they had been made public against his wish. These Letters might impress us as the utterances of a man of noble ideals, magnanimous with his friends, patient with his enemies, until we reflect that they were published by the author for the purpose of giving precisely that impression. Another side of Pope’s nature is revealed in this: that to some of his friends, to Swift and Bolingbroke for example, he showed gratitude, and that to his parents he was ever a dutiful son.

WORKS OF POPE. Pope’s first important work, “An Essay on Criticism” (1711), is an echo of the rules which Horace had formulated in his “Ars Poetica”, more than seventeen centuries before Pope was born. The French critic Boileau made an alleged improvement of Horace in his “L’Art Poétique”, and Pope imitated both writers with his rimed “Essay”, in which he attempted to sum up the rules by which poetry should be judged. And he did it, while still under the age of twenty-five, so brilliantly that his characterization of the critic is unmatched in our literature.

RAPE OF THE LOCK. Pope’s next important poem, “The Rape of the Lock” (1712), his most original and readable work is a mock epic. The occasion of the poem was that a fop stole a lock of hair from a young lady, and the theft plunged two families into a quarrel which was taken up by the fashionable set of London. Pope made a mock-heroic poem on the subject, in which he satirized the fads and fashions of Queen Anne’s age. Ordinarily Pope’s fancy is of small range, and proceeds jerkily, like the flight of a woodpecker, from couplet to couplet; but here he attempts to soar like the eagle. He introduces dainty aerial creatures, gnomes, sprites, sylphs, to combat for the belles and fops in their trivial concerns; and herein we see a clever burlesque of the old epic poems, in which gods or goddesses entered into the serious affairs of mortals. The craftsmanship of the poem is above praise; it is not only a neatly pointed satire on eighteenth-century fashions but is one of the most graceful works in English verse.

ESSAY ON MAN. An excellent supplement to “The Rape of the Lock”, which pictures the superficial elegance of the age, is “An Essay on Man”, which reflects its philosophy. That philosophy under the general name of Deism, had fancied to abolish the Church and all revealed religion, and had set up a new-old standard of natural faith and morals. Of this philosophy Pope had small knowledge; but he was well acquainted with the discredited Bolingbroke, his “guide, philosopher and friend,” who was a fluent exponent of the new doctrine, and from Bolingbroke came the general scheme of the “Essay on Man”.

The poem appears in the form of four epistles, dealing with man’s place in the universe, with his moral nature, with social and political ethics, and with the problem of happiness. These were discussed from a common-sense viewpoint, and with feet always on solid earth. Throughout the poem the two doctrines of Deism are kept in sight: that there is a God, a Mystery, who dwells apart from the world; and that man ought to be contented, even happy, in his ignorance of matters beyond his horizon.

THE QUALITY OF POPE. It is hardly necessary to examine other works of Pope, since the poems already named give us the full measure of his strength and weakness. His talent is to formulate rules of poetry, to satirize fashionable society, to make brilliant epigrams in faultless couplets. His failure to move or even to interest us greatly is due to his second-hand philosophy, his inability to feel or express emotion, his artificial life apart from nature and humanity. When we read Chaucer or Shakespeare, we have the impression that they would have been at home in any age or place, since they deal with human interests that are the same yesterday, to-day and forever; but we can hardly imagine Pope feeling at ease anywhere save in his own set and in his own generation. He is the poet of one period, which set great store by formality, and in that period alone he is supreme.

TIT BITS:-

- His ‘Essay on Criticism’ (1711) is a didactic poem in heroic couplets.
- ‘Windsor Forest’ (1713) - a celebration of the Peace of Utrecht. Pope translated Homer’s ‘Iliad’ and ‘Odyssey’ to which Richard Bentley commented “A pretty poem but not Homer”.
- ‘The Dunciad’ a satire celebrating dullness is dedicated to Swift, with Theobald as its hero.
- ‘An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot’ (1735) is subtitled ‘the prologue of Satires’ where he attacks Lady Mary Wortley Montagu as ‘Sappho’, Addison as ‘Atticus’ and Lord Halifax as ‘Bufo’.

JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745)

In the history of literature Swift occupies a large place as the most powerful of English satirists; that is, writers who search out the faults of society in order to hold them up to ridicule. To most readers, however, he is known as the author of “Gulliver’s Travels”, a book which young people still read with pleasure, as they read “Robinson Crusoe” or any other story of adventure. In the fate of that book, which was intended to scourge humanity but which has become a source of innocent entertainment, is a commentary on the colossal failure of Swift’s ambition.

LIFE. Little need be recorded of Swift’s life beyond the few facts which help us to understand his satires. He was born in Dublin, of English parents, and was so “bantered by fortune” that he was compelled to spend the greater part of his life in Ireland, a country which he detested. He was very poor, very proud; and even in youth he railed at a mocking fate which compelled him to accept aid from others. For his education he was dependent on a relative, who helped him grudgingly. After leaving Trinity College, Dublin, the only employment he could find was with another relative, Sir William Temple, a retired statesman, who hired Swift as a secretary and treated him as a servant. Galled by his position and by his feeling of superiority (for he was a man of physical and mental power, who longed to be a master of great affairs) he took orders in the Anglican Church; but the only appointment he could obtain was in a village buried, as he said, in a forsaken district of Ireland. There his bitterness overflowed in “A Tale of a Tub” and a few pamphlets of such satiric power that certain political leaders recognized Swift’s value and summoned him to their assistance.

To understand his success in London one must remember the times. Politics were rampant; the city was the battleground of Whigs and Tories, whose best weapon was the printed pamphlet that justified one party by heaping abuse or ridicule on the other. Swift was a master of satire, and he was soon the most feared author in England. He seems to have had no fixed principles, for he was ready to join the Tories when that party came into power and to turn his literary cannon on the Whigs, whom he had recently supported. In truth, he despised both parties; his object was to win for himself the masterful position in Church or state for which, he believed, his talents had fitted him.

For several years Swift was the literary champion of the victorious Tories; then, when his keen eye detected signs of tottering in the party, he asked for his reward. He obtained, not the great bishopric which he expected, but an appointment as Dean of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin. Small and bitter fruit this seemed to Swift, after his years of service, but even so, it was given grudgingly. [Swift’s pride and arrogance with his official superiors worked against him. Also he had published “A Tale of a Tub”, a coarse satire against the churches, which scandalized the queen and her ministers, who could have given him preferment.]

When the Tories went out of power Swift’s political occupation was gone. The last thirty years of his life were spent largely in Dublin. There in a living grave, as he regarded it, the scorn which he had hitherto felt for

individuals or institutions widened until it included humanity. Such is the meaning of his "Gulliver's Travels". His only pleasure during these years was to expose the gullibility of men, and a hundred good stories are current of his practical jokes,--such as his getting rid of a crowd which had gathered to watch an eclipse by sending a solemn messenger to announce that, by the Dean's orders, the eclipse was postponed till the next day. A brain disease fastened upon him gradually, and his last years were passed in a state of alternate stupor or madness from which death was a blessed deliverance.

WORKS OF SWIFT. The poems of Swift, though they show undoubted power (every smallest thing he wrote bears that stamp), may be passed over with the comment of his relative Dryden, who wrote: "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet." The criticism was right, but thereafter Swift jeered at Dryden's poetry. We may pass over also the "Battle of the Books", the "Drapier's Letters" and a score more of satires and lampoons. Of all these minor works the "Bickerstaff Papers", which record Swift's practical joke on the astrologers, are most amusing.

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS. Swift's fame now rests largely upon his "Gulliver's Travels", which appeared in 1726 under the title, "Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, by Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon and then a Captain of Several Ships." In the first voyage we are taken to Lilliput, a country inhabited by human beings about six inches tall, with minds in proportion. The capers of these midgets are a satire on human society, as seen through Swift's scornful eyes. In the second voyage we go to Brobdingnag, where the people are of gigantic stature, and by contrast we are reminded of the petty "human insects" whom Gulliver represents. The third voyage, to the Island of Laputa, is a burlesque of the scientists and philosophers of Swift's day. The fourth leads to the land of the Houyhnhnms, where intelligent horses are the ruling creatures, and humanity is represented by the Yahoos, a horribly degraded race, having the forms of men and the bestial habits of monkeys.

Such is the ferocious satire on the elegant society of Queen Anne's day. Fortunately for our peace of mind we can read the book for its grim humor and adventurous action, as we read any other good story. Indeed, it surprises most readers of "Gulliver" to be told that the work was intended to wreck our faith in humanity.

QUALITY OF SWIFT. In all his satires Swift's power lies in his prose style--a convincing style, clear, graphic, straightforward--and in his marvellous ability to make every scene, however distant or grotesque, as natural as life itself. As Emerson said, he describes his characters as if for the police. His weakness is twofold: he has a fondness for coarse references, and he is so beclouded in his own soul that he cannot see his fellows in a true light. Swift had a scorn of all judgment except his own. As the eyes of fishes are so arranged that they see only their prey and their enemies, so Swift had eyes only for the vices of men and for the lash that scourges them. When he wrote, therefore, he was not an observer, or even a judge; he was a criminal lawyer prosecuting humanity on the charge of being a sham. A tendency to insanity may possibly account both for his spleen against others and for the self-tortures which made him, as Archbishop King said, "the most unhappy man on earth."

JOURNAL TO STELLA. There is one oasis in the bitter desert of Swift's writings, namely, his "Journal to Stella". While in the employ of Temple he was the companion of a young girl, Esther Johnson, who was an inmate of the same household. Her love for Swift was pure and constant; wherever he went she followed and lived near him, bringing a ray of sunshine into his life. She was probably married to Swift, but his pride kept him from openly acknowledging the union. While he was at London he wrote a private journal for Esther (Stella) in which he recorded his impressions of the men and women he met, and of the political battles in which he took part. That journal, filled with strange private abbreviations, can hardly be called literature, but it gives us glimpses of a woman who chose to live in the shadow; it shows the better side of Swift's nature; and finally, it often takes us behind the scenes of a stage on which was played a mixed comedy of politics and society.

JOSEPH ADDISON (1672-1719)

In Addison we have a pleasant reflection of the new social life of England. Select almost any feature of that life, and you shall find some account of it in the papers of Addison: its party politics in his "Whig Examiner"; its "grand tour," as part of a gentleman's education, in his "Remarks on Italy"; its adventure on foreign soil in such poems as "The Campaign"; its new drama of decency in his "Cato"; its classic delusions in his "Account of the Greatest English Poets"; its frills, fashions and similar matters in his "Spectator" essays. He tried almost every type of literature, from hymns to librettos, and in each he succeeded well enough to be loudly applauded. In his own day he was accounted a master poet, but now he is remembered as a writer of prose essays.

LIFE. Addison's career offers an interesting contrast to that of Swift, who lived in the same age. He was the son of an English clergyman, settled in the deanery of Lichfield, and his early training left upon him the stamp of good taste and good breeding. In school he was always the model boy; in Oxford he wrote Latin verses on safe subjects, in the approved fashion; in politics he was content to "oil the machine" as he found it; in society he was shy and silent (though naturally a brilliant talker) because he feared to make some slip which might mar his prospects or the dignity of his position.

A very discreet man was Addison, and the only failure he made of discretion was when he married the Dowager Countess of Warwick, went to live in her elegant Holland House, and lived unhappily ever afterwards. The

last is a mere formal expression. Addison had not depth enough to be really unhappy. From the cold comfort of the Dowager's palace he would slip off to his club or to Will's Coffee house. There, with a pipe and a bottle, he would loosen his eloquent tongue and proceed to "make discreetly merry with a few old friends."

His characteristic quality appears in the literary work which followed his Latin verses. He began with a flattering "Address to Dryden," which pleased the old poet and brought Addison to the attention of literary celebrities. His next effort was "The Peace of Ryswick," which flattered King William's statesmen and brought the author a chance to serve the Whig party. Also it brought a pension, with a suggestion that Addison should travel abroad and learn French and diplomacy, which he did, to his great content, for the space of three years.

The death of the king brought Addison back to England. His pension stopped, and for a time he lived poorly "in a garret," as one may read in Thackeray's "Henry Esmond". Then came news of an English victory on the Continent (Marlborough's victory at Blenheim), and the Whigs wanted to make political capital out of the event. Addison was hunted up and engaged to write a poem. He responded with "The Campaign," which made him famous. Patriots and politicians ascribed to the poem undying glory, and their judgment was accepted by fashionable folk of London. To read it now is to meet a formal, uninspired production, containing a few stock quotations and, incidentally, a sad commentary on the union of Whiggery and poetry.

From that moment Addison's success was assured. He was given various offices of increasing importance; he entered Parliament; he wrote a classic tragedy, "Cato", which took London by storm (his friend Steele had carefully "packed the house" for the first performance); his essays in "The Spectator" were discussed in every fashionable club or drawing-room; he married a rich countess; he was appointed Secretary of State. The path of politics, which others find so narrow and slippery, was for Addison a broad road through pleasant gardens. Meanwhile Swift, who could not follow the Addisonian way of kindness and courtesy, was eating bitter bread and railing at humanity.

After a brief experience as Secretary of State, finding that he could not make the speeches expected of him, Addison retired on a pension. His unwavering allegiance to good form in all matters appears even in his last remark, "See how a Christian can die." That was in 1719. He had sought the easiest, pleasantest way through life, and had found it.

WORKS OF ADDISON. Addison's great reputation was won chiefly by his poetry; but with the exception of a few hymns, simple and devout, his poetical works no longer appeal to us. He was not a poet but a verse-maker. His classic tragedy "Cato", for example (which met with such amazing success in London that it was taken over to the Continent, where it was acclaimed "a masterpiece of regularity and elegance"), has some good passages, but one who reads the context is apt to find the elegant lines running together somewhat drowsily. Nor need that reflect on our taste or intelligence. Even the cultured Greeks, as if in anticipation of classic poems, built two adjoining temples, one dedicated to the Muses and the other to Sleep.

THE ESSAYS. The "Essays" of Addison give us the full measure of his literary talent. In his verse, as in his political works, he seems to be speaking to strangers; he is on guard over his dignity as a poet, as Secretary of State, as husband of a countess; but in his "Essays" we meet the man at his ease, fluent, witty, light-hearted but not frivolous,--just as he talked to his friends in Will's Coffeehouse. The conversational quality of these "Essays" has influenced all subsequent works of the same type,--a type hard to define, but which leaves the impression of pleasant talk about a subject, as distinct from any learned discussion.

The "Essays" cover a wide range: fashions, dress, manners, character sketches, letters of travel, ghost stories, satires on common vices, week-end sermons on moral subjects. They are never profound, but they are always pleasant, and their graceful style made a lasting impression.

ADDISON AND STEELE. Of these two associates Richard Steele (1672-1729) had the more original mind, and his writings reveal a warm, human sympathy that is lacking in the work of his more famous contemporary. But while Addison cultivated his one talent of writing, Steele was like Defoe in that he always had some new project in his head, and some old debt urging him to put the project into immediate execution. He was in turn poet, political pamphleteer, soldier, dramatist, member of Parliament, publisher, manager of a theater, following each occupation eagerly for a brief season, then abandoning it cheerfully for another,--much like a boy picking blueberries in a good place, who moves on and on to find a better bush, eats his berries on the way, and comes home at last with an empty pail.

THE TATLER AND THE SPECTATOR. While holding the political office of "gazetteer" the idea came to Steele of publishing a literary magazine. The inventive Defoe had already issued "The Review" (1704), but that had a political origin. With the first number of "The Tatler" (1709) the modern magazine made its bow to the public. This little sheet, published thrice a week and sold at a penny a copy, contained more or less politics, to be sure, but the fact that it reflected the gossip of coffeehouses made it instantly popular. After less than two years of triumph Steele lost his official position, and "The Tatler" was discontinued. The idea remained, however, and a few months later appeared "The Spectator" (1711), a daily magazine which eschewed politics and devoted itself to essays, reviews, letters, criticisms, in short, to "polite" literature. Addison, who had been a contributor to "The Tatler" entered heartily into the new venture, which had a brief but glorious career. He became known as "Mr. Spectator," and the famous Spectator Essays are still commonly attributed to him, though in truth Steele furnished a large part of them.

ADDISONIAN STYLE. Because of their cultivated prose style, Steele and Addison were long regarded as models, and we are still influenced by them in the direction of clearness and grace of expression. How wide their influence extended may be seen in American literature. Hardly had “The Spectator” appeared when it crossed the Atlantic and began to dominate our English style on both sides of the ocean. Franklin, in Boston, studied it by night in order to imitate it in the essay which he slipped under the printing-house door next morning; and Boyd, in Virginia, reflects its influence in his charming Journal of exploration. Half a century later, the Hartford Wits were writing clever sketches that seemed like the work of a new “Spectator”; another half century, and Irving, the greatest master of English prose in his day, was still writing in the Addisonian manner, and regretting as he wrote that the leisurely style showed signs, in a bustling age, “of becoming a little old-fashioned.”

TIT BITS:-

- Addison’s ‘The Campaign’ is a poem in heroic couplets celebrating the victory of Blenheim. Was a prominent member of the Kit - Cat Club.
- His ‘Cato’ (1713) is a tragedy which Dr. Johnson describes as ‘rather a poem in dialogue than a drama’.

DR. JOHNSON AND HIS CIRCLE

Since Caxton established the king’s English as a literary language our prose style has often followed the changing fashion of London. Thus, Lyly made it fantastic, Dryden simplified it, Addison gave it grace; and each leader set a fashion which was followed by a host of young writers. Hardly had the Addisonian style crossed the Atlantic, to be the model for American writers for a century, when London acclaimed a new prose fashion—a ponderous, grandiloquent fashion, characterized by mouth-filling words, antithetical sentences, rounded periods, sonorous commonplaces--which was eagerly adopted by orators and historians especially. The man who did more than any other to set this new oratorical fashion in motion was the same Dr. Samuel Johnson who advised young writers to study Addison as a model. And that was only one of his amusing inconsistencies.

Johnson was a man of power, who won a commanding place in English letters by his hard work and his downright sincerity. He won his name of “the great lexicographer” by his “Dictionary”, which we no longer consult, but which we remember as the first attempt at a complete English lexicon. If one asks what else he wrote, with the idea of going to the library and getting a book for pleasure, the answer must be that Johnson’s voluminous works are now as dead as his dictionary. One student of literature may be interested in such a melancholy poem as “The Vanity of Human Wishes”; another will be entertained by the anecdotes or blunt criticisms of the “Lives of the Poets”; a third may be uplifted by the “Rambler Essays”, which are well called “majestically moral productions”; but we shall content ourselves here by recording Johnson’s own refreshing criticism of certain ancient authors, that “it is idle to criticize what nobody reads.” Perhaps the best thing he wrote was a minor work, which he did not know would ever be published. This was his manly Letter to Lord Chesterfield, a nobleman who had treated Johnson with discourtesy when the poor author was making a heroic struggle, but who offered his patronage when the Dictionary was announced as an epoch-making work. In his noble refusal of all extraneous help Johnson unconsciously voiced Literature’s declaration of independence: that henceforth a book must stand or fall on its own merits, and that the day of the literary patron was gone forever.

LIFE. The story of Johnson’s life (1709-1784) has been so well told that one is loath to attempt a summary of it. We note, therefore, a few plain facts: that he was the son of a poor bookseller; that despite poverty and disease he obtained his classic education; that at twenty-six he came to London, and, after an experience with patrons, rebelled against them; that he did every kind of hackwork to earn his bread honestly, living in the very cellar of Grub Street, where he was often cold and more often hungry; that after nearly thirty years of labor his services to literature were rewarded by a pension, which he shared with the poor; that he then formed the Literary Club (including Reynolds, Pitt, Gibbon, Goldsmith, Burke, and almost every other prominent man in London) and indulged nightly in his famous “conversations,” which were either monologues or knockdown arguments; and that in his old age he was regarded as the king of letters, the oracle of literary taste in England.

Such is the bare outline of Johnson’s career. To his character, his rough exterior and his kind heart, his vast learning and his Tory prejudices, his piety, his melancholy, his virtues, his frailty, his “mass of genuine manhood,” only a volume could do justice. Happily that volume is at hand. It is Boswell’s “Life of Johnson”, a famous book that deserves its fame.

BOSWELL’S JOHNSON. Boswell was an inquisitive barrister who came from Edinburgh to London and thrust himself into the company of great men. To Johnson, then at the summit of his fame, “Bozzy” was devotion itself, following his master about by day or night, refusing to be rebuffed, jotting down notes of what he saw and heard. After Johnson’s death he gathered these notes together and, after seven years of labor, produced his incomparable “Life of Johnson” (1791).

The greatness of Boswell’s work may be traced to two causes. First, he had a great subject. The story of any human life is interesting, if truthfully told, and Johnson’s heroic life of labor and pain and reward was passed in a capital city, among famous men, at a time which witnessed the rapid expansion of a mighty empire. Second, Boswell

was as faithful as a man could be to his subject, for whom he had such admiration that even the dictator's frailties seemed more impressive than the virtues of ordinary humanity. So Boswell concealed nothing, and felt no necessity to distribute either praise or blame. One who reads this matchless biography will know Johnson better than he knows his own neighbor; he will gain, moreover, a better understanding of humanity, to reflect which clearly and truthfully is the prime object of all good literature.

TIT BITS:-

- 'London' (1738) is an imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal. His dictionary is dedicated to Chesterfield.
- Started the periodical 'Rambler' in 1750. Founded 'The Club' with Joshua Reynolds in 1764.
- 'Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia' (1759), a didactic romance is an essay on 'the choice of life'.

EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797)

This brilliant Irishman came up to London as a young man of twenty-one. Within a few years--such was his character, his education, his genius--he had won a reputation among old statesmen as a political philosopher. Then he entered Parliament, where for twenty years the House listened with growing amazement to his rhythmic periods, and he was acclaimed the most eloquent of orators.

Among Burke's numerous works those on America, India and France are deservedly the most famous. Of Burke's works pertaining to India "The Nabob of Arcot's Debts" (1785) and the "Impeachment of Warren Hastings" (1786) are interesting to those who can enjoy a long flight of sustained eloquence. Here Burke presents the liberal, the humane view of what was then largely a political question; but in his "Reflections on the French Revolution" (1790) he goes over to the Tories, thunders against the revolutionists or their English sympathizers, and exalts the undying glories of the British constitution. The "Reflections" is the most brilliant of all Burke's works, and is admired for its superb rhetorical style.

THE HISTORIANS. Perhaps it was the rapid expansion of the empire in the latter, part of the eighteenth century which aroused such interest in historical subjects that works of history were then more eagerly welcomed than poetry or fiction. Gibbon says in his "Memoirs" that in his day "history was the most popular species of composition." It was also the best rewarded; for while Johnson, the most renowned author of his time, wrote a romance ("Rasselas") hoping to sell it for enough to pay for his mother's funeral, Robertson easily disposed of his "History of the Emperor Charles V" for £4500; and there were others who were even better paid for popular histories, the very titles of which are now forgotten.

GIBBON. Of all the historical works of the age, only one survives with something of its original vitality, standing the double test of time and scholarship. This is "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1776), a work which remained famous for a century, and which still has its admiring readers. It was written by Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), who belonged to the Literary Club that gathered about Johnson, and who cultivated his style.

The enormous scope of Gibbon's work begins with the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98) and carries us through the convulsions of a dying civilization, the descent of the Barbarians on Rome, the spread of Christianity, the Crusades, the rise of Mohammedanism,--through all the confused history of thirteen centuries, ending with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. To be sure, there are many things to criticize in Gibbon's masterpiece--the author's love of mere pageants; his materialism; his inability to understand religious movements, or even religious motives; his lifeless figures--but one who reads the "Decline and Fall" may be too much impressed by the evidences of scholarship, of vast labor, of genius even, to linger over faults. The influence of Gibbon may still be seen in the orators and historians who, lacking the charm of simplicity, clothe even their platitudes in high-sounding phrases.

THE REVIVAL OF ROMANTIC POETRY. Every age has had its romantic poets--that is, poets who sing the dreams and ideals of life, and whose songs seem to be written naturally, spontaneously, as from a full heart --but in the eighteenth century they were completely overshadowed by formal versifiers who made poetry by rule. At that time the imaginative verse which had delighted an earlier age was regarded much as we now regard an old beaver hat; Shakespeare and Milton were neglected, Spenser was but a name, Chaucer was clean forgotten. Among those who made vigorous protest against the precise and dreary formalism of the age were Collins and Gray, whose names are commonly associated in poetry, as are the names of Addison and Steele in prose. They had the same tastes, the same gentle melancholy, the same freedom from the bondage of literary fashion. Of the two, William Collins (1721-1759) was perhaps the more gifted poet. His exquisite "Ode to Evening" is without a rival in its own field, and his brief elegy beginning, "How sleep the brave," is a worthy commemoration of a soldier's death and a nation's gratitude. It has, says Andrew Lang, the magic of an elder day and of all time.

Thomas Gray (1716-1771) is more widely known than his fellow poet, largely because of one fortunate poem which "returned to men's bosoms" as if sure of its place and welcome. This is the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" (1750), which has been translated into all civilized tongues, and which is known, loved, quoted wherever English is spoken.

GRAY'S ELEGY. To criticize this favorite of a million readers seems almost ruthless, as if one were pulling a flower to pieces for the sake of giving it a botanical name. A pleasanter task is to explain, if one can, the immense popularity of the "Elegy." The theme is of profound interest to every man who reveres the last resting place of his parents, to the nation which cherishes every monument of its founders, and even to primitive peoples, like the Indians, who refuse to leave the place where their fathers are buried, and who make the grave a symbol of patriotism. With this great theme our poet is in perfect sympathy. His attitude is simple and reverent; he treads softly, as if on holy ground. The natural setting or atmosphere of his poem, the peace of evening falling on the old churchyard at Stoke Poges, the curfew bell, the cessation of daily toil, the hush which falls upon the twilight landscape like a summons to prayer,--all this is exactly as it should be. Finally, Gray's craftsmanship, his choice of words, his simple figures, his careful fitting of every line to its place and context, is as near perfection as human skill could make it.

Other poems of Gray, which make his little book precious, are the four odes: "To Spring," "On a Distant Prospect of Eton College," "The Progress of Poesy" and "The Bard," the last named being a description of the dramatic end of an old Welsh minstrel, who chants a wild prophecy as he goes to his death. These romantic odes, together with certain translations which Gray made from Norse mythology, mark the end of "classic" domination in English poetry.

TIT BITS:-

- Stoke Poges - it was here that Gray was buried, supposed to be the churchyard in his Elegy. The theme of the Elegy, a meditative poem in quatrains, is 'the short and simple annals of the poor'. While other literary figures felt that it (Elegy) is a first class poem by a second class poet Eliot believed that the Elegy is not a poem as it has a prose sense. The work belongs to the tradition of Graveyard Poetry; according to Gray in the poem "there is a white melancholy".
- His 'The Progress of Poesy' (1757) and 'The Bard' are Pindaric Odes.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH (1728-1774)

Most versatile of eighteenth-century writers was "poor Noll," a most improvident kind of man in all worldly ways, but so skillful with his pen that Johnson wrote a sincere epitaph to the effect that Goldsmith attempted every form of literature, and adorned everything which he attempted. The form of his verse suggests the formal school, and his polished couplets rival those of Pope; but there the resemblance ceases. In his tenderness and humor, in his homely subjects and the warm human sympathy with which he describes them, Goldsmith belongs to the new romantic school of poetry.

LIFE. The life of Goldsmith has inspired many pens; but the subject, far from being exhausted, is still awaiting the right biographer. The poet's youthful escapades in the Irish country, his classical education at Trinity College, Dublin, and his vagabond studies among gypsies and peddlers, his childish attempts at various professions, his wanderings over Europe, his shifts and makeshifts to earn a living in London, his tilts with Johnson at the Literary Club, his love of gorgeous raiment, his indiscriminate charity, his poverty, his simplicity, his success in the art of writing and his total failure in the art of living,--such

kaleidoscopic elements make a brief biography impossible. The character of the man appears in a single incident.

Landing one day on the Continent with a flute, a spare shirt and a guinea as his sole outward possessions, the guinea went for a feast and a game of cards at the nearest inn, and the shirt to the first beggar that asked for it. There remained only the flute, and with that Goldsmith fared forth confidently, like the gleeman of old with his harp, delighted at seeing the world, utterly forgetful of the fact that he had crossed the Channel in search of a medical education.

That aimless, happy-go-lucky journey was typical of Goldsmith's whole life of forty-odd years. Those who knew him loved but despaired of him. When he passed away (1774) Johnson summed up the feeling of the English literary world in the sentence, "He was a very great man, let not his frailties be remembered."

GOLDSMITH'S PROSE AND VERSE. Among the forgotten works of Goldsmith we note with interest several that he wrote for children: a fanciful "History of England", an entertaining but most unreliable "Animated Nature", and probably also the tale of "Little Goody Twoshoes." These were written (as were all his other works) to satisfy the demands of his landlady, or to pay an old debt, or to buy a new cloak,--a plum-colored velvet cloak, wherewith to appear at the opera or to dazzle the Literary Club. From among his works we select four, as illustrative of Goldsmith's versatility.

"The Citizen of the World", a series of letters from an alleged Chinese visitor, invites comparison with the essays of Addison or Steele. All three writers are satirical, all have a high moral purpose, all are masters of a graceful style, but where the "Spectator" touches the surface of life, Goldsmith often goes deeper and probes the very spirit of the eighteenth century.

THE DESERTED VILLAGE. "The Deserted Village" (1770) is the best remembered of Goldsmith's poems, or perhaps one should say "verses" in deference to critics like Matthew Arnold who classify the work with Pope's "Essay on Man", as a rimed dissertation rather than a true poem.

To compare the two works just mentioned is to discover how far Goldsmith is from his formal model. In Pope's "Essay" we find common sense, moral maxims and some alleged philosophy, but no emotion, no romance, no men or women. The "Village," on the other hand, is romantic even in desolation; it awakens our interest, our sympathy; and it gives us two characters, the Parson and the Schoolmaster, who live in our memories with the best of Chaucer's creations. Moreover, it makes the commonplace life of man ideal and beautiful, and so appeals to readers of widely different tastes or nationalities. Of the many ambitious poems written in the eighteenth century, the two most widely read (aside from the songs of Burns) are Goldsmith's "Village," which portrays the life of simple country people, and Gray's "Elegy," which laments their death.

VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. Goldsmith's one novel, "The Vicar of Wakefield" (1766), has been well called "the Prince Charming" of our early works of fiction. This work has a threefold distinction: its style alone is enough to make it pleasant reading; as a story it retains much of its original charm, after a century and a half of proving; by its moral purity it offered the best kind of rebuke to the vulgar tendency of the early English novel, and influenced subsequent fiction in the direction of cleanness and decency.

The story is that of a certain vicar, or clergyman, Dr. Primrose and his family, who pass through heavy trials and misfortunes. These might crush or embitter an ordinary man, but they only serve to make the Vicar's love for his children, his trust in God, his tenderness for humanity, shine out more clearly, like star's after a tempest. Mingled with these affecting trials are many droll situations which probably reflect something of the author's personal escapades; for Goldsmith was the son of a clergyman, and brought himself and his father into his tale. As a novel, that is, a reflection of human life in the form of a story, it contains many weaknesses; but despite its faults of moralizing and sentimentality, the impression which the story leaves is one of "sweetness and light." Swinburne says that, of all novels he had seen rise and fall in three generations, "The Vicar of Wakefield" alone had retained the same high level in the opinion of its readers.

SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER. Another notable work is Goldsmith's comedy "She Stoops to Conquer". The date of that comedy (1773) recalls the fact that, though it has been played for nearly a century and a half, during which a thousand popular plays have been forgotten, it is still a prime favorite on the amateur stage. Perhaps the only other comedies of which the same can be said with approximate truth are "The Rivals" (1775) and "The School for Scandal" (1777) of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

The plot of "She Stoops to Conquer" is said to have been suggested by one of Goldsmith's queer adventures. He arrived one day at a village, riding a borrowed nag, and with the air of a lordly traveler asked a stranger to direct him "to the best house in the place." The stranger misunderstood, or else was a rare wag, for he showed the way to the abode of a wealthy gentleman. There Goldsmith made himself at home, ordered the servants about, invited his host to share a bottle of wine,--in short, made a great fool of himself. Evidently the host was also a wag, for he let the joke run on till the victim was ready to ride away.

From some such crazy escapade Goldsmith made his comedy of manners, a lively, rollicking comedy of topsy-turvy scenes, all hinging upon the incident of mistaking a private house for a public inn. We have called "She Stoops to Conquer" a comedy of eighteenth-century manners, but our continued interest in its absurdities would seem to indicate that it is a comedy of human nature in all ages.

TIT BITS:-

- Goldsmith's 'The Citizen of the World' (1760-61) is a series of satirical comments on English Life and manners. The best-known character sketches are those of the 'Man in Black', a covert philanthropist, and 'Beau' Tibbs an affected nonentity who claims acquaintance with the great.
- 'The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society' (1764) is a poem dedicated and addressed to Goldsmith's brother, a country clergyman. The work brought him in contact with his patron Lord Clare.
- 'The Good-Natur'd Man' (1768) is his first comedy. 'She Stoops to Conquer, or The Mistakes of a Night', another comedy was a reaction to the Sentimental Comedy.

ROBERT BURNS (1759-1796)

Burns is everywhere acclaimed the poet of Scotland, and for two good reasons: because he reflects better than any other the emotions of the Scottish people, and because his book is a summary of the best verse of his native land. Practically all his songs, such as "Bonnie Boon" and "Auld Lang Syne," are late echoes of much older verses; his more ambitious poems borrow their ideas, their satire or sentiment, their form even, from Ferguson, Allan Ramsay and other poets, all of whom aimed (as Scott aimed in "Lochinvar") to preserve the work of unnamed minstrels whose lines had been repeated in Highlands or Lowlands for two centuries. Burns may be regarded, therefore, as a treasury of all that is best in Scottish song. His genius was to take this old material, dear to the heart of the native, and give it final expression.

LIFE. The life of Burns is one to discourage a biographer who does not relish the alternative of either concealing the facts or apologizing for his subject. We shall record here only a few personal matters which may help us to understand Burns's poetry.

Perhaps the most potent influence in his life was that which came from his labor in the field. He was born in a clay cottage, near the little town of Ayr. His father was a poor crofter, a hard working, God fearing man, who labored unceasingly to earn a living from the soil of a rented farm. The children went barefoot in all seasons, almost from the time they could walk they were expected to labor and at thirteen Bobbie was doing a man's work at the plow or the reaping. The toil was severe, the reward, at best, was to escape dire poverty or disgraceful debt, but there was yet a nobility in the life which is finely reflected in "The Cotter's Saturday Night," a poem which ranks with Whittier's "Snow Bound" among the best that labor has ever inspired.

THE ELEMENT OF NATURE. As a farmer's boy Burns worked in the open, in close contact with nature, and the result is evident in all his verse. Sunshine or storm, bird song or winter wind, the flowers, the stars, the dew of the morning,--open Burns where you will, and you are face to face with these elemental realities. Sometimes his reflection of nature is exquisitely tender, as in "To a Mouse" or "To a Mountain Daisy"; but for the most part he regards nature not sentimentally, like Gray, or religiously, like Wordsworth and Bryant, but in a breezy, companionable way which suggests the song of "Under the Greenwood Tree" in "As You Like It".

Another influence in Burns's life came from his elementary education. There were no ancient classics studied in the school which he attended,--fortunately, perhaps, for his best work is free from the outworn classical allusions which decorate the bulk of eighteenth-century verse. In the evening he listened to tales from Scottish history, which stirred him deeply and made him live in a present world rather than in the misty region of Greek mythology. One result of this education was the downright honesty of Burns's poems. Here is no echo from a vanished world of gods and goddesses, but the voice of a man, living, working, feeling joy or sorrow in the presence of everyday nature and humanity.

The evil influence in Burns's life may be only suggested. It leads first to the tavern, to roistering and dissipation, to entanglements in vulgar love affairs; then swiftly to the loss of a splendid poetic gift, to hopeless debts, to degrading poverty, to an untimely death. Burns had his chance, if ever poet had it, after the publication of his first book (the famous Kilmarnock edition of 1786) when he was called in triumph to Edinburgh. There he sold another edition of his poems for a sum that seemed fabulous to a poor crofter; whereupon he bought a farm and married his Jean Armour. He was acclaimed throughout the length and breadth of his native land, his poems were read by the wise and by the ignorant, he was the poet of Scotland, and the nation, proud of its gifted son, stood ready to honor and follow him. But the old habits were too strong, and Burns took the downhill road. To this element of dissipation we owe his occasional bitterness, railing and coarseness, which make an expurgated edition of his poems essential to one who would enjoy the reading.

There is another element, often emphasized for its alleged influence on Burns's poetry. During his lifetime the political world was shaken by the American and French revolutions, democracy was in the air, and the watchwords "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" inspired many a song besides the "Marseillaise" and many a document besides the Declaration of Independence. That Burns was aware of this political commotion is true, but he was not much influenced by it. He was at home only in his own Scottish field, and even there his interests were limited,--not to be compared with those of Walter Scott, for example. When the Bastille was stormed, and the world stood aghast, Burns was too much engrossed in personal matters to be greatly moved by distant affairs in France. Not to the Revolution, therefore, but to his Scottish blood do we owe the thrilling "Scots Wha Hae," one of the world's best battle songs, not to the new spirit of democracy abroad but to the old Covenanter spirit at home do we owe "A Man's a Man for a' That" with its assertion of elemental manhood.

THE SONGS OF BURNS. From such an analysis of Burns's life one may forecast his subject and his method. Living intensely in a small field, he must discover that there are just two poetic subjects of abiding interest. These are Nature and Humanity, and of these Burns must write from first-hand knowledge, simply, straightforwardly, and with sincerity. Moreover, as Burns lives in an intense way, reading himself rather than books, he must discover that the ordinary man is more swayed by strong feeling than by logical reasons. He will write, therefore, of the common emotions that lie between the extremes of laughter and tears, and his appeal will be to the heart rather than to the head of his reader.

This emotional power of Burns, his masterful touch upon human heartstrings, is the first of his poetic qualities; and he has others which fairly force themselves upon the attention. For example, many of his lyrics have been repeatedly set to music; and the reason is that they were written to music, that in such poems Burns was refashioning some old material to the tune of a Scottish song. There is a singing quality in his poetry which not only makes it pleasant reading but which is apt to set the words tripping to melody.

Sympathy is another marked characteristic of Burns, a wide, all-embracing sympathy that knows no limit save for hypocrites, at whom he pointed his keenest satire. His feeling for nature is reflected in "To a Mouse" and "To a Daisy"; his comradeship with noble men appears in "The Cotter's Saturday Night," with riotous and bibulous men in "The Jolly Beggars," with smugglers and their ilk in "The Deil's Awa' with the Exciseman," with patriots in "Bannockburn," with men who mourn in "To Mary in Heaven," and with all lovers in a score of famous lyrics. Side by side with Burns's sympathy (for Smiles live next door to Tears) appears his keen sense of humor, a humor that is

sometimes rollicking, as in "Contented wi' Little," and again too broad for decency. For the most part, however, Burns contents himself with dry, quiet sarcasm delivered with an air of great seriousness.

THE GENIUS OF BURNS. If one should ask, Why this world wide welcome to Burns, the while Pope remains a mark for literary criticism? the answer is that Burns has a most extraordinary power of touching the hearts of common men. He is one of the most democratic of poets, he takes for his subject a simple experience—a family gathering at eventide, a fair, a merrymaking, a joy, a grief, the finding of a flower, the love of a lad for a lass--and with rare simplicity reflects the emotion that such an experience awakens. Seen through the poet's eyes, this simple emotion becomes radiant and lovely, a thing not of earth but of heaven. That is the genius of Burns, to ennoble human feeling, to reveal some hidden beauty in a commonplace experience. The luminous world of fine thought and fine emotion which we associate with the name of poetry he opened not to scholars alone but to all humble folk who toil and endure. As a shoemaker critic once said, "Burns confirms my former suspicion that the world was made for me as well as for Casar."

MINOR POETS OF ROMANTICISM. There were other poets who aided in the romantic revival, and among them William Cowper (1731-1800) is one of the most notable. His most ambitious works, such as "The Task"(1785, a poem in six books) and the translation of Homer into blank verse, have fallen into neglect, and he is known to modern readers chiefly by a few familiar hymns and by the ballad of "The Diverting History of John Gilpin." His "The Castaway" (1803) is based on an incident from Anson's "Voyage Round the World"; here Cowper depicts the suffering of a seaman swept overboard and awaiting death by drowning.

Less gifted but more popular than Cowper was James Macpherson (1736-1796), who made a sensation that spread rapidly over Europe and America with his "Fingal" (1762) and other works of the same kind,--wildly heroic poems which, he alleged, were translations from Celtic manuscripts written by an ancient bard named Ossian. Another and better literary forgery appeared in a series of ballads called "The Rowley Papers", dealing with medieval themes. These were written by "the marvelous boy" Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770), who professed to have found the poems in a chest of old manuscripts. The success of these forgeries, especially of the "Ossian" poems, is an indication of the awakened interest in medieval poetry and legend which characterized the whole romantic movement.

In this connection, Thomas Percy (1729-1811) did a notable work when he published, after years of research, his "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry" (1765). This was a collection of old ballads, which profoundly influenced Walter Scott, and which established a foundation for all later works of balladry.

Another interesting figure in the romantic revival is William Blake (1757-1827), a strange, mystic child, a veritable John o' Dreams, whom some call madman because of his huge, chaotic, unintelligible poems, but whom others regard as the supreme poetical genius of the eighteenth century. His only readable works are the boyish "Poetical Sketches" (1783) and two later volumes called "Songs of Innocence" (1789) and "Songs of Experience" (1794). Even these contain much to make us question Blake's sanity; but they contain also a few lyrics that might have been written by an elf rather than a man,--beautiful, elusive lyrics that haunt us like a strain of gypsy music, a memory of childhood, a bird song in the night. Blake's vision of life is not fully comprehensive. His works are not poems proper, they come under prophecies. Being a mystic Blake was not much concerned about objective reality; he was more concerned about the symbolic value Nature carried. Thus Blake is often regarded as one of the earliest symbolist poets. Recently, Blake has had a particularly marked influence on the Beat Generation and the English poets of the underground movement, hailed by both as a liberator.

In the witchery of these lyrics eighteenth-century poetry appears commonplace; but they attracted no attention, even "Holy Thursday," the sweetest song of poor children ever written, passing unnoticed. That did not trouble Blake, however, who cared nothing for rewards. He was a childlike soul, well content

To see the world in a grain of sand,
And a heaven in a wild flower;
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour.

THE EARLY ENGLISH NOVEL. An important literary event of the eighteenth century was the appearance of the modern novel. This invention, generally credited to the English, differs radically from the old romance, which was known to all civilized peoples. Walter Scott made the following distinction between the two types of fiction: the romance is a story in which our interest centers in marvelous incidents, brought to pass by extraordinary or superhuman characters; the novel is a story which is more natural, more in harmony with our experience of life. Such a definition, though faulty, is valuable in that it points to the element of imagination as the distinguishing mark between the romance and the true novel.

THE ROMANCE. Take, for example, the romances of Arthur or Sindbad or the Green Knight. Here are heroes of more than human endurance, ladies of surpassing loveliness, giants, dragons, enchanters, marvelous adventures in the land of imagination. Such fanciful stories, valuable as a reflection of the ideals of different races, reached their highest point in the Middle Ages, when they were used to convey the ideals of chivalry and knightly duty. They grew more fantastic as they ran to seed, till in the Elizabethan age they had degenerated into picaresque stories (from "picaro", "a rogue") which recounted the adventures not of a noble knight but of some scoundrel or outcast. They were finally

laughed out of literature in numerous burlesques, of which the most famous is "Don Quixote" (1605). In the humor of this story, in the hero's fighting windmills and meeting so many adventures that he had no time to breathe, we have an excellent criticism not of chivalry, as is sometimes alleged, but of extravagant popular romances on the subject.

THE NOVEL. Compare now these old romances with "Ivanhoe" or "Robinson Crusoe" or "Lorna Doone" or "A Tale of Two Cities". In each of the last-named novels one may find three elements: a story, a study, and an exercise of the creative imagination. A modern work of fiction must still have a good story, if anybody is to read it; must contain also a study or observation of humanity, not of superhuman heroes but of men and women who work or play or worship in close relationship to their fellows. Finally, the story and the study must be fused by the imagination, which selects or creates various scenes, characters, incidents, and which orders or arranges its materials so as to make a harmonious work that appeals to our sense of truth and beauty; in other words, a work of art.

Such is the real novel, a well-told story in tune with human experience, holding true to life, exercising fancy but keeping it under control, arousing thought as well as feeling, and appealing to our intellect as well as to our imagination.

DANIEL DEFOE (1660-1731)

Among the forerunners of the modern novel is Daniel Foe, author of "Robinson Crusoe", who began to call himself "Defoe" after he attained fame. He produced an amazing variety of wares: newspapers, magazines, ghost stories, biographies, journals, memoirs, satires, picaresque romances, essays on religion, reform, trade, projects,—in all more than two hundred works. These were written in a picturesque style and with such a wealth of detail that, though barefaced inventions for the most part, they passed for veracious chronicles.

Foe's career was an extraordinary one. By nature and training he seems to have preferred devious ways to straight, and to have concealed his chief motive whether he appeared as reformer or politician, tradesman or writer, police-spy or friend of outcasts. His education, which he picked up from men and circumstance, was more varied than any university could have given him. Perhaps the chief factor in this practical education was his ability to turn every experience to profitable account. As a journalist he invented the modern magazine (his "Review" appeared in 1704, five years before Steele's "Tatler"); also he projected the interview, the editorial, the "scoop," and other features which still figure in our newspapers. As a hired pamphleteer, writing satires against Whigs or Tories, he learned so many political secrets that when one party fell he was the best possible man to be employed by the other. While sitting in the stocks (in punishment for writing a satirical pamphlet that set Tories and Churchmen by the ears) he made such a hit with his doggerel verses against the authorities that crowds came to the pillory to cheer him and to buy his poem. While in durance vile, in the old Newgate Prison, he mingled freely with all sorts of criminals (there were no separate cells in those days), won their secrets, and used them to advantage in his picaresque romances. He learned also so much of the shady side of London life that no sooner was he released than he was employed as a secret service agent, or spy, by the government which had jailed him.

It is as difficult to find the real Foe amidst such devious trails as to determine where a caribou is from the maze of footprints which he leaves behind him. He seems to have been untiring in his effort to secure better treatment of outcast folk, he speaks of himself with apparent sincerity, as having received his message from the Divine Spirit, but the impression which he made upon the upper classes was reflected by Swift, who called him "a grave, dogmatical rogue". For many years he was a popular hero, trusted not only by the poor but by the criminal classes (ordinarily keen judges of honesty in other men), until his secret connection with the government became known. Then suspicion fell upon him, his popularity was destroyed and he fled from London. The last few years of his life were spent in hiding from real or imaginary enemies.

ROBINSON CRUSOE. Defoe was approaching his sixtieth year when he wrote "Robinson Crusoe" (1719), a story which has been read through out the civilized world, and which, after two centuries of life, is still young and vigorous. The primary charm of the book is in its moving adventures, which are surprising enough to carry us through the moralizing passages. These also have their value; for who ever read them without asking, What would I have done or thought or felt under such circumstances? The work of society is now so comfortably divided that one seldom dreams of being his own mechanic, farmer, hunter, herdsman, cook and tailor, as Crusoe was. Thinking of his experience we are brought face to face with our dependence on others, with our debt to the countless, unnamed men whose labor made civilization possible. We understand also the pioneers, who in the far, lonely places of the earth have won a home and country from the wilderness.

When the adventures are duly appreciated we discover another charm of "Robinson Crusoe", namely, its intense reality. The basis of "Robinson Crusoe" was the experience of an English sailor, Alexander Selkirk, who was marooned on the lonely island of Juan Fernandez, off the coast of Chile. Defoe had that experience of many projects, and that vivid imagination, which enabled him to put himself in the place of his hero, to anticipate his needs, his feelings, his labors and triumph. That Crusoe was heroic none will deny; yet his heroism was of a different kind from that which we meet in the old romances. Here was no knight "without fear and without reproach," but a plain man with his strength and weakness. He despaired like other men; but instead of giving way to despair he drew up a list of his blessings and afflictions, "like debtor and creditor," found a reasonable balance in his favor, and straightway

conquered himself,--which is the first task of all real heroes. Again, he had horrible fears; he beat his breast, cried out as one in mortal terror; then "I thought that would do little good, so I began to make a raft." So he overcame his fears, as he overcame the difficulties of the place, by setting himself to do alone what a whole race of men had done before him. "Robinson Crusoe" is therefore history as well as fiction; its subject is not Alexander Selkirk but Homo Sapiens; its lesson is the everlasting triumph of will and work.

Defoe's influence on the evolution of the English novel was enormous, and many regard him as the first true novelist. He was a master of plain prose and powerful narrative, with a journalist's curiosity and love of realistic detail. His peculiar gifts made him one of the greatest reporters of his time, as well as a great imaginative writer who in 'Robinson Crusoe' created one of the most familiar and resonant myths of modern literature.

TIT BITS:-

- 'The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe' (1719) is called a Romance; Defoe tells an allegory of colonization raising moral issues.
- In 'The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe' (1719), Crusoe revisits the island with Friday and is attacked by a fleet of canoes losing Friday in the encounter.
- 'The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders' (1622) is another romance by Defoe.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON (1689-1761)

One morning in 1740 the readers of London found a new work for sale in the bookshops. It was made up of alleged letters from a girl to her parents, a sentimental girl who opened her heart freely, explaining its hopes, fears, griefs, temptations, and especially its moral sensibilities. Such a work of fiction was unique at that time. Delighted readers waited for another and yet another volume of the same story, till more than a year had passed and "Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded" reached its happy ending.

THE FIRST NOVEL. The book made a sensation in England; it was speedily translated, and repeated its triumph on the other side of the Channel. Comparatively few people could read it now without being bored, but it is famous in the history of literature as the first English novel; that is, a story of a human life under stress of emotion, told by one who understood the tastes of his own age, and who strove to keep his work true to human nature in all ages.

The author of "Pamela" (1740-1), Samuel Richardson (1689--1761), was a very proper person, well satisfied with himself, who conducted a modest business as printer and bookseller. For years he had practiced writing, and had often been employed by sentimental young women who came to him for model love letters. Hence the extraordinary knowledge of feminine feelings which Richardson displayed; hence also the epistolary form in which his novels were written. He took the form from the earlier works in English and French, and which he raised to a level not attained by any of his predecessors. Richardson is generally agreed to be one of the chief founders of the modern novel. 'Pamela' portrays the utilitarian concept of morality. Fielding parodied this novel in his work 'An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela'.

His aim in all his work was to teach morality and correct deportment. His strength was in his power to analyze and portray emotions. His weakness lay in his vanity, which led him to shun masculine society and to foregather at tea tables with women who flattered him.

Led by the success of "Pamela", which portrayed the feelings of a servant girl, the author began another series of letters which ended in the eight-volume novel "Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady" (1748). The story appeared in installments, which were awaited with feverish impatience till the agony drew to an end, and the heroine died amid the sobs of ten thousand readers. Yet the story had power, and the central figure of Clarissa was impressive in its pathos and tragedy. The novel would still be readable if it were stripped of the stilted conversations and sentimental gush in which Richardson delighted; but that would leave precious little of the story.

FIELDING. In vigorous contrast with the prim and priggish Richardson is Henry Fielding (1707-1754), a big, jovial, reckless man, full of animal spirits, who was ready to mitigate any man's troubles or forget his own by means of a punch bowl or a venison potpie. He was noble born, but seems to have been thrown on the world to shift for himself. After an excellent education he studied law, and was for some years a police magistrate, in which position he increased his large knowledge of the seamy side of life. He had a pen for vigorous writing, and after squandering two modest fortunes (his own and his wife's) he proceeded to earn his living by writing buffooneries for the stage. Then appeared Richardson's "Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded", and in ridiculing its sentimental heroine Fielding found his vocation as a novelist.

BURLESQUE OF RICHARDSON. He began "Joseph Andrews" (1742) as a joke, by taking for his hero an alleged brother of Pamela, who was also virtuous but whose reward was to be kicked out of doors. Then the story took to the open road, among the inns and highways of rural England. In the joy of his story Fielding soon forgot his burlesque of Richardson, and attempted what he called a realistic novel; that is, a story of real life. The morality and decorum which Richardson exalted appeared to Fielding as hypocrisy; so he devoted himself to a portrayal of men and manners as he found them.

Undoubtedly there were plenty of good men and manners at that time, but Fielding had a vagabond taste that delighted in rough scenes, and of these also 18th century England could furnish an abundance. Hence his "Joseph Andrews" is a picture not of English society, but only of the least significant part of society. The same is true of "Tom Jones" (1749), which is the author's most vigorous work, and of "Amelia" (1751), in which, though he portrays one good woman, he repeats many of the questionable incidents of his earlier works.

There is power in all these novels, the power of keen observation, of rough humor, of downright sincerity; but unhappily the power often runs to waste in long speeches to the reader, in descriptions of brutal or degrading scenes, and in a wholly unnecessary coarseness of expression.

INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY NOVELS. The idea of the modern novel seems to have been developed by several English authors, each of whom, like pioneers in a new country, left his stamp on subsequent works in the same field. Richardson's governing motive may be summed up in the word "sensibility," which means "delicacy of feeling," and which was a fashion, almost a fetish, in eighteenth-century society. Because it was deemed essential to display proper or decorous feeling on all occasions, Richardson's heroines were always analyzing their emotions; they talked like a book of etiquette; they indulged in tears, fainting, transports of joy, paroxysms of grief, apparently striving to make themselves as unlike a real woman as possible. It is astonishing how far and wide this fad of sensibility spread through the literary world, and how many gushing heroines of English and American fiction during the next seventy-five years were modeled on Pamela or Clarissa.

In view of this artificial fashion, the influence of Fielding was like the rush of crisp air into a hot house. His aim was realistic, that is, to portray real people in their accustomed ways. Unfortunately his aim was spoiled by the idea that to be realistic one must go to the gutter for material. And then appeared Goldsmith, too much influenced by the fad of sensibility, but aiming to depict human life as governed by high ideals, and helping to cleanse the English novel from brutality and indecency. Fielding is generally agreed to be an innovating master of the highest originality. He himself believed he was 'the founder of a new province of writing'. His three acknowledged masters were Lucian, Swift, and Cervantes. In breaking away from the epistolary methods of his contemporary Richardson and others, he devised what he described as 'comic epics in prose', which are in effect the first modern novels in English, leading straight to the works of Dickens and Thackeray.

TIT BITS:-

- 'The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams' (1742) is a 'comic romance'.
- 'Tom Jones' (1749) is described by Fielding as a 'Comic Epic in Prose'.

THREEFOLD INFLUENCE. There were other early novelists, a host of them, but in Richardson, Fielding and Goldsmith we have enough. Richardson emphasized the analysis of human feeling or motive, and that of itself as excellent; but his exaggerated sentimentality set a bad fashion which our novelists were almost a century in overcoming. Fielding laid stress on realism, and that his influence was effective is shown in the work of his disciple Thackeray, who could be realistic without being coarse. And Goldsmith made all subsequent novelists his debtors by exalting that purity of domestic life to which every home worthy of the name forever strives or aspires.

SUMMARY. What we call eighteenth-century literature appeared between two great political upheavals, the English Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution of 1789. Some of the chief characteristics of that literature--such as the emphasis on form, the union of poetry with politics, the prevalence of satire, the interest in historical subjects--have been accounted for, in part at least, in our summary of the history of the period.

The writings of the century are here arranged in three main divisions: the reign of formalism (miscalled classicism), the revival of romantic poetry, and the development of the modern novel. Our study of the so-called classic period includes: (1) The meaning of classicism in literature. (2) The life and works of Pope, the leading poet of the age; of Swift, a master of satire; of Addison and Steele, the graceful essayists who originated the modern literary magazine. (3) The work of Dr. Johnson and his school; in which we have included, for convenience, Edmund Burke, most eloquent of English orators, and Gibbon the historian, famous for his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire".

Our review of the romantic writers of the age covers: (1) The work of Collins and Gray, whose imaginative poems are in refreshing contrast to the formalism of Pope and his school. (2) The life and works of Goldsmith, poet, playwright, novelist; and of Burns, the greatest of Scottish song writers. (3) A glance at other poets, such as Cowper and Blake, who aided in the romantic revival. (4) The renewed interest in ballads and legends, which showed itself in Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry", and in two famous forgeries, the "Ossian" poems of Macpherson and "The Rowley Papers" of the boy Chatterton.

Our study of the novel includes: (1) The meaning of the modern novel, as distinct from the ancient romance. (2) A study of Defoe, author of "Robinson Crusoe", who was a forerunner of the modern realistic novelist. (3) The works of Richardson and of Fielding, contrasting types of eighteenth-century story-tellers. (4) The influence of Richardson's sentimentality, of Fielding's realism, and of Goldsmith's moral purity on subsequent English fiction.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The many changes recorded in the political and literary history of nineteenth-century England may be grouped under two heads: the progress of democracy in government, and the triumph of romanticism in literature. By democracy we mean the assumption by common men of the responsibilities of government, with a consequent enlargement of human liberty. Romanticism, as we use the term here, means simply that literature, like politics, has become liberalized; that it is concerned with the common life of men, and that the delights of literature, like the powers of government, are no longer the possession of the few but of the many.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. To study either democracy or romanticism, the Whig party or the poetry of Wordsworth, is to discover how greatly England was influenced by matters that appeared beyond her borders. The famous Reform Bill (1832) which established manhood suffrage, the emancipation of the slaves in all British colonies, the hard-won freedom of the press, the plan of popular education,--these and numberless other reforms of the age may be regarded as part of a general movement, as the attempt to fulfill in England a promise made to the world by two events which occurred earlier and on foreign soil. These two events, which profoundly influenced English politics and literature, were the Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution.

In the Declaration we read, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Glorious words! But they were not new; they were old and familiar when Jefferson wrote them. The American Revolution, which led up to the Declaration, is especially significant in this: that it began as a struggle not for new privileges but for old rights. So the constructive character of that Revolution, which ended with a democracy and a noble constitution, was due largely to the fact that brave men stood ready to defend the old freedom, the old manhood, the old charters, "the good old cause" for which other brave men had lived or died through a thousand years.

A little later, and influenced by the American triumph, came another uprising of a different kind. In France the unalienable rights of man had been forgotten during ages of tyranny and class privilege; so the French Revolution, shouting its watchwords of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, had no conception of that liberty and equality which were as ancient as the hills. Leaders and followers of the Revolution were clamoring for new privileges, new rights, new morals, new creeds. They acclaimed an "Age of Reason" as a modern and marvelous discovery; they dreamed not simply of a new society, but of a new man. A multitude of clubs or parties, some political, some literary or educational, some with a pretense of philosophy, sprang up as if by magic, all believing that they must soon enter the Kingdom of Heaven, but nearly all forgetful of the fact that to enter the Kingdom one must accept the old conditions, and pay the same old price. Partly because of this strange conception of liberty, as a new thing to be established by fiat, the terrible struggle in France ended in the ignoble military despotism of Napoleon.

EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTIONS. These two revolutions, one establishing and the other clamoring for the dignity of manhood, created a mighty stir throughout the civilized world. Following the French Revolution, most European nations were thrown into political ferment, and the object of all their agitation, rebellion, upheaval, was to obtain a greater measure of democracy by overturning every form of class or caste government. Thrones seemed to be tottering, and in terror of their houses Continental sovereigns entered into their Holy Alliance (1815) with the unholy object of joining forces to crush democracy wherever it appeared.

THE REVOLUTION AND LITERATURE. The young writers of liberty-loving England felt the stir, the "sursum" of the age. Wordsworth, most sedate of men, saw in the French Revolution a glorious prophecy, and wrote with unwonted enthusiasm:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven.

Coleridge and Southey formed their grand scheme of a Pantisocracy, a government of perfect equality, on the banks of the Susquehanna. Scott (always a Tory, and therefore distrustful of change) reflected the democratic enthusiasm in a score of romances, the chief point of which was this: that almost every character was at heart a king, and spake right kingly fashion. Byron won his popularity largely because he was an uncompromising rebel, and appealed to young rebels who were proclaiming the necessity of a new human society. And Shelley, after himself rebelling at almost every social law of his day, wrote his "Prometheus Unbound", which is a vague but beautiful vision of humanity redeemed in some magical way from all oppression and sorrow.

All these and other writers of the age give the impression, as we read them now, that they were gloriously expectant of a new day of liberty that was about to dawn on the world. Their romantic enthusiasm, so different from the cold formality of the age preceding, is a reflection, like a rosy sunset glow, of the stirring scenes of revolution through which the world had just passed.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850)

There is but one way to know Wordsworth, and that way leads to his nature poems. Though he lived in a revolutionary age, his life was singularly uneventful. His letters are terribly prosaic; and his "Excursion", in which he attempted an autobiography, has so many dull lines that few have patience to read it. Though he asserted, finely, that there is but one great society on earth, "the noble living and the noble dead," he held no communion with the great minds of the past or of the present. He lived in his own solitary world, and his only real companion was nature. To know nature at first hand, and to reflect human thought or feeling in nature's pure presence,--this was his chief object. His field, therefore, is a small one, but in that field he is the greatest master that England has thus far produced.

LIFE. Wordsworth is as inseparably connected with the English Lake District as Burns with the Lowlands or Scott with the Border. A large part of the formative period of his life was spent out of doors amid beautiful scenery, where he felt the abounding life of nature streaming upon him in the sunshine, or booming in his ears with the steady roar of the March winds. He felt also a living presence that met him in the loneliest wood, or spoke to him in the flowers, or preceded him over the wind-swept hills. He was one of those favored mortals who are surest of the Unseen. From school he would hurry away to his skating or bird-nesting or aimless roaming, and every new day afield was to him "One of those heavenly days that cannot die."

WORDSWORTH AND THE REVOLUTION. From the Lake Region he went to Cambridge, but found little in college life to attract or hold him. Then, stirred by the promise of the Revolution, he went to France, where his help was eagerly sought by rival parties; for in that day every traveler from America or England, whether an astute Jefferson or a lamblike Wordsworth, was supposed to be, by virtue of his country, a master politician Wordsworth threw himself rather blindly into the Revolution, joined the Girondists (the ruling faction in 1792) and might have gone to the guillotine with the leaders of that party had not his friends brought him home by the simple expedient of cutting off his supply of money. Thus ended ingloriously the only adventure that ever quickened his placid life.

For a time Wordsworth mourned over the failure of his plans, but his grief turned to bitterness when the Revolution passed over into the Reign of Terror and ended in the despotism of Napoleon. His country was now at war with France, and he followed his country, giving mild support to Burke and the Tory party. After a few uncertain years, during which he debated his calling in life, he resolved on two things: to be a poet, and to bring back to English poetry the romantic spirit and the naturalness of expression which had been displaced by the formal elegance of the age of Pope and Johnson.

For that resolution we are indebted partly to Coleridge, who had been attracted by some of Wordsworth's early poems, and who encouraged him to write more. From the association of these two men came the famous "Lyrical Ballads" (1798), a book which marks the beginning of a new era in English poetry.

To Wordsworth's sister Dorothy we are even more indebted. It was she who soothed Wordsworth's disappointment, reminded him of the world of nature in which alone he was at home, and quietly showed him where his power lay.

PERSONAL TRAITS. The latter half of Wordsworth's life was passed in the Lake Region, at Grasmere and Rydal Mount for the most part, the continuity being broken by walking trips in Britain or on the Continent. A very quiet, uneventful life it was, but it revealed two qualities which are of interest to Wordsworth's readers. The first was his devotion to his art; the second was his granite steadfastness. His work was at first neglected, while the poems of Scott, Byron and Tennyson in succession attained immense popularity. The critics were nearly all against him; misunderstanding his best work and ridiculing the rest. The ground of their opposition was, that his theory of the utmost simplicity in poetry was wrong; their ridicule was made easier by the fact that Wordsworth produced as much bad work as good. Moreover, he took himself very seriously, had no humor, and, as visitors like Emerson found to their disappointment, was interested chiefly in himself and his own work. For was he not engaged in the greatest of all projects, an immense poem ("The Recluse") which should reflect the universe in the life of one man, and that man William Wordsworth? Such self-satisfaction invited attack; even Lamb, the gentlest of critics, could hardly refrain from poking fun at it:

"Wordsworth, the great poet, is coming to town; he is to have apartments in the Mansion House. He says he does not see much difficulty in writing like Shakespeare, if he had a mind to try it. It is clear that nothing is wanting but the mind."

Slowly but surely Wordsworth won recognition, not simply in being made Laureate, but in having his ideal of poetry vindicated. Poets in England and America began to follow him; the critics were silenced, if not convinced. While the popularity of Scott and Byron waned, the readers of Wordsworth increased steadily, finding him a poet not of the hour but of all time. "If a single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide," says Emerson, "the huge world will come around to him." If the reading world has not yet come around to Wordsworth, that is perhaps not the poet's fault.

WORDSWORTH: HIS THEME AND THEORY. The theory which Wordsworth and Coleridge formulated was simply this: that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful human feeling. Its only subjects are nature and human nature; its only object is to reflect the emotions awakened by our contemplation of the world or of humanity; its language must be as direct and simple as possible, such language as rises unbidden to the lips whenever the heart is touched. Though some of the world's best poets have taken a different view, Wordsworth maintained steadily that poetry must deal with common subjects in the plainest language; that it must not attempt to describe, in elegant phrases, what a poet is supposed to feel about art or some other subject selected for its poetic possibilities.

THE POEMS OF WORDSWORTH. As the reading of literature is the main thing, the only word of criticism which remains is to direct the beginner; and direction is especially necessary in dealing with Wordsworth, who wrote voluminously, and who lacked both the critical judgment and the sense of humor to tell him what parts of his work were inferior or ridiculous:

There's something in a flying horse,
There's something in a huge balloon!

To be sure; springs in the one, gas in the other; but if there were anything more poetic in horse or balloon, Wordsworth did not discover it. There is something also in a cuckoo clock, or even in

A household tub, one such as those
Which women use to wash their clothes.

Such banalities are to be found in the work of a poet who could produce the exquisite sonnet "On Westminster Bridge," the finely simple "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud," the stirring "Ode to Duty," the tenderly reflective "Tintern Abbey," and the magnificent "Intimations of Immortality," which Emerson (who was not a very safe judge) called "the high water mark of poetry in the nineteenth century." These five poems may serve as the first measure of Wordsworth's genius.

POEMS OF NATURE. A few of Wordsworth's best nature poems are: "Early Spring," "Three Years She Grew," "The Fountain," "My Heart Leaps Up," "The Tables Turned," "To a Cuckoo," "To a Skylark" (the second poem, beginning, "Ethereal minstrel") and "Yarrow Revisited." The spirit of all his nature poems is reflected in "Tintern Abbey," which gives us two complementary views of nature, corresponding to Wordsworth's earlier and later experience. The first is that of the boy, roaming foot-loose over the face of nature, finding, as Coleridge said, "Rhythm in all thought, and joyance everywhere." The second is that of the man who returns to the scenes of his boyhood, finds them as beautiful as ever, but pervaded now by a spiritual quality,--"something which defies analysis, undefined and ineffable, which must be felt and perceived by the soul."

It was this spiritual view of nature, as a reflection of the Divine, which profoundly influenced Bryant, Emerson and other American writers. The essence of Wordsworth's teaching, in his nature poems, appears in the last two lines of his "Skylark," a bird that soars the more gladly to heaven because he must soon return with joy to his own nest:

Type of the wise, who soar but never roam:
True to the kindred points of heaven and home.

POEMS OF HUMBLE LIFE. Of the poems more closely associated with human life, a few the best are: "Michael," "The Highland Reaper," "The Leech Gatherers," "Margaret" (in "The Excursion"), "Brougham Castle," "The Happy Warrior," "Peel Castle in a Storm," "Three Years She Grew," "She Dwelt among the Untrodden Ways" and "She was a Phantom of Delight." In such poems we note two significant characteristics: that Wordsworth does not seek extraordinary characters, but is content to show the hidden beauty in the lives of plain men and women; and that his heroes and heroines dwell, as he said, where "labor still preserves his rosy face." They are natural men and women, and are therefore simple and strong; the quiet light in their faces is reflected from the face of the fields. In his emphasis on natural simplicity, virtue, beauty, Wordsworth has again been, as he desired, a teacher of multitudes.

THE SONNETS. In the number and fine quality of his sonnets Wordsworth has no superior in English poetry. Simplicity, strength, deep thought, fine feeling, careful workmanship,--these qualities are present in measure more abundant than can be found elsewhere in the poet's work. A few sonnets which can be heartily recommended are: "Westminster Bridge," "The Seashore," "The World," "Venetian Republic," "To Sleep," "Toussaint L'Ouverture," "Afterthoughts," "To Milton" (sometimes called "London, 1802") and the farewell to Scott when he sailed in search of health, beginning, "A trouble not of clouds or weeping rain."

Not until one has learned to appreciate Wordsworth at his best will it be safe to attempt "The Prelude, or the Growth of a Poet's Mind". Most people grow weary of this poem, which is too long; but a few read it with pleasure for its portrayal of Wordsworth's education at the hand of Nature, or for occasional good lines which lure us on like miners in search of gold. "The Prelude", though written at thirty-five, was not published till after Wordsworth's death, and for this reason: he had planned an immense poem, dealing with Nature, Man and Society, which he called "The Recluse", and which he likened to a Gothic cathedral. His "Prelude" was the "ante-chapel" of this work; his miscellaneous odes, sonnets and narrative poems were to be as so many "cells and oratories"; other parts of the structure were "The Home at Grasmere" and "The Excursion", which he may have intended as transepts, or as chapels.

This great work was left unfinished, and one may say of it, as of Spenser's "Faery Queen", that it is better so. Like other poets of venerable years Wordsworth wrote many verses that were better left in the inkpot; and it is a pity, in dealing with so beautiful and necessary a thing as poetry, that one should ever reach the point of saying, sadly but truthfully, "Enough is too much."

TIT BITS:-

- 'The Prelude' or 'The Growth of a Poet's Mind' is an autobiographical poem in blank verse addressed to Coleridge.
- 'Resolution and Independence' (1807) is also known as 'The Leach Gatherer'.
- 'Peter Bell' (1819) is dedicated to Southey. The ludicrous nature of part of the poem made it the subject of many parodies, including Shelley's 'Peter Bell The Third'.
- Became poet laureate in 1843, succeeding Southey.
- Byron and Shelley mocked Wordsworth as 'simple' and 'dull', Keats distrusted what he called the 'egotistical sublime', and Hazlitt and later Browning, deplored him as 'The Lost Leader' who had abandoned his early radical faith. While Arnold praised his art as "The bare, sheer. penetrating power " of Wordsworth.

COLERIDGE AND SOUTHEY. The story of these two men is a commentary on the uncertainties of literary fortune. Both won greater reward and reputation than fell to the lot of Wordsworth; but while the fame of the latter poet mounts steadily with the years, the former have become, as it were, footnotes to the great contemporary with whom they were associated, under the name of "Lake Poets," for half a glorious century.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (1772-1834)

The tragedy "Remorse", which Coleridge wrote, is as nothing compared with the tragedy of his own life. He was a man of superb natural gifts, of vast literary culture, to whose genius the writers of that age--Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Lamb, De Quincey, Shelley, Landor, Southey--nearly all bear witness. He might well have been a great poet, or critic, or philosopher, or teacher; but he lacked the will power to direct his gifts to any definite end. His irresolution became pitiful weakness when he began to indulge in the drug habit, which soon made a slave of him. Thereafter he impressed all who met him with a sense of loss and inexpressible sorrow.

LIFE. Coleridge began to read at three years of age; at five he had gone through the Bible and the Arabian Nights; at thirty he was perhaps the most widely read man of his generation in the fields of literature and philosophy. He was a student in a famous charity school in London when he met Charles Lamb, who records his memories of the boy and the place in his charming essay of "Christ's Hospital." At college he was one of a band of enthusiasts inspired by the French Revolution, and with Southey he formed a plan to establish in America a world-reforming Pantisocracy, or communistic settlement, where all should be brothers and equals, and where a little manual work was to be tempered by much play, poetry and culture. Europeans had queer ideas of America in those days. This beautiful plan failed, because the reformers did not have money enough to cross the ocean and stake out their Paradise.

The next important association of Coleridge was with Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy, in Somerset, where the three friends planned and published the "Lyrical Ballads" of 1798. In this work Wordsworth attempted to portray the charm of common things, and Coleridge to give reality to a world of dreams and fantasies. Witness the two most original poems in the book, "Tintern Abbey" and "The Ancient Mariner."

During the latter part of his life Coleridge won fame by his lectures on English poetry and German philosophy, and still greater fame by his conversations,--brilliant, heaven-scaling monologues, which brought together a company of young enthusiasts. And presently these disciples of Coleridge were spreading abroad a new idealistic philosophy, which crossed the ocean, was welcomed by Emerson and a host of young writers or reformers, and appeared in American literature as Transcendentalism.

STORIES OF COLERIDGE. Others who heard the conversations were impressed in a somewhat different way. Keats met Coleridge on the road, one day, and listened dumbfounded to an ecstatic discourse on poetry, nightingales, the origin of sensation, dreams (four kinds), consciousness, creeds, ghost stories,--"he broached a thousand matters" while the poets were walking a space of two miles.

Walter Scott, meeting Coleridge at a dinner, listened with his head in a whirl to a monologue on fairies, the classics, ancient mysteries, visions, ecstasies, the psychology of poetry, the poetry of metaphysics. "Zounds!" says Scott, "I was never so bethumped with words."

Charles Lamb, hurrying to his work, encountered Coleridge and was drawn aside to a quiet garden. There the poet took Lamb by a button of his coat, closed his eyes, and began to discourse, his right hand waving to the rhythm of the flowing words. No sooner was Coleridge well started than Lamb slyly took out his penknife, cut off the button, and escaped unobserved. Some hours later, as he passed the garden on his return, Lamb heard a voice speaking most musically; he turned aside in wonder, and there stood Coleridge, his eyes closed, his left hand holding the button, his right hand waving, "still talking like an angel."

Such are the stories, true or apocryphal, of Coleridge's conversations. Their bewildering quality appears, somewhat dimmed, in his prose works, which have been finely compared with the flight of an eagle on set wings,

sweeping in wide circles, balancing, soaring, mounting on the winds. But we must note this difference: that the eagle keeps his keen eye on the distant earth, and always knows just where he is; while Coleridge sees only the wonders of Cloudland, and appears to be hopelessly lost.

HIS PROSE AND POETRY. The chief prose works of Coleridge are his “Biographia Literaria” (a brilliant patchwork of poetry and metaphysics), “Aids to Reflection”, “Letters and Table Talk” (the most readable of his works), and “Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare”. These all contain fine gold, but the treasure is for those doughty miners the critics rather than for readers who go to literature for recreation. Among the best of his miscellaneous poems (and Coleridge at his best has few superiors) are “Youth and Age,” “Love Poems,” “Hymn before Sunrise,” “Ode to the Departing Year,” and the pathetic “Ode to Dejection,” which is a reflection of the poet’s saddened but ever hopeful life.

Two other poems, highly recommended by most critics, are the fragments “Kubla Khan” and “Christabel”; but in dealing with these the reader may do well to form his own judgment. Both fragments contain beautiful lines, but as a whole they are wandering, disjointed, inconsequent, mere sketches, they seem, of some weird dream of mystery or terror which Coleridge is trying in vain to remember.

THE ANCIENT MARINER. The most popular of Coleridge’s works is his imperishable “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” a wildly improbable poem of icebound or tropic seas, of thirst-killed sailors, of a phantom ship sailed by a crew of ghosts,--all portrayed in the vivid, picturesque style of the old ballad. When the “Mariner” first appeared it was dismissed as a cock-and-bull story; yet somehow readers went back to it, again and again, as if fascinated. It was passed on to the next generation; and still we read it, and pass it on. For this grotesque tale differs from all others of its kind in that its lines have been quoted for over a hundred years as a reflection of some profound human experience. That is the genius of the work: it takes the most fantastic illusions and makes them appear as real as any sober journey recorded in a sailor’s log book.

At the present time our enjoyment of the “Mariner” is somewhat hampered by the critical commentaries which have fastened upon the poem, like barnacles on an old ship. It has been studied as a type of the romantic ballad, as a moral lesson, as a tract against cruelty to animals, as a model of college English. But that is no way to abuse a poet’s fancy! To appreciate the “Mariner” as the author intended, one should carry it off to the hammock or orchard; there to have freedom of soul to enjoy a well-spun yarn, a gorgeous flight of imagination, a poem which illustrates Coleridge’s definition of poetry as “the bloom and the fragrance of all human knowledge, thoughts, emotions, language.” It broadens one’s sympathy, as well as one’s horizon, to accompany this ancient sailor through scenes of terror and desolation:

O Wedding-Guest! this soul hath been
Alone on a wide, wide sea:
So lonely ‘t was, that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be.

In the midst of such scenes come blessed memories of a real world, of the beauty of unappreciated things, such as the “sweet jargoning” of birds:

And now ‘twas like all instruments,
Now like a lonely flute;
And now it is an angel’s song,
That makes the heavens be mute.
It ceased; yet still the sails made on
A pleasant noise till noon,
A noise like of a hidden brook
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune.

Whoever is not satisfied with that for its own sake, without moral or analysis, has missed the chief interest of all good poetry.

TIT BITS:-

- His contribution to “Lyrical Ballads” the following poems - ‘The Ancient Mariner’, ‘The Foster-Mother’s Tale’, ‘The Nightingale’ and ‘The Dungeon’
- “Biographia Literaria” is a combination of biography, aesthetics and philosophy. Part I is broadly autobiographical describing Coleridge’s friendship with Southey and Wordsworth. Chapter XIII contains his famous distinction between Fancy and Imagination. Part II is almost entirely crucial, attacking Wordsworth’s preface to the “Lyrical Ballads”.
- J. L. Lowes, in ‘The Road to Xanadu’ (1927), traces the sources and imagery of ‘The Ancient Mariner’.
- ‘Remorse’ is a tragedy written in 1797 as ‘Osorio’. The story is set in Granada at the time of the Spanish Inquisition, tells of the slow corruption of the character of Osorio, a man who is gradually led by temptations and events into guilt and evil.
- ‘Frost at Midnight’ (1798) is a blank verse poem addressed to his sleeping child Hartley.

ROBERT SOUTHEY (1774-1843)

In contrast with the irresolution of Coleridge is the steadfastness of Southey (1774-1843), a man of strong character, of enormous industry. For fifty years he worked steadily, day and half the night, turning out lyrics, ballads, epics, histories, biographies, translations, reviews,--an immense amount of stuff, filling endless volumes. Kind nature made up for Southey's small talent by giving him a great opinion of it, and he believed firmly that his work was as immortal as the "Iliad".

With the exception of a few short poems, such as the "Battle of Blenheim," "Lodore," "The Inchcape Rock" and "Father William", which contain plenty of the marvelous adventures that give interest to the romances of Jules Verne and the yarns of Rider Haggard.

It was Southey's habit to work by the clock, turning out chapters as another man might dig potatoes. One day, as he plodded along, a fairy must have whispered in his ear; for he suddenly produced a little story, a gem, a treasure of a story, and hid it away in a jungle of chapters in a book called "The Doctor". Somebody soon discovered the treasure; indeed, one might as well try to conceal a lighted candle as to hide a good story; and now it is the most famous work to be found in Southey's hundred volumes of prose and verse. Few professors could give you any information concerning "The Doctor", but almost any child will tell you all about "The Three Bears." The happy fate of this little nursery tale might indicate that the final judges of literature are not always or often the learned critics.

- Appointed in 1813 as poet laureate.
- In 1821, to commemorate the death of George III, he wrote 'A Vision of Judgement', in the preface to which he vigorously attacked Byron.
- LAKE POETS, LAKE SCHOOL - terms applied to Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth and sometimes to De Quincey, who lived in the Lake District. The expression 'Lake School' appeared first in the 'Edinburgh Review'.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POETS. The above title is often applied to Byron and Shelley, and for two reasons, because they were themselves rebellious of heart, and because they voiced the rebellion of numerous other young enthusiasts who, disappointed by the failure of the French Revolution to bring in the promised age of happiness, were ready to cry out against the existing humdrum order of society. Both poets were sadly lacking in mental or moral balance, and finding no chance in England to wage heroic Warfare against political tyranny, as the French had done, they proceeded in rather head long fashion to an attack on well established customs in society, and especially did they strike out wildly against "the monster Public Opinion." Because the "monster" was stronger than they were, and more nearly right, their rebellion ended in tragedy.

GEORGE GORDON BYRON (1788-1824)

In the life of George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824), is so much that call for apology or silence that one is glad to review his career in briefest outline.

Of his family, noble in name but in nothing else, the least said the better. He was born in London, but spent his childhood in Aberdeen, under the alternate care or negligence of his erratic mother. At ten he fell heir to a title, to the family seat of Newstead Abbey, and to estates yielding an income of some £1400 per year,--a large income for a poet, but as nothing to a lord accustomed to make ducks and drakes of his money. In school and college his conduct was rather wild, and his taste fantastic. For example, he kept a bulldog and a bear in his rooms, and read romances instead of books recommended by the faculty. He tells us that he detested poetry; yet he wrote numerous poems which show plainly that he not only read but copied some of the poets.

These poems (revised and published as "Hours of Idleness") were savagely criticized in the "Edinburgh Review". Byron answered with his satiric "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers", which ridiculed not only his Scottish critics but also Wordsworth, Scott,--in fact, most of the English poets, with the exception of Pope, whom he praised as the only poet ancient or modern who was not a barbarian.

A LITERARY LION. At twenty-one Byron entered the House of Lords, and almost immediately thereafter set sail for Lisbon and the Levant. On his return he published the first two cantos of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", which made him famous. Though he affected to despise his triumph, he followed it up shrewdly by publishing "The Giaour", "The Corsair" and "Lara", in which the same mysterious hero of his first work reappears, under different disguises, amid romantic surroundings. The vigor of these poems attracted many readers, and when it was whispered about that the author was recounting his own adventures, Byron became the center of literary interest. At home he was a social lion; abroad he was acclaimed the greatest of British poets. But his life tended more and more to shock the English sense of decency; and when his wife (whom he had married for her money) abruptly left him, public opinion made its power felt. Byron's popularity waned; his vanity was wounded; he left his country, vowing never to return. Also he railed against what he called British hypocrisy.

In Geneva he first met Shelley, admired him, was greatly helped by him, and then grossly abused his hospitality. After a scandalous career in Italy he went to help the Greeks in their fight for independence, but died of fever before he reached the battle line.

THE POETRY OF BYRON. There is one little song of Byron which serves well as the measure of his poetic talent. It is found in "Don Juan", and it begins as follows:

'T is sweet to hear
At midnight on the blue and moonlit deep
The song and oar of Adria's gondolier,
By distance mellow'd, o'er the waters sweep;
'T is sweet to see the evening star appear;
'T is sweet to listen, as the night-winds creep
From leaf to leaf; 't is sweet to view on high
The rainbow, based on ocean, span the sky....

That is not great poetry, and may not be compared with a sonnet of Wordsworth; but it is good, honest sentiment expressed in such a melodious way that we like to read it, and feel better after the reading. In the next stanza, however, Byron grows commonplace and ends with:

Sweet is revenge, especially to women,
Pillage to soldiers, prize-money to seamen.

And that is bad sentiment and worse rime, without any resemblance to poetry. The remaining stanzas are mere drivel, unworthy of the poet's talent or of the reader's patience.

It is so with a large part of Byron's work; it often begins well, and usually has some vivid description of nature, or some gallant passage in swinging verse, which stirs us like martial music; then the poem falls to earth like a stone, and presently appears some wretched pun or jest or scurrility. Our present remedy lies in a book of selections, in which we can enjoy the poetry without being unpleasantly reminded of the author's besetting sins of flippancy and bad taste.

MANFRED. Of the longer poems of Byron, which took all Europe by storm, only three or four are memorable. "Manfred" (1817) is a dramatic poem, in which the author's pride, his theatric posing, his talent for rhythmic expression, are all seen at their worst or best. The mysterious hero of the poem lives in a gloomy castle under the high Alps, but he is seldom found under roof. Instead he wanders amidst storms and glaciers, holding communion with powers of darkness, forever voicing his rebellion, his boundless pride, his bottomless remorse. Nobody knows what the rebellion and the remorse are all about. Some readers may tire of the shadowy hero's egoism, but few will fail to be impressed by the vigor of the verse, or by the splendid reflection of picturesque scenes. And here and there is a lyric that seems to set itself to music.

"Cain" (1821) is another dramatic poem, reflecting the rebellion of another hero, or rather the same hero, who appears this time as the elder son of Adam. After murdering his brother, the hero takes guidance of Lucifer and explores hell; where, instead of repentance, he finds occasion to hate almost everything that is dear to God or man. The drama is a kind of gloomy parody of Milton's "Paradise Lost", as "Manfred" is a parody of Goethe's "Faust". Both dramas are interesting, aside from their poetic passages, as examples of the so-called Titan literature, to which we shall presently refer in our study of Shelley's "Prometheus".

CHILDE HAROLD. The most readable work of Byron is "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", a brilliant narrative poem, which reflects the impressions of another misanthropic hero in presence of the romantic scenery of the Continent. It was the publication of the first two cantos of this poem in 1812, that made Byron the leading figure in English poetry, and these cantos are still widely read as a kind of poetic guidebook. To many readers, however, the third and fourth cantos are more sincere and more pleasurable. The most memorable parts of "Childe Harold" are the "Farewell" in the first canto, "Waterloo" in the third, and "Lake Leman," "Venice," "Rome," "The Coliseum", "The Dying Gladiator" and "The Ocean" in the fourth. When one has read these magnificent passages he has the best of which Byron was capable. We have called "Childe Harold" the most readable of Byron's works, but those who like a story will probably be more interested in "Mazeppa" and "The Prisoner of Chillon". The Canto III appeared in 1816 and Canto IV in 1818.

THE BYRONIC HERO. One significant quality of these long poems is that they are intensely personal, voicing one man's remorse or rebellion, and perpetually repeating his "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" They are concerned with the same hero (who is Byron under various disguises) and they picture him as a proud, mysterious stranger, carelessly generous, fiendishly wicked, profoundly melancholy, irresistibly fascinating to women. Byron is credited with the invention of this hero, ever since called Byronic; but in truth the melodramatic outcast was a popular character in fiction long before Byron adopted him, gave him a new dress and called him Manfred or Don Juan. A score of romances (such as Mrs. Radcliffe's "The Italian" in England, and Charles Brockden Brown's "Wieland" in America) had used the same hero to add horror to a grotesque tale; Scott modified him somewhat, as the Templar in "Ivanhoe", for example; and Byron made him more real by giving him the revolutionary spirit, by employing him to voice the rebellion against social customs which many young enthusiasts felt so strongly in the early part of the nineteenth century.

TWO VIEWS OF BYRON. The vigor of this stage hero, his rebellious spirit, his picturesque adventures, the gaudy tinsel (mistaken for gold) in which he was dressed,--all this made a tremendous impression in that romantic age. Goethe called Byron "the prince of modern poetry, the most talented and impressive figure which the literary world has ever

produced”; and this unbalanced judgment was shared by other critics on the Continent, where Byron is still regarded as one of the greatest of English poets.

Swinburne, on the other hand, can hardly find words strong enough to express his contempt for the “blare and brassiness” of Byron; but that also is an exaggeration. Though Byron is no longer a popular hero, and though his work is more rhetorical than poetical, we may still gladly acknowledge the swinging rhythm, the martial dash and vigor of his best verse. Also, remembering the Revolution, we may understand the dazzling impression which he made upon the poets of his day. When the news came from Greece that his meteoric career was ended, the young Tennyson wept passionately and went out to carve on a stone, “Byron is dead,” as if poetry had perished with him. Even the coldly critical Matthew Arnold was deeply moved to write:

When Byron’s eyes were closed in death
We bowed our head, and held our breath.
He taught us little, but our soul
Had “felt” him like the thunder roll.

OTHER WORKS:-

- The Bride of Abydos’ (1813) which Byron called ‘a Turkish Tale’.
- ‘The Giaour’ (1813)
- ‘The Corsair’ and ‘Lara’ both appeared in 1814.

Byron’s poetry, although widely condemned on moral grounds, and frequently attacked by critics, was immensely popular. Much of his poetry and drama exerted great influence on Romanticism. His legacy of inspiration in European poetry, music the novel,, oper and painting has been immense. B.Russell wrote that ‘As a myth his importance, especially on the continent, was enormous.’

P. B. SHELLEY (1792-1822)

The career of Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) is, in comparison with that of Byron, as a will-o’-the-wisp to a meteor. Byron was of the earth earthy; he fed upon coarse food, shady adventures, scandal, the limelight; but Shelley

Seemed nourished upon starbeams, and the stuff
Of rainbows and the tempest and the foam.

He was a delicate child, shy, sensitive, elflike, who wandered through the woods near his home, in Sussex, on the lookout for sprites and hobgoblins. His reading was of the wildest kind; and when he began the study of chemistry he was forever putting together things that made horrible smells or explosions, in expectation that the genii of the “Arabian Nights” would rise from the smoke of his test tube.

A YOUNG REBEL. At Eton the boy promptly rebelled against the brutal fagging system, then tolerated in all English schools. He was presently in hot water, and the name “Mad Shelley,” which the boys gave him, followed him through life. He had been in the university (Oxford) hardly two years when his head was turned by some book of shallow philosophy, and he printed a rattle-brained tract called “The Necessity of Atheism.” This got him into such trouble with the Dons that he was expelled for insubordination.

THE WIND AND THE WHIRLWIND. Forthwith Shelley published more tracts of a more rebellious kind. His sister Helen put them into the hands of her girl friend, Harriet Westbrook, who showed her belief in revolutionary theories by running away from school and parental discipline and coming to Shelley for “protection.” These two social rebels, both in the green-apple stage (their combined age was thirty-five), were presently married; not that either of them believed in marriage, but because they were compelled by “Anarch Custom.”

After some two years of a wandering, will-o’-the-wisp life, Shelley and his wife were estranged and separated. The young poet then met a certain William Godwin, known at that time as a novelist and evolutionary philosopher, and showed his appreciation of Godwin’s radical teaching by running away with his daughter Mary, aged seventeen. The first wife, tired of liberalism, drowned herself, and Shelley was plunged into remorse at the tragedy. The right to care for his children was denied him, as an improper person, and he was practically driven out of England by force of that public opinion which he had so frequently outraged or defied.

Life is a good teacher, though stern in its reckoning, and in Italy life taught Shelley that the rights and beliefs of other men were no less sacred than his own. He was a strange combination of hot head and kind heart, the one filled with wild social theories, the other with compassion for humanity. He was immensely generous with his friends, and tender to the point of tears at the thought of suffering men,--not real men, such as he met in the streets (even the beggars in Italy are cheerful), but idealized men, with mysterious sorrows, whom he met in the clouds. While in England his weak head had its foolish way, and his early poems, such as “Queen Mab”, are violent declamations. In Italy his heart had its day, and his later poems, such as “Adonais” and “Prometheus Unbound”, are rhapsodies ennobled by Shelley’s love of beauty and by his unquenchable hope that a bright day of justice must soon dawn upon the world. He was drowned (1822) while sailing his boat off the Italian coast, before he had reached the age of thirty years.

THE POETRY OF SHELLEY. In the longer poems of Shelley there are two prominent elements, and two others less conspicuous but more important. The first element is revolt. The poet was violently opposed to the existing order of society, and lost no opportunity to express his hatred of Tyranny, which was Shelley's name for what sober men called law and order. Feeding his spirit of revolution were numerous anarchistic theories, called the new philosophy, which had this curious quality: that they hotly denied the old faith, law, morality, as other men formulated such matters, and fervently believed any quack who appeared with a new nostrum warranted to cure all social disorders.

The second obvious element in Shelley's poetry is his love of beauty, not the common beauty of nature or humanity which Wordsworth celebrated, but a strange "supernal" beauty with no "earthly" quality or reality. His best lines leave a vague impression of something beautiful and lovely, but we know not what it is.

Less conspicuous in Shelley's poems are the sense of personal loss or grief which pervades them, and the exquisite melody of certain words which he used for their emotional effect rather than to convey any definite meaning. Like Byron he sang chiefly of his own feelings, his rage or despair, his sorrow or loneliness. He reflected his idea of the origin and motive of lyric poetry in the lines:

Most wretched men
Are cradled into poetry by wrong;
They learn in suffering what they teach in song,--

an idea which Poe adopted in its entirety, and which Heine expressed in a sentimental lyric, telling how from his great grief he made his little songs:

Aus meinen groszen Schmerzen
Mach' ich die kleinen Lieder.

Hardly another English poet uses words so musically as Shelley (witness "The Cloud" and "The Skylark"), and here again his idea of verbal melody was carried to an extreme by Poe, in whose poetry words are used not so much to express ideas as to awaken vague emotions.

ALASTOR. All the above-named qualities appear in "Alastor" (the Spirit of Solitude), which is less interesting as a poem than as a study of Shelley. In this poem we may skip the revolt, which is of no consequence, and follow the poet in his search for a supernally lovely maiden who shall satisfy his love for ideal beauty. To find her he goes, not among human habitations, but to gloomy forests, dizzy cliffs, raging torrents, tempest-blown seashore,--to every place where a maiden in her senses would not be. Such places, terrible or picturesque, are but symbols of the poet's soul in its suffering and loneliness. He does not find his maiden (and herein we read the poet's first confession that he has failed in life, that the world is too strong for him); but he sees the setting moon, and somehow that pale comforter brings him peace with death.

PROMETHEUS. In "Prometheus Unbound" Shelley uses the old myth of the Titan who rebelled against the tyranny of the gods, and who was punished by being chained to a rock. [The original tragedy of "Prometheus Bound" was written by Aeschylus, a famous old Greek dramatist. The same poet wrote also "Prometheus Unbound", but the latter drama has been lost. Shelley borrowed the idea of his poem from this lost drama.] In this poem Prometheus (man) is represented as being tortured by Jove (law or custom) until he is released by Demogorgon (progress or necessity); whereupon he marries Asia (love or goodness), and stars and moon break out into a happy song of redemption.

Obviously there is no reality or human interest in such a fantasy. The only pleasurable parts of the poem are its detached passages of great melody or beauty; and the chief value of the work is as a modern example of Titan literature. Many poets have at various times represented mankind in the person of a Titan, that is, a man written large, colossal in his courage or power or suffering: Aeschylus in "Prometheus", Marlowe in "Tamburlaine", Milton in Lucifer, of "Paradise Lost", Goethe in "Faust", Byron in "Manfred", Shelley in "Prometheus Unbound". The Greek Titan is resigned, uncomplaining, knowing himself to be a victim of Fate, which may not be opposed; Marlowe's Titan is bombastic and violent; Milton's is ambitious, proud, revengeful; Goethe's is cultured and philosophical; Byron's is gloomy, rebellious, theatrical. So all these poets portray each his own bent of mind, and something also of the temper of the age, in the character of his Titan. The significance of Shelley's poem is in this: that his Titan is patient and hopeful, trusting in the spirit of Love to redeem mankind from all evil. Herein Shelley is far removed from the caviling temper of his fellow rebel Byron. He celebrates a golden age not of the past but of the future, when the dream of justice inspired by the French Revolution shall have become a glorious reality.

HIS BEST POEMS. These longer poems of Shelley are read by the few; they are too vague, with too little meaning or message, for ordinary readers who like to understand as well as to enjoy poetry. To such readers the only interesting works of Shelley are a few shorter poems: "The Cloud," "To a Skylark," "Ode to the West Wind," "Indian Serenade," "A Lament," "When the Lamp is Lighted" and some parts of "Adonais" (a beautiful elegy in memory of Keats), such as the passage beginning, "Go thou to Rome." For splendor of imagination and for melody of expression these poems have few peers and no superiors in English literature. To read them is to discover that Shelley was at times so sensitive, so responsive to every harmony of nature, that he seemed like the poet of Alastor. When Shelley's lute was tuned to nature it brought forth aerial melody; when he strained its strings to voice some social rebellion or anarchistic theory it produced wild discord.

TIT BITS:-

- ‘Queen Mab’ (1813) is a visionary and ideological poem in nine cantos. The work shows Shelley as the direct heir to the French and British revolutionary intellectuals of the 1790s.
- Peacock drew a portrait of Shelley as Scythrop Glowry in ‘Nightmare Abbey’.
- ‘The Revolt of Islam’ (1818) is an epic political poem in 12 cantos of Spenserian stanzas.
- ‘The Mask of Anarchy’ (1832) is a poem of protest written in response to the ‘Peterloo Massacre’.
- ‘The Cenci’ (1819) is a verse tragedy.
- ‘A Philosophical View of Reform’ (1820) is a political essay by Shelley confirming his position as a Radical, but not a revolutionary.
- ‘Defence of Poetry’ (1840) is a reply to Peacock’s ‘The Four Ages of Poetry’. Here Shelley associates poetry with social freedom and love. He argues that the ‘poetry of life’ provides the one sure response to the destructive ‘accumulating and calculating processes’ of modern civilization. It contains the famous peroration, ending ‘Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world’.
- ‘Adonais’ (1821) is an elegy written on the death of Keats.

JOHN KEATS (1795-1821)

A thing of beauty is a joy forever:
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness, but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams and health and quiet breathing.

The above lines, from “Endymion”, reflect the ideal of the young singer whom we rank with the best poets of the nineteenth century. Unlike other romanticists of that day, he seems to have lived for poetry alone and to have loved it for its own sake, as we love the first spring flowers. His work was shamefully treated by reviewers; it was neglected by the public; but still he wrote, trying to make each line perfect, in the spirit of those medieval workmen who put their hearts into a carving that would rest on some lofty spire far above the eyes of men. To reverence beauty wherever he found it, and then in gratitude to produce a new work of beauty which should live forever,--that was Keats’s only aim. It is the more wonderful in view of his humble origin, his painful experience, his tragic end.

LIFE. Only twenty-five years of life, which included seven years of uncongenial tasks, and three of writing, and three of wandering in search of health,--that sums up the story of Keats. He was born in London; the son of a hostler; his home was over the stable; his playground the dirty street. The family prospered, moved to a better locality, and the children were sent to a good school. Then the parents died, and at fifteen Keats was bound out to a surgeon and apothecary. For four years he worked as an apprentice, and for three years in a hospital; then, for his heart was never in the work, he laid aside his surgeon’s kit, resolving never to touch it again.

TWO POETIC IDEALS. Since childhood he had been a reader, a dreamer, but not till a volume of Spenser’s “Faery Queen” was put into his hands did he turn with intense eagerness to poetry. The influence of that volume is seen in the somewhat monotonous sweetness of his early work. Next he explored the classics (he had read Virgil in the original, but he knew no Greek), and the joy he found in Chapman’s translation of Homer is reflected in a noble sonnet. From that time on he was influenced by two ideals which he found in Greek and medieval literature, the one with its emphasis on form, the other with its rich and varied coloring.

During the next three years Keats published three small volumes, his entire life’s work. These were brutally criticized by literary magazines; they met with ridicule at the hands of Byron, with indifference on the part of Scott and Wordsworth. The pathetic legend that the poet’s life was shortened by this abuse is still repeated, but there is little truth in it. Keats held manfully to his course, having more weighty things than criticism to think about. He was conscious that his time was short; he was in love with his Fannie Brawne, but separated from her by illness and poverty; and, like the American poet Lanier, he faced death across the table as he wrote. To throw off the consumption which had fastened upon him he tried to live in the open, making walking trips in the Lake Region; but he met with rough fare and returned from each trip weaker than before. He turned at last to Italy, dreading the voyage and what lay beyond. Night fell as the ship put to sea; the evening star shone clear through the storm clouds, and Keats sent his farewell to life and love and poetry in the sonnet beginning:

Bright star, would I were steadfast as thou art.

He died soon after his arrival in Rome, in 1821. Shelley, who had hailed Keats as a genius, and who had sent a generous invitation to come and share his home, commemorated the poet’s death and the world’s loss in “Adonais”, which ranks with Milton’s “Lycidas”, Tennyson’s “In Memoriam” and Emerson’s “Threnody” among the great elegiac poems of our literature.

THE WORK OF KEATS. The first small volume of Keats (“Poems”, 1817) seems now like an experiment. The part of that experiment which we cherish above all others is the sonnet “On Chapman’s Homer,” which should be read entire for its note of joy and for its fine expression of the influence of classic poetry. The second volume,

“Endymion”, may be regarded as a promise. There is little reality in the rambling poem which gives title to the volume (the story of a shepherd beloved of a moon-goddess), but the bold imagery of the work, its Spenserian melody, its passages of rare beauty,--all these speak of a true poet who has not yet quite found himself or his subject. A third volume, “Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes and Other Poems” (1820), is in every sense a fulfillment, for it contains a large proportion of excellent poetry, fresh, vital, melodious, which improves with years, and which carries on its face the stamp of permanency.

HIS BEST POEMS. The contents of this little volume may be arranged, not very accurately, in three classes. In the first are certain poems that by their perfection of form show the Greek or classic spirit. Best known of these poems are the fragment “Hyperion,” with its Milton-like nobility of style, and “Lamia,” which is the story of an enchantress whom love transforms into a beautiful woman, but who quickly vanishes because of her lover’s too great curiosity,--a parable, perhaps, of the futility of science and philosophy, as Keats regarded them.

Of the poems of the second class, which reflect old medieval legends, “The Pot of Basil,” “The Eve of St. Agnes” and “La Belle Dame sans Merci” are praised by poets and critics alike. “St. Agnes,” which reflects a vague longing rather than a story, is the best known; but “La Belle Dame” may appeal to some readers as the most moving of Keats’s poems. The essence of all old metrical romances is preserved in a few lines, which have an added personal interest from the fact that they may reveal something of the poet’s sad love story.

In the third class are a few sonnets and miscellaneous poems, all permeated by the sense of beauty, showing in every line the genius of Keats and his exquisite workmanship. The sonnets “On the Sea,” “When I have Fears,” “On the Grasshopper and Cricket” and “To Sleep”; the fragment beginning “In a drear-nighted December”; the marvelous odes “On a Grecian Urn,” “To a Nightingale” and “To Autumn,” in which he combines the simplicity of the old classics with the romance and magic of medieval writers,--there are no works in English of a similar kind that make stronger appeal to our ideal of poetry and of verbal melody. Into the three stanzas of “Autumn,” for example, Keats has compressed the vague feelings of beauty, of melancholy, of immortal aspiration, which come to sensitive souls in the “season of mists and mellow fruitfulness.”

KEATS: AN ESSAY OF CRITICISM. Beyond recommending a few of his poems for their beauty, there is really so little to be said of Keats that critics are at their wit’s end to express their appreciation. So we read of Keats’s “pure aestheticism,” his “copious perfection,” his “idyllic visualization,” his “haunting poignancy of feeling,” his “subtle felicities of diction,” his “tone color,” and more to the same effect. Such criticisms are doubtless well meant, but they are harder to follow than Keats’s “Endymion”; and that is no short or easy road of poesy. Perhaps by trying more familiar ways we may better understand Keats, why he appeals so strongly to poets, and why he is so seldom read by other people.

THE SENSE OF BEAUTY. The first characteristic of the man was his love for every beautiful thing he saw or heard. Sometimes the object which fascinated him was the widespread sea or a solitary star; sometimes it was the work of man, the product of his heart and brain attuned, such as a passage from Homer, a legend of the Middle Ages, a vase of pure lines amid the rubbish of a museum, like a bird call or the scent of violets in a city street. Whatever the object that aroused his sense of beauty, he turned aside to stay with it a while, as on the byways of Europe you will sometimes see a man lay down his burden and bare his head before a shrine that beckons him to pray. With this reverence for beauty Keats had other and rarer qualities: the power to express what he felt, the imagination which gave him beautiful figures, and the taste which enabled him to choose the finest words, the most melodious phrases, wherewith to reflect his thought or mood or emotion.

Such was the power of Keats, to be simple and reverent in the presence of beauty, and to give his feeling poetic or imaginative expression. In respect of such power he probably had no peer in English literature. His limitations were twofold: he looked too exclusively on the physical side of beauty, and he lived too far removed from the common, wholesome life of men.

SENSE AND SOUL. The poetry of Keats deals largely with outward matters, with form, color, melody, odors, with what is called “sensuous” beauty because it delights our human senses. Such beauty is good, but it is not supreme. Moreover, the artist who would appeal widely to men must by sympathy understand their whole life, their mirth as well as their sorrow, their days of labor, their hours of play, their moments of worship. But Keats, living apart with his ideal of beauty, like a hermit in his cell, was able to understand and to voice only one of the profound interests of humanity. For this reason, and because of the deep note of sadness which sounds through all his work like the monotone of the sea, his exquisite poems have never had any general appreciation. Like Spenser, who was his first master, he is a poet’s poet.

TIT BITS:-

- ‘Endymion’ is dedicated to Chatterton.
- ‘Isabella’ or ‘The Pot of Basil’ (1820) is a narrative poem based on a story in Boccaccio’s ‘Decameron’.
- Keats has always been regarded as one of the principal figures in the Romantic Movement. Tennyson considered him as the greatest poet of the 19th century, and Arnold commended his ‘intellectual and spiritual passion’ for beauty. His ‘Ode on a Grecian Urn’ is regarded as his most mature work, almost final word on the vision of Hellas

which he first discovered through Lempriere's 'Dictionary', Chapman's 'Homer' and Elgins 'Marbles'.

WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832)

To read Scott is to read Scotland. Of no other modern author can it so freely be said that he gave to literature a whole country, its scenery, its people, its history and traditions, its ideals of faith and courage and loyalty.

That is a large achievement, but that is not all. It was Scott, more than any other author, who brought poetry and romance home to ordinary readers; and with romance came pleasure, wholesome and refreshing as a drink from a living spring. When he began to write, the novel was in a sad state,--sentimental, sensational, fantastic, devoted to what Charles Lamb described as wildly improbable events and to characters that belong neither to this world nor to any other conceivable one. When his work was done, the novel had been raised to its present position as the most powerful literary influence that bears upon the human mind. Among novelists, therefore, Scott deserves his title of "the first of the modern race of giants."

LIFE. To his family, descendants of the old Borderers, Scott owed that intensely patriotic quality which glows in all his work. He is said to have borne strong resemblance to his grandfather, "Old Bardie Scott," an unbending clansman who vowed never to cut his beard till a Stuart prince came back to the throne. The clansmen were now citizens of the Empire, but their loyalty to hereditary chiefs is reflected in Scott's reverence for everything pertaining to rank or royalty.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS. He was born (1771) in Edinburgh, but his early associations were all of the open country. Some illness had left him lame of foot, and with the hope of a cure he was sent to relatives at Sandy Knowe. There in the heart of the Border he spent his days on the hills with the shepherds, listening to Scottish legends. At bedtime his grandmother told him tales of the clans; and when he could read for himself he learned by heart Percy's "Reliques of Ancient Poetry". So the scenes which he loved because of their wild beauty became sacred because of their historical association. Even in that early day his heart had framed the sentiment which found expression in his "Lay of the Last Minstrel":

Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said:
This is my own, my native land?

WORK AND PLAY. At school, and at college at Edinburgh, the boy's heart was never in his books, unless perchance they contained something of the tradition of Scotland. After college he worked in his father's law office, became an advocate, and for twenty years followed the law. His vacations were spent "making raids," as he said, into the Highlands, adding to his enormous store of old tales and ballads. The boyish delight in roaming, in new scenes, in new people met frankly under the open sky, is characteristic of Scott's poems and novels, which never move freely until they are out of doors. The vigor of these works may be partially accounted for by the fact that Scott was a hard worker and a hearty player,--a capital combination.

HIS POEMS. He was past thirty when he began to write original works. By that time he had been appointed Clerk of Sessions, and also Sheriff of Selkirkshire (he took that hangman's job, and kept it even after he had won fame, just for the money there was in it); and these offices, together with his wife's dowry, provided a comfortable income. When his first poem, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" (1805), met with immense success he gladly gave up the law, and wrote "Marmion" (1808) and "The Lady of the Lake" (1810). These increased his good fortune; but his later poems were of inferior quality, and met with a cool reception. Meanwhile Byron had appeared to dazzle the reading public. Scott recognized the greater poetic genius of the author of "Childe Harold", and sought another field where he was safe from all rivals.

FIRST ROMANCES. Rummaging in a cabinet one day after some fishing tackle, he found a manuscript long neglected and forgotten. Instead of going fishing Scott read his manuscript, was fascinated by it, and presently began to write in headlong fashion. In three weeks he added sixty-five chapters to his old romance, and published it as "Waverley" (1814) without signing his name. Then he went away on another "raid" to the Highlands. When he returned, at the end of the summer, he learned that his book had made a tremendous sensation, and that Fame, hat in hand, had been waiting at his door for some weeks.

In the next ten years Scott won his name of "the Wizard of the North," for it seemed that only magic could produce stories of such quality in such numbers: "Guy Mannering", "Rob Roy", "Old Mortality", "Redgauntlet", "Heart of Midlothian", portraying the deathless romance of Scotland; and "Ivanhoe", "Kenilworth", "The Talisman" and other novels which changed dull history to a drama of fascinating characters. Not only England but the Continent hailed this magnificent work with delight. Money and fame poured in upon the author. Fortune appeared for once "with both hands full." Then the crash came.

To understand the calamity one must remember that Scott regarded literature not as an art but as a profitable business; that he aimed to be not a great writer but a lord of high degree. He had been made a baronet, and was childishly proud of the title; his work and his vast earnings were devoted to the dream of a feudal house which should endure through the centuries and look back to Sir Walter as its noble founder. While living modestly on

his income at Ashiestiel he had used the earnings of his poems to buy a rough farm at Clarty Hole, on the Tweed, and had changed its unromantic name to Abbotsford. More land was rapidly added and "improved" to make a lordly estate; then came the building of a castle, where Scott entertained lavishly, as lavishly as any laird or chieftain of the olden time, offering to all visitors "the honors of Scotland."

Enormous sums were spent on this bubble, and still more money was needed. To increase his income Scott went into secret partnership with his publishers, indulged in speculative ventures, ran the firm upon the shoals, drew large sums in advance of his earnings. Suddenly came a business panic; the publishing firm failed miserably, and at fifty five Scott, having too much honest pride to take advantage of the bankruptcy laws, found himself facing a debt of more than a hundred thousand pounds.

HIS LAST YEARS. His last years were spent in an heroic struggle to retrieve his lost fortunes. He wrote more novels, but without much zest or inspiration; he undertook other works, such as the voluminous "Life of Napoleon", for which he was hardly fitted, but which brought him money in large measure. In four years he had repaid the greater part of his debt, but mind and body were breaking under the strain. When the end came, in 1832, he had literally worked himself to death. The murmur of the Tweed over its shallows, music that he had loved since childhood, was the last earthly sound of which he was conscious. The house of Abbotsford, for which he had planned and toiled, went into strange hands, and the noble family which he had hoped to found died out within a few years. Only his work remains, and that endures the wear of time and the tooth of criticism.

THE POEMS OF SCOTT. Three good poems of Scott are "Marmion", "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and "The Lady of the Lake"; three others, not so good, are "Rokeby", "Vision of Don Roderick" and "Lord of the Isles". Among these "The Lady of the Lake" is such a favorite that, if one were to question the tourists who annually visit the Trossachs, a surprisingly large number of them would probably confess that they were led not so much by love of natural beauty as by desire to visit "Fair Ellen's Isle" and other scenes which Scott has immortalized in verse.

We may as well admit frankly that even the best of these poems is not first-class; that it shows careless workmanship, and is lacking in the finer elements of beauty and imagination. But Scott did not aim to create a work of beauty; his purpose was to tell a good story, and in that he succeeded. His "Lady of the Lake", for example, has at least two virtues: it holds the reader's attention; and it fulfills the first law of poetry, which is to give pleasure.

QUALITY OF THE POEMS. Another charm of the poems, for young readers especially, is that they are simple, vigorous, easily understood. Their rapid action and flying verse show hardly a trace of conscious effort. Reading them is like sweeping downstream with a good current, no labor required save for steering, and attention free for what awaits us around the next bend. When the bend is passed, Scott has always something new and interesting: charming scenery, heroic adventure, picturesque incidents (such as the flight of the Fiery Cross to summon the clans), interesting fragments of folklore, and occasionally a ballad like "Lochinvar," or a song like "Bonnie Dundee," which stays with us as a happy memory long after the poem is forgotten.

A secondary reason for the success of these poems was that they satisfied a fashion, very popular in Scott's day, which we have not yet outgrown. That fashion was to attribute chivalrous virtues to outlaws and other merry men, who in their own day and generation were imprisoned or hanged, and who deserved their fate. Robin Hood's gang, for example, or the Raiders of the Border, were in fact a tough lot of thieves and cutthroats; but when they appeared in romantic literature they must of course appeal to ladies; so Scott made them fine, dashing, manly fellows, sacrificing to the fashion of the hour the truth of history and humanity.

SCOTT'S NOVELS. To appreciate the value of Scott's work one should read some of the novels that were fashionable in his day,—silly, sentimental novels, portraying the "sensibilities" of imaginary ladies. [In America, Cooper's first romance, "Precaution" (1820), was of this artificial type. After Scott's outdoor romances appeared, Cooper discovered his talent, and wrote "The Spy" and the Leather-Stocking tales. Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen began to improve or naturalize the English novel before Scott attempted it.] That Scott was influenced by this inane fashion appears plainly in some of his characters, his fine ladies especially, who pose and sentimentalize till we are mortally weary of them; but this influence passed when he discovered his real power, which was to portray men and women in vigorous action. "Waverley", "Rob Roy", "Ivanhoe", "Redgauntlet",—such stories of brave adventure were like the winds of the North, bringing to novel-readers the tang of the sea and the earth and the heather. They braced their readers for life, made them feel their kinship with nature and humanity. Incidentally, they announced that two new types of fiction, the outdoor romance and the historical novel, had appeared with power to influence the work of Cooper, Thackeray, Dickens and a host of minor novelists.

GROUPS OF STORIES. The most convenient way of dealing with Scott's works is to arrange them in three groups. In the first are the novels of Scotland: "Waverley", dealing with the loyalty of the clans to the Pretender; "Old Mortality", with the faith and struggles of the Covenanters; "Redgauntlet", with the plots of the Jacobites; "The Abbot" and "The Monastery", with the traditions concerning Mary Queen of Scots; "Guy Mannering, The Antiquary" and "The Heart of Midlothian", with private life and humble Scottish characters.

In the second group are the novels which reveal the romance of English history: "Ivanhoe", dealing with Saxon and Norman in the stormy days when Richard Lionheart returned to his kingdom; "Kenilworth", with the intrigues of Elizabeth's Court; "The Fortunes of Nigel", with London life in the days of Charles First; "Woodstock",

with Cromwell's iron age; "Peveril of the Peak", with the conflict between Puritan and Cavalier during the Restoration period.

In the third group are the novels which take us to foreign lands: "Quentin Durward", showing us the French court as dominated by the cunning of Louis Eleventh, and "The Talisman", dealing with the Third Crusade.

In the above list we have named not all but only the best of Scott's novels. They differ superficially, in scenes or incidents; they are all alike in motive, which is to tell a tale of adventure that shall be true to human nature, no matter what liberties it may take with the facts of history.

QUALITY OF THE NOVELS. In all these novels the faults are almost as numerous as the virtues; but while the faults appear small, having little influence on the final result, the virtues are big, manly, wholesome,--such virtues as only the greatest writers of fiction possess. Probably all Scott's faults spring from one fundamental weakness: he never had a high ideal of his own art. He wrote to make money, and was inclined to regard his day's labor as "so much scribbling." Hence his style is frequently slovenly, lacking vigor and concentration; his characters talk too much, apparently to fill space; he caters to the romantic fashion (and at the same time indulges his Tory prejudice) by enlarging on the somewhat imaginary virtues of knights, nobles, feudal or royal institutions, and so presents a one-sided view of history.

On the other hand, Scott strove to be true to the great movements of history, and to the moral forces which, in the end, prevail in all human activity. His sympathies were broad; he mingled in comradeship with all classes of society, saw the best in each; and from his observation and sympathy came an enormous number of characters, high or low, good or bad, grave or ridiculous, but nearly all natural and human, because drawn from life and experience.

SCENE AND INCIDENT. Another of Scott's literary virtues is his love of wild nature, which led him to depict many grand or gloomy scenes, partly for their own sake, but largely because they formed a fitting background for human action. Thus, "The Talisman" opens with a pen picture of a solitary Crusader moving across a sun-scorched desert towards a distant island of green. Many another of Scott's descriptions of wild nature is followed by some gallant adventure, which we enjoy the more because we imagine that adventures ought to occur (though they seldom do) amid romantic surroundings.

OTHER FICTION WRITERS. Of the work of Walter Scott we have already spoken. When such a genius appears, dominating his age, we think of him as a great inventor, and so he was; but like most other inventors his trail had been blazed, his way prepared by others who had gone before him. His first romance, "Waverley", shows the influence of earlier historical romances, such as Jane Porter's "Thaddeus of Warsaw" and "Scottish Chiefs"; in his later work he acknowledged his indebtedness to Maria Edgeworth, whose "Castle Rackrent" had aroused enthusiasm at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In brief, the romantic movement greatly encouraged fiction writing, and Scott did excellently what many others were doing well.

Two things are noticeable as we review the fiction of this period: the first, that nearly all the successful writers were women; [Fanny Burney, Ann Radcliffe, Jane Porter, Maria Edgeworth, and so on--all of whom were famous in their day, and each of whom produced at least one "best seller"] the second, that of these writers only one, the most neglected by her own generation, holds a secure place in the hearts of present-day readers. If it be asked why Jane Austen's works endure while others are forgotten, the answer is that almost any trained writer can produce a modern romance, but it takes a genius to write a novel. [The difference between the modern romance and the novel is evident in the works of Scott and Miss Austen. Scott takes an unusual subject, he calls up kings, nobles, chieftains, clansmen, robber barons,--a host of picturesque characters; he uses his imagination freely, and makes a story for the story's sake. Miss Austen takes an ordinary country village, observes its people as through a microscope, and portrays them to the life. She is not interested in making a thrilling story, but in showing us men and women as they are; and our interest is held by the verity of her portrayal.]

JANE AUSTEN (1775-1817)

The rare genius of Miss Austen (1775-1817) was as a forest flower during her lifetime. While Fanny Burney, Jane Porter and Maria Edgeworth were widely acclaimed, this little woman remained almost unknown, following no school of fiction, writing for her own pleasure, and destroying whatever did not satisfy her own sense of fitness. If she had any theory of fiction, it was simply this: to use no incident but such as had occurred before her eyes, to describe no scene that was not familiar, and to portray only such characters as she knew intimately, their speech, dress, manner, and the motives that governed their action. If unconsciously she followed any rule of expression, it was that of Cowper, who said that to touch and retouch is the secret of almost all good writing. To her theory and rule she added personal charm, intelligence, wit, genius of a high order. Neglected by her own generation, she has now an ever-widening circle of readers, and is ranked by critics among the five or six greatest writers of English fiction.

HER LIFE. Jane Austen's life was short and extremely placid. She was born (1775) in a little Hampshire village; she spent her entire life in one country parish or another, varying the scene by an occasional summer at the watering-

place of Bath, which was not very exciting. Her father was an easy-going clergyman who read Pope, avoided politics, and left preaching to his curate. She was one of a large family of children, who were brought up to regard elegance of manner as a cardinal virtue, and vulgarity of any kind as the epitome of the seven deadly sins. Her two brothers entered the navy; hence the flutter in her books whenever a naval officer comes on a furlough to his native village. She spent her life in homely, pleasant duties, and did her writing while the chatter of family life went on around her. Her only characters were visitors who came to the rectory, or who gathered around the tea-table in a neighbor's house. They were absolutely unconscious of the keen scrutiny to which they were subjected; no one whispered to them, "A chiel's amang ye, takin' notes"; and so they had no suspicion that they were being transferred into books.

The first three of Miss Austen's novels were written at Steventon, among her innocent subjects, but her precious manuscripts went begging in vain for a publisher. The last three, reflecting as in a glass the manners of another parish, were written at Chawton, near Winchester. Then the good work suddenly began to flag. The same disease that, a little later, was to call halt to Keats's poetry of beauty now made an end of Miss Austen's portrayal of everyday life. When she died (1817) she was only forty-two years old, and her heart was still that of a young girl. A stained-glass window in beautiful old Winchester Cathedral speaks eloquently of her life and work.

NOVELS AND CHARACTERS. If we must recommend one of Miss Austen's novels, perhaps "Pride and Prejudice" is the most typical; but there is very little to justify this choice when the alternative is "Northanger Abbey", or "Emma", or "Sense and Sensibility", or "Persuasion", or "Mansfield Park". All are good; the most definite stricture that one can safely make is that "Mansfield Park" is not so good as the others. Four of the novels are confined to country parishes; but in "Northanger Abbey" and "Persuasion" the horizon is broadened to include a watering place, whither genteel folk went "to take the air."

The characters of all these novels are: first, the members of five or six families, with their relatives, who try to escape individual boredom by gregariousness; and second, more of the same kind assembled at a local fair or sociable. Here you meet a dull country squire or two, a feeble-minded baronet, a curate laboriously upholding the burden of his dignity, a doctor trying to hide his emptiness of mind by looking occupied, an uncomfortable male person in tow of his wife, maiden aunts, fond mammas with their awkward daughters, chatterboxes, poor relations, spoiled children,--a characteristic gathering. All these, except the spoiled children, talk with perfect propriety about the weather. If in the course of a long day anything witty is said, it is an accident, a phenomenon; conversation halts, and everybody looks at the speaker as if he must have had "a rush of brains to the head."

HER SMALL FIELD. Such is Jane Austen's little field, an eddy of life revolving endlessly around small parish interests. Her subjects are not even the whole parish, but only "the quality," whom the favored ones may meet at Mrs. B's afternoon at home. They read proper novels, knit wristlets, discuss fevers and their remedies, raise their eyebrows at gossip, connive at matrimony, and take tea. The workers of the world enter not here; neither do men of ideas, nor social rebels, nor the wicked, nor the happily unworthy poor; and the parish is blessed in having no reformers.

In this barren field, hopeless to romancers like Scott, there never was such another explorer as Jane Austen. Her demure observation is marvelously keen; sometimes it is mischievous, or even a bit malicious, but always sparkling with wit or running over with good humor. Almost alone in that romantic age she had no story to tell, and needed none. She had never met any heroes or heroines. Plots, adventures, villains, persecuted innocence, skeletons in closets, all the ordinary machinery of fiction seemed to her absurd and unnecessary. She was content to portray the life that she knew best, and found it so interesting that, a century later, we share her enthusiasm. And that is the genius of Miss Austen, to interest us not by a romantic story but by the truth of her observation and by the fidelity of her portrayal of human nature, especially of feminine nature.

INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH FICTION. There is one more thing to note in connection with Miss Austen's work; namely, her wholesome influence on the English novel. In "Northanger Abbey" and in "Sense and Sensibility" she satirizes the popular romances of the period, with their Byronic heroes, melodramatic horrors and perpetual harping on some pale heroine's sensibilities. Her satire is perhaps the best that has been written on the subject, so delicate, so flashing, so keen, that a critic compares it to the exploit of Saladin (in "The Talisman") who could not with his sword hack through an iron mace, as Richard did, but who accomplished the more difficult feat of slicing a gossamer veil as it floated in the air.

Such satire was not lost; yet it was Miss Austen's example rather than her precept which put to shame the sentimental romances of her day, and which influenced subsequent English fiction in the direction of truth and naturalness. Young people still prefer romance and adventure as portrayed by Scott and his followers, and that is as it should be; but an increasingly large number of mature readers (especially those who are interested in human nature) find a greater charm in the novel of characters and manners, as exemplified by Jane Austen.

THE CRITICS AND ESSAYISTS. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (or from Shakespeare to Wordsworth) England was preparing a great literature; and then appeared writers whose business or pleasure it was to appreciate that literature, to point out its virtues or its defects, to explain by what principle this or that work was permanent, and to share their enjoyment of good prose and poetry with others,--in a word, the critics.

In the list of such writers, who give us literature at second hand, the names of Leigh Hunt, William Hazlitt, Walter Savage Landor, Charles Lamb and Thomas De Quincey are written large. The two last-named are selected for special study, not because of their superior critical ability (for Hazlitt was probably a better critic than either), but

because of a few essays in which these men left us an appreciation of life, as they saw it for themselves at first hand.

TIT BITS:-

Themes: Surface of the novel and the surface of her life - do not have anything striking, uneventful. Works move around Middle Class, Disappointment in Love, and the threat of seduction; in short the constant routine of middle class life. Therefore it's said that "She works on two or three inches of ivory". Deals with a quite mode of life. She explores human experience to the all thoroughness possible with an element of comic mode. Though contemporary of high Romantic writers, she was not interested in Romanticism. Unlike the Romantics, she rejected the cult of personality, because she derived her inspiration from the Neo- Classical writers. Walter Scott praised her works saying 'that exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting', while Charlotte Bronte and Elizabeth Browning found her limited.

CHARLES LAMB (1775-1834)

There is a little book called "Essays of Elia" which stands out from all other prose works of the age. If we examine this book to discover the source of its charm, we find it pervaded by a winsome "human" quality which makes us want to know the man who wrote it. In this respect Charles Lamb differs from certain of his contemporaries. Wordsworth was too solitary, Coleridge and De Quincey too unbalanced, Shelley too visionary and Keats too aloof to awaken a feeling of personal allegiance; but the essays of Lamb reveal two qualities which, like fine gold, are current among readers of all ages. These are sympathy and humor. By the one we enter understandingly into life, while the other keeps us from taking life too tragically.

LIFE. Lamb was born (1775) in the midst of London, and never felt at home anywhere else. London is a world in itself, and of all its corners there were only three that Lamb found comfortable. The first was the modest little home where he lived with his gifted sister Mary, reading with her through the long evenings, or tenderly caring for her during a period of insanity; the second was the commercial house where he toiled as a clerk; the third was the busy street which lay between home and work,--a street forever ebbing and flowing with a great tide of human life that affected Lamb profoundly, mysteriously, as Wordsworth was affected by the hills or the sea.

The boy's education began at Christ's Hospital, where he met Coleridge and entered with him into a lifelong friendship. At fifteen he left school to help support his family; and for the next thirty-three years he was a clerk, first in the South Sea House, then in the East India Company. Rather late in life he began to write, his prime object being to earn a little extra money, which he sadly needed. Then the Company, influenced partly by his faithful service and partly by his growing reputation, retired him on a pension. Most eagerly, like a boy out of school, he welcomed his release, intending to do great things with his pen; but curiously enough he wrote less, and less excellently, than before. His decline began with his hour of liberty. For a time, in order that his invalid sister might have quiet, he lived outside the city, at Islington and Enfield; but he missed the work, the street, the crowd, and especially did he miss his old habits. He had no feeling for nature, nor for any art except that which he found in old books. "I hate the country," he wrote; and the cause of his dislike was that, not knowing what to do with himself, he grew weary of a day that was "all day long."

The earlier works of Lamb (some poems, a romance and a drama) are of little interest except to critics. The first book that brought him any considerable recognition was the "Tales from Shakespeare". This was a summary of the stories used by Shakespeare in his plays, and was largely the work of Mary Lamb, who had a talent for writing children's books. The charm of the "Tales" lies in the fact that the Lambs were so familiar with old literature that they reproduced the stories in a style which might have done credit to a writer in the days of Elizabeth. The book is still widely read, and is as good as any other if one wants that kind of book. But the chief thing in "Macbeth" or "The Tempest" is the poetry, not the tale or the plot; and even if one wants only the story, why not get it from Shakespeare himself? Another and better book by Lamb of the same general kind is "Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Contemporary with Shakespeare". In this book he saves us a deal of unprofitable reading by gathering together the best of the Elizabethan dramas, to which he adds some admirable notes of criticism or interpretation.

ESSAYS OF ELIA. Most memorable of Lamb's works are the essays which he contributed for many years to the London magazines, and which he collected under the titles "Essays of Elia" (1823) and "Last Essays of Elia" (1830). [The name "Elia" (pronounced ee'-li-a) was a pseudonym, taken from an old Italian clerk (Ellia) in the South Sea House. When "Elia" appears in the "Essays" he is Charles Lamb himself; "Cousin Bridget" is sister Mary, and "John Elia" is a brother. The last-named was a selfish kind of person, who seems to have lived for himself, letting Charles take all the care of the family.] To the question, Which of these essays should be read? the answer given must depend largely upon personal taste. They are all good; they all contain both a reflection and a criticism of life, as Lamb viewed it by light of his personal experience. A good way to read the essays, therefore, is to consider them as somewhat autobiographical, and to use them for making acquaintance with the author at various periods of his life.

For example, "My Relations" and "Mackery End" acquaint us with Lamb's family and descent; "Old Benchers of the Inner Temple" with his early surroundings; "Witches and Other Night-fears" with his sensitive childhood; "Recollections of Christ's Hospital" and "Christ's Hospital Five-and-thirty Years Ago" with his school days and

comradeship with Coleridge; "The South Sea House" with his daily work; "Old China" with his home life; "The Superannuated Man" with his feelings when he was retired on a pension; and finally, "Character of the Late Elia," in which Lamb whimsically writes his own obituary.

If these call for too much reading at first, then one may select three or four typical essays: "Dream Children," notable for its exquisite pathos; "Dissertation on Roast Pig," famous for its peculiar humor; and "Praise of Chimney Sweepers," of which it is enough to say that it is just like Charles Lamb. To these one other should be added, "Imperfect Sympathies," or "A Chapter on Ears," or "Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist," in order to appreciate how pleasantly Lamb could write on small matters of no consequence. Still another good way of reading (which need not be emphasized, since everybody favors it) is to open the "Essays" here or there till we find something that interests us,--a method which allows every reader the explorer's joy of discovery.

To read such essays is to understand the spell they have cast on successive generations of readers. They are, first of all, very personal; they begin, as a rule, with some pleasant trifle that interests the author; then, almost before we are aware, they broaden into an essay of life itself, an essay illuminated by the steady light of Lamb's sympathy or by the flashes of his whimsical humor. Next, we note in the "Essays" their air of literary culture, which is due to Lamb's wide reading, and to the excellent taste with which he selected his old authors,--Sidney, Brown, Burton, Fuller, Walton and Jeremy Taylor. Often it was the quaintness of these authors, their conceits or oddities that charmed him. These oddities reappear in his own style to such an extent that even when he speaks a large truth, as he often does, he is apt to give the impression of being a little harebrained. Yet if you examine his queer idea or his merry jest, you may find that it contains more cardinal virtue than many a sober moral treatise.

On the whole "Elia" is the quintessence of modern essay-writing from Addison to Stevenson. There are probably no better works of the same kind in our literature. Some critics aver that there are none others so good.

TIT BITS:-

- Ann Symmons is the young lady he fell in love with. In his Essays he calls her Alice Winterton and in his poems he refers to her as Anna.
- 'Rosamund Gray' is described as 'a miniature romance'.
- Mr. Gifford in 'Quarterly' referred to Lamb as "the ravings of a poor maniac"

THOMAS DE QUINCEY (1785-1859)

It used to be said in a college classroom that what De Quincey wrote was seldom important and always doubtful, but that we ought to read him for his style; which means, as you might say, that caviar is a stomach-upsetting food, but we ought to eat a little of it because it comes in a pretty box.

To this criticism, which reflects a prevalent opinion, we may take some exceptions. For example, what De Quincey has to say of Style, though it were written in style-defying German, is of value to everyone who would teach that impossible subject. What he says or implies in "Levana" (the goddess who performed "the earliest office of ennobling kindness" for a newborn child, lifting him from the ground, where he was first laid, and presenting his forehead to the stars of heaven) has potency to awaken two of the great faculties of humanity, the power to think and the power to imagine. Again, many people are fascinated by dreams, those mysterious fantasies which carry us away on swift wings to meet strange experiences; and what De Quincey has to say of dreams, though doubtful as a dream itself, has never been rivaled. To a few mature minds, therefore, De Quincey is interesting entirely apart from his dazzling style and inimitable rhetoric.

To do justice to De Quincey's erratic life; to record his precocious youth, his marvelous achievements in school or college, his wanderings amid lonely mountains or more lonely city streets, his drug habits with their gorgeous dreams and terrible depressions, his timidity, his courtesy, his soul-solitude, his uncanny genius,--all that is impossible in a brief summary. Let it suffice, then, to record: that he resembled his friend Coleridge, both in his character and in his vast learning; that he studied in profound seclusion for twenty years; then for forty years more, during which time his brain was more or less beclouded by opium, he poured out a flood of magazine articles, which he collected later in fourteen chaotic volumes. These deal with an astonishing variety of subjects, and cover almost every phase of mental activity from portraying a nightmare to building a philosophical system. If he had any dominating interest in his strange life, it was the study of literature.

TYPICAL WORKS. The historian can but name a few characteristic works of De Quincey, without recommending any of them to readers. To those interested in De Quincey's personality his "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater" will be illuminating. This book astonished Londoners in 1821, and may well astonish a Bushman in the year 2000. It records his wandering life, and the alternate transport or suffering which resulted from his drug habits. This may be followed by his "Suspiria de Profundis" (Sighs from the Depths), which describes, as well as such a thing could be done, the phantoms born of opium dreams. There are too many of the latter, and the reader may well be satisfied with the wonderful "Dream Fugue" in "The English Mail Coach".

As an illustration of De Quincey's review of history, one should try "Joan of Arc" or "The Revolt of the Tartars", which are not historical studies but romantic dreams inspired by reading history. In the critical field, "The Knocking at the Gate in "Macbeth"," "Wordsworth's Poetry" and the "Essay on Style" are immensely suggestive. As

an example of ingenious humor “Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts” is often recommended; but it has this serious fault, that it is not humorous. For a concrete example of De Quincey’s matter and manner there is nothing better than “Levana or Our Ladies of Sorrow” (from the “Suspiria”), with its “mater lachrymarum” Our Lady of Tears, “mater suspiriorum” Our Lady of Sighs, and that strange phantom, forbidding and terrible, “mater tenebrarum” Our Lady of Darkness.

DE QUINCEY’S STYLE. The style of all these works is indescribable. One may exhaust the whole list of adjectives—chanting, rhythmic, cadenced, harmonious, impassioned—that have been applied to it, and yet leave much to say. Therefore we note only these prosaic elements: that the style reflects De Quincey’s powers of logical analysis and of brilliant imagination; that it is pervaded by a tremendous mental excitement, though one does not know what the stir is all about; and that the impression produced by this nervous, impassioned style is usually spoiled by digressions, by hairsplitting, and by something elusive, intangible, to which we can give no name, but which blurs the author’s vision as a drifting fog obscures a familiar landscape.

Notwithstanding such strictures, De Quincey’s style is still, as when it first appeared, a thing to marvel at, revealing as it does the grace, the harmony, the wide range and the minute precision of English speech.

SUMMARY. The early 19th century is notable for the rapid progress of democracy in English government, and for the triumph of romanticism in English literature. The most influential factor of the age was the French Revolution, with its watchwords of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. English writers felt the stir of the times, and were inspired by the dream of a new human society ruled by justice and love. In their writing they revolted from the formal standards of the age of Pope, followed their own genius rather than set rules, and wrote with feeling and imagination of the two great subjects of nature and humanity. Such was the contrast in politics and literature with the preceding century that the whole period is sometimes called the age of revolution.

Our study of the literature of the period includes: (1) The poets Wordsworth and Coleridge, who did not so much originate as give direction to the romantic revival. (2) Byron and Shelley, often called revolutionary poets. (3) The poet Keats, whose works are famous for their sense of beauty and for their almost perfect workmanship. (4) A review of the minor poets of romanticism, Campbell, Moore, Hood, Beddoes, Hunt, and Felicia Hemans. (5) The life and works of Walter Scott, romantic poet and novelist. (6) A glance at the fiction writers of the period, and a study of the works of Jane Austen. (7) The critics and essayists, of whom we selected these two as the most typical: Charles Lamb, famous for his “Essays of Elia”; and De Quincey, notable for his brilliant style, his analysis of dreams, and his endeavor to make a science of literary criticism.

THE VICTORIAN AGE (1837-1901)

HISTORICAL OUTLINE. Amid the many changes which make the reign of Victoria the most progressive in English history, one may discover three tendencies which have profoundly affected our present life and literature. The first is political and democratic: it may be said to have begun with the Reform Bill of 1832; it is still in progress, and its evident end is to deliver the government of England into the hands of the common people. In earlier ages we witnessed a government which laid stress on royalty and class privilege. In the Victorian or modern age the divine right of kings is as obsolete as a suit of armor; the privileges of royalty and nobility are either curbed or abolished, and ordinary men by their representatives in the House of Commons are the real rulers of England.

With a change in government comes a corresponding change in literature. In former ages literature was almost as exclusive as politics; it was largely in the hands of the few; it was supported by princely patrons; it reflected the taste of the upper classes. Now the masses of men begin to be educated, begin to think for themselves, and a host of periodicals appear in answer to their demand for reading matter. Poets, novelists, essayists, historians—all serious writers feel the inspiration of a great audience, and their works have a thousand readers where formerly they had but one. In a word, English government, society and literature have all become more democratic. This is the most significant feature of modern history.

The second tendency may be summed up in the word “scientific.” At the basis of this tendency is man’s desire to know the truth, if possible the whole truth of life; and it sets no limits to the exploring spirit, whether in the heavens above or the earth beneath or the waters under the earth. From star-dust in infinite space (which we hope to measure) to fossils on the bed of an ocean which is no longer unfathomed, nothing is too great or too small to attract man, to fascinate him, to influence his thought, his life, his literature. Darwin’s “Origin of Species” (1859), which laid the foundation for a general theory of evolution, is one of the most famous books of the age, and of the world. Associated with Darwin were Wallace, Lyell, Huxley, Tyndall and many others, whose essays are, in their own way, quite as significant as the poems of Tennyson or the novels of Dickens.

It would be quite as erroneous to allege that modern science began with these men as to assume that it began with the Chinese or with Roger Bacon; the most that can be said truthfully is, that the scientific spirit which they reflected began to dominate our thought, to influence even our poetry and fiction, even as the voyages of Drake and Magellan furnished a mighty and mysterious background for the play of human life on the Elizabethan stage. The Elizabethans looked upon an enlarging visible world, and the wonder of it is reflected in their prose and poetry; the Victorians overran that world almost from pole to pole, then turned their attention to an unexplored world of invisible forces, and their best literature thrills again with the grandeur of the universe in which men live.

A third tendency of the Victorian age in England is expressed by the word "imperialism." In earlier ages the work of planting English colonies had been well done; in the Victorian age the scattered colonies increased mightily in wealth and power, and were closely federated into a world-wide Empire of people speaking the same noble speech, following the same high ideals of justice and liberty.

The literature of the period reflects the wide horizons of the Empire. Among historical writers, Parkman the American was one of the first and best to reflect the imperial spirit. In such works as "A Half-Century of Conflict" and "Montcalm and Wolfe" he portrayed the conflict not of one nation against another but rather of two antagonistic types of civilization: the military and feudal system of France against the democratic institutions of the Anglo-Saxons. Among the explorers, Mungo Park had anticipated the Victorians in his "Travels in the Interior of Africa" (1799), a wonderful book which set England to dreaming great dreams; but not until the heroic Livingstone's "Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa, The Zambesi and its Tributaries" and "Last Journals" appeared was the veil lifted from the Dark Continent. Beside such works should be placed numerous stirring journals of exploration in Canada, in India, in Australia, in tropical or frozen seas,--wherever in the round world the colonizing genius of England saw opportunity to extend the boundaries and institutions of the Empire. Macaulay's "Warren Hastings", Edwin Arnold's "Indian Idylls", Kipling's "Soldiers Three",--a few such works must be read if we are to appreciate the imperial spirit of modern English history and literature.

I POETS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE

ALFRED TENNYSON (1809-1892)

Though the Victorian age is notable for the quality and variety of its prose works, its dominant figure for years was the poet Tennyson. He alone, of all that brilliant group of Victorian writers, seemed to speak not for himself but for his age and nation; and the nation, grown weary of Byronic rebellion, and finding its joy or sorrow expressed with almost faultless taste by one whose life was noble, gave to Tennyson a whole-souled allegiance such as few poets have ever won. In 1850 he was made Laureate to succeed Wordsworth and from that time on he steadily adhered to his purpose, which was to know his people and to be their spokesman.

LIFE. When we attempt a biography of a person we assume unconsciously that he was a public man; but that is precisely what Tennyson refused to be. He lived a retired life of thoughtfulness, of communion with nature, of friendships too sacred for the world's gaze, a life blameless in conduct, unswerving in its loyalty to noble ideals. From boyhood to old age he wrote poetry, and in that poetry alone, not in biography or letters or essays of criticism, do we ever touch the real man.

Tennyson was the son of a cultured clergyman, and was born in the rectory of Somersby, Lincolnshire, in 1809, the same year that saw the birth of Lincoln and Darwin. Like Milton he devoted himself to poetry at an early age; in his resolve he was strengthened by his mother; and from it he never departed. The influences of his early life, the quiet beauty of the English landscape, the surge and mystery of the surrounding sea, the emphasis on domestic virtues, the pride and love of an Englishman for his country and his country's history,--these are everywhere reflected in the poet's work.

His education was largely a matter of reading under his father's direction. He had a short experience of the grammar school at Louth, which he hated forever after. He entered Cambridge, and formed a circle of rare friends ("apostles" they called themselves) who afterwards became famous; but he left college without taking a degree, probably because he was too poor to continue his course. Not till 1850 did he earn enough by his work to establish a home of his own. Then he leased a house at Farringford, Isle of Wight, which we have ever since associated with Tennyson's name. But his real place is the Heart of England.

A POET AND HIS CRITICS. His first book (a boyish piece of work, undertaken with his brother Charles) appeared under the title "Poems by Two Brothers" (1827). In 1830, and again in 1832, he published a small volume containing such poems as "The Palace of Art," "The Lotos-Eaters," "The Lady of Shalott" and "The Miller's Daughter"; but the critics of the age, overlooking the poet's youth and its promise, treated the volumes unmercifully. Tennyson, always sensitive to criticism, was sensible enough to see that the critics had ground for their opinions, if not for their harshness; and for ten long years, while he labored to perfect his art, his name did not again appear in print.

There was another reason for his silence. In 1833 his dearest friend, Arthur Hallam, died suddenly in Vienna, and it was years before Tennyson began to recover from the blow. His first expression of grief is seen in the lyric beginning, "Break, break, break," which contains the memorable stanza:

And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill;
But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still!

Then he began that series of elegies for his friend which appeared, seventeen years later, as "In Memoriam".

HE WINS AND HOLDS HIS PLACE. Influenced by his friends, Tennyson broke his long silence with a volume containing "Morte d'Arthur," "Locksley Hall," "Sir Galahad," "Lady Clare" and a few more poems which have never lost their

power over readers; but it must have commanded attention had it contained only "Ulysses," that magnificent appeal to manhood, reflecting the indomitable spirit of all those restless explorers who dared unknown lands or seas to make wide the foundations of imperial England. It was a wonderful volume, and almost its first effect was to raise the hidden Tennyson to the foremost place in English letters.

Whatever he wrote thereafter was sure of a wide reading. Critics, workingmen, scientists, reformers, theologians,--all recognized the power of the poet to give melodious expression to their thought or feeling. Yet he remained averse to everything that savored of popularity, devoting himself as in earlier days to poetry alone. As a critic writes, "Tennyson never forgot that the poet's work was to convince the world of love and beauty; that he was born to do that work, and do it worthily."

There are two poems which are especially significant in view of this steadfast purpose. The first is "Merlin and the Gleam," which reflects Tennyson's lifelong devotion to his art; the other is "Crossing the Bar," which was his farewell and hail to life when the end came in 1892.

WORKS OF TENNYSON. There is a wide variety in Tennyson's work: legend, romance, battle song, nature, classic and medieval heroes, problems of society, questions of science, the answer of faith,--almost everything that could interest an alert Victorian mind found some expression in his poetry. It ranges in subject from a thrush song to a religious philosophy, in form from the simplest love lyric to the labored historical drama.

TYPICAL SHORT POEMS. Of the shorter poems of Tennyson there are a few which should be known to every student: first, because they are typical of the man who stands for modern English poetry; and second, because one is constantly meeting references to these poems in books or magazines or even newspapers. Among such representative poems are: "The Lotos-Eaters," a dream picture characterized by a beauty and verbal melody that recall Spenser's work; "Locksley Hall" and "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," the one a romance throbbing with youth and hope, the other representing the same hero grown old, despondent and a little carping, but still holding fast to his ideals; "Sir Galahad," a medieval romance of purity; "Ulysses," an epitome of exploration in all ages; "The Revenge," a stirring war song; "Rizpah," a dramatic portrayal of a mother's grief for a wayward son; "Romney's Remorse," a character study of Tennyson's later years; and a few shorter poems, such as "The Higher Pantheism," "Flower in the Crannied Wall," "Wages" and "The Making of Man," which reflect the poet's mood before the problems of science and of faith.

To these should be added a few typical patriotic pieces, which show Tennyson speaking as Poet Laureate for his country: "Ode on the Death of Wellington," "Charge of the Light Brigade," "Defense of Lucknow," "Hands all Round," and the imperial appeal of "Britons, Hold Your Own" or, as it is tamely called, "Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exposition." The beginner may also be reminded of certain famous little melodies, such as the "Bugle Song," "Sweet and Low," "Tears," "The Brook," "Far, Far, Away" and "Crossing the Bar," which are among the most perfect that England has produced. And, as showing Tennyson's extraordinary power of youthful feeling, at least one lyric of his old age should be read, such as "The Thristle" (a song that will appeal especially to all bird lovers), beginning:

Summer is coming, summer is coming,
I know it, I know it, I know it;
Light again, leaf again, life again, love again"--
Yes, my wild little poet!

Here Tennyson is so merged in his subject as to produce the impression that the lyric must have been written not by an aged poet but by the bird himself. Reading the poem one seems to hear the brown thrasher on a twig of the wild-apple tree, pouring his heart out over the thicket which his mate has just chosen for a nesting place.

IDYLLS OF THE KING. Of the longer works of Tennyson the most notable is the "Idylls of the King", a series of twelve poems retelling part of the story of Arthur and his knights. Tennyson seems to have worked at this poem in haphazard fashion, writing the end first, then a fragment here or there, at intervals during half a century. Finally he welded his material into its present form, making it a kind of allegory of human life, in which man's animal nature fights with his spiritual aspirations. As Tennyson wrote, in his "Finale" to Queen Victoria:

Accept this old, imperfect tale,
New-old, and shadowing Sense at war with Soul.

The beginner will do well to forget the allegory and read the poem for its sustained beauty of expression and for its reflection of the modern ideal of honor. For, though Malory and Tennyson tell the same story, there is this significant difference between the "Morte d' Arthur" and the "Idylls of the King": one is thoroughly medieval, and the other almost as thoroughly modern. Malory in simple prose makes his story the expression of chivalry in the Middle Ages; his heroes are true to their own time and place. Tennyson in melodious blank verse changes his material freely so as to make it a reflection of a nineteenth-century gentleman disguised in a suit of armor and some old knightly raiment.

One may add that some readers cleave to Tennyson, while others greatly prefer Malory. There is little or no comparison between the two, and selections from both should be read, if only to understand how this old romance of Arthur has appealed to writers of different times. In making a selection from the "Idylls" (the length of the poem is rather forbidding) it is well to begin with the twelfth book, "The Passing of Arthur," which was first to be written, and which reflects the noble spirit of the entire work.

In "The Princess: a Medley" the poet attempts the difficult task of combining an old romantic story with a modern social problem; and he does not succeed very well in harmonizing his incongruous materials.

THE PRINCESS. The story is, briefly, of a princess who in youth is betrothed to a prince. When she reaches what is called the age of discretion (doubtless because that age is so frequently marked by indiscretions) she rebels against the idea of marriage, and founds a college, herself the principal, devoted to the higher education of women. The prince, a gallant blade, and a few of his followers disguise themselves as girls and enter the school. When an unruly masculine tongue betrays him he is cast out with maledictions on his head. His father comes with an army, and makes war against the father of the princess. The prince joins blithely in the fight, is sore wounded, and is carried to the woman's college as to a hospital. The princess nurses him, listens to his love tale, and the story ends in the good old-fashioned way.

There are many beautiful passages in "The Princess", and had Tennyson been content to tell the romantic story his work would have had some pleasant suggestion of Shakespeare's "As You Like It"; but the social problem spoils the work, as a moralizing intruder spoils a bit of innocent fun. Tennyson is either too serious or not serious enough; he does not know the answer to his own problem, and is not quite sincere in dealing with it or in coming to his lame and impotent conclusion. Few readers now attempt the three thousand lines of "The Princess", but content themselves with a few lyrics, such as "Ask Me No More," "O Swallow Flying South," "Tears," "Bugle Song" and "Sweet and Low," which are familiar songs in many households that remember not whence they came.

ENGLISH IDYLS. More consistent than "The Princess" is a group of poems reflecting the life and ideals of simple people, to which Tennyson gave the general name of "English Idyls". The longest and in some respects the best of these is "Enoch Arden," a romance which was once very popular, but which is now in danger of being shelved because the modern reader prefers his romance in prose form. Certain of the famous poems which we have already named are classed among these English idyls; but more typical of Tennyson's purpose in writing them are "Dora," "The Gardener's Daughter" and "Aylmer's Field," in which he turns from ancient heroes to sing the romance of present-day life.

Among mature readers, who have met the sorrows of life or pondered its problems, the most admired of Tennyson's work is "In Memoriam" (1850), an elegy inspired by the death of Arthur Hallam. As a memorial poem it invites comparison with others, with Milton's "Lycidas," or Shelley's "Adonais," or Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." Without going deeply into the comparison we may note this difference: that Tennyson's work is more personal and sympathetic than any of the others. Milton had only a slight acquaintance with his human subject (Edward King) and wrote his poem as a memorial for the college rather than for the man; Shelley had never met Keats, whose early death he commemorates; Gray voiced an impersonal melancholy in the presence of the unknown dead; but Tennyson had lost his dearest friend, and wrote to solace his own grief and to keep alive a beautiful memory. Then, as he wrote, came the thought of other men and women mourning their dead; his view broadened with his sympathy, and he wrote other lyrics in the same strain to reflect the doubt or fear of humanity and its deathless faith even in the shadow of death.

It is this combination of personal and universal elements which makes "In Memoriam" remarkable. The only other elegy to which we may liken it is Emerson's "Threnody," written after the death of his little boy. But where Tennyson offers an elaborate wreath and a polished monument, Emerson is content with a rugged block of granite and a spray of nature's evergreen.

PLAN OF THE POEM. "In Memoriam" occupied Tennyson at intervals for many years, and though he attempted to give it unity before its publication in 1850, it is still rather fragmentary. Moreover, it is too long; for the poet never lived who could write a hundred and thirty-one lyrics upon the same subject, in the same manner, without growing monotonous.

There are three more or less distinct parts of the work, corresponding to three successive Christmas seasons. The first part (extending to poem 30) is concerned with grief and doubt; the second (to poem 78) exhibits a calm, serious questioning of the problem of faith; the third introduces a great hope amid tender memories or regrets, and ends (poem 106) with that splendid outlook on a new year and a new life, "Ring Out Wild Bells." This was followed by a few more lyrics of mounting faith, inspired by the thought that divine love rules the world and that our human love is immortal and cannot die. The work ends, rather incongruously, with a marriage hymn for Tennyson's sister.

The spirit of "In Memoriam" is well reflected in the "Proem" or introductory hymn, "Strong Son of God, Immortal Love"; its message is epitomized in the last three lines:

One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

THE QUALITY OF TENNYSON. The charm of Tennyson is twofold. As the voice of the Victorian Age, reflecting its thought or feeling or culture, its intellectual quest, its moral endeavor, its passion for social justice, he represents to us the spirit of modern poetry; that is, poetry which comes close to our own life, to the aims, hopes, endeavors of the men and women of to-day. With this modern quality Tennyson has the secret of all old poetry, which is to be eternally young. He looked out upon a world from which the first wonder of creation had not vanished, where the sunrise was still "a glorious birth," and where love, truth, beauty, all inspiring realities, were still waiting with divine patience to reveal themselves to human eyes.

There are other charms in Tennyson: his romantic spirit, his love of nature, his sense of verbal melody, his almost perfect workmanship; but these the reader must find and appreciate for himself. The sum of our criticism is

that Tennyson is a poet to have handy on the table for the pleasure of an idle hour. He is also (and this is a better test) an excellent poet to put in your pocket when you go on a journey. So shall you be sure of traveling in good company.

TIT BITS:-

- Won the Chancellor's Gold Medal for "Timbuctoo" (1829).
- 'In Memoriam' (1850) is a tribute to the memory of Arthur Henry Hallam.
- Was appointed the poet laureate in 1850.
- 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' (1854) celebrates a memorable action by a British Cavalry unit in the Crimean War.
- In 'Ulysses', Tennyson responds to the early death of his close friend Arthur Hallam, claiming that life must be lived fully, even as one begins to grow old. Hallam's death caused a life long conflict in Tennyson's mind between faith and doubt, which influenced much of his writing.

ROBERT BROWNING (1812-1889)

In their lifelong devotion to a single purpose the two chief poets of the Victorian Age are much alike; in most other respects they are men of contrasts. Tennyson looked like a poet, Browning like a business man. Tennyson was a solitary singer, never in better company than when alone; Browning was a city man, who must have the excitement of society. Tennyson's field was the nation, its traditions, heroes, problems, ideals; but Browning seldom went beyond the individual man, and his purpose was to play Columbus to some obscure human soul. Tennyson was at times rather narrowly British; Browning was a cosmopolitan who dealt broadly with humanity. Tennyson was the poet of youth, and will always be read by the young in heart; Browning was the philosopher, the psychologist, the poet of mature years and of a few cultivated readers.

LIFE. Browning portrays so many different human types as to make us marvel, but we may partly understand his wide range of character-studies by remembering he was an Englishman with some Celtic and German ancestors, and with a trace of Creole (Spanish-Negro) blood. He was born and grew up at Camberwell, a suburb of London, and the early home of Ruskin. His father was a Bank-of-England clerk, a prosperous man and fond of books, who encouraged his boy to read and to let education follow the lead of fancy. Before Browning was twenty years old, father and son had a serious talk which ended in a kind of bargain: the boy was to live a life of culture, and the father was to take care of all financial matters,--an arrangement which suited them both very well.

Since boyhood Browning had been writing romantic verses, influenced first by Byron, then by Shelley, then by Keats. His first published works, "Pauline" and "Paracelsus", were what he called soul-studies, the one of a visionary, "a star-treader" (its hero was Shelley), the other of a medieval astrologer somewhat like Faust. These two works, if one had the patience of a puzzle-worker to read them, would be found typical of all the longer poems that Browning produced in his sixty years of writing.

These early works were not read, were not even criticized; and it was not till 1846 that Browning became famous, not because of his books but because he eloped with Elizabeth Barrett, who was then the most popular poet in England. The fame of Miss Barrett in mid century was above that of Tennyson or Browning. She had been for a long time an invalid. Her father, a tyrannical kind of person, insisted on her keeping her room, and expected her to die properly there. He had no personal objection to Browning, but flouted the idea of his famous daughter marrying with anybody. The two went to Florence, discovered that they were "made for each other," and in mutual helpfulness did their best work. They lived at "Casa Guidi," a house made famous by the fact that Browning's "Men and Women" and Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese" were written there.

THE BROWNING CULT. This happy period of work was broken by Mrs. Browning's death in 1861. Browning returned to England with his son, and to forget his loss he labored with unusual care on "The Ring and the Book" (1868), his bulkiest work. The rest of his life was spent largely in London and in Venice. Fame came to him tardily, and with some unfortunate results. He became known as a poet to be likened unto Shakespeare, but more analytical, calling for a superior intelligence on the part of his readers, and presently a multitude of Browning clubs sprang up in England and America. Delighted with his popularity among the elect, Browning seems to have cultivated his talent for obscurity, or it may be that his natural eccentricity of style increased with age, as did Wordsworth's prosiness. Whatever the cause, his work grew steadily worse until a succession of grammar defying volumes threatened to separate all but a few devotees from their love of Browning. He died in Venice in 1889. On the day of his death appeared in London his last book, "Asolando".

BROWNING'S DRAMATIC QUALITY. Nearly all the works of Browning are dramatic in spirit, and are commonly dramatic also in form. Sometimes he writes a drama for the stage, such as "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon'", "Colombe's Birthday" and "In a Balcony",--dramas without much action, but packed with thought in a way that would have delighted the Schoolmen. More often his work takes the form of a dramatic monologue, such as "My Last Duchess" and "The Bishop Orders his Tomb," in which one person speaks and, like Peter, his speech bewrayeth him; for he reveals very plainly the kind of man he is. Occasionally Browning tries to sing like another poet, but even here his

dramatic instinct is strong. He takes some crisis, some unexpected meeting or parting of the ways of life, and proceeds to show the hero's character by the way he faces the situation, or talks about it. So when he attempts even a love song, such as "The Last Ride Together," or a ballad, such as "The Pied Piper," he regards his subject from an unusual viewpoint and produces what he calls a dramatic lyric.

ACTION VS. THOUGHT. There are at least two ways in which Browning's work differs from that of other dramatists. When a trained playwright produces a drama his rule is, "Action, more action, and still more action." Moreover, he stands aside in order to permit his characters to reveal their quality by their own speech or action. For example, Shakespeare's plays are filled with movement, and he never tells you what he thinks of Portia or Rosalind or Macbeth, or what ought to become of them. He does not need to tell. But Browning often halts his story to inform you how this or that situation should be met, or what must come out of it. His theory is that it is not action but thought which determines human character; for a man may be doing what appears to be a brave or generous deed, yet be craven or selfish at heart; or he may be engaged in some apparently sinful proceeding in obedience to a motive that we would acclaim as noble if the whole truth were known "It is the soul and its thoughts that make the man," says Browning, "little else is worthy of study." So he calls most of his works soul studies. If we label them now dramas, or dramatic monologues, or dramatic lyrics (the three classifications of his works), we are to remember that Browning is the one dramatist who deals with thoughts or motives rather than with action.

A CRITICISM OF BROWNING. Comparatively few people appreciate the force, the daring, the vitality of Browning, and those who know him best are least inclined to formulate a favorable criticism. They know too well the faults of their hero, his whims, crotchets, digressions, garrulity; his disjointed ideas, like rich plums in a poor pudding; his ejaculatory style, as of a man of second thoughts; his wing-bound fancy, which hops around his subject like a grasshopper instead of soaring steadily over it like an eagle.

Instead of criticism, therefore, his admirers offer this word of advice: Try to like Browning; in other words, try to understand him. He is not "easy"; he is not to be read for relaxation after dinner, but in the morning and in a straight-backed chair, with eyes clear and intellect at attention. If you so read him, you must soon discover that he has something of courage and cheer which no other poet can give you in such full measure. If you read nothing else, try at least "Rabbi ben Ezra," and after the reading reflect that the optimism of this poem colors everything that the author wrote. For Browning differs from all other poets in this: that they have their moods of doubt or despondency, but he has no weary days or melancholy hours. They sing at times in the twilight, but Browning is the herald of the sunrise. Always and everywhere he represents "the will to live," to live bravely, confidently here; then forward still with cheerful hearts to immortality:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in his hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half: trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

TIT BITS:-

- 'Paracelsus' (1835) is based on the life of the German- Swiss alchemist Philippus Paracelsus, his first work with Renaissance motif.
- He was considered very obscure; Browning's plays were not successful because his characters had long dialogues. But this weakness of his verse plays helped him in poetry - Dramatic Monologue. Most of his poems are in this form, with 'love and its different aspects' as the theme. The reason for this theme is that he had a very happy married life.
- The title 'Andrea Del Sarto' means - Son of a Tailor. The subtitle of this poem is 'The Faultless Painter'.
- Many readers, both now and during Browning's lifetime, have found difficulty with his deliberate roughness of metre, his use of archaisms, and his sometimes tortuous syntax, yet his experiments in form, as well as his considerable technical skill, has greatly influenced modern poets Eliot and Pound. As per Lord David Cecil, "Browning maybe looked upon as the original English ancestor of the modernist school of English Poetry". He will certainly be remembered for his bursts of brilliant phrase- making, many of his coinages and expressions having passed into common currency : "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, Or what's a Heaven for?" ('Andrea del Sarto')

OTHER VICTORIAN POETS

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING (1806-1861)

Among the lesser poets of the age the most famous was Elizabeth Barrett, who eloped in romantic fashion with Browning in 1846. Her early volumes, written while she was an invalid, seem now a little feverish, but a few of her poems of childhood, such as "Hector" and "Little Ellie," have still their admirers. Later she became interested in social problems, and reflected the passion of the age for reform in such poems as "The Cry of the Children," a protest against child labor which once vied in interest with Hood's famous "Song of the Shirt." Also she

wrote "Aurora Leigh", a popular novel in verse, having for its subject a hero who was a social reformer. Then Miss Barrett married Robert Browning after a rather emotional and sentimental courtship, as reflected in certain extravagant pages of the Browning "Letters".

SONNETS.

In her new-found happiness she produced her most enduring work, the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" (1850). This is a collection of love songs, so personal and intimate that the author thought perhaps to disguise them by calling them "From the Portuguese." In reality their source was no further distant than her own heart, and their hero was seen across the breakfast table every morning. They reflect Mrs. Browning's love for her husband, and those who read them should read also Browning's answer in "One Word More." Some of the sonnets ("I Thought How Once" and "How Do I Love Thee," for example) are very fine, and deserve their high place among love poems; but others, being too intimate, raise a question of taste in showing one's heart throbs to the public. Some readers may question whether many of the "Sonnets" and most of the "Letters" had not better been left exclusively to those for whom they were intended.

MATTHEW ARNOLD (1822-1888)

The work of this poet (a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, made famous by "Tom Brown's Schooldays") is in strong contrast to that of the Brownings, to the robust optimism of the one and to the emotionalism of the other. He was a man of two distinct moods: in his poetry he reflected the doubt or despair of those whose faith had been shaken by the alleged discoveries of science; in prose he became almost light-hearted as he bantered middle-class Englishmen for their old-fogy prejudices, or tried to awaken them to the joys of culture. In both moods he was coldly intellectual, appealing to the head rather than to the heart of his readers; and it is still a question whether his poetry or his criticism will be longest remembered.

THE POET OF OXFORD. Arnold is called the poet of Oxford, as Holmes is of Harvard, and those who know the beautiful old college town will best appreciate certain verses in which he reflects the quiet loveliness of a scene that has impressed so many students, century after century. To general readers one may safely recommend Arnold's elegies written in memory of the poet Clough, such as "Thyrsis" and "The Scholar Gypsy"; certain poems reflecting the religious doubts of the age, such as "Dover Beach," "Morality" and "The Future"; the love lyrics entitled "Switzerland"; and a few miscellaneous poems, such as "Resignation," "The Forsaken Merman," "The Last Word," and "Geist's Grave."

To these some critics would add the long narrative poem "Sohrab and Rustum," which is one of the models set before students of "college English." The reasons for the choice are not quite obvious; for the story, which is taken from the Persian "Shah Namah", or Book of Kings is rather coldly told, and the blank verse is far from melodious.

In reading these poems of Arnold his own motives should be borne in mind. He tried to write on classic lines, repressing the emotions, holding to a severe, unimpassioned style; and he proceeded on the assumption that poetry is "a criticism of life." It is not quite clear what he meant by his definition, but he was certainly on the wrong trail. Poetry is the natural language of man in moments of strong or deep feeling; it is the expression of life, of life at high tide or low tide; when it turns to criticism it loses its chief charm, as a flower loses its beauty and fragrance in the hands of a botanist. Some poets, however (Lucretius among the ancients, Pope among the moderns, for example), have taken a different view of the matter.

THE LITERARY CRITIC. Arnold's chief prose works were written, curiously enough, after he was appointed professor of poetry at Oxford. There he proceeded, in a sincere but somewhat toplofty way to enlighten the British public on the subject of culture. For years he was a kind of dictator of literary taste, and he is still known as a master of criticism; but to examine his prose is to discover that it is notable for its even style and occasional good expressions, such as "sweetness and light," rather than for its illuminating ideas.

For example, in "Literature and Dogma" and other books in which Arnold attempted to solve the problems of the age, he was apt to make large theories from a small knowledge of his subject. So in his "Study of Celtic Literature" (an interesting book, by the way) he wrote with surprising confidence for one who had no first-hand acquaintance with his material, and led his readers pleasantly astray in the flowery fields of Celtic poetry. Moreover, he had one favorite method of criticism, which was to take the bad lines of one poet and compare them with the good lines of another,--a method which would make Shakespeare a sorry figure if he happened to be on the wrong side of the comparison.

TIT BITS:-

- 'Empedocles on Etna' (1852) is a dramatic poem. Its subtitle is 'Choice of Subject matter in Poetry'.
- 'The Scholar- Gipsy' (1853) is a poem with pastoral setting based on an old legend narrated by Glanvill in his 'The Vanity of Dogmatizing'.
- 'Culture and Anarchy' (1869) is a collection of essays. The first chapter is devoted to his concept of poetry as "sweetness and light" a phrase adopted from Swift's 'The Battle of the Books'. He presents culture as the

classical ideal of human perfection, rather than a 'smattering of Greek and Latin'. Subsequent chapters set forward his definitions of Barbarians, Philistines and the Populace, and the contrast of the spirit of Hebraism with that of Hellenism, with its aim of seeing 'things as they really are'.

THE PRE-RAPHAELITES. In the middle of the nineteenth century, or in 1848 to be specific, a number of English poets and painters banded themselves together as a Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The name was used earlier by some German artists, who worked together in Rome with the purpose of restoring art to the medieval simplicity and purity which, as was alleged, it possessed before the time of the Italian painter Raphael. The most famous artists of the English brotherhood were John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt. They aimed to make all art more simple, sincere, religious, and to restore "the sense of wonder, reverence and awe" which, they believed, had been lost since medieval times. Their sincerity was unquestioned; their influence, though small, was almost wholly good; but unfortunately they were, as Morris said, like men born out of due season. They lived too much apart from their own age and from the great stream of common life out of which superior art proceeds. For there was never a great book or a great picture that was not in the best sense representative, that did not draw its greatness from the common ideals of the age in which it was produced.

ROSSETTI. The first poet among the Pre-Raphaelites was Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), the son of an exiled Italian writer. Like others of the group he was both painter and poet, and seemed to be always trying to put into his verse the rich coloring which belonged on canvas. Perhaps the most romantic episode of his life was, that upon the death of his wife (the beautiful model, Lizzie Siddal, who appears in Millais' picture "Ophelia") he buried his poetry with her. After some years his friends persuaded him that his poems belonged to the living, and he exhumed and published them ("Poems", 1870). His most notable volume, "Ballads and Sonnets", appeared eleven years later. The ballads are nearly all weird, uncanny, but with something in them of the witchery of Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner." The sonnets under the general title of "The House of Life" are devoted to the poet's lost love, and rank with Mrs. Browning's "From the Portuguese".

WILLIAM MORRIS (1834-1896)

He has been called by his admirers the most Homeric of English poets. The phrase was probably applied to him because of his "Sigurd the Volsung", in which he uses the material of an old Icelandic saga. There is a captivating vigor and swing in this poem, but it lacks the poetic imagination of an earlier work, "The Defence of Guenevere," in which Morris retells in a new way some of the fading medieval romances. His best-known work in poetry is "The Earthly Paradise", a collection of twenty-four stories strung together on a plan somewhat resembling that of the "Canterbury Tales". A band of mariners are cast away on an island inhabited by a superior race of men, and to while away the time the seamen and their hosts exchange stories. Some of these are from classic sources, others from Norse legends or hero tales. The stories are gracefully told, in very good verse; but in reading them one has the impression that something essential is lacking, some touch, it may be, of present life and reality.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE (1837-1909)

This voluminous writer, born in the year of Victoria's accession, is yet so close to our own day that it is difficult to think of him as part of an age that is gone. As a poet he was a master of verbal melody, and had such a command of verse forms that he won his title of "inventor of harmonies." As a critic he showed a wide knowledge of English and French literature, a discriminating taste, and an enthusiasm which bubbled over in eulogy of those whom he liked, and which emptied vials of wrath upon Byron, Carlyle and others who fell under his displeasure. His criticisms are written in an extravagant, almost a torrential, style; at times his prose falls into a chanting rhythm so attractive in itself as to make us overlook the fact that the praise and censure which he dispenses with prodigal liberality are too personal to be quite trustworthy.

HIS POETRY. With his marvellous command of meter and melody, Swinburne has a fatal fluency of speech which tends to bury his thought in a mass of jingling verbiage. As we read we seem to hear the question, "What readest thou, Hamlet?" and again the Dane makes answer, "Words, words, words." Again, like the Pre-Raphaelites with whom he was at one time associated, Swinburne lived too much apart from the tide of common life. He wrote for the chosen few, and in the mass of his verse one must search long for a passage of which one may say, This goes home to the hearts of men, and abides there in the treasure-house of all good poetry. Among the longer works of Swinburne his masterpiece is the lyrical drama "Atalanta in Calydon". Among the best of his prose works are his "William Blake", "Essays and Studies", "Miscellanies" and "Studies in Prose and Verse".

SONGS IN MANY KEYS. In calling attention to the above-named poets, we have merely indicated a few who seem to be chief; but the judgment is a personal one, and subject to challenge. The American critic Stedman, in his "Victorian Anthology", recognizes two hundred and fifty singers; of these eighty are represented by five or more poems; and of the eighty a few are given higher places than those we have selected as typical. There are many readers who prefer the "Goblin Market" of Christina Rossetti to anything produced by her gifted brother, who place

Jean Ingelow above Elizabeth Barrett, who find more pleasure in Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" than in all the poems of Matthew Arnold, and who cannot be interested in even the best of Pre-Raphaelite verse because of its unreality. Many men, many minds! Time has not yet recorded its verdict on the Victorians, and until there is some settled criticism which shall express the judgment of several generations of men, the best plan for the beginner is to make acquaintance with all the minor poets in an anthology or book of selections. It may even be a mistake to call any of these poets minor; for he who has written one song that lives in the hearts of men has produced a work more enduring than the pyramids.

TIT BITS:-

- Name of the Pre- Raphaelite periodical- 'The Germ' (1850).
- Rossetti set the style of Pre - Raphaelite poetry which is deliberate simplicity of manner, sharp presentation of visual and auditory detail, archaic technical vocabulary, preference for ballad and other medieval verse forms, a lush decorative quality, rich sensuous description and moody predilection for twilight and autumn (hence decay, desolation, listlessness, death). The principle of the Pre - Raphaelites was that the artist should express both in poetry and in painting, only his emotional experience and not any philosophical or social discussion. Essentially and intrinsically they present only sensuous passionate lines of description or narration. Their poetry "lulls the tired nerves". They "abjure the intellect, critical reason and have only pulsations". Their aesthetic goals influenced the symbolic poets. Though Robert Buchanan attacked them in the article entitled "The Fleshy School of Poetry" (1871), Ruskin favoured them declaring their work to be "most earnest and complete".

II. THE VICTORIAN NOVELISTS

CHARLES DICKENS (1812-1870)

Among the Victorian novelists were two men who were frequent rivals in the race for fame and fortune. Thackeray, well born and well bred, with artistic tastes and literary culture, looked doubtfully at the bustling life around him, found his inspiration in a past age, and tried to uphold the best traditions of English literature. Dickens, with little education and less interest in literary culture, looked with joy upon the struggle for democracy, and with an observation that was almost microscopic saw all its picturesque details of speech and character and incident. He was the eye of the mighty Victorian age, as Tennyson was its ear, and Browning its psychologist, and Carlyle its chronic grumbler.

LIFE. In the childhood of Dickens one may see a forecast of his entire career. His father, a good-natured but shiftless man (caricatured as Mr. Micawber in "David Copperfield"), was a clerk in the Navy Pay Office, at Portsmouth. There Dickens was born in 1812. The father's salary was £80 per year, enough at that time to warrant living in middle-class comfort rather than in the poverty of the lower classes, with whom Dickens is commonly associated. The mother was a sentimental woman, whom Dickens, with questionable taste, has caricatured as Mrs. Micawber and again as Mrs. Nickleby. Both parents were somewhat neglectful of their children, and uncommonly fond of creature comforts, especially of good dinners and a bowl of punch. Though there is nothing in such a family to explain Dickens's character, there is much to throw light on the characters that appear in his novels.

THE STAGE. The boy himself was far from robust. Having no taste for sports, he amused himself by reading romances or by listening to his nurse's tales,--beautiful tales, he thought, which "almost scared him into fits." His elfish fancy in childhood is probably reflected in Pip, of "Great Expectations". He had a strong dramatic instinct to act a story, or sing a song, or imitate a neighbor's speech, and the father used to amuse his friends by putting little Charles on a chair and encouraging him to mimicry,--a dangerous proceeding, though it happened to turn out well in the case of Dickens.

This stagey tendency increased as the boy grew older. He had a passion for private theatricals, and when he wrote a good story was not satisfied till he had read it in public. When "Pickwick" appeared (1837) the young man, till then an unknown reporter, was brought before an immense audience which included a large part of England and America. Thereafter he was never satisfied unless he was in the public eye; his career was a succession of theatrical incidents, of big successes, big lecture tours, big audiences,--always the footlights, till he lay at last between the pale wax tapers. But we are far ahead of our story.

THE LONDON STREETS. When Dickens was nine years old his family moved to London. There the father fell into debt, and by the brutal laws of the period was thrown into prison. The boy went to work in the cellar of a blacking factory, and there began that intimate acquaintance with lowly characters which he used later to such advantage. He has described his bitter experience so often (in "David Copperfield" for instance) that the biographer may well pass over it. We note only this significant fact: that wherever Dickens went he had an instinct for exploration like that of a farm dog, which will not rest in a place till he has first examined all the neighborhood, putting his nose into every likely or unlikely spot that may shelter friend or enemy. So Dickens used his spare hours in roaming the byways of London by night, so he gained his marvelous knowledge of that foreign land called The Street, with its flitting life of

gamins and nondescripts, through which we pass daily as through an unknown country.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR PLACE. A small inheritance brought the father from prison, the family was again united, and for two years the boy attended the academy which he has held up to the laughter and scorn of two continents. There the genius of Dickens seemed suddenly to awaken. He studied little, being given to pranks and theatricals, but he discovered within him an immense ambition, an imperious will to win a place and a name in the great world, and a hopeful temper that must carry him over or under all obstacles.

No sooner was his discovery made than he left school and entered a law office, where he picked up enough knowledge to make court practices forever ridiculous, in "Bleak House" and other stories. He studied shorthand and quickly mastered it; then undertook to report parliamentary speeches (a good training in oratory) and presently began a prosperous career as a reporter. This had two advantages; it developed his natural taste for odd people and picturesque incidents, and it brought him close to the great reading public. To please that public, to humor its whims and prejudices, its love for fun and tears and sentimentality, was thereafter the ruling motive in Dickens's life.

LITERARY VENTURES. His first literary success came with some short stories contributed to the magazines, which appeared in book form as "Sketches by Boz" (1835). A publisher marked these sketches, engaged Dickens to write the text or letterpress for some comic pictures, and the result was "Pickwick", which took England and America by storm. Then followed "Oliver Twist", "Nicholas Nickleby", "Old Curiosity Shop",--a flood of works that made readers rub their eyes, wondering if such a fountain of laughter and tears were inexhaustible.

There is little else to record except this: that from the time of his first triumph Dickens held his place as the most popular writer in English. With his novels he was not satisfied, but wrote a history of England, and edited various popular magazines, such as "Household Words". Also he gave public readings, reveling in the applause, the lionizing, which greeted him wherever he went. He earned much money; he bought the place "Gadshill," near Rochester, which he had coveted since childhood; but he was a free spender, and his great income was less than his fancied need. To increase his revenue he "toured" the States in a series of readings from his own works, and capitalized his experience in "American Notes" and parts of "Martin Chuzzlewit".

A question of taste must arise even now in connection with these works. Dickens had gone to a foreign country for just two things, money and applause; he received both in full measure; then he bit the friendly hand which had given him what he wanted. The chief source of Dickens's irritation was the money loss resulting from the "pirating" of his stories. There was no international copyright in those days; the works of any popular writer were freely appropriated by foreign publishers. This custom was wrong, undoubtedly, but it had been in use for centuries. Scott's novels had been pirated the same way; and until Cooper got to windward of the pirates (by arranging for foreign copyrights) his work was stolen freely in England and on the Continent. But Dickens saw only his own grievance, and even at public dinners was apt to make his hosts uncomfortable by proclaiming his rights or denouncing their moral standards. Moreover, he had a vast conceit of himself, and, like most visitors of a week, thought he knew America like a book. It was as if he looked once at the welter cast ashore by mighty Lake Superior in a storm, and said, "What a dirty sea!" Thackeray, who followed him to America, had a finer sense of the laws of hospitality and good breeding.

THE PRICE OF POPULARITY. In 1844 Dickens resolved to make both ends meet, and carried out his resolve with promptness and precision. To decrease expenses he went to the Continent, and lived there, hungry for the footlights, till a series of stories ending with "Dombey and Son" put his finances on a secure basis. Then he returned to London, wrote more novels, and saved a fortune for his descendants, who promptly spent it. Evidently it was a family trait. More and more he lived on his nerves, grew imperious, exacting, till he separated from his wife and made wreck of domestic happiness. The self-esteem of which he made comedy in his novels was for him a tragedy. Also he resumed the public readings, with their false glory and nervous wear and tear, which finally brought him to the grave.

He died, worn out by his own exertions, in 1870. He had steadily refused titles and decorations, but a grateful nation laid his body to rest in the Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey. It is doubtful whether he would have accepted this honor, which was forced upon him, for he had declared proudly that by his works alone he would live in the memory of his countrymen.

WORKS OF DICKENS. In the early stories of Dickens is a promise of all the rest. His first work was called "Sketches by Boz", and "Boz" was invented by some little girl (was it in "The Vicar of Wakefield?") who could not say "Moses"; also it was a pet name for a small brother of Dickens. There was, therefore, something childlike in this first title, and childhood was to enter very largely into the novelist's work. He could hardly finish a story without bringing a child into it; not an ordinary child, to make us smile, but a wistful or pathetic child whose sorrows, since we cannot help them, are apt to make our hearts ache.

THE PATHETIC ELEMENT. Dickens is charged with exaggerating the woes of his children, and the charge is true; but he had a very human reason for his method. In the first place, the pathetic quality of his children is due to this simple fact, that they bear the burden and the care of age. And burdens which men or women accept for themselves without complaint seem all wrong, and are wrong, when laid upon a child's innocent shoulders. Again, Dickens sought to show us our error in thinking, as most grown-ups do, that childish troubles are of small account. So they are, to us; but to the child they are desperately real. Later in life we learn that troubles are not permanent, and so give them

their proper place; but in childhood a trouble is the whole world; and a very hopeless world it is while it lasts. Dickens knew and loved children, as he knew the public whom he made to cry with his Little Nell and Tiny Tim; and he had discovered that tears are the key to many a heart at which reason knocks in vain.

PICKWICKIAN HUMOUR. The second work, "Pickwick," written in a harum-scarum way, is even more typical of Dickens in its spirit of fun and laughter. He had been engaged, as we have noted, to furnish a text for some comic drawings, thus reversing the usual order of illustration. The pictures were intended to poke fun at a club of sportsmen; and Dickens, who knew nothing of sport, bravely set out with Mr. Winkle on his rook-shooting. Then, while the story was appearing in monthly numbers, the illustrator committed suicide; Dickens was left with Mr. Pickwick on his hands, and that innocent old gentleman promptly ran away with the author. Not being in the least adventurous, Mr. Pickwick was precisely the person for whom adventures were lying in wait; but with his chivalrous heart within him, and Sam Weller on guard outside, he was not to be trifled with by cabman or constable. So these two took to the open road, and to the inns where punch, good cheer and the unexpected were awaiting them. Never was such another book! It is not a novel; it is a medley of fun and drollery resulting from high animal spirits.

THE MOTIVE OF HORROR. In his next novel, "Oliver Twist", the author makes a new departure by using the motive of horror. One of his heroes is an unfortunate child, but when our sympathies for the little fellow are stretched to the point of tears, Dickens turns over a page and relieves us by Pickwickian laughter. Also he has his usual medley of picturesque characters and incidents, but the shadow of Fagin is over them all. One cannot go into any house in the book, and lock the door and draw the shades, without feeling that somewhere in the outer darkness this horrible creature is prowling. The horror which Fagin inspires is never morbid; for Dickens with his healthy spirit could not err in this direction. It is a boyish, melodramatic horror, such as immature minds seek in "movies," dime novels, secret societies, detective stories and "thrillers" at the circus.

In the fourth work, "Nicholas Nickleby", Dickens shows that he is nearing the limit of his invention so far as plot is concerned. In this novel he seems to rest a bit by writing an old-fashioned romance, with its hero and villain and moral ending. But if you study this or any subsequent work of Dickens, you are apt to find the four elements already noted; namely, an unfortunate child, humorous interludes, a grotesque or horrible creature who serves as a foil to virtue or innocence, and a medley of characters good or bad that might be transferred without change to any other story. The most interesting thing about Dickens's men and women is that they are human enough to make themselves at home anywhere.

TALE OF TWO CITIES. Opinion is divided on the matter of "A Tale of Two Cities". Some critics regard it as the finest of Dickens's work, revealing as it does his powers of description and of character-drawing without his usual exaggeration. Other critics, who regard the exaggeration of Dickens as his most characteristic quality, see in "Two Cities" only an evidence of his weakening power. It has perhaps this advantage over other works of the author, that of them we remember only the extraordinary scenes or characters, while the entire story of "Two Cities" remains with us as a finished and impressive thing. But there is also this disadvantage, that the story ends and is done with, while "Pickwick" goes on forever. We may lose sight of the heroes, but we have the conviction, as Chesterton says, that they are still on the road of adventure, that Mr. Pickwick is somewhere drinking punch or making a speech, and that Sam Weller may step out from behind the next stable and ask with a droll wink what we are up to now.

It is hardly necessary to add that our reading of Dickens must not end until we are familiar with some of his Yuletide stories, in which he gladly followed the lead of Washington Irving. The best of all his short stories is "A Christmas Carol", which one must read but not criticize. At best it is a farce, but a glorious, care-lifting, heart-warming farce. Would there were more of the same kind!

A CRITICISM OF DICKENS. The first quality of Dickens is his extravagant humor. This was due to the fact that he was alive, so thoroughly, consciously alive that his vitality overflowed like a spring. Here, in a word, is the secret of that bubbling spirit of prodigality which occasions the criticism that Dickens produced not characters but caricatures.

EXAGGERATION. The criticism is true; but it proclaims the strength of the novelist rather than his weakness. Indeed, it is in the very exaggeration of Dickens that his astonishing creative power is most clearly manifest. There is something primal, stupendous, in his grotesque characters which reminds us of the uncouth monsters that nature created in her sportive moods. Some readers, meeting with Bunsby, are reminded of a walrus; and who ever saw a walrus without thinking of the creature as nature's Bunsby? So with Quilp, Toots, Squeers, Pumblechook; so with giraffes, baboons, dodos, dromedaries,--all are freaks from the asthetic viewpoint, but think of the overflowing energy implied in creating them!

The same sense of prodigality characterized Dickens even in his sober moods, when he portrayed hundreds of human characters, and not a dead or dull person among them. To be sure they are all exaggerated; they weep too copiously, eat or drink too intemperately, laugh too uproariously for normal men; but to criticize their superabundant vitality is to criticize Beowulf or Ulysses or Hiawatha; nay, it is to criticize life itself, which at high tide is wont to overflow in heroics or absurdity. The exuberance of Pickwick, Micawber, Pecksniff, Sairey Gamp, Sam Weller and a host of others is perhaps the most normal thing about them; it is as the rattling of a safety valve, which speaks not of stagnant water but of a full head of steam. For Dickens deals with life, and you can exaggerate life as much as you

please, since there is no end to either its wisdom or foolishness. Nothing but a question can be added to the silent simplicity of death.

HIS MOTIVE AND METHOD. Aside from his purpose of portraying life as he saw it, in all its strange complexity, Dickens had a twofold object in writing. He was a radical democrat, and he aimed to show the immense hopefulness and compassion of Democracy on its upward way to liberty. He was also a reformer, with a profound respect for the poor, but no respect whatever for ancient laws or institutions that stood in the way of justice. The influence of his novels in establishing better schools, prisons, workhouses, is beyond measure; but we are not so much interested in his reforms as in his method, which was unique. He aimed to make men understand the oppressed, and to make a laughing stock of the oppressors; and he succeeded as no other had ever done in making literature a power in the land. Thus, the man or the law that stands defiantly against public opinion is beaten the moment you make that man or that law look like a joke; and Dickens made a huge joke of the parish beadle (as Mr. Bumble) and of many another meddlesome British institution. Moreover, he was master of this paradox: that to cure misery you must meet it with a merry heart,--this is on the principle that what the poor need is not charity but comradeship. By showing that humble folk might be as poor as the Cratchits and yet have the medicine of mirth, the divine gift of laughter, he made men rejoice with the poor even while they relieved the poverty.

HIS FAULTS. As for the shortcomings of Dickens, they are so apparent that he who runs may read. We may say of him, as of Shakespeare, that his taste is questionable, that he is too fond of a mere show, that his style is often melodramatic, that there is hardly a fault in the whole critical category of which he is not habitually guilty. But we may say of him also that he is never petty or mean or morbid or unclean; and he could not be dull if he tried. His faults, if you analyze them, spring from precisely the same source as his virtues; that is, from his abundant vitality, from his excess of life and animal spirits. So we pardon, nay, we rejoice over him as over a boy who must throw a handspring or raise a "whillilew" when he breaks loose from school. For Dickens, when he started his triumphal progress with "Pickwick", had a glorious sense of taking his cue from life and of breaking loose from literary traditions. In comparison with Ruskin or Thackeray he is not a good writer, but something more--a splendidly great writer. If you would limit or define his greatness, try first to marshal his array of characters, characters so vital and human that we can hardly think of them as fictitious or imaginary creatures; then remember the millions of men and women to whom he has given pure and lasting pleasure.

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY (1811-1863)

In fiction Thackeray stands to Dickens as Hamilton to Jefferson in the field of politics. The radical difference between the novelists is exemplified in their attitude toward the public. Thackeray, who lived among the privileged classes, spoke of "this great stupid public," and thought that the only way to get a hearing from the common people was to "take them by the ears." He was a true Hamiltonian. Dickens had an immense sympathy for the common people, a profound respect for their elemental virtues; and in writing for them he was, as it were, the Jefferson, the triumphant democrat of English letters. Thackeray was intellectual; he looked at men with critical eyes, and was a realist and a pessimist. Dickens was emotional; he looked at men with kindled imagination, judged them by the dreams they cherished in their hearts, and was a romanticist and an optimist. Both men were humorists; but where Thackeray was delicately satirical, causing us a momentary smile, Dickens was broadly comic or farcical, winning us by hearty laughter.

LIFE. To one who has been trained, like Dickens, in the school of hardship it seems the most natural thing in the world to pass over into a state of affluence. It is another matter to fare sumptuously every day till luxurious habits are formed, and then be cast suddenly on one's own resources, face to face with the unexpected monster of bread and butter. This was Thackeray's experience, and it colored all his work.

A second important matter is that Thackeray had a great tenderness for children, a longing for home and homely comforts; but as a child he was sent far from his home in India, and was thrown among young barbarians in various schools, one of which, the "Charterhouse," was called the "Slaughterhouse" in the boy's letters to his mother. "There are three hundred and seventy boys in this school," wrote; "I wish there were only three hundred and sixty-nine!" He married for love, and with great joy began housekeeping; then a terrible accident happened, his wife was taken to an insane asylum, and for the rest of his life Thackeray was a wanderer amid the empty splendors of clubs and hotels.

These two experiences did not break Thackeray, but they bowed him. They help to explain the languor, the melancholy, the gentle pessimism, as if life had no more sunrises, of which we are vaguely conscious in reading "The Virginians" or "The Newcomes".

EARLY YEARS. Thackeray was born (1811) in Calcutta, of a family of English "nabobs" who had accumulated wealth and influence as factors or civil officers. At the death of his father, who was a judge in Bengal, the child was sent to England to be educated. Here is a significant incident of the journey:

Our ship touched at an island, where my black servant took me a walk over rocks and hills till we passed a garden, where we saw a man walking. 'That is Bonaparte,' said the black; 'he eats three

sheep every day, and all the children he can lay hands on. Napoleon was then safely imprisoned at St. Helena; but his shadow, as of a terrible ogre, was still dark over Europe. Thackeray's education, at the Charterhouse School and at Cambridge, was neither a happy nor a profitable experience, as we judge from his unflattering picture of English school life in "Pendennis". He had a strongly artistic bent, and after leaving college studied art in Germany and France. Presently he lost his fortune by gambling and bad investments, and was confronted by the necessity of earning his living. He tried the law, but gave it up because, as he said, it had no soul. He tried illustrating, having a small talent for comic drawings, and sought various civil appointments in vain. As a last resource he turned to the magazines, wrote satires, sketches of travel, burlesques of popular novelists, and, fighting all the time against his habit of idleness, slowly but surely won his way.

LITERARY LABOR. His first notable work, "Vanity Fair" (1847), won a few readers' and the critics' judgment that it was "a book written by a gentleman for gentlemen" was the foundation of Thackeray's reputation as a writer for the upper classes. Other notable novels followed, "Henry Esmond", "Pendennis", "The Newcomes", "The Virginians", and two series of literary and historical essays called "English Humorists" and "The Four Georges". The latter were delivered as lectures in a successful tour of England and America. Needless to say, Thackeray hated lecturing and publicity; he was driven to his "dollar-hunting" by necessity.

In 1860 his fame was firmly established, and he won his first financial success by taking charge of the "Cornhill Magazine", which prospered greatly in his hands. He did not long enjoy his new-found comfort, for he died in 1863. His early sketches had been satirical in spirit, his first novels largely so; but his last novels and his Cornhill essays were written in a different spirit,--not kinder, for Thackeray's heart was always right, but broader, wiser, more patient of human nature, and more hopeful.

In view of these later works some critics declare that Thackeray's best novel was never written. His stories were produced not joyously but laboriously, to earn his living; and when leisure came at last, then came death also, and the work was over.

WORKS OF THACKERAY. It would be flying in the face of all the critics to suggest that the beginner might do well to postpone the famous novels of Thackeray, and to meet the author at his best, or cheerfulest, in such forgotten works as the "Book of Ballads" and "The Rose and the Ring". The latter is a kind of fairy story, with a poor little good princess, a rich little bad princess, a witch of a godmother, and such villainous characters as Hedzoff and Gruffanuff. It was written for some children whom Thackeray loved, and is almost the only book of his which leaves the impression that the author found any real pleasure in writing it.

HENRY ESMOND. If one must begin with a novel, then "Henry Esmond" (1852) is the book. This is an historical novel; the scene is laid in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Queen Anne; and it differs from most other historical novels in this important respect: the author knows his ground thoroughly, is familiar not only with political events but with the thoughts, ideals, books, even the literary style of the age which he describes. The hero of the novel, Colonel Esmond, is represented as telling his own story; he speaks as a gentleman spoke in those days, telling us about the politicians, soldiers, ladies and literary men of his time, with frank exposure of their manners or morals. As a realistic portrayal of an age gone by, not only of its thoughts but of the very language in which those thoughts were expressed, "Esmond" is the most remarkable novel of its kind in our language. It is a prodigy of realism, and it is written in a charming prose style.

One must add frankly that "Esmond" is not an inspiring work, that the atmosphere is gloomy, and the plot a disappointment. The hero, after ten years of devotion to a woman, ends his romance by happily marrying with her mother. Any reader could have told him that this is what he ought to have done, or tried to do, in the beginning; but Thackeray's heroes will never take the reader's good advice. In this respect they are quite human.

VANITY FAIR. The two social satires of Thackeray are "Vanity Fair" (1847) and "The History of Arthur Pendennis" (1849). The former takes its title from that fair described in "Pilgrim's Progress", where all sorts of cheats are exposed for sale; and Thackeray makes his novel a moralizing exposition of the shams of society. The slight action of the story revolves about two unlovely heroines, the unprincipled Becky Sharp and the spineless Amelia. We call them both unlovely, though Thackeray tries hard to make us admire his tearful Amelia and to detest his more interesting Becky. Meeting these two contrasting characters is a variety of fools and snobs, mostly well-drawn, all carefully analyzed to show the weakness or villainy that is in them.

One interesting but unnoticed thing about these minor characters is that they all have their life-size prototypes in the novels of Dickens. Thackeray's characters, as he explains in his preface, are "mere puppets," who must move when he pulls the strings. Dickens does not have to explain that his characters are men and women who do very much as they please. That is, perhaps, the chief difference between the two novelists.

PENDENNIS. "Pendennis" is a more readable novel than "Vanity Fair" in this respect, that its interest centers in one character rather than in a variety of knaves or fools. Thackeray takes a youthful hero, follows him through school and later life, and shows the steady degeneration of a man who is governed not by vicious but by selfish impulses. From beginning to end "Pendennis" is a penetrating ethical study (like George Eliot's "Romola"), and the story is often interrupted while we listen to the author's moralizing. To some readers this is an offense; to others it is a pleasure, since it makes them better acquainted with the mind and heart of Thackeray, the gentlest of Victorian moralists.

AFTERTHOUGHTS. The last notable works of Thackeray are like afterthoughts. "The Virginians" continues the story of Colonel Esmond, and "The Newcomes" recounts the later fortunes of Arthur Pendennis. "The Virginians" has two or three splendid scenes, and some critics regard "The Newcomes" as the finest expression of the author's genius; but both works, which appeared in the leisurely form of monthly instalments, are too languid in action for sustained interest. We grow acquainted with certain characters, and are heartily glad when they make their exit; perhaps someone else will come, some adventurer from the road or the inn, to relieve the dullness. The door opens, and in comes the bore again to take another leave. That is realism, undoubtedly; and Laura Pendennis is as realistic as the mumps, which one may catch a second time. The atmosphere of both novels--indeed, of all Thackeray's greater works, with the exception of "English Humorists" and "The Four Georges"--is rather depressing. One gets the impression that life among "the quality" is a dreary experience, hardly worth the effort of living.

THACKERAY: A CRITICISM. It is significant that Thackeray's first work appeared in a college leaflet called "The Snob," and that it showed a talent for satire. In his earlier stories he plainly followed his natural bent, for his "Vanity Fair", "Barry Lyndon" (a story of a scoundrelly adventurer) and several minor works are all satires on the general snobbery of society. This tendency of the author reached a climax in 1848, when he wrote "The Book of Snobs." It is still an entertaining book, witty, and with a kind of merciless fairness about its cruel passages; yet some readers will remember what the author himself said later, that he was something of a snob himself to write such a book. The chief trouble with the half of his work is that he was so obsessed with the idea of snobbery that he did injustice to humanity, or rather to his countrymen; for Thackeray was very English, and interest in his characters depends largely on familiarity with the life he describes. His pictures of English servants, for instance, are wonderfully deft, though one might wish that he had drawn them with a more sympathetic pencil.

THE PERSONAL ELEMENT. In the later part of his life the essential kindness of the man came to the surface, but still he was hampered by his experience and his philosophy. His experience was that life is too big to be grasped, too mysterious to be understood; therefore he faced life doubtfully, with a mixture of timidity and respect, as in "Henry Esmond". His philosophy was that every person is at heart an egoist, is selfish in spite of himself; therefore is every man or woman unhappy, because selfishness is the eternal enemy of happiness. This is the lesson written large in "Pendennis". He lived in the small world of his own class, while the great world of Dickens--the world of the common people, with their sympathy, their eternal hopefulness, their enjoyment of whatever good they find in life--passed unnoticed outside his club windows. He conceived it to be the business of a novelist to view the world with his own eyes, to describe it as he saw it; and it was not his fault that his world was a small one. Fate was answerable for that. So far as he went, Thackeray did his work admirably, portraying the few virtues and the many shams of his set with candor and sincerity. Though he used satire freely (and satire is a two-edged weapon), his object was never malicious or vindictive but corrective; he aimed to win or drive men to virtue by exposing the native ugliness of vice.

The result of his effort may be summed up as follows: Thackeray is a novelist for the few who can enjoy his accurate but petty views of society, and his cultivated prose style. He is not very cheerful; he does not seek the blue flower that grows in every field, or the gold that is at every rainbow's end, or the romance that hides in every human heart whether of rich or poor. Therefore are the young not conspicuous among his followers.

MARY ANN EVANS, "GEORGE ELIOT" (1819-1880)

More than other Victorian story-tellers George Eliot regarded her work with great seriousness as a means of public instruction. Her purpose was to show that human life is effective only as it follows its sense of duty, and that society is as much in need of the moral law as of daily bread. Other novelists moralized more or less, Thackeray especially; but George Eliot made the teaching of morality her chief business.

LIFE. In the work as in the face of George Eliot there is a certain masculine quality which is apt to mislead one who reads "Adam Bede" or studies a portrait of the author. Even those who knew her well, and who tried to express the charm of her personality, seem to have overlooked the fact that they were describing a woman. For example, a friend wrote:

"Everything in her aspect and presence was in keeping with the bent of her soul. The deeply lined face, the too marked and massive features, were united with an air of delicate refinement, which in one way was the more impressive, because it seemed to proceed so entirely from within. Nay, the inward beauty would sometimes quite transform the outward harshness; there would be moments when the thin hands that entwined themselves in their eagerness, the earnest figure that bowed forward to speak and hear, the deep gaze moving from one face to another with a grave appeal,--all these seemed the transparent symbols that showed the presence of a wise, benignant soul."

A CLINGING VINE. That is very good, but somehow it is not feminine. So the impression has gone forth that George Eliot was a "strong-minded" woman; but that is far from the truth. One might emphasize her affectionate nature, her timidity, her lack of confidence in her own judgment; but the essence of the matter is this, that so dependent was she on masculine support that she was always idealizing some man, and looking up to him as a superior being. In short, she was one of "the clinging kind." Though some may regard this as traditional nonsense, it was nevertheless

the most characteristic quality of the woman with whom we are dealing.

HER GIRLHOOD. Mary Ann Evans, or Marian as she was called, was born (1819) and spent her childhood in Shakespeare's county of Warwickshire. Her father (whose portrait she has faintly drawn in the characters of Adam Bede and Caleb Garth) was a strong, quiet man, a farmer and land agent, who made a companion of his daughter rather than of his son, the two being described more or less faithfully in the characters of Maggie and Tom Tulliver in "The Mill on the Floss". At twelve years of age she was sent to a boarding school; at fifteen her mother died, and she was brought home to manage her father's house. The rest of her education—which included music and a reading knowledge of German, Italian and Greek—was obtained by solitary study at intervals of rest from domestic work. That the intervals were neither long nor frequent may be inferred from the fact that her work included not only her father's accounts and the thousand duties of housekeeping but also the managing of a poultry yard, the making of butter, and other farm or dairy matters which at that time were left wholly to women.

The first marked change in her life came at the age of twenty-two, when the household removed to Coventry, and Miss Evans was there brought in contact with the family of a wealthy ribbon-maker named Bray. He was a man of some culture, and the atmosphere of his house, with its numerous guests, was decidedly skeptical. To Miss Evans, brought up in a home ruled by early Methodist ideals of piety, the change was a little startling. Soon she was listening to glib evolutionary theories that settled everything from an earthworm to a cosmos; next she was eagerly reading such unbaked works as Bray's "Philosophy of Necessity" and the essays of certain young scientists who, without knowledge of either philosophy or religion, were cocksure of their ability to provide "modern" substitutes for both at an hour's notice.

Miss Evans went over rather impulsively to the crude skepticism of her friends; then, finding no soul or comfort in their theories, she invented for herself a creed of duty and morality, without however tracing either to its origin. She was naturally a religious woman, and there is no evidence that she found her new creed very satisfactory. Indeed, her melancholy and the gloom of her novels are both traceable to the loss of her early religious ideals.

HER UNION WITH LEWE. A trip abroad (1849) was followed by some editorial work on "The Westminster Review", then the organ of the freethinkers. This in turn led to her association with Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and other liberals, and to her union with George Henry Lewes in 1854. Of that union little need be said except this: though it lacked the law and the sacrament, it seems to have been in other respects a fair covenant which was honestly kept by both parties. Lewes was separated from his first wife, from whom he was unable to obtain a legal divorce. This was the only obstacle to a regular marriage, and after facing the obstacle for a time the couple decided to ignore it. The moral element in George Eliot's works is due largely, no doubt, to her own moral sense; but it was greatly influenced by the fact that, in her union with Lewes, she had placed herself in a false position and was morally on the defensive against society.

Encouraged by Lewes she began to write fiction. Her first attempt, "Amos Barton," was an excellent short story, and in 1859 she produced her first novel, "Adam Bede", being then about forty years old. The great success of this work had the unusual effect of discouraging the author. She despaired of her ability, and began to agonize, as she said, over her work; but her material was not yet exhausted, and in "The Mill on the Floss" and "Silas Marner" she repeated her triumph.

ON A PEDESTAL. The rest of her life seems a matter of growth or of atrophy, according to your point of view. She grew more scientific, as she fancied, but she lost the freshness and inspiration of her earlier novels. The reason seems to be that her head was turned by her fame as a moralist and exponent of culture; so she forgot that she "was born to please," and attempted something else for which she had no particular ability: an historical novel in "Romola", a drama in "The Spanish Gypsy", a theory of social reform in "Felix Holt", a study of the Hebrew race in "Daniel Deronda", a book of elephantine gambols in "The Opinions of Theophrastus Such". More and more she "agonized" over these works, and though each of them contained some scene or passage of rare power, it was evident even to her admirers that the pleasing novelist of the earlier days had been sacrificed to the moral philosopher.

SHE RENEWS HER YOUTH. The death of Lewes (1878) made an end, as she believed, of all earthly happiness. For twenty-four years he had been husband, friend and literary adviser, encouraging her talent, shielding her from every hostile criticism. Left suddenly alone in the world, she felt like an abandoned child; her writing stopped, and her letters echoed the old gleeman's song, "All is gone, both life and light." Then she surprised everybody by marrying an American banker, many years her junior, who had been an intimate friend of the Lewes household. Once more she found the world "intensely interesting," for at sixty she was the same clinging vine, the same hero-worshiper, as at sixteen. The marriage occurred in 1880, and her death the same year. An elaborate biography, interesting but too fulsome, was written by her husband, John Walter Cross.

WORKS. George Eliot's first works in fiction were the magazine stories which she published later as "Scenes of Clerical Life" (1858). These were produced comparatively late in life, and they indicate both originality and maturity, as if the author had a message of her own, and had pondered it well before writing it. That message, as reflected in "Amos Barton" and "Janet's Repentance," may be summarized in four cardinal principles: that duty is the supreme law of life; that the humblest life is as interesting as the most exalted, since both are subject to the same law; that

our daily choices have deep moral significance, since they all react on character and their total result is either happiness or misery; and that there is no possible escape from the reward or punishment that is due to one's individual action.

Such is the message of the author's first work. In its stern insistence on the moral quality of life and of every human action, it distinguishes George Eliot from all other fiction writers of the period.

HER BEST NOVELS. In her first three novels she repeats the same message with more detail and with a gleam of humor here and there to light up the gloomy places. "Adam Bede" (1859) has been called a story of early Methodism, but in reality it is a story of moral principles which work their inevitable ends among simple country people. The same may be said of "The Mill on the Floss" (1860) and of "Silas Marner" (1861). The former is as interesting to readers of George Eliot as "Copperfield" is to readers of Dickens, because much of it is a reflection of a personal experience; but the latter work, having more unity, more story interest and more cheerfulness, is a better novel with which to begin our acquaintance with the author.

The scene of all these novels is laid in the country; the characters are true to life, and move naturally in an almost perfect setting. One secret of their success is that they deal with people whom the author knew well, and with scenes in which she was as much at home as Dickens was in the London streets. Each of the novels, notwithstanding its faulty or melancholy conclusion, leaves an impression so powerful that we gladly, and perhaps uncritically, place it among the great literary works of the Victorian era.

LATER WORKS. Of the later novels one cannot speak so confidently. They move some critics to enthusiasm, and put others to sleep. Thus, "Daniel Deronda" has some excellent passages, and Gwendolen is perhaps the best-drawn of all George Eliot's characters; but for many readers the novel is spoiled by scientific jargon, by essay writing on the Jews and other matters of which the author knew little or nothing at first hand. In "Middlemarch" she returned to the scenes with which she was familiar and produced a novel which some critics rank very high, while others point to its superfluous essays and its proneness to moralizing instead of telling a story.

ROMOLA. "Romola" is another labored novel, a study of Italy during the Renaissance, and a profound ethical lesson. If you can read this work without criticizing its Italian views, you may find in the characters of Tito and Romola, one selfish and the other generous, the best example of George Eliot's moral method, which is to show the cumulative effect on character of everyday choices or actions. You will find also a good story, one of the best that the author told. But if you read "Romola" as an historical novel, with some knowledge of Italy and the Renaissance, you may decide that George Eliot--though she slaved at this novel until, as she said, it made an old woman of her--did not understand the people or the country which she tried to describe. She portrayed life not as she had seen and known and loved it, but as she found it reflected at second hand in the works of other writers.

THE QUALITY OF GEORGE ELIOT. Of the moral quality of George Eliot we have already said enough. To our summary of her method this should be added, that she tried to make each of her characters not individual but typical. In other words, if Tito came finally to grief, and Adam arrived at a state of gloomy satisfaction (there is no real happiness in George Eliot's world), it was not because Tito and Adam lived in different times or circumstances, but because both were subject to the same eternal laws. Each must have gone to his own place whether he lived in wealth or poverty, in Florence or England, in the fifteenth or the nineteenth century. The moral law is universal and unchanging; it has no favorites, and makes no exceptions. It is more like the old Greek conception of Nemesis, or the Anglo-Saxon conception of Wyrd, or Fate, than anything else you will find in modern fiction.

FATE AND SELF-SACRIFICE. In this last respect George Eliot again differs radically from her contemporaries. In her gloomy view of life as an unanswerable puzzle she is like Thackeray; but where Thackeray offers a cultured resignation, a gentlemanly making the best of a bad case, George Eliot advocates self-sacrifice for the good of others. In her portrayal of weak or sinful characters she is quite as compassionate as Dickens, and more thoughtfully charitable; for where Dickens sometimes makes light of misery, and relieves it by the easy expedient of good dinners and all-around comfort for saints and sinners, George Eliot remembers the broken moral law and the suffering of the innocent for the guilty. Behind every one of her characters that does wrong follows an avenging fate, waiting the moment to exact the full penalty; and before every character that does right hovers a vision of sacrifice and redemption.

Her real philosophy, therefore, was quite different from that which her scientific friends formulated for her, and was not modern but ancient as the hills. On the one hand, she never quite freed herself from the old pagan conception of Nemesis, or Fate; on the other, her early Methodist training entered deep into her soul and made her mindful of the Cross that forever towers above humanity.

OTHER VICTORIAN NOVELISTS

We have followed literary custom rather than individual judgment in studying Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot as the typical Victorian novelists. On Dickens, as the most original genius of the age, most people are agreed; but the rank of the other two is open to question. There are critics besides Swinburne who regard Charlotte Bronte as a greater genius than George Eliot; and many uncritical readers find more pleasure or profit in the Barchester novels of Anthony Trollope than in anything written by Thackeray. It may even be that the three or four leading novels of the

age were none of them written by the novelists in question; but it is still essential to know their works if only for these reasons: that they greatly influenced other story-tellers of the period, and that they furnish us a standard by which to judge all modern fiction.

To treat the many Victorian novelists adequately would in itself require a volume. We shall note here only a few leading figures, naming in each case a novel or two which may serve as an invitation to a better acquaintance with their authors.

The Bronte sisters, Charlotte and Emily, made a tremendous sensation in England when, from their retirement, they sent out certain works of such passionate intensity that readers who had long been familiar with novels were startled into renewed attention. Reading these works now we recognize the genius of the writers, but we recognize also a morbid, unwholesome quality, which is a reflection not of English life but of the personal and unhappy temperament of two girls who looked on life first as a gorgeous romance and then as a gloomy tragedy.

CHARLOTTE BRONTE. Charlotte Bronte (1816-1855) was perhaps the more gifted of the two sisters, and her best-known works are "Jane Eyre" and "Villette". The date of the latter novel (1853) was made noteworthy by the masterpiece of another woman novelist, Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), who was the exact opposite of the Bronte sisters,--serene, well-balanced, and with a fund of delicious humor. All these qualities and more appeared in "Cranford" (1853), a series of sketches of country life (first contributed to Dickens's "Household Words") which together form one of the most charming stories produced during the Victorian era. The same author wrote a few other novels and an admirable "Life of Charlotte Bronte".

CHARLES READE. Charles Reade (1814-1884) was a follower of Dickens in his earlier novels, such as "Peg Woffington"; but he made one notable departure when he wrote "The Cloister and the Hearth" (1861). This is a story of student life and vagabond life in Europe, in the stirring times that followed the invention of printing. The action moves rapidly; many different characters appear; the scene shifts from Holland across Europe to Italy, and back again; adventures of a startling kind meet the hero at every stage of his foot journey. It is a stirring tale, remarkably well told; so much will every uncritical reader gladly acknowledge. Moreover, there are critics who, after studying "The Cloister and the Hearth", rank it with the best historical novels in all literature.

TROLLOPE. Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) began as a follower of Thackeray, but in the immense range of his characters and incidents he soon outstripped his master. Perhaps his best work is "Barchester Towers" (1857), one of a series of novels which picture with marvelous fidelity the life of a cathedral town in England.

Another novelist who followed Thackeray, and then changed his allegiance to Dickens, was Bulwer Lytton (1803-1873). He was essentially an imitator, a follower of the market, and before Thackeray and Dickens were famous he had followed almost every important English novelist from Mrs. Radcliffe to Walter Scott. Two of his historical novels, "Rienzi" and "The Last Days of Pompeii", may be mildly recommended. The rest are of the popular and somewhat trashy kind; critics jeer at them, and the public buys them in large numbers.

Two other notable romances of a vanished age came from the hand of Charles Kingsley (1819-1875). He produced many works in poetry and prose, but his fame now rests upon "Hypatia", "Westward Ho!" and a few stories for children. "Hypatia" (1853) is an interesting novel dealing with the conflict of pagan and Christian ideals in the early centuries. "Westward Ho!" (1855) is a stirring narrative of seafaring and adventure in the days of Elizabeth. It has been described as a "stunning" boys' book, and it would prove an absorbing story for any reader who likes adventure were it not marred by one serious fault. The author's personal beliefs and his desire to glorify certain Elizabethan adventurers lead him to pronounce judgment of a somewhat wholesale kind. He treats one religious party of the period to a golden halo, and the other to a lash of scorpions; and this is apt to alienate many readers who else would gladly follow Sir Amyas Leigh on his gallant ventures in the New World or on the Spanish Main. Kingsley had a rare talent for writing for children (his heart never grew old), and his "Heroes" and "Water Babies" are still widely read as bedtime stories.

Of the later Victorian novelists, chief among them being Meredith, Hardy and Stevenson, little may be said here, as they are much too near us to judge of their true place in the long perspective of English literature. Meredith, with the analytical temper and the disconnected style of Browning, is for mature readers, not for young people. Hardy has decided power, but is too hopelessly pessimistic for anybody's comfort,--except in his earlier works, which have a romantic charm that brightens the obscurity of his later philosophy.

STEVENSON. In Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) we have the spirit of romance personified. His novels, such as "Kidnapped" and "David Balfour", are stories of adventure written in a very attractive style; but he is more widely known, among young people at least, by his charming "Child's Garden of Verses" and his "Treasure Island" (1883). This last is a kind of dime-novel of pirates and buried treasure. If one is to read stories of that kind, there is no better place to begin than with this masterpiece of Stevenson. Other works by the same versatile author are the novels, "Master of Ballantrae", "Weir of Hermiston" and "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde"; various collections of essays, such as "Virginibus Puerisque" and "Familiar Studies of Men and Books"; and some rather thin sketches of journeying called "An Inland Voyage" and "Travels with a Donkey".

The cheery spirit of Stevenson, who bravely fought a losing battle with disease, is evident in everything he wrote; and it was the author's spirit, quite as much as his romantic tales or fine prose style, that won for him a large

and enthusiastic following. Of all the later Victorians he seems, at the present time, to have the widest circle of cultivated readers and to exercise the strongest influence on our writers of fiction.

III. VICTORIAN ESSAYISTS AND HISTORIANS

There is rich reading in Victorian essays, which reflect not only the practical affairs of the age but also the ideals that inspire every great movement whether in history or literature. For example, the intense religious interests of the period, the growth of the Nonconformists or Independents, the Oxford movement, which aimed to define the historic position of the English Church, the chill of doubt and the glow of renewed faith in face of the apparent conflict between the old religion and the new science,--all these were brilliantly reflected by excellent writers, among whom Martineau, Newman and Maurice stand out prominently. The deep thought, the serene spirit and the fine style of these men are unsurpassed in Victorian prose.

Somewhat apart from their age stood a remarkable group of historians--Hallam, Freeman, Green, Gardiner, Symonds and others no less praiseworthy--who changed the whole conception of history from a record of political or military events to a profound study of human society in all its activities. In another typical group were the critics, Pater, Bagehot, Hutton, Leslie Stephen, who have given deeper meaning and enlarged pleasure to the study of literature. In a fourth group were the scientists--Darwin, Wallace, Lyell, Mivart, Tyndall, Mill, Spencer, Huxley, and their followers--some of whom aimed not simply to increase our knowledge but to use the essay, as others used the novel, to portray some new scene in the old comedy of human life. Darwin was a great and, therefore, a modest man; but some of his disciples were sadly lacking in humor. Spencer and Mill especially wrote with colossal self-confidence, as if the world no longer wore its veil of mystery. They remind us, curiously, that while poetry endures forever, nothing on earth is more subject to change and error than so-called scientific truth.

TYPICAL WRITERS

It is impossible in a small volume to do justice to so many writers, reflecting nature or humanity from various angles, and sometimes insisting that a particular angle was the only one from which a true view could be obtained. Some rigorous selection is necessary; and we name here for special study Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, who are commonly regarded as the typical Victorian essayists. This selection does not mean, however, that some other group might not be quite as representative of their age and nation. Our chosen authors stand not for Victorian thought but only for certain interesting phases thereof. Macaulay, the busy man of affairs, voiced the pride of his generation in British traditions. Carlyle lived aloof, grumbling at democracy, denouncing its shams, calling it to repentance. Ruskin, a child of fortune, was absorbed in art till the burden of the world oppressed him; whereupon he gave his money to the cause of social reform and went himself among the poor to share with them whatever wealth of spirit he possessed. These three men, utterly unlike in character, were as one in their endeavor to make modern literature a power wherewith to uplift humanity. They illustrate, better even than poets or novelists, the characteristic moral earnestness of the Victorian era.

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY (1800-1859)

To many readers the life of Macaulay is more interesting than any of his books. For the details of that brilliantly successful life, which fairly won and richly deserved its success, the student is referred to Trevelyan's fine biography. We record here only such personal matters as may help to explain the exuberant spirit of Macaulay's literary work.

LIFE. One notes first of all the man's inheritance. The Norse element predominated in him, for the name Macaulay (son of Aulay) is a late form of the Scandinavian "Olafson". His mother was a brilliant woman of Quaker descent; his father, at one time governor of the Sierra Leone Colony in Africa, was a business man who gained a fortune in trade, and who spent the whole of it in helping to free the slaves. In consequence, when Macaulay left college he faced the immediate problem of supporting himself and his family, a hard matter, which he handled not only with his customary success but also with characteristic enthusiasm.

Next we note Macaulay's personal endowment, his gift of rapid reading, his marvelous memory which suggests Coleridge and Cotton Mather. He read everything from Plato to the trashiest novel, and after reading a book could recall practically the whole of it after a lapse of twenty years. To this photographic memory we are indebted for the wealth of quotation, allusion and anecdote which brightens almost every page of his writings.

HIS BRILLIANT CAREER. After a brilliant career at college Macaulay began the study of law. At twenty-five he jumped into prominence by a magazine essay on Milton, and after that his progress was uninterrupted. He was repeatedly elected to Parliament; he was appointed legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India, in which position he acquired the knowledge that appears in his essays on Clive and Hastings; he became Secretary for War, and was elevated to the peerage as Baron Macaulay of Rothley. It was said of him at that time that he was "the only man whom England ever made a lord for the power of his pen."

HIS RECREATION. The last thing we note, because it was to Macaulay of least moment, is his literary work. With the exception of the "History of England" his writing was done at spare moments, as a relaxation from what he considered more important labors. In this respect, of writing for pleasure in the midst of practical affairs, he resembles the Elizabethan rather than the Victorian authors.

While at work on his masterpiece Macaulay suddenly faltered, worn out by too much work. He died on Christmas Day (1859) and was buried in the place which he liked best to visit, the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. From the day on which he attracted notice by his Milton essay he had never once lost his hold on the attention of England. Gladstone summed up the matter in oratorical fashion when he said, "Full-orbed Macaulay was seen above the horizon; and full-orbed, after thirty-five years of constantly emitted splendor, he sank below it." But Macaulay's final comment, "Well, I have had a happy life," is more suggestive of the man and his work.

WORKS OF MACAULAY. Macaulay's poems, which he regarded as of no consequence, are practically all in the ballad style. Among them are various narratives from French or English history, such as "The Battle of Ivry" and "The Armada," and a few others which made a popular little book when they were published as "Lays of Ancient Rome" (1842). The prime favorite not only of the "Lays" but of all Macaulay's works is "Horatius Cocles," or "Horatius at the Bridge." Those who read its stirring lines should know that Macaulay intended it not as a modern ballad but as an example of ancient methods of teaching history. According to Niebuhr the early history of Rome was written in the form of popular ballads; and Macaulay attempted to reproduce a few of these historical documents in the heroic style that roused a Roman audience of long ago to pride and love of country.

THE ESSAYS. The essays of Macaulay appeared in the magazines of that day; but though official England acclaimed their brilliancy and flooded their author with invitations to dine, nobody seemed to think of them as food for ordinary readers till a Philadelphia publisher collected a few of them into a book, which sold in America like a good novel. That was in 1841, and not till two years had passed did a London publisher gain courage to issue the "Critical and Historical Essays", a book which vindicated the taste of readers of that day by becoming immensely popular.

The charm of such a book is evident in the very first essay, on Milton. Here is no critic, airing his rules or making his dry talk palatable by a few quotations; here is a live man pleading for another man whom he considers one of the greatest figures in history. Macaulay may be mistaken, possibly, but he is going to make you doff your hat to a hero before he is done; so he speaks eloquently not only of Milton but of the classics on which Milton fed, of the ideals and struggles of his age, of the Commonwealth and the Restoration,--of everything which may catch your attention and then focus it on one Titanic figure battling like Samson among the Philistines. It may be that your sympathies are with the Philistines rather than with Samson; but presently you stop objecting and are carried along by the author's eloquence as by a torrent. His style is the combined style of novelist and public speaker, the one striving to make his characters real, the other bound to make his subject interesting.

That is Macaulay's way in all his essays. They are seldom wholly right in their judgments; they are so often one-sided that the author declared in later life he would burn them all if he could; but they are all splendid, all worth reading, not simply for their matter but for their style and for the wealth of allusion with which Macaulay makes his subject vital and interesting. Among the best of the literary essays are those on Bunyan, Addison, Bacon, Johnson, Goldsmith and Byron; among the historical essays one may sample Macaulay's variety in Lord Clive, Frederick the Great, Machiavelli and Mirabeau.

Careful readers may note a difference between these literary and historical essays. Those on Bunyan, Johnson and Goldsmith, for example (written originally for the "Encyclopaedia Britannica"), are more finished and more careful of statement than others in which the author talks freely, sharing without measure or restraint "the heaped-up treasures of his memory."

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Macaulay began to write his "History of England" with the declaration that he would cover the century and a half following the accession of James II (1685), and that he would make his story as interesting as any novel. Only the latter promise was fulfilled. His five volumes, the labor of more than a decade, cover only sixteen years of English history; but these are pictured with such minuteness and such splendor that we can hardly imagine anyone brave enough to attempt to finish the record in a single lifetime.

Of this masterpiece of Macaulay we may confidently say three things: that for many years it was the most popular historical work in our language; that by its brilliant style and absorbing interest it deserved its popularity, as literature if not as history; and that, though it contains its share of error and more than its share of Whig partisanship, it has probably as few serious faults as any other history which attempts to cover the immense field of the political, social and intellectual life of a nation. Read, for example, one of the introductory chapters (the third is excellent) which draws such a picture of England in the days of the Stuarts as no other historian has ever attempted. When you have finished that chapter, with its wealth of picturesque detail, you may be content to read Macaulay simply for the pleasure he gives you, and go to some other historian for accurate information.

THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881)

There is little harmony of opinion concerning Carlyle, criticism of the man being divided between praise and disparagement. If you are to read only one of his works, it is perhaps advisable to avoid all biographies at first and to let the "Essay on Burns" or "Heroes and Hero Worship" make its own impression. But if you intend to read more widely, some knowledge of Carlyle's personal history is essential in order to furnish the grain of salt with which most of his opinions must be taken.

LIFE. In the village of Ecclefechan Carlyle was born in 1795, the year before Burns's death. His father was a stonemason, an honest man of caustic tongue; his mother, judged by her son's account, was one of nature's noblewomen. The love of his mother and a proud respect for his father were the two sentiments in Carlyle that went with him unchanged through a troubled and oft-complaining life.

HIS WRESTLINGS. Of his tearful school days in Annandale and of his wretched years at Edinburgh University we have glimpses in "Sartor Resartus". In the chapters of the same book entitled "The Everlasting Nay" and "The Everlasting Yea" is a picture of the conflict between doubt and faith in the stormy years when Carlyle was finding himself. He taught school, and hated it; he abandoned the ministry, for which his parents had intended him; he resolved on a literary life, and did hack work to earn his bread. All the while he wrestled with his gloomy temper or with the petty demons of dyspepsia, which he was wont to magnify into giant doubts and despairs.

CARLYLE AND EMERSON. In 1826 he married Jane Welsh, and went to live in a house she had inherited at Craigenputtock, or Hill of the Hawks. There on a lonely moorland farm he spent six or seven years, writing books which few cared to read; and there Emerson appeared one day ("He came and went like an angel," said the Carlyles) with the heartening news that the neglected writings were winning a great audience in America. The letters of Carlyle and Emerson, as edited by Charles Eliot Norton, are among the pleasantest results of Carlyle's whole career.

WORK IN LONDON. From the moors the Carlyles went to London and settled for the remainder of their lives in a house in Cheyne Row, in the suburb of Chelsea. There Carlyle slowly won recognition, his success being founded on his "French Revolution". Invitations began to pour in upon him; great men visited and praised him, and his fame spread as "the sage of Chelsea." Then followed his "Cromwell" and "Frederick the Great", the latter completed after years of complaining labor which made wreck of home happiness. And then came a period of unusual irritation, to which we owe, in part at least, Carlyle's railings against progress and his deplorable criticism of England's great men and women,--poor little Browning, animalcular De Quincey, rabbit-brained Newman, sawdustish Mill, chattering George Eliot, ghastly-shrieky Shelley, once-enough Lamb, stunted-scanty Wordsworth, poor thin fool Darwin and his book ("The Origin of Species", of which Carlyle confessed he never read a page) which was wonderful as an example of the stupidity of mankind.

Such criticisms were reserved for Carlyle's private memoirs. The world knew him only by his books, and revered him as a great and good man. He died in 1881, and of the thousand notices which appeared in English or American periodicals of that year there is hardly one that does not overflow with praise.

In the home at Chelsea were numerous letters and journals which Carlyle committed to his friend Froude the historian. The publication of these private papers raised a storm of protest. Admirers of Carlyle, shocked at the revelation of another side to their hero, denounced Froude for his disloyalty and malice; whereupon the literary world divided into two camps, the Jane Carlyleists and the Thomas Carlyleists, as they are still called. That Froude showed poor taste is evident; but we must acquit him of all malice. Private papers had been given him with the charge to publish them if he saw fit; and from them he attempted to draw not a flattering but a truthful portrait of Carlyle, who had always preached the doctrine that a man must speak truth as he sees it. Nor will Carlyle suffer in the long run from being deprived of a halo which he never deserved. Already the crustiness of the man begins to grow dim in the distance; it is his rugged earnestness that will be longest remembered.

WORKS OF CARLYLE. The beginner will do well to make acquaintance with Carlyle in some of the minor essays, which are less original but more pleasing than his labored works. Among the best essays are those on Goethe (who was Carlyle's first master), Signs of the Times, Novalis, and especially Scott and Burns. With Scott he was not in sympathy, and though he tried as a Scotsman to be "loyal to kith and clan," a strong touch of prejudice mars his work. With Burns he succeeded better, and his picture of the plowboy genius in misfortune is one of the best we have on the subject. This "Essay on Burns" is also notable as the best example of Carlyle's early style, before he compounded the strange mixture which appeared in his later books.

HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP. The most readable of Carlyle's longer works is "Heroes and Hero Worship" (1840), which deals with certain leaders in the fields of religion, poetry, war and politics. It is an interesting study to compare this work with the "Representative Men" of Emerson. The latter looks upon the world as governed by ideals, which belong not to individuals but to humanity. When some man appears in whom the common ideal is written large, other men follow him because they see in him a truth which they revere in their own souls. So the leader is always in the highest sense a representative of his race. But Carlyle will have nothing of such democracy; to him common men are stupid or helpless and must be governed from without. Occasionally, when humanity is in the Slough of Despond, appears a hero, a superman, and proceeds by his own force to drag or drive his subjects to a higher level. When the hero dies, humanity must halt and pray heaven to send another master.

It is evident before one has read much of "Heroes" that Carlyle is at heart a force-worshiper. To him history means the biography of a few heroes, and heroism is a matter of power, not of physical or moral courage. The hero may have the rugged courage of a Cromwell, or he may be an easy-living poet like Shakespeare, or a ruthless despot like Napoleon, or an epitome of all meanness like Rousseau; but if he shows superior force of any kind, that is the hallmark of his heroism, and before such an one humanity should bow down. Of real history, therefore, you will learn nothing from "Heroes"; neither will you get any trustworthy information concerning Odin, Mahomet and the rest of

Carlyle's oddly consorted characters. One does not read the book for facts but for a new view of old matters. With hero-worshippers especially it ranks very high among the thought-provoking books of the past century.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Of the historical works [Footnote: These include "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" (1850) and "History of Frederick the Great" (1858).] of Carlyle the most famous is "The French Revolution" (1837). On this work Carlyle spent much heart-breaking labor, and the story of the first volume shows that the author, who made himself miserable over petty matters, could be patient in face of a real misfortune. Moreover, it furnishes a striking example of Carlyle's method, which was not historical in the modern sense, but essentially pictorial or dramatic. He selected a few dramatic scenes, such as the storming of the Bastille, and painted them in flaming colors. Also he was strong in drawing portraits, and his portrayal of Robespierre, Danton and other actors in the terrible drama is astonishingly vigorous, though seldom accurate. His chief purpose in drawing all these pictures and portraits was to prove that order can never come out of chaos save by the iron grip of a governing hand. Hence, if you want to learn the real history of the French Revolution, you must seek elsewhere; but if you want an impression of it, an impression that burns its way into the mind, you will hardly find the equal of Carlyle's book in any language.

Of Carlyle's miscellaneous works one must speak with some hesitation. As an expression of what some call his prophetic mood, and others his ranting, one who has patience might try "Shooting Niagara" or the "Latter Day Pamphlets". A reflection of his doctrine of honest work as the cure for social ills is found in "Past and Present"; and for a summary of his philosophy there is nothing quite so good as his early "Sartor Resartus" (1834).

SARTOR RESARTUS. The last-named work is called philosophy only by courtesy. The title means "the tailor retailed," or "the patcher repatched," and the book professed to be "a complete Resartus philosophy of clothes." Since everything wears clothes of some kind (the soul wears a body, and the body garments; earth puts forth grass, and the firmament stars; ideas clothe themselves in words; society puts on fashions and habits), it can be seen that Carlyle felt free to bring in any subject he pleased; and so he did. Moreover, in order to have liberty of style, he represented himself to be the editor not the author of "Sartor". The alleged author was a German professor, Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, an odd stick, half genius, half madman, whose chaotic notes Carlyle professed to arrange with a running commentary of his own.

In consequence of this overlabored plan "Sartor" has no plan at all. It is a jumble of thoughts, notions, attacks on shams, scraps of German philosophy,--everything that Carlyle wrote about during his seven-years sojourn on his moorland farm. The only valuable things in "Sartor" are a few autobiographical chapters, such as "The Everlasting Yea," and certain passages dealing with night, the stars, the yearnings of humanity, the splendors of earth and heaven. The book has several such passages, written in a psalmodic style, appealing to elemental feeling, to our sense of wonder or reverence before the mystery of life and death. It is a pity that we have no edition of "Sartor" which does justice to its golden nuggets by the simple expedient of sifting out the mass of rubbish in which the gold is hidden. The central doctrines of the book are the suppression of self, or selfishness, and the value of honest work in contrast with the evil of mammon-worship.

A CRITICISM OF CARLYLE. Except in his literary essays Carlyle's "rumfustianish growlery of style," as he called it, is so uneven that no description will apply to it. In moments of emotion he uses a chanting prose that is like primitive poetry. Sometimes he forgets Thomas Carlyle, keeps his eye on his subject, and describes it in vivid, picturesque words; then, when he has nothing to say, he thinks of himself and tries to hold you by his manner, by his ranting or dogmatism. In one mood he is a poet, in another a painter, in a third a stump speaker. In all moods he must have your ear, but he succeeds better in getting than in holding it. It has been said that his prose is on a level with Browning's verse, but a better comparison may be drawn between Carlyle and Walt Whitman. Of each of these writers the best that can be said is that his style was his own, that it served his purpose, and that it is not to be imitated.

HIS TWO SIDES. In formulating any summary of Carlyle the critic must remember that he is dealing with a man of two sides, one prejudiced, dogmatic, jealous of rivals, the other roughly sincere. On either side Carlyle is a man of contradictions. For an odious dead despot like Frederick, who happens to please him, he turns criticism into eulogy; and for a living poet like Wordsworth he tempers praise by spiteful criticism. [Footnote: Carlyle's praise of Wordsworth's "fine, wholesome rusticity" is often quoted, but only in part. If you read the whole passage (in "Reminiscences") you will find the effect of Carlyle's praise wholly spoiled by a heartless dissection of a poet, with whom, as Carlyle confessed, he had very slight acquaintance.] He writes a score of letters to show that his grief is too deep for words. He is voluble on "the infinite virtue of silence." He proclaims to-day that he "will write no word on any subject till he has studied it to the bottom," and to-morrow will pronounce judgment on America or science or some other matter of which he knows nothing. In all this Carlyle sees no inconsistency; he is sincere in either role, of prophet or stump speaker, and even thinks that humor is one of his prime qualities.

Another matter to remember is Carlyle's constant motive rather than his constant mistakes. He had the gloomy conviction that he was ordained to cry out against the shams of society; and as most modern things appeared to him as shams, he had to be very busy. Moreover, he had an eye like a hawk for the small failings of men, especially of living men, but was almost blind to their large virtues. This hawklike vision, which ignores all large matters in a swoop on some petty object, accounts for two things: for the marvelous detail of Carlyle's portraits, and for his

merciless criticism of the faults of society in general, and of the Victorian age in particular.

Such a writer invites both applause and opposition, and in Carlyle's case the one is as hearty as the other. The only point on which critics are fairly well agreed is that his rugged independence of mind and his picturesque style appealed powerfully to a small circle of readers in England and to a large circle in America. It is doubtful whether any other essayist, with the possible exception of the serene and hopeful Emerson, had a more stimulating influence on the thought of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

JOHN RUSKIN (1819-1900)

The prose of Ruskin is a treasure house. Nature portrayed as everyman's Holy Land; descriptions of mountain or landscape, and more beautiful descriptions of leaf or lichen or the glint of light on a breaking wave; appreciations of literature, and finer appreciations of life itself; startling views of art, and more revolutionary views of that frightful waste of human life and labor which we call political economy,--all these and many more impressions of nature, art and human society are eloquently recorded in the ten thousand pages which are the work of Ruskin's hand.

If you would know the secret that binds all his work together, it may be expressed in two words, sensitiveness and sincerity. From childhood Ruskin was extremely sensitive to both beauty and ugliness. The beauty of the world and of all noble things that ever were accomplished in the world affected him like music; but he shrank, as if from a blow, from all sordidness and evil, from the mammon-worship of trade, from the cloud of smoke that hung over a factory district as if trying to shield from the eye of heaven so much needless poverty and aimless toil below. So Ruskin was a man halting between two opinions: the artist in him was forever troubled by the reformer seeking to make the crooked places of life straight and its rough places plain. He made as many mistakes as another man; in his pages you may light upon error or vagary; but you will find nothing to make you doubt his entire sincerity, his desire to speak truth, his passion for helping his fellow men.

LIFE. The early training of Ruskin may explain both the strength and the weakness of his work. His father was a wealthy wine merchant, his mother a devout woman with puritanic ideas of duty. Both parents were of Scottish and, as Ruskin boasted, of plebeian descent. They had but one child, and in training him they used a strange mixture of severity and coddling, of wisdom and nonsense.

The young Ruskin was kept apart from other boys and from the sports which breed a modesty of one's own opinion; his time, work and lonely play were minutely regulated; the slightest infringement of rules brought the stern discipline of rod or reproof. On the other hand he was given the best pictures and the best books; he was taken on luxurious journeys through England and the Continent; he was furnished with tutors for any study to which he turned his mind. When he went up to Oxford, at seventeen, he knew many things which are Greek to the ordinary boy, but was ignorant of almost everything that a boy knows, and that a man finds useful in dealing with the world.

TRAINING AND ITS RESULTS. There were several results of this early discipline. One was Ruskin's devotion to art, which came from his familiarity with pictures and galleries; another was his minute study of natural objects, which were to him in place of toys; a third was his habit of "speaking his mind" on every subject; a fourth was his rhythmic prose style, which came largely from his daily habit of memorizing the Bible. Still another result of his lonely magnificence, in which he was deprived of boys' society, was that his affection went out on a flood tide of romance to the first attractive girl he met. So he loved, and was laughed at, and was desperately unhappy. Then he married, not the woman of his choice, but one whom his parents picked out for him. The tastes of the couple were hopelessly different; the end was estrangement, with humiliation and sorrow for Ruskin.

TWENTY YEARS OF ART. At twenty-four he produced his first important work, "Modern Painters" (1843), which he began as a defense of the neglected artist Turner. This controversial book led Ruskin to a deeper study of his subject, which resulted in four more volumes on modern painting. Before these were completed he had "fairly created a new literature of art" by his "Seven Lamps of Architecture" and "Stones of Venice".

By this time he was renowned as an art critic; but his theories were strongly opposed and he was continually in hot water. In his zeal to defend Turner or Millais or Burne-Jones he was rather slashing in his criticism of other artists. The libel suit brought against him by Whistler, whom he described as a coxcomb who flung a pot of paint in the face of the public, is still talked about in England. The jury (fancy a jury wrestling with a question of art!) found Ruskin guilty, and decided that he should pay for the artist's damaged reputation the sum of one farthing. Whistler ever afterwards wore the coin on his watch chain.

RUSKIN THE REFORMER. It was about the year 1860 that Ruskin came under the influence of Carlyle, and then began the effort at social reform which made wreck of fame and hope and peace of mind. Carlyle had merely preached of manual work; but Ruskin, wholehearted in whatever he did, went out to mend roads and do other useful tasks to show his belief in the doctrine. Carlyle railed against the industrial system of England; but Ruskin devoted his fortune to remedying its evils. He established model tenements; he founded libraries and centers of recreation for workingmen; he took women and children out of factories and set them to spinning or weaving in their own homes; he founded St. George's Guild, a well-housed community which combined work with education, and which shared

profits fairly among the workers.

England at first rubbed its eyes at these reforms, then shrugged its shoulders as at a harmless kind of madman. But Ruskin had the temper of a crusader; his sword was out against what was even then called "vested interests," and presently his theories aroused a tempest of opposition. Thackeray, who as editor of the "Cornhill Magazine" had gladly published Ruskin's first economic essays, was forced by the clamor of readers to discontinue the series. To this reform period belong "Unto This Last" and other books dealing with political economy, and also "Sesame and Lilies", "Crown of Wild Olive" and "Ethics of the Dust", which were written chiefly for young people.

END OF THE CRUSADE. For twenty years this crusade continued; then, worn out and misunderstood by both capitalists and workingmen, Ruskin retired (1879) to a small estate called "Brantwood" in the Lake District. His fortune had been spent in his attempt to improve labor conditions, and he lived now upon the modest income from his books. Before he died, in 1900, his friend Charles Eliot Norton persuaded him to write the story of his early life in "Praterita". The title is strange, but the book itself is, with one exception, the most interesting of Ruskin's works.

WORKS OF RUSKIN. The works of Ruskin fall naturally into three classes, which are called criticisms of art, industry and life, but which are, in fact, profound studies of the origin and meaning of art on the one hand, and of the infinite value of human life on the other.

The most popular of his art criticisms are "St. Mark's Rest" and "Mornings in Florence", which are widely used as guidebooks, and which may be postponed until the happy time when, in Venice or Florence, one may read them to best advantage. Meanwhile, in "Seven Lamps of Architecture" or "Stones of Venice" or the first two volumes of "Modern Painters", one may grow acquainted with Ruskin's theory of art.

HIS THEORY OF ART. His principle was summarized by Pope in the line, "All nature is but art unknown to thee." That nature is the artist's source of inspiration, that art at its best can but copy some natural beauty, and that the copy should be preceded by careful and loving study of the original,--this was the sum of his early teaching. Next, Ruskin looked within the soul of the artist and announced that true art has a spiritual motive, that it springs from the noblest ideals of life, that the moral value of any people may be read in the pictures or buildings which they produced. A third principle was that the best works of art, reflecting the ideals of a community, should belong to the people, not to a few collectors; and a fourth exalted the usefulness of art in increasing not only the pleasure but the power of life. So Ruskin urged that art be taught in all schools and workshops, and that every man be encouraged to put the stamp of beauty as well as of utility upon the work of his hands; so also he formulated a plan to abolish factories, and by a system of hand labor to give every worker the chance and the joy of self-expression.

THEORY OF ECONOMICS. In his theory of economics Ruskin was even more revolutionary. He wrote several works on the subject, but the sum of his teaching may be found in "Unto This Last"; and the sum is that political economy is merely commercial economy; that it aims to increase trade and wealth at the expense of men and morals. "There is no wealth but life," announced Ruskin, "life including all its power of love, of joy and of admiration." And with minute exactness he outlined a plan for making the nation wealthy, not by more factories and ships, but by increasing the health and happiness of human beings.

Three quarters of a century earlier Thomas Jefferson, in America, had pleaded for the same ideal of national wealth, and had characterized the race of the nations for commercial supremacy as a contagion of insanity. Jefferson was called a demagogue, Ruskin a madman; but both men were profoundly right in estimating the wealth of a nation by its store of happiness for home consumption rather than by its store of goods for export. They were misunderstood because they were too far in advance of their age to speak its trade language. They belong not to the past or present, but to the future.

FOR YOUNG READERS. If but one work of Ruskin is to be read, let it be "Sesame and Lilies" (1865), which is one of the books that no intelligent reader can afford to neglect. The first chapter, "Of Kings' Treasuries," is a noble essay on the subject of reading. The second, "Of Queens' Gardens," is a study of woman's life and education, a study which may appear old-fashioned now, but which has so much of truth and beauty that it must again, like Colonial furniture, become our best fashion. These two essays contain Ruskin's best thought on books and womanly character, and also an outline of his teaching on nature, art and society. If we read "Sesame and Lilies" in connection with two other little books, "Crown of Wild Olive", which treats of work, trade and war, and "Ethics of the Dust", which deals with housekeeping, we shall have the best that Ruskin produced for his younger disciples.

THE QUALITY OF RUSKIN. To the sensitiveness and sincerity of Ruskin we have already called attention. There is a third quality which appears frequently, and which we call pedagogical insistence, because the author seems to labor under the impression that he must drive something into one's head.

This insistent note is apt to offend readers until they learn of Ruskin's motive and experience. He lived in a commercial age, an age that seemed to him blind to the beauty of the world; and the purpose of his whole life was, as he said, to help those who, having eyes, see not. His aim was high, his effort heroic; but for all his pains he was called a visionary, a man with a dream book. Yet he was always exact and specific. He would say, "Go to a certain spot at a certain hour, look in a certain direction, and such and such beauties shall ye see." And people would go, and wag their heads, and declare that no such prospect as Ruskin described was visible to mortal eyes.

Naturally Ruskin, with his dogmatic temper, grew impatient of such blindness; hence the increasing note of insistence, of scolding even, to which critics have called attention. But we can forgive much in a writer who, with marvelously clear vision, sought only to point out the beauty of nature and the moral dignity of humanity.

RUSKIN'S STYLE. The beauty of Ruskin's style, its musical rhythm or cadence, its wealth of figure and allusion, its brilliant coloring, like a landscape of his favorite artist Turner,--all this is a source of pleasure to the reader, entirely aside from the subject matter. Read, for example, the description of St. Mark's Cathedral in "Stones of Venice", or the reflected glories of nature in "Praterita", or the contrast between Salisbury towers and Giotto's campanile in "Seven Lamps of Architecture", and see there descriptive eloquence at its best. That this superb eloquence was devoted not to personal or party ends, but to winning men to the love of beauty and truth and right living, is the secret of Ruskin's high place in English letters and of his enduring influence on English life.

SUMMARY. The age of Victoria (1837-1901) approaches our own so closely that it is still difficult to form an accurate judgment of its history or literature. In a review of the history of the age we noted three factors, democracy, science, imperialism, which have profoundly influenced English letters from 1850 to the present time.

Our study of Victorian literature includes (1) The life and works of the two greater poets of the age, Tennyson and Browning. (2) The work of Elizabeth Barrett, Matthew Arnold, Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne, who were selected from the two hundred representative poets of the period. (3) The life and the chief works of the major novelists, Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot. (4) A review of some other novelists of the age, the Bronte Sisters, Mrs. Gaskell, Anthony Trollope, Blackmore, Kingsley, Meredith, Hardy and Stevenson. (5) The typical essayists and historians, Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, with a review of other typical groups of writers in the fields of religion, history and science.

English Literary Criticism:

An Introduction

In England, as elsewhere, criticism was a late birth of the literary spirit. English poets had sung and literary prose been written for centuries before it struck men to ask themselves, What is the secret of the power that these things have on our mind, and by what principles are they to be judged? And it could hardly have been otherwise. Criticism is a self-conscious art, and could not have arisen in an age of intellectual childhood. It is a derivative art, and could scarcely have come into being without a large body of literature to suggest canons of judgment, and to furnish instances of their application.

The age of Chaucer might have been expected to bring with it a new departure. It was an age of self-scrutiny and of bold experiment. A new world of thought and imagination had dawned upon it; and a new literature, that of Italy, was spread before it. Yet who shall say that the facts answer to these expectations? In the writings of Chaucer himself a keen eye, it is true, may discern the faint beginnings of the critical spirit. No poet has written with more nicely calculated art; none has passed a cooler judgment upon the popular taste of his generation. We know that Chaucer despised the “false gallop” of chivalrous verse; we know that he had small respect for the marvels of Arthurian romance. And his admiration is at least as frank as his contempt. What poet has felt and avowed a deeper reverence for the great Latins? What poet has been so alert to recognize the master-spirits of his own time and his father’s? De Meung and Granson among the French--Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio of the Italians—each comes in for his share of praise from Chaucer, or of the princely borrowings which are still more eloquent than praise.

Yet, for all this, Chaucer is far indeed from founding the art of criticism. His business was to create, and not to criticise. And, had he set himself to do so, there is no warrant that his success would have been great. In many ways he was still in bondage to the mediaval, and wholly uncritical, tradition. One classic, we may almost say, was as good to him as another. He seems to have placed Ovid on a line with Virgil; and the company in his House of Fame is undeniably mixed. His judgments have the healthy instinct of the consummate artist. They do not show, as those of his master, Petrarch, unquestionably do, the discrimination and the tact of the born critic.

For this, or for any approach to it, English literature had to wait for yet two centuries more. In the strict sense, criticism did not begin till the age of Elizabeth; and, like much else in our literature, it was largely due to the passion for classical study, so strongly marked in the poets and dramatists of Shakespeare’s youth, and inaugurated by Surrey and others in the previous generation. These conditions are in themselves significant. They serve to explain much both of the strength and the weakness of criticism, as it has grown up on English soil. From the Elizabethans to Milton, from Milton to Johnson, English criticism was dominated by constant reference to classical models. In the latter half of this period the influence of these models, on the whole, was harmful. It acted as a curb rather than as a spur to the imagination of poets; it tended to cripple rather than give energy to the judgment of critics. But in earlier days it was not so. For nearly a century the influence of classical masterpieces was altogether for good. It was not the regularity but the richness, not the self-restraint but the freedom, of the ancients that came home to poets such as Marlowe, or even to critics such as Meres. And if adventurous spirits, like Spenser and Sidney, were for a time misled into the vain attempt to graft exotic forms upon the homely growths of native poetry, they soon saw their mistake and revolted in silence against the ridiculous pedant who preferred the limping hexameters of the ‘Arcadia’ to Sidney’s sonnets, and the spavined iambics of Spenser to the ‘Faerie Queene’.

In the main, the worship of the classics seems to have counted at this time rather for freedom than restraint. And it is well that it was so. Yet restraint too was necessary; and, like freedom, it was found—though in less ample measure—through devotion to the classics. There can be little doubt that, consciously or no, the Elizabethans, with their quick eye for beauty of every kind, were swayed, as men in all ages have been swayed, by the finely chiselled forms of classical art. The besetting sin of their imagination was the tendency to run riot; and it may well be that, save for the restraining influence of ancient poetry, they would have sinned in this matter still more boldly than they did. Yet the chastening power of classical models may be easily overrated. And we cannot but notice that it was precisely where the classical influence was strongest that the force of imagination was the least under control. Jonson apart, there were no more ardent disciples of the ancients than Marlowe and Chapman. And no poets of that age are so open to the charge of extravagance as they. It is with Milton that the chastening influence of the ancients first makes itself definitely felt. But Milton was no less alive to the fervour than to the self-mastery of his classical models. And it was not till the Restoration that “correctness” was recognized as the highest, if not the only, quality of the ancients, or accepted as the one worthy object of poetic effort. For more than a century correctness remained the idol both of poetry and of criticism in England; and nothing less than the furious onslaught of the Lyrical Ballads was needed to overthrow it. Then the floodgates were opened. A new era both of poetic and critical energy had dawned.

Thus the history of English criticism, like that of English literature, divides itself roughly into three periods. The first is the period of the Elizabethans and of Milton; the second is from the Restoration to the French Revolution; the third from the Revolution to the present day. The typical critic of the first period is Sidney; Dryden opens and Johnson closes the second; the third, a period of far more varied tendencies than either of the others, is perhaps most fitly represented by Lamb, Hazlitt, and Carlyle. It will be the aim of the following pages to sketch the broader outlines of the course that critical inquiry has taken in each.

I. The first thing that strikes us in the early attempts of criticism is that its problems are to a large extent remote from those which have engrossed critics of more recent times. There is little attempt to appraise accurately

the worth of individual authors; still less, to find out the secret of their power, or to lay bare the hidden lines of thought on which their imagination had set itself to work. The first aim both of Puttenham and of Webbe, the pioneers of Elizabethan criticism, was either to classify writers according to the subjects they treated and the literary form that each had made his own, or to analyse the metre and other more technical elements of their poetry.

But this, after all, was the natural course in the infancy of the study. All science begins with classification; and all classification with the external and the obvious. The Greek critics could take no step forward until they had classified all poems as either lyric, epic, or dramatic. And how necessary that division was may be seen from the length at which Plato discusses the nature of the distinction in the second book of the Republic. Even Aristotle, in this as in other things the 'master of those who know', devotes no inconsiderable space of the Poetics to technical matters such as the analysis of vocal sounds, and the aptness of different metres to different forms of poetic thought.

There is another matter in which the methods of Elizabethan critics run side by side with those of the early Greeks. In Plato and Aristotle we are not seldom startled by the sudden transition from questions of form to the deepest problems suggested by imaginative art. The same is true of the Elizabethan critics. It is doubtless true that the latter give a proportionally larger space to the more technical sides of the subject than their Greek forerunners. They could not reasonably be expected to write with the width of view that all the world has admired in Aristotle and Plato. Moreover, they were from the first confronted with a practical difficulty from which the Greek critics were so fortunate as to be free. Was rhyme a "brutish" form of verse? and, if so, was its place to be taken by the alliterative rhythm, so dear to the older poets, or by an importation of classical metres, such as was attempted by Sidney and Spenser, and enforced by the unwearied lectures of Harvey and of Webbe? This, however technical, was a fundamental question; and, until it was settled, there was but little use in debating the weightier matters of the law.

The discussion, which might have raged for ever among the critics, was happily cut short by the healthy instinct of the poets. Against alliteration the question had already been given by default. Revived, after long disuse, by Langland and other poets of the West Midlands in the fourteenth century, it had soon again been swept out of fashion by the irresistible charm of the genius of Chaucer. The 'Tale of Gamelyn', dating apparently from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, is probably the last poem of note in which the once universal metre is even partially employed. And what could prove more clearly that the old metrical form was dead? The rough rhythm of early English poetry, it is true, is kept; but alliteration is dropped, and its place is taken by rhyme.

Nor were the efforts to impose classical measures on English poetry more blest in their results. The very men on whom the literary Romanizers had fixed their hopes were the first to abandon the enterprise in despair. If any genius was equal to the task of naturalizing hexameters in a language where strict quantity is unknown, it was the genius of Spenser. But Spenser soon ranged himself heart and soul with the champions of rhyme; his very name has passed down to us as a synonym for the most elaborate of all rhyming stanzas that have taken root in our verse. For the moment, rhyme had fairly driven all rivals from the field. Over the lyric its sway was undisputed. In narrative poetry, where its fitness was far more disputable, it maintained its hold till the closing years of Milton. In the drama itself, where its triumph would have been fatal, it disputed the ground inch by inch against the magnificent instrument devised by Surrey and perfected by Marlowe.

It was during the ten years preceding the publication of Webbe's 'Discourse' (1586) that this controversy seems to have been hottest. From the first, perhaps, it bulked more largely with the critics than with the poets themselves. Certainly it allowed both poets and critics sufficient leisure for the far more important controversy which has left an enduring monument in Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie'. The most important pieces of Elizabethan criticism are:--

Gosson's 'School of Abuse', 1579.

Lodge's 'Defence of Poetry, Musick, and Stage Plays', 1579(?).

Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie', 1580(?).

Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetrie', 1586.

Puttenham's 'Arte of English Poesie', 1589.

Harington's 'Apologie of Poetrie', 1591.

Meres' 'Palladis Tamia', 1598.

Campion's 'Observations in the Arte of English Poesie', 1602.

Daniel's 'Defence of Ryme', 1603.

The historical bearing of Sidney's treatise has been too commonly overlooked. It forms, in truth, one move in the long struggle which ended only with the restoration of Charles II.; or, to speak more accurately, which has lasted, in a milder form, to the present day. In its immediate object it was a reply to the Puritan assaults upon the theatre; in its ultimate scope, a defence of imaginative art against the suspicions with which men of high but narrow purpose have always, consciously or unconsciously, tended to regard it. It is a noble plea for liberty, directed no less against the unwilling scruples of idealists, such as Plato or Rousseau, than against the ruthless bigotry of practical moralists and religious partisans.

From the first dawn of the Elizabethan drama, the stricter Protestants had declared war upon the stage. Intrenched within the city they were at once able to drive the theatres beyond the walls (1575); just as seventy years later, when it had seized the reins of central government, the same party, embittered by a thousand insults and brutalities, hastened to close the theatres altogether. It would be an evident mistake to suppose that this was merely a municipal prejudice, or to forget that the city council was backed by a large body of serious opinion throughout the country. A proof of this, is to be found in the circumstances that gave rise to the 'Apologie' of Sidney.

The attack on the stage had been opened by the corporation and the clergy. It was soon joined by the men of letters. And the essay of Sidney was an answer neither to a town councillor, nor to a preacher, but to a former dramatist and actor. This was Stephen Gosson, author of the 'School of Abuse'. The style of Gosson's pamphlet is nothing if not literary. It is full of the glittering conceits and the fluent rhetoric which the ready talent of Lyly had just brought into currency. It is euphuism of the purest water, with all the merits and all the drawbacks of the euphuistic manner. For that very reason the blow was felt the more keenly. It was violently resented as treason by the playwrights and journalists who still professed to reckon Gosson among their ranks.

A war of pamphlets followed, conducted with the usual fury of literary men. Gosson on the one side, Lodge, the dramatist, upon the other, exchanged compliments with an energy which showed that one at least of them had not in vain graduated in "the school of abuse". "Raw devises", "hudder mudder", "guts and garbage", such are the phrases hurled by Gosson at the arguments and style of his opponents; "bawdy charms", "the very butchery of Christian souls", are samples of the names fastened by him upon the cause which they defended.

From this war of words Sidney turned loftily aside. Pointedly challenged at the outset--for the first and second pamphlets of Gosson had, without permission, been dedicated to "the right noble gentleman, Maister Philip Sidney"--he seldom alludes to the arguments, and never once mentions the name of Gosson. He wrote to satisfy his own mind, and not to win glory in the world of letters. And thus his 'Apologie', though it seems to have been composed while the controversy was still fresh in men's memory, was not published until nearly ten years after his death (1595). It was not written for controversy, but for truth. From the first page it rises into the atmosphere of calm, in which alone great questions can be profitably discussed.

The 'Apologie' of Sidney is, in truth, what would now be called a Philosophy of Poetry. It is philosophy taken from the side of the moralist; for that was the side to which the disputants had confined themselves, and in which--altogether apart from the example of others--the interest of Sidney, as man of action, inevitably lay. It is philosophy as conceived by the mind of a poet. But, none the less, it pierces to the eternal problems which underlie the workings of all creative art, and presents them with a force, for the like of which we must go back to Plato and Aristotle, or look forward to the philosophers and inspired critics of a time nearer our own. It recalls the 'Phaedrus' and the 'Ion'; it anticipates the utterance of a still more kindred spirit, the 'Defence of Poetry' by Shelley.

Philosopher as he was, Sidney arranges his thoughts in the loose order of the poet or the orator. It may be well, therefore, to give a brief sketch of his argument; and to do so without much regard to the arrangement of the 'Apologie' itself.

The main argument of the 'Apologie' may indeed be called a commentary on the saying of Aristotle, cited by Sidney himself, that "Poetry is more philosophical and more studiously serious than History"--that is, as Sidney interprets it, than the scientific fact of any kind; or again, on that yet more pregnant saying of Shelley, that "poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world". Gosson had denounced poetry as "the vizard of vanity, wantonness, and folly"; or, in Sidney's paraphrase, as "the mother of lies and the nurse of abuse". Sidney replies by urging that of all arts poetry is the most true and the most necessary to men.

All learning, he pleads, and all culture begin with poetry. Philosophy, religion, and history herself, speak through the lips of poetry. There is indeed a sense in which poetry stands on higher ground than any science. There is no science, not even metaphysics, the queen of all sciences, that does not "build upon nature", and that is not, so far, limited by the facts of nature. The poet alone is "not tied to any such subjection"; he alone "freely ranges within the zodiac of his own wit".

This, no doubt, is dangerous ground, and it is enforced by still more dangerous illustrations. But Sidney at once guards himself by insisting, as Plato had done before him, that the poet too is bound by laws which he finds but does not make; they are, however, laws not of fact but of thought, the laws of the idea--that is, of the inmost truth of things, and of God. Hence it is that the works of the poet seem to come from God, rather than from man. They stand rather on a level with nature, the material of all sciences, than with the sciences themselves, which are nothing more than man's interpretation of nature. In some sense, indeed, they are above nature; they stand midway between nature and him who created nature. They are a first nature, "beyond and over the works of that second nature". For they are the self-revelation of that which is the noblest work of God, and which in them finds utterance at its best and brightest.

Thus, so far from being the "mother of lies", poetry is the highest form of truth. Avowedly so, in what men have always recognized to be the noblest poetry, the psalms and parables and other writings that "do imitate the inconceivable excellences of God". To a less degree, but still avowedly, in that poetry whose theme is philosophy or history. And so essentially, however men may overlook it, in that poetry which, professedly dealing with human life as we know it, does not content itself with reproducing the character of this man or that, but "reined only with learned discretion, ranges into the divine consideration of what may be and should be"--of the universal and complete rather than the individual and imperfect.

But, if truth be the essence of the poet's works, "the right describing note to know a poet by", it would seem that the outward form of it, the metre and the ornament, are of little moment. "There have been many most excellent poets that never versified." And verse is nothing more than a means, and not the only means, of securing a "fitting raiment" for their matter and suiting their manner "according to the dignity of their subject". In this suggestion--that harmonious prose may, for certain forms of poetic thought, be hardly less suitable than verse--Sidney is at one with Shelley. And neither critic must be taken to disparage verse, or to mean more than that the

matter, the conception, is the soul of poetry, and that the form is only of moment so far as it aids--as undoubtedly it does aid--to "reveal the soul within". It is rather as a witness to the whole scope of their argument than as a particular doctrine, to be left or taken, that the suggestion is most profitably regarded.

Having settled the speculative base of poetry, Sidney turns to a yet more cherished theme, its influence upon character and action. The "highest end" of all knowledge, he urges, is "the knowledge of a man's self, with the end of well doing and not of well knowing only". Now by no artist is this end served so perfectly as by the poet. His only serious rivals are the moral philosopher and the historian. But neither of these flies so straight to his mark as the poet. The one gives precepts that fire no heart to action; the other gives examples without the precepts that should interpret and control them. The one lives in the world of ideas, the other in the world of hard and literal fact. Neither, therefore, has power to bridge the gulf that parts thought from action; neither can hope to take hold of beings in whose life, by its very nature, thought and action are indissolubly interwoven. "Now doth the peerless poet perform both. For whatsoever the philosopher saith should be done, he giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done. So as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example Therein of all sciences is our poet the monarch."

Once more we feel that Sidney is treading upon dangerous ground. But once more he saves himself by giving a wider definition both to thought and action, both to "well knowing and to well doing", than is common with moralists. By the former most moralists are apt to understand the bare "precept", thought as crystallized in its immediate bearing upon action. By the latter they commonly mean the passive rather than the active virtues, temperance and self-restraint rather than energy and resolve. From both these limitations Sidney, on the whole, is nobly free.

To him the "delight which is all the good fellow poet seemeth to promise", "the words set in delightful proportion and prepared for the well enchanting skill of music", "the tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner"--all these, its indefinable and purely artistic elements, are an inseparable part of the "wisdom" which poetry has to offer. In other words, it is the frame of mind produced by poetry, the "thought hardly to be packed into the narrow act", no less than the prompting to this action or to that, which Sidney values in the work of the poet. And if this be true, none but the most fanatical champion of "art for art's sake" will dispute the justice of his demands on poetry. None but such will deny that, whether by attuning the mind to beauty and nobleness, or by means yet more direct and obvious, art must have some bearing upon the life of man and on the habitual temper of his soul. No doubt, we might have wished that, in widening the scope of poetry as a moral influence, Sidney had been yet more explicit than in fact he is. We cannot but regret that, however unjustly, he should have laid himself open to the charge of desiring to turn poetry into sermons. But it is bare justice to point out that such a charge cannot fairly be brought against him; or that it can only be brought with such qualifications as rob it of its sting.

On the other matter the record of Sidney is yet clearer. By "well doing" he does not mean, as is too often meant, mere abstinence from evil, but the active pursuit of whatsoever things are manly, noble, and of good report. It is not only the "temperance of Diomedes"--though temperance too may be conceived as an active virtue--but the wisdom of Ulysses, the patriotism of Aeneas, "the soon repenting pride of Agamemnon", the valour of Achilles--it is courage, above all courage, that stirs his soul in the great works of ancient poetry. It is the same quality that moves him in the ballads and romances of the moderns. "Certainly I must confess my own barbarousness; I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet." And again: "Truly I have known men that, even with reading 'Amadis de Gaule' (which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect poesy), have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage." The man who wrote these words had no starved conception of what poetry should be.

Once again. Sidney has small patience with those who would limit art by the banishment of all that recalls the baser side of life. "Now, as in geometry, the oblique must be known as well as the right. So in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthiness of evil, wanteth a great foil to perceive the beauty of virtue. This doth the comedy handle so ... as with hearing it we get, as it were, an experience.... So that the right use of comedy will, I think, by no body be blamed." No doubt, the moral aspect of comedy is here marked with what must be called immoderate stress. Here, too, as when he deals with the kindred side of tragedy, Sidney demands that the poet shall, in his villains, "show you nothing that is not to be shunned"; in other words, that, so far as it paints evil, comedy shall take the form of satire.

But, even with this restriction, it must be allowed that Sidney takes a wider view than might appear at a hasty reading; wider, it is probable, than was at all common among the men of his generation. No Shakespeare had yet arisen to touch the baser qualities of men with a gleam of heroism or to humanize the most stoical endurance with a strain of weakness. And even Shakespeare, in turning from the practice to the theory of his art, could find no words very different from those of Sidney. To him, as to Sidney, the aim of the drama is "to show virtue her own image and scorn her own feature"; though by a saving clause, which Sidney perhaps would hardly have accepted, it is further defined as being to show "the very age and body of the time his form and pressure". Yet it must be remembered that Sidney is loud in praise of so unflinching a portraiture of life, base and noble, as Chaucer's 'Troilus and Cressida'. And on the whole it remains true that the limitations of Sidney are the limitations of his age, while his generosity is his own.

The remainder of the 'Apologie' is necessarily of slighter texture. Apart from the examination of Plato's

banishment of the poets--a theme on which Harington also discourses, though with less weight than Sidney--it is concerned mainly with two subjects: an assertion that each form of poetry has its peculiar moral import, and a lament over the decay into which English poetry had fallen in the sixteenth century.

Such a lament sounds strangely to us, accustomed as we are to regard the age of Elizabeth, already half ended when Sidney wrote, as the most fruitful period of our literature. But, when the 'Apologie' was composed, no one of the authors by whose fame the Elizabethan age is now commonly known--Sidney himself and Spenser alone excepted--had begun to write. English poetry was about to wake from the long night that lies between the age of Chaucer and the age of Shakespeare. But it was not yet fully awakened. And the want of a full and free life in creative art goes far to account for the shortcomings of Elizabethan criticism.

Vague the Elizabethan critics undeniably are; they tend to lose themselves either in far-fetched analogies or in generalities that have but a slight bearing upon the distinctive problems of literary appreciation. When not vague, they are apt to fritter their strength on technical details which, important to them, have long lost their significance for the student of literature. But both technicalities and vagueness may be largely traced to the uncertain practice of the poets upon whom, in the first instance, their criticism was based. The work of Surrey and of Sackville was tentative; that of Webbe and Puttenham was necessarily the same. It is the more honour to Sidney that, shackled as he was by conditions from which no man could escape altogether, he should have struck a note at once so deep and so strong as is sounded in the 'Apologie'.

II. In turning from Sidney to Dryden we pass into a different world. The philosophy, the moral fervour, the prophetic strain of the Elizabethan critic have vanished. Their place is taken by qualities less stirring in themselves, but more akin to those that modern times have been apt to associate with criticism. In fact, whatever qualities we now demand from a critic may be found at least foreshadowed, and commonly much more than foreshadowed, in Dryden. Dryden is master of comparative criticism: he has something of the historical method; he is unrivalled in the art of seizing the distinctive qualities of his author and of setting them before us with the lightest touch. His very style, so pointed yet so easy, is enough in itself to mark the gulf that lies between the age of Elizabeth and the age of the Restoration. All the Elizabethan critics, Sidney himself hardly excepted, bore some trace of the schoolmaster. Dryden was the first to meet his readers entirely as an equal, and talk to them as a friend with friends. It is Dryden, and not Sainte-Beuve, who is the true father of the literary 'causerie'; and he still remains its unequalled master. There may be other methods of striking the right note in literary criticism. Lamb showed that there may be; so did Mr. Pater. But few indeed are the critics who have known how to attune the mind of the reader to a subject, which beyond all others cries out for harmonious treatment, so skilfully as Dryden.

That the first great critic should come with the Restoration, was only to be expected. The age of Elizabeth was essentially a creative age. The imagination of men was too busy to leave room for self-scrutiny. Their thoughts took shape so rapidly that there was no time to think about the manner of their coming. Not indeed that there is, as has sometimes been urged, any inherent strife between the creative and the critical spirit. A great poet, we can learn from Goethe and Coleridge, may also be a great critic. More than that: without some touch of poetry in himself, no man can hope to do more than hack-work as a critic of others. Yet it may safely be said that, if no critical tradition exists in a nation, it is not an age of passionate creation, such as was that of Marlowe and Shakespeare, that will found it. With all their alertness, with all their wide outlook, with all their zeal for classical models, the men of that time were too much of children, too much beneath the spell of their own genius, to be critics. Compare them with the great writers of other ages; and we feel instinctively that, in spite of their surroundings, they have far more of vital kindred with Homer or the creators of the mediæval epic, than with the Greek dramatists--Aeschylus excepted--or with Dante or with Goethe. The "freshness of the early world" is still upon them; neither they nor their contemporaries were born to the task of weighing and pondering, which is the birthright of the critic.

It was far otherwise with the men of the Restoration. The creative impulse of a century had at length spent its force. For the first time since Wyatt and Surrey, England deserted the great themes of literature, the heroic passions of Tamburlaine and Faustus, of Lear and Othello, for the trivial round of social portraiture and didactic discourse; for 'Essays on Satire' and 'on Translated Verse', for the Tea-Table of the 'Spectator', for dreary exercises on the 'Pleasures of the Imagination' and the 'Art of Preserving Health'. A new era had opened. It was the day of small things.

Yet it would be wrong to regard the new movement as merely negative. Had that been all, it would be impossible to account for the passionate enthusiasm it aroused in those who came beneath its spell; an enthusiasm which lived long after the movement itself was spent, and which--except in so far as it led to absurd comparisons with the Elizabethans--was abundantly justified by the genius of Butler and Dryden, of Congreve and Swift and Pope. Negative, on one side, the ideal of Restoration and Augustan poetry undoubtedly was. It was a reaction against the

"unchartered freedom", the real or fancied extravagances, of the Elizabethan poets. But, on the higher side, it was no less positive, though doubtless far less noble, than the ideal it displaced.

The great writers of the eighty years following the Restoration were consumed by a passion for observation--observation of the men and things that lay immediately around them. They may have seen but little; but what they did see, they grasped with surprising force and clearness. They may not have gone far beneath the surface; but, so far as they went, their work was a model of acuteness and precision. This was the secret of their power. To this may be traced their victory in the various tasks that they undertook.

Hence, on the one hand, their success in painting the manners of their own day--a task from which, with some

notable exceptions, the greatest of the Elizabethans had been apt to shrink, as from something alien to their genius; and, on the other hand, the range and keenness of their satire. Hence, finally, the originality of their work in criticism, and their new departure in philosophy. The energies of these men were diverse: but all sprang from the same root--from their invincible resolve to see and understand their world; to probe life, as they knew it, to the bottom.

Thus the new turn given to criticism by Dryden was part of a far-reaching intellectual movement; a movement no less positive and self-contained than, in another aspect, it was negative and reactionary. And it is only when taken as part of that movement, as side by side with the philosophy of Locke and the satire of Swift or Pope, that its true meaning can be understood. Nor is it the least important or the least attractive of Dryden's qualities, as a critic, that both the positive and the negative elements of the prevailing tendency--both the determination to understand and the wish to bring all things under rule--should make themselves felt so strongly and, on the whole, so harmoniously in his Essays. No man could have felt more keenly the shortcomings of the Elizabethan writers. No man could have set greater store by that "art of writing easily" which was the chief pride of the Restoration poets. Yet no man has ever felt a juster admiration for the great writers of the opposite school; and no man has expressed his reverence for them in more glowing words. The highest eulogy that has yet been passed on Milton, the most discriminating but at the same time the most generous tribute that has ever been offered to Shakespeare--both these are to be found in Dryden. And they are to be found in company with a perception, at once reasoned and instinctive, of what criticism means, that was altogether new to English literature.

The finest and most characteristic of Dryden's critical writings--but it is unfortunately also the longest--is without doubt the 'Essay of Dramatic Poesy'. The subject was one peculiarly well suited to Dryden's genius. It touched a burning question of the day, and it opened the door for a discussion of the deeper principles of the drama. The 'Essay' itself forms part of a long controversy between Dryden and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard. The dispute was opened by Dryden's preface to his tragi-comedy, 'The Rival Ladies', published probably, as it was certainly first acted, in 1664; and in the beginning Dryden, then first rising into fame as a dramatist, confines himself to pleading the cause of rhyme against blank verse in dramatic writing. Howard--who, it may reasonably be guessed, had had some brushes with Dryden over their joint tragedy, 'The Indian Queen'--at once took up the cudgels. He had written rhymed plays himself, it is true; the four plays, to which his attack on rhyme was prefixed, were such; but he saw a chance of paying off old scores against his brother-in-law, and he could not resist it. Dryden began his reply at once; but three years passed before it was published. And the world has no reason to regret his tardiness. There are few writings of which we can say with greater certainty, as Dryden himself said of a more questionable achievement,

'T is not the hasty product of a day,
But the well-ripened fruit of wise delay.

The very form of the 'Essay' bears witness to the spirit in which it is written. It is cast as a dialogue, "related"--as Dryden truly says--"without passion or interest, and leaving the reader to decide in favour of which part he shall judge most reasonable". The balance between opposing views is held as evenly as may be. It is a search for truth, carried out in the "rude and undigested manner" of a friendly conversation. Roughly speaking, the subjects of the 'Essay' are two. The first, and the more slightly treated, is the quarrel of rhyme against blank verse. The second is the far more important question, How far is the dramatist bound by conventional restrictions? The former--a revival under a new form of a dispute already waged by the Elizabethans--leads Dryden to sift the claims of the "heroic drama"; and his treatment of it has the special charm belonging to an author's defence of his artistic hearth and home. The latter is a theme which, under some shape or other, will be with us wherever the stage itself has a place in our life.

This is not the place to discuss at length the origin or the historical justification of the Heroic Drama. There is perhaps no form of art that so clearly marks the transition from the Elizabethan age to that of the Restoration. Transitional it must certainly be called; for, in all vital points, it stands curiously apart from the other forms of Restoration literature. It has nothing either of the negative or the positive qualities, nothing of the close observation and nothing of the measure and self-restraint, that all feel to be the distinctive marks of the Restoration temper. On the other hand the heroic drama, of which Dryden's 'Conquest of Granada' and 'Tyrannic Love' may be taken as fair samples, has obvious affinities with the more questionable side of the Elizabethan stage. It may be defined as wanting in all the virtues and as exaggerating all the vices of the Elizabethan dramatists. Whatever was most wild in the wildest of the Elizabethan plays--the involved plots, the extravagant incidents, the swelling metaphors and similes--all this reappears in the heroic drama. And it reappears without any of the dramatic force or of the splendid poetry which are seldom entirely absent from the work of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. The term "heroic drama" is, in fact, a fraud. The plays of Dryden and his school are at best but mock-heroic; and they are essentially undramatic. The truth is that these plays take something of the same place in the history of the English drama that is held by the verse of Donne and Cowley in the history of the English lyric. The extravagant incidents correspond to the far-fetched conceits which, unjustly enough made the name of Donne a by-word with the critics of the last century. The metaphors and similes are as abundant and overcharged, though assuredly not so rich in imagination, as those of the "metaphysical" poets. And Dryden, if we may accept the admission of Bayes, "loved argument in verse"; a confession that Donne and Cowley would heartily have echoed. The exaggerations of the heroic drama are the exaggerations of the metaphysical poets transferred from the study to the stage; with the extravagance deepened, as was natural, by the glare of their new surroundings. And, just as the extravagance of the

“metaphysicians” led to the reaction that for a hundred years stifled the lyric note in English song, so the extravagance of the heroic drama gave the death-blow to English tragedy.

Against this parallel the objection may be raised that it takes no reckoning of the enormous gulf that, when all is said, separates even the weakest of the Elizabethan plays from the rant and fustian of Dryden: a gulf wider, it must be admitted, than that which parts the metaphysical poets from the “singing birds” of the Elizabethan era. And, so far as we have yet gone, the objection undoubtedly has force. It is only to be met if we can find some connecting link; if we can point to some author who, on the one hand, retains something of the dramatic instinct, the grace and flexibility of the Elizabethans; and, on the other hand, anticipates the metallic ring, the declamation and the theatrical conventions of Dryden. Such an author is to be found in Shirley; in Shirley, as he became in his later years; at the time, for instance, when he wrote ‘The Cardinal’ (1641). ‘The Cardinal’ is, in many respects, a powerful play. It is unmistakably written under the influence of Webster; and of Webster at his most sombre and his best--the Webster of the ‘Duchess of Malfi’. But it is no less unmistakably wanting in the subtle strength, the dramatic grip and profound poetry, of its model. The villainy of the Cardinal is mere mechanism beside the satanic, yet horribly human, iniquity of Ferdinand and Bosola. And, at least in one scene, Shirley sinks--it is true, in the person of a subordinate character--to a foul-mouthed vulgarity which recalls the shameless bombast of the heroes and heroines of Dryden.

Yet, with all his shortcomings, Shirley preserves in the main the great tradition of the Elizabethans. A further step downwards, a more deadly stage in the history of decadence, is marked by Sir William Davenant. That arch-impostor, as is well known, had the effrontery to call himself the “son of Shakespeare”: a phrase which the unwary have taken in the physical sense, but which was undoubtedly intended to mark his literary kinship with the Elizabethans in general and with the greatest of Elizabethan dramatists in particular.

So far as dates go, indeed, the work of Davenant may be admitted to fall within what we loosely call the Elizabethan period; or, more strictly, within the last stage of the period that began with Elizabeth and continued throughout the reigns of her two successors. His first tragedy, ‘Albovine, King of the Lombards’, was brought out in 1629; and his earlier work was therefore contemporary with that of Massinger and Ford. But much beyond this his relation to the Elizabethans can hardly claim to go. Charity may allow him some faint and occasional traces of the dramatic power which is their peculiar glory; and this is perhaps more strongly marked in his earliest play than in any of its successors. What strikes us most forcibly, however--and that, even in his more youthful work--is the obvious anticipation of much that we associate only with the Restoration period. The historical plot, the metallic ring of the verse, the fustian and the bombast-- we have here every mark, save one, of what afterwards came to be known as the heroic drama. The rhymed couplet alone is wanting. And that was added by Davenant himself at a later stage of his career. It was in ‘The Siege of Rhodes’, of which the first part was published in 1656, that the heroic couplet, after an interval of about sixty years, made its first reappearance on the English stage. It was garnished, no doubt, with much of what then passed for Pindaric lyric; it was eked out with music. But the fashion was set; and within ten years the heroic couplet and the heroic drama had swept everything before them.

The above dates are enough to disprove the common belief that the heroic drama, rhymed couplet and all, was imported from France. ‘Albovine’, as we have seen, has every mark of the heroic drama, except the couplet; and ‘Albovine’ was written seven years before the first masterpiece of Corneille, one year before his first attempt at tragedy. A superficial likeness to the drama of Corneille and, subsequently, of Racine may doubtless have given wings to the popularity of the new style both with Davenant and his admirers. But the heroic drama is, in truth, a native growth: for good or for evil, to England alone must be given the credit of its birth. Dryden, no doubt, more than once claims French descent for the literary form with which his fame was then bound up. In a well-known prologue he describes his tragic-comedy, ‘The Maiden Queen’, as

a mingled chime
Of Jonson’s humour and
Corneille’s rhyme.

But the fact is that of Corneille there is no more trace in Dryden’s tragedy than there is of Jonson in his comedy; that is, just none at all. The heroic temper, which was at once the essence of Corneille’s plays and true to the very soul of the man, was mere affectation and ‘mise-en-scene’ with Dryden. The heroes of Corneille reflect that nobility of spirit which never entirely forsook France till the days of the Regency; those of Dryden give utterance to nothing better than the insolent swagger of the Restoration.

To the peculiar spirit of the heroic drama--to its strength as well as to its weakness--no metrical form could have been more closely adapted than the heroic couplet. It was neither flexible nor delicate; but in the hands of Dryden, even more than in those of Davenant, it became an incomparably vigorous and effective weapon of declamation. As the most unmistakable and the most glaring mark of the new method it was naturally placed in the forefront of the battle waged by Dryden in defence of the heroic drama. It seems, indeed, to have struck him as the strongest advantage possessed by the Restoration drama over the Elizabethan, and as that which alone was wanting to place the Elizabethan drama far ahead both of the Greek and of the French.

The claims of rhyme to Dryden’s regard would seem to have been twofold. On the one hand, he thought that it served to “bound and circumscribe” the luxuriance of the poet’s fancy. On the other hand, it went to “heighten” the purely dramatic element and to “move that admiration which is the delight of serious plays” and to which “a bare imitation” will not suffice. Both grounds of defence will seem to the modern reader questionable enough. Howard at once laid his finger upon the weak spot of the first. “It is”, he said, “no argument for the matter in hand. For the

dispute is not what way a man may write best in; but which is most proper for the subject he writes upon. And, if this were let pass, the argument is yet unsolved in itself; for he that wants judgment in the liberty of his fancy may as well shew the want of it in its confinement.” Besides, he adds in effect on the next page, so far from “confining the fancy” rhyme is apt to lead to turgid and stilted writing.

The second argument stands on higher ground. It amounts to a plea for the need of idealization; and, so far, may serve to remind us that the extravagances of the heroic drama had their stronger, as well as their weaker, side. No one, however, will now be willing to admit that the cause of dramatic idealization is indeed bound up with the heroic couplet; and a moment’s thought will show the fallacy of Dryden’s assumption that it is. In the first place, he takes for granted that, the further the language of the drama is removed from that of actual life, the nearer the spirit of it will approach to the ideal. An unwarrantable assumption, if there ever was one; and an assumption, as will be seen, that contains the seeds of the whole eighteenth-century theory of poetic diction. In the second place--but this is, in truth, only the deeper aspect of the former plea--Dryden comes perilously near to an acceptance of the doctrine that idealization in a work of art depends purely on the outward form and has little or nothing to do with the conception or the spirit. The bond between form and matter would, according to this view, be purely arbitrary. By a mere turn of the hand, by the substitution of rhyme for prose--or for blank verse, which is on more than “measured” or harmonious prose--the baldest presentment of life could be converted into a dramatic poem. From the grosser forms of this fallacy Dryden’s fine sense was enough to save him. Indeed, in the remarks on Jonson’s comedies that immediately follow, he expressly rejects them; and seldom does he show a more nicely balanced judgment than in what he there says on the limits of imitation in the field of art. But in the passage before us--in his assertion that “the converse must be heightened with all the arts and ornaments of poetry”--it is hard to resist a vision of the dramatist first writing his dialogue in bald and skimble-skamble prose, and then wringing his brains to adorn it “with all the arts” of the dramatic ‘gradus’. Here again we have the seeds of the fatal theory which dominated the criticism and perverted the art of the eighteenth century; the theory which, finding in outward form the only distinction between prose and poetry, was logically led to look for the special themes of poetic art in the dissecting-room or the pulpit, and was driven to mark the difference by an outrageous diction that could only be called poetry on the principle that it certainly was not prose; the theory which at length received its death-blow from the joint attack of Wordsworth and Coleridge.

It remains only to note the practical issue of the battle of the metres. In the drama the triumph of the heroic couplet was for the moment complete; but it was short-lived. By 1675, the date of ‘Aurungzebe’, Dryden proclaimed himself already about to “weary of his long-loved mistress, Rhyme”; and his subsequent plays were all written in blank verse or prose. But the desertion of “his mistress” brought him little luck; and the rest of his tragedies show a marked falling off in that splendid vigour which went far to redeem even the grossest absurdities of his heroic plays. A more sensitive, though a weaker, genius joined him in the rejection of rhyme; and the example of Otway--whose two crucial plays belong to 1680 and 1682--did perhaps more than that of Dryden himself, more even than the assaults of ‘The Rehearsal’, to discredit the heroic drama. With the appearance of ‘Venice Preserved’, rhyme ceased to play any part in English tragedy. But at the same time, it must be noted, tragedy itself began to drop from the place which for the last century it had held in English life. From that day to this no acting tragedy, worth serious attention, has been written for the English stage.

The reaction against rhyme was not confined to the drama. The epic, indeed--or what in those days passed for such--can hardly be said to have come within its scope. In the ‘Essay of Dramatic Poesy’ Dryden--and this is one of the few judgments in which Howard heartily agrees with him--had denounced rhyme as “too low for a poem”; by which, as the context shows, is meant an epic. This was written the very year in which ‘Paradise Lost’, with its laconic sneer at rhyme as a device “to set off wretched matter and lame metre”, was given to the world. That, however, did not prevent Dryden from asking, and obtaining, leave to “tag its verses” into an opera; nor did it deter Blackmore--and, at a much later time, Wilkie--from reverting to the metre that Milton had scorned to touch. It is not till the present century that blank verse can be said to have fairly taken seisin of the epic; one of the many services that English poetry owes to the genius of Keats.

In the more nondescript kinds of poetry, however, the revolt against rhyme spread faster than in the epic. In descriptive and didactic poetry, if anywhere, rhyme might reasonably claim to hold its place. There is much to be said for the opinion that, in such subjects, rhyme is necessary to fix the wandering attention of the reader. Yet, for all that, the great efforts of the reflective muse during the next century were, with hardly an exception, in blank verse. It is enough to recall the ‘Seasons’ of Thomson, the discourses of Akenside and Armstrong, and the ‘Night Thoughts’ of the arch-moralist Young. In the case of Young--as later in that of Cowper--this is the more remarkable, because his Satires show him to have had complete command of the mechanism of the heroic couplet. That he should have deliberately chosen the rival metre is proof--a proof which even the exquisite work of Goldsmith is not sufficient to gainsay--that, by the middle of the eighteenth century the heroic couplet had been virtually driven from every field of poetry, save that of satire.

We may now turn to the second of the two themes with which Dryden is mainly occupied in the ‘Essay of Dramatic Poesy’. What are the conventional restrictions that surround the dramatist, and how far are they of binding force?

That the drama is by nature a convention--more than this, a convention accepted largely with a view to the need of idealization--the men of Dryden’s day were in no danger of forgetting. The peril with them was all the other

way. The fashion of that age was to treat the arbitrary usages of the classical theatre as though they were binding for all time. Thus, of the four men who take part in the dialogue of the 'Essay', three are emphatically agreed in bowing down before the three unities as laws of nature. Dryden himself (Neander) is alone in questioning their divinity: a memorable proof of his critical independence; but one in which, as he maliciously points out, he was supported by the greatest of living dramatists. Corneille could not be suspected of any personal motive for undertaking the defence of dramatic license. Yet he closed his 'Discourse of the Three Unities' with the admission that he had "learnt by experience how much the French stage was constrained and bound up by the observance of these rules, and how many beauties it had sacrificed". When the two leading masters of the 'Classical Drama', the French and the English, joined hands to cast doubt upon the sacred unities, its opponents might well feel easy as to the ultimate issue of the dispute.

Dryden was not the man to bound his argument by any technical question, even when it touched a point so fundamental as the unities. Nothing is more remarkable in the 'Essay', as indeed in all his critical work, than the wide range which he gives to the discussion. And never has the case against--we can hardly add, for--the French drama been stated more pointedly than by him. His main charge, as was to be expected, is against its monotony, and, in close connection with that, against its neglect of action and its preference for declamation.

Having defined the drama as "a just and lively image of human nature, in its actions, passions and traverses of fortune", he proceeds to test the claims of the French stage by that standard. Its characters, he finds, are wanting in variety and nature. Its range of passion and humour is lamentably narrow. Its declamations "tire us with their length; so that, instead of grieving for their imaginary heroes, we are concerned for our own trouble, as we are in the tedious visits of bad company; we are in pain till they are gone". The best tragedies of the French--'Cinna and Pompey'--"are not so properly to be called Plays as long discourses of Reason of State". Upon their avoidance of action he is hardly less severe. "If we are to be blamed for showing too much of the action"--one is involuntarily reminded of the closing scene of 'Tyrannic Love' and of the gibes in 'The Rehearsal'--"the French are as faulty for discovering too little of it". Finally, on a comparison between the French dramatists and the Elizabethans, Dryden concludes that "in most of the irregular Plays of Shakespeare or Fletcher ... there is a more masculine fancy, and greater spirit in all the writing, than there is in any of the French".

Given the definition with which he starts--but it is a definition that no Frenchman of the seventeenth or eighteenth century would have admitted--it is hard to see how Dryden could have reached a substantially different result. Nor, if comparisons of this sort are to be made at all, is there much--so far, at least, as Shakespeare is concerned--to find fault with in the verdict with which he closes. Yet it is impossible not to regret that Dryden should have failed to recognize the finer spirit and essence of French tragedy, as conceived by Corneille: the strong-tempered heroism of soul, the keen sense of honour, the consuming fire of religion, to which it gives utterance.

The truth is that Dryden stood at once too near, and too far from, the ideals of Corneille to appreciate them altogether at their just value. Too near because he instinctively associated them with the heroic drama, which at the bottom of his heart he knew to be no better than an organized trick, done daily with a view to "elevate and surprise". Too far, because, in spite of his own candid and generous temper, it was well-nigh impossible for the Laureate of the Restoration to comprehend the highly strung nature of a man like Corneille, and his intense realization of the ideal.

But, if Dryden is blind to the essential qualities of Corneille, he is at least keenly alive to those of Shakespeare. It is a memorable thing that the most splendid tribute ever offered to the prince of Elizabethans should have come from the leading spirit of the Restoration. It has often been quoted, but it will bear quoting once again.

"Shakespeare was the man who, of all modern and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him; and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily. When he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning give him the great commendation. He was naturally learned. He needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards and found her there. I cannot say he is everywhere alike. Were he so, I should do him injury to compare him with the greatest of mankind. He is many times flat, insipid; his comic wit degenerating into clenches, his serious swelling into bombast. But he is always great when some great occasion is presented to him. No man can say, he ever had a fit subject for his wit, and did not then raise himself as high above the rest of poets,

Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi."

The same keenness of appreciation is found in Dryden's estimate of other writers who might have seemed to lie beyond the field of his immediate vision. Of Milton he is recorded to have said: "He cuts us all out, and the ancients too". On Chaucer he is yet more explicit. "As he is the father of English poetry, so I hold him in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil. He is a perpetual fountain of good sense; learned in all sciences, and therefore speaks properly on all subjects. As he knew what to say, so he knows also when to leave off, a continence which is practised by few writers, and scarcely by any of the ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace ... Chaucer followed nature everywhere, but was never so bold to go beyond her."

This points to what was undoubtedly the most shining quality of Dryden, as a critic: his absolute freedom from preconceived notions, his readiness to "follow nature" and to welcome nature in whatever form she might appear. That was the more remarkable because it ran directly counter both to the general spirit of the period to which he belonged and to the prevailing practice of the critics who surrounded him. The spirit of the Restoration age was critical in the invidious, no less than in the nobler, sense of the word. It was an age of narrow ideals and of little

ability to look beyond them. In particular, it was an age of carping and of fault-finding; an age within measurable distance of the pedantic system perfected in France by Boileau, and warmly adopted by a long line of English critics from Roscromon and Buckinghamshire to the Monthly Reviewers and to Johnson. Such writers might always have "nature" on their lips; but it was nature seen through the windows of the lecture room or down the vista of a street.

With Dryden it was not so. With him we never fail to get an unbiased judgment; the judgment of one who did not crave for nature "to advantage dressed", but trusted to the instinctive freshness of a mind, one of the most alert and open that ever gave themselves to literature. It is this that puts an impassable barrier between Dryden and the men of his own day, or for a century to come. It is this that gives him a place among the great critics of modern literature, and makes the passage from him to the schoolmen of the next century so dreary a descent.

Dryden's openness of mind was his own secret. The comparative method was, in some measure, the common property of his generation. This, in fact, was the chief conquest of the Restoration and Augustan critics. It is the mark that serves to distinguish them most clearly from those of the Elizabethan age. Not that the Elizabethans are without comparisons; but that the parallels they saw were commonly of the simplest, not to say of the most childish, cast. Every sentence of Meres' critical effort--or, to be rigorously exact, every sentence but one--is built on "as" and "so"; but it reads like a parody--a schoolmaster's parody--of Touchstone's improvement on Orlando's verses in praise of Rosalind. Shakespeare is brought into line with Ovid, Elizabeth with Achilles, and Homer with William Warner. This, no doubt, is an extreme instance; but it is typical of the artless methods dear to the infancy of criticism. In Jonson's 'Discoveries', such comparisons as there are have indisputable point; but they are few, and, for the most part, they are limited to the minuter matters of style.

It is with the Restoration that the comparative method first made its way into English criticism; and that both in its lawful and less lawful use. The distinction must be jealously made; for there are few matters that lend themselves so readily to confusion and misapprehension as this. Between two men, or two forms of art, a comparison may be run either for the sake of placing the one above the head of the other, or for the sake of drawing out the essential differences between the one and the other. The latter method is indispensable to the work of the critic. Without reference, express or implied, to other types of genius or to other ways of treatment it is impossible for criticism to take a single step in definition either of an author, or a movement, or a form of art. In a vague and haphazard fashion, even the Elizabethans were comparative. Meres was so in his endless stream of classical parallels; Sidney, after a loftier strain, in his defence of harmonious prose as a form of poetry. And it is the highest achievement of modern criticism to have brought science and order into the comparative method, and largely to have widened its scope. In this sense, comparison 'is' criticism; and to compare with increased intelligence, with a clearer consciousness of the end in view, is to reform criticism itself, to make it a keener weapon and more effective for its purpose.

A comparison of qualities, however, is one thing, and a comparison between different degrees of merit is quite another. The former is the essence of criticism; the latter, one of the most futile pastimes that can readily be imagined. That each man should have his own preferences is right enough. It would be a nerveless and unprofitable mind to which such preferences were unknown. More than that, some rough classification, some understanding with oneself as to what authors are to be reckoned supreme masters of their craft, is hardly to be avoided. The mere fact that the critic lays stress on certain writers and dismisses others with scant notice or none at all, implies that in some sense he has formed an estimate of their relative merits. But to drag this process from the background--if we ought not rather to say, from behind the scenes--to the very foot-lights, to publish it, to insist upon it, is as irrelevant as it would be for the historian--and he, too, must make his own perspective--to explain why he has recorded some events and left others altogether unnoticed. All this is work for the dark room; it should leave no trace, or as little as may be, upon the finished picture. Criticism has suffered from few things so much as from its incurable habit of granting degrees in poetry with honours. "The highest art", it has been well said, "is the region of equals."

It must be admitted that the Restoration critics had an immoderate passion for classing authors according to their supposed rank in the scale of literary desert. A glance at 'The Battle of the Books'--a faint reflection of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns--is enough to place this beyond dispute. Dryden himself is probably as guilty as any in this matter. His parallel between Juvenal and Horace, his comparison of Homer with Virgil, are largely of the nature of an attempt to show each poet to his proper place, to determine their due order of precedence in the House of Fame. In the early days of criticism this was perhaps to be expected. Men were feeling their way to the principles; and the shortest road might naturally seem to lie through a comparative table of the men. They were right in thinking that the first step was to ascertain what qualities, and what modes of treatment, give lasting pleasure in poetry; and, to do this, they could not but turn to compare the works of individual poets. But they were wrong in supposing that they could learn anything by striking the balance between the merits of one poet, as a sum total, and the merits of another.

The fault was, no doubt, largely in the Restoration critics themselves; and it is a fault which, so long as the competitive instinct holds sway with men, will never be entirely unknown. But its hold on the men of Dryden's day was in great measure due to the influence of the French critics, and to the narrow lines which criticism had taken in France. No one can read Boileau's 'Art Poétique', no one can compare it with the corresponding 'Essay' of Pope, without feeling that the purely personal element had eaten into the heart of French criticism to a degree which could never have been natural in England, and which, even in the darkest days of English literature, has seldom been approached. But at the same time it will be felt that never has England come nearer to a merely personal treatment

of artistic questions than in the century between Dryden and Johnson; and that it was here, rather than in the adoption of any specific form of literature--rather, for instance, than in the growth of the heroic drama--that the influence of France is to be traced.

Side by side, however, with the baser sort of comparisons, we find in the Restoration critics no small use of the kind that profits and delights. Rymer's 'Remarks on the Tragedies of the Former Age' are an instance of the comparative method, in its just sense, as employed by a man of talent. The essays of Dryden abound in passages of this nature, that could only have been written by a man of genius. They may have a touch of the desire to set one form of art, or one particular poet, in array against another. But, when all abatements have been made, they remain unrivalled samples of the manner in which the comparative vein can be worked by a master spirit. To the student of English literature they have a further interest--notably, perhaps, the comparison between Juvenal and Horace and the eulogy of Shakespeare--as being among the most striking examples of that change from the Latinized style of the early Stuart writers to the short, pointed sentence commonly associated with French; the change that was inaugurated by Hobbes, but only brought to completion by Dryden.

Once again. As Dryden was among the earliest to give the comparative method its due place in English criticism, so he was the first to make systematic use of the historical method. Daniel, indeed, in a remarkable essay belonging to the early years of the century, had employed that method in a vague and partial manner. He had defended rhyme on the score of its popularity with all ages and all nations. Celts, Slavs, and Huns--Parthians and Medes and Elamites--are all pressed into the service. That is, perhaps, the first instance in which English criticism can be said to have attempted tracing a literary form through the various stages of its growth. But Daniel wrote without system and without accuracy. It was reserved for Dryden--avowedly following in the steps of the French critic Dacier--to introduce the order and the fulness of knowledge--in Dryden's case, it must be admitted, a knowledge at second hand--which are indispensable to a fruitful use of the historical method. In this sense, too--as in his use of the comparative method, as in the singular grace and aptness of his style--Dryden was a pioneer in the field of English criticism.

III. Over the century that parts Dryden from Johnson it is not well to linger. During that time criticism must be said, on the whole, to have gone back rather than to have advanced. With some reservations to be noticed later, the critics of the eighteenth century are a depressing study. Their conception of the art they professed was barren; their judgments of men and things were lamentably narrow. The more valuable elements traceable in the work of Dryden--the comparative and the historical treatment--disappear or fall into the background. We are left with little but the futile exaltation of one poet at the expense of his rivals, or the still more futile insistence upon faults, shortcomings, and absurdities. The 'Dunciad', the most marked critical work of the period, may be defended on the ground that it 'is' the Dunciad; a war waged by genius upon the fool, the pedant, and the fribble. But, none the less, it had a disastrous influence upon English criticism and English taste. It gave sanction to the habit of indiscriminate abuse; it encouraged the purely personal treatment of critical discussions. Its effects may be traced on writers even of such force as Smollett; of such genius and natural kindliness as Goldsmith. But it was on Johnson that Pope's influence made itself most keenly felt. And 'The Lives of the Poets', though not written till the movement that gave it birth had spent its force, is the most complete and the most typical record of the tendencies that shaped English literature and gave the law to English taste from the Restoration to the French Revolution: a notable instance of the fact so often observed, and by some raised to the dignity of a general law, that both in philosophy and in art, the work of the critic does not commonly begin till the creative impulse of a given period is exhausted.

What, then, was Johnson's method? and what its practical application? The method is nothing if not magisterial. It takes for granted certain fixed laws--whether the laws formulated by Aristotle, or by Horace, or the French critics, is for the moment beside the question--and passes sentence on every work of art according as it conforms to the critical decalogue or transgresses it. The fault of this method is not, as is sometimes supposed, that it assumes principles in a subject where none are to be sought; but that its principles are built on a miserably narrow and perverted basis. That there are principles of criticism, that the artist's search for beauty must be guided by some idea, is obvious enough. It can be questioned only by those who are prepared to deny the very possibility of criticism; who would reduce the task both of critic and of artist to a mere record of individual impressions. It need hardly be said that the very men who are most ready to profess such a doctrine with their lips, persistently, and rightly, give the lie to it in their deeds. No creative work, no critical judgment either is or can be put forward as a mere impression; it is the impression of a trained mind--that is, of a mind which, instinctively or as a conscious process, is guided by principles or ideas.

So far, then, as he may be held to have borne witness to the need of ideas, Johnson was clearly in the right. It was when he came to ask, What is the nature of those ideas, and how does the artist or the critic arrive at them? that he began to go astray. Throughout he assumes that the principles of art--and that, not only in their general bearing (proportion, harmony, and the like), but in their minuter details--are fixed and invariable. To him they form a kind of case-law, which is to be extracted by the learned from the works of a certain number of "correct writers", ancient and modern; and which, once established, is binding for all time both on the critic and on those he summons to his bar. In effect, this was to declare that beauty can be conceived in no other way than as it presented itself, say, to Virgil or to Pope. It was to lay the dead hand of the past upon the present and the future.

More than this. The models that lent themselves to be models, after the kind desired by Johnson, were inevitably just those it was most cramping and least inspiring to follow. They were the men who themselves wrote, to

some degree, by rule; in whom “correctness” was stronger than inspiration; who, however admirable in their own achievement, were lacking in the nobler and subtler qualities of the poet. They were not the Greeks; not even, at first hand, the Latins; though the names both of Greek and Latin were often on Johnson’s lips. They were rather the Latins as filtered through the English poets of the preceding century; the Latins in so far as they had appealed to the writers of the “Augustan age”, but no further; the Latins, as masters of satire, of declamation, and of the lighter kinds of verse. It was Latin poetry without Lucretius and Catullus, without the odes of Horace, without the higher strain of the genius of Virgil. In other words, it was poetry as conceived by Boileau or Addison-or Mr. Smith.

Yet again. In the hands of Johnson--and it was a necessary consequence of his critical method--poetry becomes more and more a mere matter of mechanism. Once admit that the greatness of a poet depends upon his success in following certain models, and it is but a short step--if indeed it be a step--further to say that he must attempt no task that has not been set him by the example of his forerunners. It is doubtless true that Johnson did not, in so many words, commit himself to this absurdity. But it is equally true that any poet, who overstepped the bounds laid down by previous writers, was likely to meet with but little mercy at his hands. Milton, Cowley, Gray--for all had the audacity to take an untrodden path in poetry--one after another are dragged up for execution. It is clear that by example, if not by precept, Johnson was prepared to “make poetry a mere mechanic art”; and Cowper was right in saying that it had become so with Pope’s successors. Indeed Johnson himself, in closing his estimate of Pope, seems half regretfully to anticipate Cowper’s verdict. “By perusing the works of Dryden, he discovered the most perfect fabrick of English verse, and habituated himself to that only which he found the best. ... New sentiments and new images others may produce; but to attempt any further improvement of versification will be dangerous. Art and diligence have now done their best, and what shall be added will be the effort of tedious toil and needless curiosity”. But Johnson failed to see that his own view of poetry led inevitably to this lame and impotent conclusion.

To adopt Johnson’s method is, in truth, to misconceive the whole nature of poetry and of poetic imagination. The ideas that have shaped the work of one poet may act as guide and spur, but can never be a rule--far less a law--to the imagination of another. The idea, as it comes to an artist, is not a law imposing itself from without; it is a seed of life and energy springing from within. This, however, was a truth entirely hidden from the eyes of Johnson and the Augustan critics. To assert it both by word and deed, both as critics and as poets, was the task of Coleridge, and of those who joined hands with Coleridge, in the succeeding generation. Apart from the undying beauty of their work as artists, this was the memorable service they rendered to poetry in England.

It remains to illustrate the method of Johnson by its practical application. As has already been said, Johnson is nothing if not a hanging judge; and it is just where originality is most striking that his sentences are the most severe. If there was one writer who might have been expected to win his favour, it was Pope; and if there is any work that bears witness to the originality of Pope’s genius, it is the imitations of Horace. These are dismissed in a disparaging sentence. There is no adequate recognition of Congreve’s brilliance as a dramatist; none of Swift’s amazing powers as a satirist. Yet all these were men who lived more or less within the range of ideas and tendencies by which Johnson’s own mind was moulded and inspired.

The case is still worse when we turn to writers of a different school. Take the poets from the Restoration to the closing years of the American war; and it is not too much to say that, with the exception of Thomson--saved perhaps by his “glossy, unfeeling diction”--there is not one of them who overstepped the bounds marked out for literary effort by the prevailing taste of the Augustan age, in its narrowest sense, without paying the price for his temerity in the sneers or reprobation of Johnson. Collins, it is true, escapes more lightly than the rest; but that is probably due to the affection and pity of his critic. Yet even Collins, perhaps the most truly poetic spirit of the century between Milton and Burns, is blamed for a “diction often harsh, unskillfully laboured, and injudiciously selected”; for “lines commonly of slow motion”; for “poetry that may sometimes extort praise, when it gives little pleasure”. The poems of Gray--an exception must be made, to Johnson’s honour, in favour of the ‘Elegy’ are slaughtered in detail; the man himself is given dog’s burial with the compendious epitaph: “A dull fellow, sir; dull in company, dull in his closet, dull everywhere”.

But most astonishing of all, as is well known, is the treatment bestowed on Milton. Of all Milton’s works, ‘Paradise Lost’ seems to have been the only one that Johnson genuinely admired. That he praises with as little of reservation as was in the nature of so stern a critic. On ‘Paradise Regained’ he is more guarded; on ‘Samson’, more guarded yet. But it is in speaking of the earlier poems that Johnson shows his hand most plainly. ‘Comus’ “is a drama in the epic style, inelegantly splendid and tediously instructive”. Of ‘Lycidas’ “the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers un-pleasing” As for the sonnets, “they deserve not any particular criticism. For of the best it can only be said that they are not bad; and perhaps only the eighth and twenty-first are truly entitled to this slender commendation.... These little pieces may be dismissed without much anxiety”.

It would be hardly worth while to record these ill-tempered judgments if they were not the natural outcome of a method which held unquestioned sway over English taste for a full century--in France for nearly two--and which, during that time, if we except Gray and his friends, was not seriously disputed by a single man of mark. The one author in whose favour the rules of “correct writing” were commonly set aside was Shakespeare; and perhaps there is no testimony to his greatness so convincing as the unwilling homage it extorted from the contemporaries of Pope, of Johnson, and of Hume. Johnson’s own notes and introductions to the separate plays are at times trifling enough; but his general preface is a solid and manly piece of work. It contrasts strangely not only with the verdicts given above, but with his jeers at ‘Chevy Chase’ --a “dull and lifeless imbecility”--at the ‘Nonne Prestes Tale’, and at the

'Knights Tale.' One more instance, and we may leave this depressing study in critical perversity. Among the great writers of Johnson's day there was none who showed a truer originality than Fielding; no man who broke more markedly with the literary superstitions of the time; none who took his own road with more sturdiness and self-reliance. This was enough for Johnson, who persistently depreciated both the man and his work. Something of this should doubtless be set down to disapproval of the free speech and readiness to allow for human frailty, which could not but give offence to a moralist so unbending as Johnson. But that will hardly account for the assertion that "Harry Fielding knew nothing but the outer shell of life"; still less for the petulant ruling that he "was a barren rascal". The truth is--and Johnson felt it instinctively--that the novel, as conceived by Fielding--the novel that gloried in painting all sides of life, and above all in drawing out the humour of its "lower spheres"--dealt a fatal blow not only at the pompous canons which the 'Rambler' was pleased to call "the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism", but also at the view which found "human life to be a state where much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed". It would be hard to say whether Johnson found more in Fielding to affront him, as pessimist or as critic. And it would be equally hard to say in which of the two characters lay the greater barrier to literary insight. Even Richardson--no less revolutionary, though in a different way, than Fielding--was only saved so as by fire; by the undying hatred which he shared with Johnson for his terrible rival. It was rather as moralist than as artist, rather for "the sentiment" than for the tragic force of his work that Richardson seems to have won his way to Johnson's heart.

Is not the evidence conclusive? Is it a harsh judgment to say that no critic so narrow, so mechanical, so hostile to originality as Johnson has ever achieved the dictatorship of English letters?

The supremacy of Johnson would have been impossible, had not the way been smoothed for it by a long succession of critics like-minded with himself. Such a succession may be traced from Swift to Addison, from Addison to Pope, and--with marked reservations--from Pope to Goldsmith. It would be unjust to charge all, or indeed any, of these with the narrowness of view betrayed in Johnson's verdicts on individual writers. To arrive at this perfection of sourness was a work of time; and the nature of Addison and Goldsmith at least was too genial to allow of any approach to it. But, with all their difference of temperament, the method of the earlier critics is hardly to be distinguished from that of Johnson. There is the same orderliness of treatment--first the fable, then the characters, lastly the sentiment and the diction; the same persistency in applying general rules to a matter which, above all others, is a law to itself; the same invincible faith in "the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism". It is this that, in spite of its readiness to admire, makes Addison's criticism of 'Paradise Lost' so dreary a study; and this that, in an evil hour, prompted Goldsmith to treat the soliloquy of Hamlet as though it were a schoolboy's exercise in rhetoric and logic.

And yet it is with Goldsmith that we come to the first dawn of better things. The carping strain and the stiffness of method, which we cannot overlook in him, were the note of his generation. The openness to new ideas, the sense of nature, the fruitful use of the historical method, are entirely his own. There had been nothing like them in our literature since Dryden. In criticism, as in creative work, Goldsmith marks the transition from the old order to the new.

Perhaps the clearest indication of this is to be found in his constant appeal to nature. In itself, as we have seen, this may mean much or little. "Nature" is a vague word; it was the battle-cry of Wordsworth, but it was also the battle-cry of Boileau. And, at first sight, it might seem to be used by Goldsmith in the narrower rather than in the wider sense. "It is the business of art", he writes, "to imitate nature, but not with a servile pencil; and to choose those attitudes and dispositions only which are beautiful and engaging." But a glance at the context will show that what Goldsmith had in mind was not "nature to advantage dressed", not nature with any adornments added by man; but nature stripped of all that to man has degrading associations; nature, to adopt the words used by Wordsworth on a kindred subject, "purified from all lasting or rational causes of dislike or disgust". It may well be that Goldsmith gave undue weight to this reservation. It may well be that he did not throw himself on nature with the unwavering constancy of Wordsworth. But, none the less, we have here--and we have it worked out in detail--the germ of the principle which, in bolder hands, gave England the Lyrical Ballads and the Essays of Lamb.

In an essay not commonly reprinted, Goldsmith, laying his finger on the one weak spot in the genius of Gray, gives the poet the memorable advice--to "study the people". And throughout his own critical work, as in his novel, his comedies, and his poems, there is an abiding sense that, without this, there is no salvation for poetry. That in itself is enough to fix an impassable barrier between Goldsmith and the official criticism of his day.

The other main service rendered by Goldsmith was his return to the historical method. It is true that his knowledge is no more at first hand, and is set out with still less system than that of Dryden a century before. But it is also true that he has a far keener sense of the strength which art may draw from history than his great forerunner. Dryden confines himself to the history of certain forms of art; Goldsmith includes the history of nations also in his view. With Dryden the past is little more than an antiquarian study; with Goldsmith it is a living fountain of inspiration for the present. The art of the past--the poetry, say, of Teutonic or Celtic antiquity--is to him an undying record of the days when man still walked hand in hand with nature. The history of the past is at once a storehouse of stirring themes ready to the hand of the artist, and the surest safeguard against both flatness and exaggeration in his work. It offers, moreover, the truest schooling of the heart, and insensibly "enlists the passions on the side of humanity". "Poetry", Byron said, "is the feeling of a former world, and future"; and to the first half of the statement Goldsmith would have heartily subscribed. For the historical method in his hands is but another aspect of the counsel he gave to Gray: "Study the people". It is an anticipation--vague, no doubt, but still unmistakable--of the spirit

which, both in France and England, gave birth to the romantic movement a generation or two later.

That zeal for the literature of the past was in the air when Goldsmith wrote is proved by works so different as those of Gray and Percy, of Chatterton and MacPherson, of Mallet and Warton. But it may be doubted whether any one of them, Gray excepted, saw the true bearing of the movement more clearly than Goldsmith, or did more to open fresh springs of thought and beauty for the poetry of the next age, if not of his own. It would be unpardonable to turn from the writers of the eighteenth century with no notice of a book which, seldom now read, is nevertheless perhaps the most solid piece of work that modern Europe had as yet to show in any branch of literary criticism. This is Burke's treatise 'On the Sublime and the Beautiful'. Few will now be prepared to accept the material basis which Burke finds for the ideas of the imagination. But none can deny the skill with which he works out his theory, nor the easy mastery with which each part is fitted into its place. The speculative power of the book and the light it throws on the deeper springs of the imagination are alike memorable. The first is not unworthy of the 'Reflections' or the 'Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs'; the second shows that fruitful study of the Bible and the poets, English and classical, to which his later writings and speeches bear witness on every page.

If the originality and depth of Burke's treatise is to be justly measured, it should be set side by side with those papers of Addison which Akenside expanded in his dismal 'Pleasures of the Imagination'. The performance of Addison, grateful though one must be to him for attempting it, is thin and lifeless. That of Burke is massive and full of suggestion. At every turn it betrays the hand of the craftsman who works with his eye upon his tools. The speculative side of criticism has never been a popular study with Englishmen, and it is no accident that one of the few attempts to deal seriously with it should have been made at the only time when philosophy was a living power among us, and when the desire to get behind the outward shows of things was keener than it has ever been before or since. But for Burke's treatise, a wide gap would have been left both in the philosophy and the criticism of the eighteenth century; and it is to be wished that later times had done more to work the vein which he so skilfully explored. As it is, the writers both of France and Germany--above all, Hegel in his 'Aesthetik'--have laboured with incomparably more effect than his own countrymen, Mr. Ruskin excepted, upon the foundations that he laid.

IV. Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets' was the last word of the school which the Restoration had enthroned; the final verdict of the supreme court which gave the law to English letters from the accession of Anne to the French Revolution. Save in the splenetic outbursts of Byron--and they are not to be taken too seriously--the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism fell silent at Johnson's death. A time of anarchy followed; anarchy 'plus' the policeman's truncheon of the 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly'.

The ill-fame of these Reviews, as they were in their pride of youth, is now so great that doubts may sometimes suggest themselves whether it can possibly be deserved. No one who feels such doubts can do better than turn to the earlier numbers; he will be forced to the conclusion that, whatever their services as the journeymen of letters and of party politics, few critics could have been so incompetent to judge of genius as the men who enlisted under the standard of Jeffrey or of Gifford. There is not, doubtless, in either Review the same iron wall of reasoned prejudice that has been noted in Johnson, but there is a plentiful lack of the clear vision and the openness to new impressions which are the first necessity of the critic. What Carlyle says of Jeffrey and the 'Edinburgh' may be taken as the substantial truth also about Gifford and the 'Quarterly', and it is the most pregnant judgment that has yet been passed upon them.

"Jeffrey may be said to have begun the rash, reckless style of criticising everything in heaven and earth by appeal to Moliere's maid: 'Do 'you' like it?' 'Don't' you like it?' a style which, in hands more and more inferior to that sound-hearted old lady and him, has since grown gradually to such immeasurable length among us; and he himself is one of the first that suffers by it. If praise and blame are to be perfected, not in the mouth of Moliere's maid only but in that of mischievous, precocious babes and sucklings, you will arrive at singular judgments by degrees."

Carlyle has much here to say of Jeffrey's "recklessness", his defiance of all rules, his appeal to the chance taste of the man in the crowd. He has much also to say of his acuteness, and the unrivalled authority of his decrees. But he is discreetly silent on their severity and short-sightedness.

Yet this is the unpardonable sin of both Reviews: that mediocrity was applauded, but that, whenever a man of genius came before them, the chances were ten to one that he would be held up to ridicule and contempt. The very first number of the 'Edinburgh' lays this down as an article of faith. Taking post on the recent appearance of 'Thalaba', the reviewer opens fire by a laboured parallel between poetry and religion. With an alteration of names it might have been written by a member of the English Church Union, or of the Holy Inquisition.

"The standards of poetry have been fixed long ago by certain inspired writers, whose authority it is no longer lawful to call in question. Many profess to be entirely devoted to poetry, who have no 'good works' to produce in support of their pretensions. The Catholic poetical Church too . . . has given birth to an infinite variety of heresies and errors, the followers of which have hated and persecuted each other as heartily as other bigots."

Then, turning to business, the writer proceeds to apply his creed to Southey and all his works, not forgetting the works also of his friends. "The author belongs to a sect of poets that has established itself in this country within these ten or twelve years"--it would be hard to say for whose benefit in particular this date was taken--"and is looked upon as one of its chief champions and apostles". "The doctrines of this sect"--the Reviewer continues, with an eye upon the Alien Act--"are of German origin, or borrowed from the great apostle of Geneva". Rousseau is then "named" for expulsion, together with a miscellaneous selection of his following: Schiller and Kotzebue (the next number includes

Kant under the anathema), Quarles and Donne, Ambrose Phillips and Cowper--perhaps the most motley crew that was ever brought together for excommunication. It is not, however, till the end of the essay that the true root of bitterness between the critic and his victims is suffered fully to appear. "A splenetic and idle discontent with the existing institutions of society seems to be at the bottom of all their serious and peculiar sentiments." In other words, the 'Edinburgh' takes up the work of the 'Anti-Jacobin'; with no very good grace Jeffrey affects to sit in the seat of Canning and of Frere.

So much for the "principles" of the new venture; principles, it will be seen, which appear to rest rather upon a hatred of innovation in general than upon any reasoned code, such as that of Johnson or the "Aristotelian laws", in particular. On that point, it must be clearly realized, Carlyle was in the right. It is that which marks the essential difference of the Reviewers--we can hardly say their advance--as against Johnson.

We may now turn to watch the Reviewers, knife in hand, at the dissecting-table. For the twenty-five years that followed the foundation of the 'Edinburgh', England was more full of literary genius than it had been at any time since the age of Elizabeth. And it is not too much to say that during that period there was not one of the men, now accepted as among the chief glories of English literature, who did not fall under the lash of one, or both, of the Reviews. The leading cases will suffice.

And first, the famous attack--not altogether undeserved, it must be allowed--of the 'Edinburgh' upon Byron. "The poetry of this young lord belongs to the class which neither gods nor men are said to permit", and so on for two or three pages of rather vulgar and heartless merriment at the young lord's expense. The answer to the sneer, as all the world knows, was 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers'. The author of the article had reason to be proud of his feat. Never before did pertness succeed in striking such unexpected fire from genius. And it is only fair to say that the Review took its beating like a gentleman. A few years later, and the 'Edinburgh' was among the warmest champions of the "English Bard". It was reserved for Southey, a pillar of the 'Quarterly', to rank him as the "Goliath" of the "Satanic school".

Let us now turn to the 'Quarterly' upon Keats. 'Endymion', in spite of the noble self-criticism of its preface, is denounced as "Cockney poetry"--a stupid and pointless vulgarism--and is branded as clothing "the most incongruous ideas in the most uncouth language". The author is dismissed with the following amenities: "Being bitten by Leigh Hunt's insane criticism, he more than rivals the insanity of his poetry"; and we are half-surprised not to find him told, as he was by 'Blackwood', to "go back to the shop, Mr. John; back to the plasters, pills, and ointment-boxes".

With this insolence it is satisfactory to contrast the verdict of the 'Edinburgh': "We have been exceedingly struck with the genius these poems--'Endymion', 'Lamia', 'Isabella', 'The Eve of St. Agnes', &c.--display, and the spirit of poetry which breathes through all their extravagance. . . . They are at least as full of genius as absurdity." Of 'Hyperion' the Reviewer says: "An original character and distinct individuality is bestowed upon the poet's mythological persons. . . . We cannot advise its completion. For, though there are passages of some force and grandeur, it is sufficiently obvious that the subject is too far removed from all the sources of human interest to be successfully treated by any modern author". A blundering criticism, which, however, may be pardoned in virtue of the discernment, not to say the generosity, of the foregoing estimate.

It would have been well had the 'Edinburgh' always written in this vein. But Wordsworth was a sure stumbling-block to the sagacity of his critics, and he certainly never failed to call forth the insolence and flippancy of Jeffrey. Two articles upon him remain as monuments to the incompetence of the 'Edinburgh'; the first prompted by the Poems of 1807, the second by the 'Excursion'.

The former pronounces sentence roundly at the very start: "Mr. Wordsworth's diction has nowhere any pretence to elegance or dignity, and he has scarcely ever condescended to give the grace of correctness or dignity to his versification". From this sweeping condemnation four poems--'Brougham Castle', and the sonnets on Venice, Milton, and Bonaparte--are generously excepted. But, as though astonished at his own moderation, the reviewer quickly proceeds to deal slaughter among the rest. Of the closing lines of 'Resolution and Independence' he writes: "We defy Mr. Wordsworth's bitterest enemy to produce anything at all parallel to this from any collection of English poetry, or even from the specimens of his friend, Mr. Southey". Of the stanzas to the sons of Burns, "never was anything more miserable". 'Alice Fell' is "trash"; 'Yarrow Unvisited', "tedious and affected". The lines from the 'Ode to Duty'.

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong,
are "utterly without meaning". The poem on the 'Cuckoo' is "absurd". The 'Ode on Immortality' is "the most illegible and unintelligible part of the whole publication". "We venture to hope that there is now an end of this folly."

But the hope is doomed to disappointment. The publication of the 'Excursion' a few years later finds the reviewer still equal to his task. "This will never do", he begins in a fury; "the case of Mr. Wordsworth is now manifestly hopeless. We give him up as altogether incurable and beyond the power of criticism." The story of Margaret, indeed, though "it abounds, of course, with mawkish sentiment and details of preposterous minuteness, has considerable pathos". But the other passage which one would have thought must have gone home to every heart--that which describes the communing of the wanderer with nature--is singled out for ridicule; while the whole poem is judged to display "a puerile ambition of singularity, grafted on an unlucky predilection for truisms".

It would be idle to maintain that in some of these slashing verdicts--criticisms they cannot be called--the

reviewer does not fairly hit the mark. But these are chance strokes; and they are dealt, as the whole attack is conceived, in the worst style of the professional swash-buckler. Yet, low as is the deep they sound, a lower deep is opened by the 'Quarterly' in its article on Shelley; an article which bears unmistakable marks of having been written under the inspiration, if not by the hand, of Southey.

It is impossible to know anything about Southey without feeling that, both in character and in intellect, he had many of the qualities that go to make an enlightened critic. But his fine nature was warped by a strain of bigotry; and he had what, even in a man who otherwise gave conclusive proof of sincerity and whole-heartedness, must be set down as a strong touch of the Pharisee. After every allowance has been made, no feeling other than indignation is possible at the tone which he thought fit to adopt towards Shelley.

He opens the assault, and it is well that he does so, by an acknowledgment that the versification of the 'Revolt of Islam', the 'corpus delicti' at that moment under the scalpel, is "smooth and harmonious", and that the poem is "not without beautiful passages, free from errors of taste". But the "voice of warning", as he himself would too generously have called it, is not long in making itself heard. "Mr. Shelley, with perfect deliberation and the steadiest perseverance, perverts all the gifts of his nature, and does all the injury, both public and private, which his faculties enable him to perpetrate. . . .He draws largely on the rich stores of another mountain poet, to whose religious mind it must be matter of perpetual sorrow to see the philosophy, which comes pure and holy from his pen, degraded and perverted by this miserable crew of atheists and pantheists."

So far, perhaps, the writer may claim not to have outstepped the traditional limits of theological hatred. For what follows there is not even that poor excuse. "If we might withdraw the veil of his private life and tell what we now know about him, it would be indeed a disgusting picture that we should exhibit, but it would be an unanswerable comment on our text. . .Mr. Shelley is too young, too ignorant, too inexperienced, and too vicious to undertake the task of reforming any world but the little world within his own breast."

Apart from their truculence, the early numbers of the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly' are memorable for two reasons in the history of English literature. They mark the downfall of the absolute standard assumed by Johnson and others to hold good in criticism. And they led the way, slowly indeed but surely, to the formation of a general interest in literature, which, sooner or later, could not but be fatal to their own haphazard dogmatism. By their very nature they were an appeal to the people; and, like other appeals of the kind, they ended in a revolution.

Of the men who fixed the lines on which this revolution was to run, four stand out taller from the shoulders upwards than their fellows. These are Coleridge, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Carlyle. The critical work of all four belongs to the first thirty years or so of the present century; and of the four it is probable that Carlyle, by nature certainly the least critical, had the greatest influence in changing the current of critical ideas. Space forbids any attempt to treat their work in detail. All that can be done is to indicate what were the shortcomings of English criticism as it came into their hands, and how far and in what manner they modified its methods and its aims.

Till the beginning of the present century, criticism in England had remained a very simple thing. When judgment had once been passed, for good or evil, on an individual work or an individual writer, the critic was apt to suppose that nothing further could reasonably be expected of him. The comparative method, foreshadowed but only foreshadowed by Dryden, had not been carried perceptibly further by Dryden's successors. The historical method was still more clearly in its infancy. The connection between the two, the unity of purpose which alone gives significance to either, was hardly as yet suspected.

It may be said--an English critic of the eighteenth century would undoubtedly have said--that these, after all, are but methods; better, possibly, than other methods; but still no more than means to an end-- the eternal end of criticism, which is to appraise and to classify. The view is disputable enough. It leaves out of sight all that criticism--the criticism of literature and art--has done to throw light upon the dark places of human thought and history, upon the growth and subtle transformations of spiritual belief, upon the power of reason and imagination to mould the shape of outward institutions. All these things are included in the scope of the historical and comparative methods; and all of them stand entirely apart from the need to judge or classify the works of individual poets.

But, for the moment, such wider considerations may be put aside, and the objection weighed on its own merits. It must then be answered that, without comparison and without the appeal to history, even to judge and classify reasonably would be impossible; and hence that, however much we narrow the scope of criticism, these two methods--or rather, two aspects of the same method--must still find place within its range. For, failing them, the critic in search of a standard--and without some standard or criterion there can be no such thing as criticism--is left with but two possible alternatives. He must either appeal to some absolute standard--the rules drawn from the "classical writers", in a sense wider or narrower, as the case may be; or he must decide everything by his own impression of the moment, eked out by the "appeal to Moliere's maid". The latter is the negation of all criticism. The former, spite of itself, is the historical method, but the historical method applied in an utterly arbitrary and irrational way. The former was the method of Johnson; the latter, of the 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly'. Each in turn, as we have seen, had ludicrously broken down.

In the light of recent inventions, it might have been expected that some attempt would be made to limit the task of the critic to a mere record of his individual impressions. This, in fact, would only have been to avow, and to give the theory of what the 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly' had already reduced to practice. But the truth is that the men of that day were not strong in such fine-spun speculations. It was a refinement from which even Lamb, who loved a paradox as well as any man, would have shrunk with playful indignation.

It was in another direction that Coleridge and his contemporaries sought escape from the discredit with which criticism was threatened. This was by changing the issue on which the discussion was to be fought. In its most general form, the problem of criticism amounts to this: What is the nature of the standard to be employed in literary judgments? Hitherto—at least to the Reviewers—the question may be said to have presented itself in the following shape: Is the standard to be sought within or without the mind of the critic? Is it by his own impression, or by the code handed down from previous critics, that in the last resort the critic should be guided? In the hands of Coleridge and others, this was replaced by the question: Is the touchstone of excellence to be found within the work of the poet, or outside of it? Are we to judge of a given work merely by asking: Is it clearly conceived and consistently carried out? Or are we bound to consider the further question: Is the original conception just, and capable of artistic treatment; and is the workmanship true to the vital principles of poetry? The change is significant. It makes the poet, not the critic, master of the situation. It implies that the critic is no longer to give the law to the poet; but that, in some sense more or less complete, he must begin, if not by putting himself in the place of the individual writer as he was when at work on the individual poem, at least by taking upon himself--by making his own, as far as may be--what he may conceive to be the essential temperament of the poet.

This, indeed, is one of the first things to strike us in passing from the old criticism to the new. The ‘Edinburgh’ and ‘Quarterly’ plunge straight into the business of the moment. From the first instant—with “This will never do”—the Reviewer poses as the critic, or rather as the accuser. Not so Coleridge and Hazlitt. Like the ‘Edinburgh’ and ‘Quarterly’, they undertake to discourse on individual poets. Unlike them, each opens his enquiry with the previous question—a question that seems to have found no lodgment in the mind of the Reviewers—What is poetry? Further than this. Hazlitt, in a passage of incomparably greater force than any recorded utterance of Coleridge, makes it his task to trace poetry to the deepest and most universal springs of human nature; asserts boldly that it is poetry which, in the strictest sense, is “the life of all of us”; and calls on each one of us to assert his birthright by enjoying it. It is in virtue of the poet latent in him, that the plain man has the power to become a critic.

Starting then from the question as just stated: Is it within the mind of the individual poet, or without it, that the standard of judgment should be sought?—neither Coleridge nor Hazlitt could have any doubt as to the answer. It is not, they would tell us, in the individual work but in the nature of poetry—of poetry as written large in the common instincts of all men no less than in the particular achievement of exceptional artists—that the test of poetic beauty must be discovered. The opposite view, doubtless, finds some countenance in the precepts, if not the example, of Goethe. But, when pressed to extremes, it is neither more nor less than the impressionist conception of criticism transferred to the creative faculty; and, like its counterpart, is liable to the objection that the impression of one poet, so long as it is sincerely rendered, is as good as the impression of another. It is the abdication of art, as the other is the abdication of criticism.

Yet Hazlitt also—for, leaving Coleridge, we may now confine ourselves to him—is open to attack. His fine critical powers were marred by the strain of bitterness in his nature. And the result is that his judgment on many poets, and notably the poets of his own day, too often sounds like an intelligent version of the ‘Edinburgh’ or the ‘Quarterly’. Or, to speak more accurately, he betrays some tendency to return to principles which, though assuredly applied in a more generous spirit, are at bottom hardly to be distinguished from the principles of Johnson. He too has his “indispensable laws”, or something very like them. He too has his bills of exclusion and his list of proscriptions. The poetry of earth, he more than suspects, is for ever dead; after Milton, no claimant is admitted to anything more substantial than a courtesy title. This, no doubt, was in part due to his morose temper; but it was partly also the result of the imperfect method with which he started.

The fault of his conception—and it was that which determined his method—is to be too absolute. It allows too much room to poetry in the abstract; too little to the ever-varying temperament of the individual poet. And even that is perhaps too favourable a statement of the case. His idea of poetry may in part be drawn—and its strength is to have been partly drawn—direct from life and nature. But it is also taken, as from the nature of the case it must be with all of us, from the works of particular poets. And, in spite of his appeal to Dante and the Bible, it is clear that, in framing it, he was guided too exclusively by his loving study of the earlier English writers, from Chaucer to Milton. The model, so framed, is laid with heavy hand upon all other writers, who naturally fare ill in the comparison. Is it possible to account otherwise for his disparagement of Moliere, or his grudging praise of Wordsworth and of Coleridge?

It was here that Carlyle came in to redress the balance. From interests, in their origin perhaps less purely literary than have moved any man who has exercised a profound influence on literature, Carlyle was led to quicken the sense of poetic beauty, and by consequence to widen the scope of criticism, more than any writer of his day. He may have sought German literature more for its matter than for its artistic beauty—here, too, he brought a new, if in some ways a dangerous, element into criticism—but neither he nor his readers could study it, least of all could they study the work of Goethe, without awakening to a whole world of imagination and beauty, to which England had hitherto been dead. With all its shortcomings, the discovery of German literature was a greater revelation than any made to Europe since the classical Renaissance.

The shock—for it was nothing less—came at a singularly happy moment. The blow, given by Carlyle as critic, was closely followed up by the French ‘Romantiques’, as creative artists. Nothing could well have been more alien to English taste, as understood by the ‘Edinburgh’ and ‘Quarterly’, than the early works, or indeed any works, of Hugo and those who owned him for chief—if it were not the works of Goethe and the countrymen of Goethe. Different as

these were from each other, they held common ground in uniting the most opposite prejudices of Englishmen against them. The sarcasms of Thackeray on the French writers speak to this no less eloquently than the fluent flippancies of De Quincey upon the Germans. Yet, in the one case as in the other--thanks, in no small measure, to Matthew Arnold and Mr. Swinburne--genius, in the long run, carried the day. And the same history has been repeated, as the literatures of Russia and of Scandinavia have each in turn been brought within our ken.

These discoveries have all fallen within little more than half a century since Carlyle, by the irony of fate, reviewed Richter and the 'State of German Literature' in the pages of the 'Edinburgh'. And their result has been to modify the standards of taste and criticism in a thousand ways. They have opened our eyes to aspects of poetry that we should never otherwise have suspected, and unveiled to us fields of thought, as well as methods of artistic treatment which, save by our own fault, must both have widened and deepened our conception of poetry. That is the true meaning of the historical method. The more we broaden our vision, the less is our danger of confounding poetry, which is the divine genius of the whole world, with the imperfect, if not misshapen idols of the tribe, the market-place and the cave.

Of this conquest Carlyle must in justice be reckoned as the pioneer. For many years he stood almost single-handed as the champion of German thought and German art against the scorn or neglect of his countrymen. But he knew that he was right, and was fully conscious whither the path he had chosen was to lead. Aware that much in the work of Goethe would seem "faulty" to many, he forestalls the objection at the outset.

"To see rightly into this matter, to determine with any infallibility whether what we call a fault 'is' in very deed a fault, we must previously have settled two points, neither of which may be so readily settled. First, we must have made plain to ourselves what the poet's aim really and truly was, how the task he had to do stood before his own eye, and how far, with such means as it afforded him, he has fulfilled it. Secondly, we must have decided whether and how far this aim, this task of his accorded--not with 'us' and our individual crotchets, and the crotchets of our little senate where we give or take the law--but with human nature and the nature of things at large; with the universal principles of poetic beauty, not as they stand written in our text-books, but in the hearts and imaginations of all men. Does the answer in either case come out unfavourable; was there an inconsistency between the means and the end, a discordance between the end and the truth, there is a fault; was there not, there is no fault."

Nothing could ring clearer than this. No man could draw the line more accurately between the tendency to dispense with principles and the tendency to stereotype them, which are the twin dangers of the critic. But it is specially important to note Carlyle's relation, in this matter, to Hazlitt. He insists with as much force as Hazlitt upon the need of basing all poetry on "human nature and the nature of things at large"; upon the fact that its principles are written "in the hearts and imaginations of all men". But, unlike Hazlitt, he bids us also consider what the aim of the individual poet was, and how far he has taken the most fitting means to reach it. In other words, he allows, as Hazlitt did not allow, for the many-sidedness of poetry, and the infinite variety of poetic genius. And, just because he does so, he is able to give a deeper meaning to "nature" and the universal principles of imagination than Hazlitt, with all his critical and reflective brilliance was in a position to do. Hazlitt is too apt to confine "nature" to the nature of Englishmen in general and, in his weaker moments, of Hazlitt in particular. Carlyle makes an honest attempt to bound it only by the universal instincts of man, and the "everlasting reason" of the world. Thus, in Carlyle's conception, "it is the essence of the poet to be new"; it is his mission "to wrench us from our old fixtures"; for it is only by so doing that he can show us some aspect of nature or of man's heart that was hidden from us before. The originality of the poet, the impossibility of binding him by the example of his forerunners, is the necessary consequence of the infinity of truth.

That Carlyle saw this, and saw it so clearly, is no doubt partly due to a cause, of which more must be said directly; to his craving for ideas. But it was in part owing to his hearty acceptance of the historical method. Both as critic and as historian, he knew--at that time, no man so well--that each nation has its own genius; and justly pronounced the conduct of that nation which "isolates itself from foreign influence, regards its own modes as so many laws of nature, and rejects all that is different as unworthy even of examination", to be "pedantry". This was the first, and perhaps the most fruitful consequence that he drew from the application of historical ideas to literature. They enlarged his field of comparison; and, by so doing, they gave both width and precision to his definition of criticism.

But there is another--and a more usual, if a narrower--sense of the historical method; and here, too, Carlyle was a pioneer. He was among the first in our country to grasp the importance of studying the literature of a nation, as a whole, and from its earliest monuments, its mythological and heroic legends, downwards to the present. The year 1831--a turning-point in the mental history of Carlyle, for it was also the year in which 'Sartor Resartus' took shape "among the mountain solitudes"--was largely devoted to Essays on the history of German literature, of which one, that on the 'Nibelungenlied', is specially memorable. And some ten years later (1840) he again took up the theme in the first of his lectures on Heroes, which still remains the most enlightening, because the most poetic, account of the primitive Norse faith, or rather successive layers of faith, in our language. But what mainly concerns us here is that Carlyle, in this matter as in others, had clearly realized and as clearly defines the goal which the student, in this case the student of literary history, should set before his eyes.

"A History of any national Poetry would form, taken in its complete sense, one of the most arduous enterprises any writer could engage in. Poetry, were it the rudest, so it be sincere, is the attempt which man makes to render his existence harmonious, the utmost he can do for that end; it springs, therefore, from his whole feelings, opinions,

activity, and takes its character from these. It may be called the music of his whole manner of being; and, historically considered, is the test how far Music, or Freedom, existed therein; how the feeling of Love, of Beauty, and Dignity, could be elicited from that peculiar situation of his, and from the views he there had of Life and Nature, of the Universe, internal and external. Hence, in any measure to understand the Poetry, to estimate its worth and historical meaning, we ask, as a quite fundamental inquiry: What that situation was? Thus the History of a nation's Poetry is the essence of its History, political, economic, scientific, religious. With all these the complete Historian of a national Poetry will be familiar; the national physiognomy, in its finest traits and through its successive stages of growth, will be dear to him: he will discern the grand spiritual Tendency of each period, what was the highest Aim and Enthusiasm of mankind in each, and how one epoch naturally evolved itself from the other. He has to record the highest Aim of a nation, in its successive directions and developments; for by this the Poetry of the nation modulates itself; this 'is' the Poetry of the nation."

Never has the task of the literary historian been more accurately defined than in this passage; and never do we feel so bitterly the gulf between the ideal and the actual performance, at which more than one man of talent has since tried his hand, as when we read it. It strikes perhaps the first note of Carlyle's lifelong war against "Dryasdust". But it contains at least two other points on which it is well for us to pause.

The first is the inseparable bond which Carlyle saw to exist between the poetry of a nation and its history; the connection which inevitably follows from the fact that both one and the other are the expression of its character. This is a vein of thought that was first struck by Vico and by Montesquieu; but it was left for the German philosophers, in particular Fichte and Hegel, to see its full significance; and Carlyle was the earliest writer in this country to make it his own. It is manifest that the connection between the literature and the history of a nation may be taken from either side. We may illustrate its literature from its history, or its history from its literature. It is on the necessity of the former study that Carlyle dwells in the above. And in the light of later exaggerations, notably those of Taine, it is well to remember, what Carlyle himself would have been the last man to forget, that no man of genius is the creature of his time or his surroundings; and, consequently, that when we have mastered all the circumstances, in Carlyle's phrase the whole "situation", of the poet, we are still only at the beginning of our task. We have still to learn what his genius made out of its surroundings, and what the eye of the poet discovered in the world of traditional belief; in other words, what it was that made him a poet, what it was that he saw and to which all the rest were blind. We have studied the soil; we have yet to study the tree that grew from it and overshadows it.

In reversing the relation, in reading history by the light of literature, the danger is not so great. The man of genius may, and does, see deeper than his contemporaries; but, for that very reason, he is a surer guide to the tendencies of his time than they. He is above and beyond his time; but, just in so far as he is so, he sees over it and through it. As Shakespeare defined it, his "end, both at the first and now, was and is... to show the very age and body of the time his form and pressure". Some allowance must doubtless be made for the individuality of the poet; for the qualities in which he stands aloof from his time, and in which, therefore, he must not be taken to reflect it. But to make such allowance is a task not beyond the skill of the practised critic; and many instances suggest themselves in which it has, more or less successfully, been done. Witness not a few passages in Michelet's 'Histoire de France', and some to be found in the various works of Ranke. Witness, again, Hegel's illustration of the Greek conception of the family from the 'Antigone' and the 'Oedipus' of Sophocles; or, if we may pass to a somewhat different field, his "construction" of the French Revolution from the religious and metaphysical ideas of Rousseau.

So far as it employs literature to give the key to the outward history of a nation or to the growth of its spiritual faith, it is clear that the historical method ceases to be, in the strict sense of the word, a literary instrument. It implies certainly that a literary judgment has been passed; but, once passed, that judgment is used for ends that lie altogether apart from the interests of literature. But it is idle to consider that literature loses caste by lending itself to such a purpose. It would be wiser to say that it gains by anything that may add to its fruitfulness and instructiveness. In any case, and whether it pleases us or no, this is one of the things that the historical method has done for literature; and neither Carlyle, nor any other thinker of the century, would have been minded to disavow it.

This brings us to the second point that calls for remark in the foregoing quotation from Carlyle. Throughout he assumes that the matter of the poet is no less important than his manner. And here again he dwells on an aspect of literature that previous, and later, critics have tended to throw into the shade. That Carlyle should have been led to assert, and even at times to exaggerate, the claims of thought in imaginative work was inevitable; and that, not only from his temperament, but from those principles of his teaching that we have already noticed. If the poetry of a nation be indeed the expression of its spiritual aims, then it is clear that among those aims must be numbered its craving to make the world intelligible to itself, and to comprehend the working of God both within man and around him. Not that Carlyle shows any disposition to limit "thought" to its more abstract forms; on the contrary, it is on the sense of "music, love, and beauty" that he specially insists. What he does demand is that these shall be not merely outward adornments, but the instinctive utterance of a deeper harmony within; that they shall be such as not merely to furnish a languid mind with fantastic shows and indolent emotions, but to incorporate the everlasting reason of man in forms visible to his sense, and suitable to it". The "reason" is no less necessary to poetry than its sensible form; and whether its utterance be direct or indirect, that is a matter for the genius of the individual poet to decide. 'Gott und Welt', we may be sure Carlyle would have said, is poetry as legitimate as 'Der Erlkonig' or the songs of Mignon.

In this connection he more than once appeals to the doctrine of Fichte, one of the few writers whom he was

willing to recognize as his teachers. "According to Fichte, there is a 'divine idea' pervading the visible universe; which visible universe is indeed but its symbol and sensible manifestation, having in itself no meaning, or even true existence independent of it. To the mass of men this divine idea of the world lies hidden; yet to discern it, to seize it, and live wholly in it, is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom; and the end, therefore, of all spiritual effort in every age. Literary men are the appointed interpreters of this divine idea; a perpetual priesthood, we might say, standing forth, generation after generation, as the dispensers and living types of God's everlasting wisdom, to show it in their writings and actions, in such particular form as their own particular times require it in. For each age, by the law of its nature, is different from every other age, and demands a different representation of the divine idea, the essence of which is the same in all; so that the literary man of one century is only by mediation and reinterpretation applicable to the wants of another."

The particular form of Fichte's teaching may still sound unfamiliar enough. But in substance it has had the deepest influence on the aims and methods of criticism; and, so far as England is concerned, this is mainly due to the genius of Carlyle. Compare the criticism of the last century with that of the present, and we at once see the change that has come over the temper and instincts of Englishmen in this matter.

When Johnson, or the reviewers of the next generation, quitted—as they seldom did quit—the ground of external form and regularity and logical coherence, it was only to ask: Is this work, this poem or this novel, in conformity with the traditional conventions of respectability, is it such as can be put into the hands of boys and girls? To them this was the one ground on which the matter of literature, as apart from the beggarly elements of its form, could come under the cognizance of the critic. And this narrowness, a narrowness which belonged at least in equal measure to the official criticism of the French, naturally begot a reaction almost as narrow as itself. The cry of "art for art's sake", a cry raised in France at the moment when Carlyle was beginning his work in England, must be regarded as a protest against the moralizing bigotry of the classical school no less than against its antiquated formalities. The men who raised it were themselves not free from the charge of formalism; but the forms they worshipped were at least those inspired by the spontaneous genius of the artist, not the mechanical rules inherited from the traditions of the past. Nor, whatever may be the case with those who have taken it up in our own day, must the cry be pressed too rigorously against the men of 1830. The very man, on whom it was commonly fathered, was known to disavow it; and certainly in his own works, in their burning humanity and their "passion for reforming the world", was the first to set it at defiance.

The moralist and the formalist still make their voice heard, and will always do so. But since Carlyle wrote, it is certain that a wider, a more fruitful, view of criticism has gained ground among us. And, if it be asked where lies the precise difference between such a view and that which satisfied the critics of an earlier day, the answer must be, that we are no longer contented to rest upon the outward form of a work of art, still less upon its conventional morality. We demand to learn what is the idea, of which the outward form is the harmonious utterance; and which, just because the form is individual, must itself too have more or less of originality and power. We are resolved to know what is the artist's peculiar fashion of conceiving life, what is his insight, that which he has to teach us of God and man and nature. "Poetry", said Wordsworth, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all Science." And Wordsworth is echoed by Shelley. But it is again to Carlyle that we must turn for the explicit application of these ideas to criticism:--

"Criticism has assumed a new form...; it proceeds on other principles, and proposes to itself a higher aim. The grand question is not now a question concerning the qualities of diction, the coherence of metaphors, the fitness of sentiments, the general logical truth, in a work of art, as it was some half-century ago among most critics; neither is it a question mainly of a psychological sort, to be answered by discovering and delineating the peculiar nature of the poet from his poetry, as is usual with the best of our own critics at present: but it is—not indeed exclusively, but inclusively of those two other questions—properly and ultimately a question on the essence and peculiar life of the poetry itself. The first of these questions, as we see it answered, for instance, in the criticisms of Johnson and Kames, relates, strictly speaking, to the 'garment' of poetry: the second, indeed, to its 'body' and material existence, a much higher point; but only the last to its 'soul' and spiritual existence, by which alone can the body... be 'informed' with significance and rational life. The problem is not now to determine by what mechanism Addison composed sentences and struck out similitudes; but by what far finer and more mysterious mechanism Shakespeare organized his dramas, and gave life and individuality to his Ariel and his Hamlet? Wherein lies that life; how have they attained that shape and individuality? Whence comes that empyrean fire, which irradiates their whole being, and pierces, at least in starry gleams, like a diviner thing, into all hearts? Are these dramas of his not verisimilar only, but true; nay, truer than reality itself, since the essence of unmixed reality is bodied forth in them under more expressive symbols? What is this unity of theirs; and can our deeper inspection discern it to be indivisible, and existing by necessity, because each work springs, as it were, from the general elements of all thought, and grows up therefrom into form and expansion by its own growth? Not only who was the poet, and how did he compose; but what and how was the poem, and why was it a poem and not rhymed eloquence, creation and not figured passion? These are the questions for the critic." And, a few pages later: "As an instance we might refer to Goethe's criticism of Hamlet.... This truly is what may be called the poetry of criticism: for it is in some sort also a creative art; aiming, at least, to reproduce under a different shape the existing product of the poet; painting to the intellect what already lay painted to the heart and the imagination."

Instances of criticism, conceived in this spirit, are unhappily still rare. But some of Coleridge's on Shakespeare,

and some of Lamb's on the Plays of the Elizabethan Dramatists—in particular 'The Duchess of Malfi' and 'The Broken Heart'—may fairly be ranked among them. So, and with still less of hesitation, may Mr. Ruskin's rendering of the 'Last Judgment' of Tintoret, and Mr. Pater's studies on Lionardo, Michaelangelo, and Giorgione. Of these, Mr. Pater's achievement is probably the most memorable; for it is an attempt, and an attempt of surprising power and subtlety, to reproduce not merely the effect of a single poem or picture, but the imaginative atmosphere, the spiritual individuality, of the artist. In a sense still higher than would be true even of the work done by Lamb and Ruskin, it deserves the praise justly given by Carlyle to the masterpiece of Goethe; it is "the very poetry of criticism".

We have now reviewed the whole circle traversed by criticism during the present century, and are in a position to define its limits and extent. We have seen that a change of method was at once the cause and indication of a change in spirit and in aim. The narrow range of the eighteenth century was enlarged on the one hand by the study of new literatures, and on the other hand by that appeal to history, and that idea of development which has so profoundly modified every field of thought and knowledge. In that lay the change of method. And this, in itself, was enough to suggest a wider tolerance, a greater readiness to make allowance for differences of taste, whether as between nation and nation or as between period and period, than had been possible for men whose view was practically limited to Latin literature and to such modern literatures as were professedly moulded upon the Latin. With such diversity of material, the absolute standard, absurd enough in any case, became altogether impossible to maintain. It was replaced by the conception of a common instinct for beauty, modified in each nation by the special circumstances of its temperament and history.

But even this does not cover the whole extent of the revolution in critical ideas. Side by side with a more tolerant—and, it may be added, a keener—judgment of artistic form, came a clearer sense of the inseparable connection between form and matter, and the impossibility of comprehending the form, if it be taken apart from the matter, of a work of art. This, too, was in part the natural effect of the historical method, one result of which was to establish a closer correspondence between the thought of a nation and its art than had hitherto been suspected. But it was in part also a consequence of the intellectual and spiritual revolution of which Rousseau was the herald and which, during fifty years, found in German philosophy at once its strongest inspiration and its most articulate expression. Men were no longer satisfied to explain to themselves what Carlyle calls the "garment" and the "body" of art; they set themselves to pierce through these to the soul and spirit within. They instinctively felt that the art which lives is the art that gives man something to live by; and that, just because its form is more significant than other of man's utterances, it must have a deeper significance also in substance and in purport. Of this purport 'Criticism of life'—the phrase suggested by one who was at once a poet and a critic—is doubtless an unhappy, because a pedantic definition; and it is rather creation of life, than the criticism of it, that art has to offer. But it must be life in all its fullness and variety; as thought, no less than as action; as energy, no less than as beauty—as power, as love, as influencing soul.

This is the mission of art; and to unfold its working in the art of all times and of all nations, to set it forth by intuition, by patient reason, by every means at his command, is the function of the critic. To have seen this, and to have marked out the way for its performance, is not the least among the services rendered by Carlyle to his own generation and to ours. Later critics can hardly be said to have yet filled out the design that he laid. They have certainly not gone beyond it.

Literary Theory

Introduction

Literary theory is the theory (or the philosophy) of the interpretation of literature and literary criticism. Its history begins with classical Greek poetics and rhetoric and includes, since the 18th century, aesthetics and hermeneutics. In the 20th century, "theory" has become an umbrella term for a variety of scholarly approaches to reading texts, most of which are informed by various strands of Continental philosophy.

Studies in literature in universities in the last two decades have been marked by the growing interest in and bitter division over various approaches to Literary Theory. Many Departments have become divided between "theory people" and opponents who see themselves as defending the traditional values central to the culture against Theory's perceived anti-humanism. Literary Theory is part of a widespread movement in the culture which has affected a number of disciplines, occasioning similar disputes in some, a movement which has explored and elucidated the complexities of meaning, textuality and interpretation. Literary Theory is not a single enterprise but a set of related concepts and practices—most importantly deconstruction, post-Althusserian ideological or 'political' criticism, post-Lacanian psychoanalytic criticism, New Historicist or 'cultural' criticism, some reader-response criticism and much feminist criticism.

There have always been literary theories – about how literature works, what meaning is, what it is to be an author and so forth. The central interpretive practices in force and in power in the academy which are being challenged by Theory were themselves revolutionary, theory-based practices which became the norm. The two main critical practices in the mid portion of the century have been the formalist tradition, or 'New Criticism', which sees a text as a relatively self-enclosed meaning-production system which develops enormous signifying power through its formal properties and through its conflicts, ambiguities and complexities, and the Arnoldian humanist tradition exemplified most clearly in the work of F. R. Leavis and his followers, which concentrates evaluatively on the capacity of the author to represent moral experience concretely and compellingly. Many readers have in practice combined the values and methodologies of these traditions, different as their theoretical bases are.

Contemporary theory: the issues at stake

Theories and interpretive practices change with time, reflecting changing world-views and uses of literature, and each theoretical perspective tends to find fault with the one before – apparently a normal evolutionary pattern, an orderly changing of the paradigm guard, the child rebelling against the parent as a way of proclaiming its identity. Literary Theory challenges this orderly developmental premise, suggesting that this continual cultural change reflects an inherent instability, fault lines in cultural imagination which demonstrate the impossibility of any certain meaning which could have any ultimate claim on us.

Contemporary Literary Theory is marked by a number of premises, of which nine are presented here, although not all of the theoretical approaches share or agree on all of them.

1. Meaning is assumed, in Saussure's seminal contribution, to be created by difference, not by "presence" (the identification of the sign with the object of meaning). A word means in that it differs from other words in the same meaning-area, just as a phoneme is registered not by its sound but by its difference from other sound segments. There is no meaning in any stable or absolute sense, only chains of differences from other meanings.
2. Words themselves are polysemic (they have multiple meanings) and their meaning is over-determined (they have more meaning potential than is exercised in any usage instance). They thus possess potential excess meanings. As well, rhetorical constructions enable sentences to mean more than their grammar would allow – irony is an example. Language always means more than it may be taken to mean in any one context. It must have this capacity of excess meaning in order for it to be articulate, that is, jointed, capable of movement, hence of relationship and development.
3. Language use is a much more complex, elusive phenomenon than we ordinarily suspect, and what we take normally to be our meanings are only the surface of a much more substantial theatre of linguistic, psychic and cultural operations, of which operations we are not be fully aware. Contemporary theory attempts to explore the implications (i.e., the inter-foldings, from 'plier', to fold) of levels of meaning in language.
4. It is language itself, not some essential humanness or timeless truth, that is central to culture, meaning and stantial theatre of linguistic, psychic and cultural operations, of which operations we are not fully aware identity. As Heidegger remarked, man does not speak language, language speaks man. Humans 'are' their sign systems, they are constituted through them, and those systems and their meanings are contingent, patch-work, relational.
5. Consequently there is no foundational 'truth' or reality—no absolute, no eternal, no solid ground of truth beneath the shifting sands of history. There are only local and contingent 'truths' generated by human groups through their cultural systems in response to their needs for power, survival and esteem. Consequently, both values and personal identity are cultural constructs, not stable entitles. As Kaja Silverman points out even the unconscious is a cultural construct, as the unconscious is constructed through repression, the forces of repression are cultural, and what is taboo is culturally formulated.
6. It follows that there is no stable central identity or essence to individuals: an individual exists as a nexus of social meanings and practices, psychic and ideological forces, and uses of language and other signs and symbols. The individual is thus a 'de-centered' phenomenon; there is no stable self, only subject-positions within a shifting cultural, ideological, signifying field.

7. The meaning that appears normal in our social life masks, through various means such as omission, displacement, difference, misspeaking and bad faith, the meaning that is: the world of meaning we think we occupy is not the world we do in fact occupy. The world we do occupy is a construction of ideology, an imagination of the way the world is that shapes our world, including our 'selves', for our use.
8. A text is, as Roland Barthes points out, etymologically a tissue, a woven thing (from the Latin *texere*, to weave); it is a tissue woven of former texts and language uses, echoes of which it inherently retains (filiations or traces, these are sometimes called), woven of historical references and practices, and woven of the play ('play' as meaning-abundance and as articulability) of language. A text is not, and cannot be, 'only itself', nor can it be reified, said to be 'a thing'; a text is a process. Literary Theory advocates pushing against the depth, complexity and indeterminacy of this tissue until not only the full implications of the multiplicities, but the contradictions inevitably inherent in them, become apparent.
9. There is no "outside-of-the-text," in Derrida's phrase. Culture and individuals are constructed through networks of affiliated language, symbol and discourse usages; all of life is textual, a tissue of signifying relationships. No text can be isolated from the constant circulation of meaning in the economy of the culture; every text connects to, and is constituted through and of, other texts.

Contemporary Theory as part of the 'Interpretive Turn'

Contemporary literary theory does not stand on its own; it is part of a larger cultural movement which has revolutionized many fields of study, which movement is often known as the 'interpretive turn'. The 'interpretive turn' was essentially introduced by Immanuel Kant two centuries ago through the idea that what we experience as reality is shaped by our mental categories, although Kant thought of these categories as stable and transcendent. Nietzsche proposed that there are no grounding truths, that history and experience are fragmented and happenstance, driven by the will to power. Marx and Freud theorized that what passes for reality is in fact shaped and driven by forces of which we are aware only indirectly, if at all, but which we can recover if we understand the processes of transformation through which our experience passes. What is new in the interpretive turn is that the insights of these and other seminal thinkers have coalesced into a particular sociological phenomenon, a cultural force, a genuine moment in history, and that they have resulted in methodological disputes and in alterations of practice in the social sciences and the humanities.

There are a number of ideas central to the interpretive turn: the idea that an observer is inevitably a participant in what is observed, and that the receiver of a message is a component of the message; the idea that information is only information insofar as it is contextualized; the idea that individuals are cultural constructs whose conceptual worlds are composed of a variety of discursive structures, or ways of talking about and imagining the world; the idea that the world of individuals is not only multiple and diverse but is constructed by and through interacting fields of culturally lived symbols, through language in particular; the related idea that all cultures are networks of signifying practices; the idea that therefore all interpretation is conditioned by cultural perspective and is mediated by symbols and practice; and the idea that texts entail sub-texts, or the often disguised or submerged origins and structuring forces of the messages.

Interpretation is seen not as the elucidation of a preexisting truth or meaning that is objectively 'there' but as the positing of meaning by interpreters in the context of their conceptual world. Neither the 'message' nor the interpretation can be transparent or innocent as each is structured by constitutive and often submerged cultural and personal forces. In the interpretation of culture, culture is seen as a text, a set of discourses which structure the world of the culture and control the culture's practices and meanings. Because of the way discourses are constituted and interrelated, one must read through, among and under them, at the same time reading oneself reading.

The issue of meaning: context and inter-text

The process of meaning in literature should, one thinks, be clear: authors write books, with ideas about what they want to say; they say it in ways that are powerful, moving, convincing; readers read the books and, depending on their training and capacities and the author's success, they get the message. And the message is, surely, the point. It is at this juncture however that this simple communication model runs into trouble. An author writes a text. But the author wrote the text in at least four kinds of context (note the presence of the text), not all of which contexts the author is or can be fully aware of. There are, first, aesthetic contexts – the contexts of art generally, of its perceived role in culture, of the medium of the text, of the genre of the text, of the particular aesthetic traditions the artist chooses and inherits, of the period-style in which she writes. Second, there are the cultural and economic conditions of the production and the reception of texts – how the 'world of art' articulates to the rest of the social world, how the work is produced, how it is defined, how it is distributed, who the audience is, how they pay, what it means to consume art, how art is socially categorized. Third, there is the artist's own personal history and the cultural interpretation of that personal history and meaning for her as an individual and an artist. Lastly and most essentially, there are the larger meanings and methods of the culture and of various sub-cultural, class, ethnic, regional and gender groups—all of them culturally formed, and marked (or created) by various expressions and distinctions of attitude, thought, perception, and symbols. These include how the world is viewed and talked about, the conception and distribution of power, what is seen as essential and as valuable, what the grounds and warrants of value are, how the relations among individuals and groups are conceptualized.

These are the most basic considerations of the context of the production of a literary work. Some of them are known to the author explicitly, some are sensed implicitly, some are unrecognized and virtually unknowable. Every context will alter, emend, deflect, restructure the 'meaning'. This would be easier to handle interpretively if the same constraints of context did not apply also to the reader. Both author and reader are 'situated' aesthetically, culturally, personally, economically, but usually situated differently. The reader has the further context of the history and traditions of the interpretation of texts. When we read Hamlet, we read it as a text that has been interpreted before us and for us in certain ways, not simply as the text that Shakespeare wrote or that his repertory company performed, whatever that was experienced to be.

An essential, central and inevitable context of any text is the existence of other texts. Any literary work, even the most meagre, will necessarily refer to and draw on works in its genre before it, on other writing in the culture and its traditions, and on the discourse-structures of the culture. This creation of meaning from previous and cognate expressions of meaning is known in Literary Theory as "intertextuality." Anything that is a text is inevitably part of the circulation of discourse in the culture, what one might call the inter-text: it can only mean because there are other texts to which it refers and on which it then depends for its meaning. It follows that 'meaning' is in fact dispersed throughout the inter-text, is not simply 'in' the text itself. The field of the inter-text extends not just to the traditions and usages of the genre, and to literature generally, but to intellectual traditions, language and argument, to emotional experiences, to cultural interpretations of experience, to central symbols, to all expressions of meaning in the culture: it is a network of allusion and reference. This is the ground of the question of the extent to which an individual can author a text. Many of these intertextual meanings may not be apparent to readers, who must be situated themselves in the inter-text in order to participate in the meaning. All meanings of a text depend on the meanings of the inter-text, and our interpretations of texts depend on our contextualized perspective and the norms of what Stanley Fish refers to as our "interpretive community," our socially-determined interpretive understandings and methods.

The issue of meaning: discourse and ideology

The second general area of meaning is that of discourse and ideology. 'Discourse' is a term associated most closely with Michel Foucault; it refers to the way in which meaning is formed, expressed and controlled in a culture through its language use. Every culture has particular ways of speaking about and hence conceptualizing experience, and rules for what can and what cannot be said and for how talk is controlled and organized. It is through discourse that we constitute our experience, and an analysis of discourse can reveal how we see the world—in the case of Foucault, particularly the changing and multiple ways in which power is distributed and exercised. As language is the base symbol system through which culture is created and maintained, it can be said that everything is discourse, that is, that we only register as being what we attach meaning to, we attach meaning through language, and meaning through language is controlled by the discursive structures of a culture. There is no outside-of-the-text; our experience is constructed by our way of talking about experience, and thus is itself a cultural, linguistic construct.

Discourse is not, however, a unitary phenomenon. One of the great contributions of the Russian theorist of language and literature, Mikhail Bakhtin, is the concept of multivocality. The concept of multivocality might be likened to meteorology: the sky looks like a unitary entity, but if one attempts to measure it or traverse it, it turns out to be full of cross-winds, whirls, temperature variations, updrafts, downdrafts, and so forth. Similarly the language of a culture is full of intersecting language uses—those of class, profession, activity, generation, gender, region and so forth, a rich profusion of interacting significances and inter-texts.

As discourse constructs a world-view and as it inscribes power relations, it is inevitably connected to ideology. As used by Marx, the term referred to the idea that our concepts about the structure of society and of reality, which appear to be matters of fact, are the product of economic relations. More recent thinkers, following Gramsci and Althusser, tend to see ideology more broadly as those social practices and conceptualizations which lead us to experience reality in a certain way. Ideology, writes Althusser, is our imagined relation to the real conditions of existence; our subjectivity is formed by it we are 'hailed' by it, oriented to the world in a certain way. Ideology is an implicit, necessary part of meaning, in how we configure the world. But ideology is always masking, or 'naturalizing', the injustices and omissions it inevitably creates, as power will be wielded by some person or class, and will pressure the understanding of the culture so that the exercise of power looks normal and right and violations appear as inevitabilities. It was clear in time past, for instance, why women were inferior. Women were physically weaker, more emotional, not as rational. The Bible said they were inferior and Nature said so too. Men did not think that they were oppressing women; women's inferiority was simply an obvious matter of fact, as was the inferiority of blacks, of children, the handicapped, the mad, the illiterate, the working classes. The theorist Pierre Macherey showed that it is possible by examining any structure of communication to see its ideological perspective through the breaks, the silences, the contradictions hidden in the text, as well as through all its implicit assumptions about the nature of the world.

The issue of meaning: language

The third large general area to be addressed is that of language. Contemporary theory rejects the commonplace belief that language functions by establishing a one-on-one relationship between a word and an object or state which exists independent of language. Among the assumptions behind this rejected belief are that reality is

objective and is directly and unequivocally knowable; that words have a transparent relation to that reality – one can 'see through' the word to the reality itself; and that meaning is consequently fixed and stable. Contemporary theory accepts none of this. 'Reality' is too simple a formulation for the collection of acknowledgments of physical entities and conditions, of concepts of all kinds, and of all the feelings, attitudes, perceptions, rituals, routines and practices that compose our habited world. Medieval medicine was based in large part on astrology, and astrology was based on the known fact that the (not too distant) planets each had a signature vibration which impressed the aether between the planets and the earth, which in turn impressed the malleable fabric of the mind of the newborn, and which thus created the person's disposition through the combination of and the relation between the characteristics of the dominant planets at the time of birth. To what reality, do we think now, did the language of medieval medicine refer? We could say that the medievals were 'wrong', but the conceptions involved so structured their imagination of human nature and motivation, so suffused their attitudes, were so integrated with values which we still hold, that such a statement would be meaningless. Language exists in the domain of human conception, and is dependent not on 'reality' but on how we see relations, connections, and behaviours. In turn how we see these things are, of course, dependent on our language.

Since the work of Ferdinand de Saussure at the beginning of the century, language has been seen by many to signify through difference: words mean in that, and as, they differ from other words, which words in turn mean in that they differ from yet other words. 'Meaning' becomes a chain of differentiations which are necessarily at the same time linkages, and so any meaning involves as a part of itself a number of other meanings—through opposition, through association, through discrimination. As a word defines itself through difference from words which define themselves through difference from words, language becomes a kind of rich, multiplex sonar that carries the cognitive, affective and allusive freight of meanings shaped by and reflected off other meanings, full of dimensionally. Derrida's famous coinage *différance*, which includes both differing and deferring, catches something of the operation, although Derrida's concept penetrates to the very structure of being, to the differing and deferring without which space and time are impossible and which are thus fundamental to 'being' itself.

Language has many 'levels' or currents of meaning, shifting, interrelating, playing off one another, implicated (from L. *plicare*, to fold) and pliant (from F. *plier*, to bend, ultimately from *plicare*). Some currents carry us back as in cultural memory to the etymological roots of the words, as just illustrated. Some currents carry us back to the time and the way in which, as infants, we entered the symbolic order, the world of signs and thus of authority, power and socially (Lacan), and even before that to evocations of our infantile immediate, inchoate experiences (Kristeva). Some currents tie us in to experiences and symbols that involve and evoke our repressions, our fears, and our narcissistic needs. Some currents tie us in to the various worlds of "discourse," socially constituted ways of conceptualizing and talking and feeling—judicial, economic, domestic, theological, academic and so forth (Foucault). Some currents tie us into key cultural symbols, to ways we see and feel the world as constructed, to our imaginary world of hope, trust, identity, to our projection of ourselves into the future and into our environment. Many currents carry affective weight, as words are learned in social contexts from people who are usually close to us, and there is thus an intrinsic sociality in the very acquisition of the meanings and hence to the meanings themselves (Volosinov). Meaning in language is highly context-sensitive. Words are not little referential packages, they are shapes of potential meaning which alter in different meaning environments, which implicate many areas of experience, which contain traces of those differences which define them, and which are highly dependent on context, on tone, on placement.

Literary theory and literature

One of the fundamental questions of literary theory is "What is literature?", though many contemporary theorists and literary scholars believe either that the term "literature" is undefinable or that it can potentially refer to any use of language. Specific theories are distinguished not only by their methods and conclusions, but even by how they define a "text." For some scholars of literature, "texts" means "books belonging to the literary canon". But the principles and methods of literary theory have been applied to non-fiction, popular fiction, film, historical documents, law, advertising, etc., in the related field of cultural studies. In fact, some scholars within cultural studies treat cultural events like fashion, football, riots, etc. as "texts" to be interpreted. Taken broadly, then, literary theory can be thought of as the general theory of interpretation.

Since theorists of literature often draw on a very heterogeneous tradition of Continental philosophy and the philosophy of language, any classification of their approaches is only an approximation. There are many "schools" or types of literary theory, which take different approaches to understanding texts. Most theorists, even among those listed below, combine methods from more than one of these approaches (for instance, the deconstructive approach of Paul de Man drew on a long tradition of close reading pioneered by the New Critics, and de Man was trained in the European hermeneutic tradition).

Broad schools of theory that have historically been important include the New Criticism, formalism, Russian formalism, and structuralism, post-structuralism, Marxism, feminism and French feminism, new historicism, deconstruction, reader-response criticism, and psychoanalytic criticism.

History: a Review

The practice of literary theory became a profession in the 20th century, but it has historical roots that run as far back as ancient Greece (Longinus's *On the Sublime* is an often cited early example as is Aristotle's *Poetics*), and the aesthetic theories of philosophers from ancient philosophy through the 18th and 19th centuries are important influences on current literary study. The theory and criticism of literature are, of course, also closely tied to the history of literature.

The modern sense of "literary theory," however, dates only to approximately the 1950s, when the structuralist linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure began strongly to influence English language literary criticism. The New Critics and various European-influenced formalists (particularly the Russian Formalists) had described some of their more abstract efforts as "theoretical" as well. But it was not until the broad impact of structuralism began to be felt in the English-speaking academic world that "literary theory" was thought of as a unified domain.

In the academic world of England and America, literary theory was at its most popular from the late 1960s (when its influence was beginning to spread outward from elite universities like Johns Hopkins and Yale) through the 1980s (by which time it was taught nearly everywhere in some form). During this span of time, literary theory was perceived as academically cutting-edge research, and most university literature departments sought to teach and study theory and incorporate it into their curricula. Because of its meteoric rise in popularity and the difficult language of its key texts, theory was also often criticized as faddish or trendy obscurantism (and many academic satire novels of the period, such as those by David Lodge, feature theory prominently). Some scholars, both theoretical and anti-theoretical, refer to the 1970s and 1980s debates on the academic merits of theory as "the theory wars."

By the early 1990s, the popularity of "theory" as a subject of interest by itself was declining slightly (along with job openings for pure "theorists") even as the texts of literary theory were incorporated into the study of almost all literature. Since then, and as of 2004, the controversy over the use of theory in literary studies has all but died out, and discussions on the topic within literary and cultural studies tend now to be considerably milder and less acrimonious. Some scholars draw heavily on theory in their work, while others only mention it in passing or not at all; but it is an acknowledged, important part of the study of literature.

Differences among schools

The intellectual traditions and priorities of the various kinds of literary theory are often radically different. Some differ so strongly that even finding a set of common terms upon which to compare them is not a trivial effort.

For instance, the work of the New Critics often contained an implicit moral dimension, and sometimes even a religious one: a New Critic might read a poem by T.S. Eliot or Gerard Manley Hopkins for its degree of honesty in expressing the torment and contradiction of a serious search for belief in the modern world. Meanwhile a Marxist critic might find such judgments merely ideological rather than critical; the Marxist would say that the New Critical reading did not keep enough critical distance from the poem's religious stance to be able to understand it. Or a post-structuralist critic might simply avoid the issue by understanding the religious meaning of a poem as an allegory of meaning, treating the poem's references to "God" by discussing their referential nature rather than what they refer to.

Such a disagreement cannot be easily resolved, because it is inherent in the radically different terms and goals (that is, the theories) of the critics. Their theories of reading derive from vastly different intellectual traditions: the New Critic bases his work on an East-Coast American scholarly and religious tradition, while the Marxist derives her thought from a body of critical social and economic thought, and the post-structuralist's work emerges from twentieth-century Continental philosophy of language. To expect such different approaches to have much in common would be naïve; so calling them all "theories of literature" without acknowledging their heterogeneity is itself a reduction of their differences.

For some theories of literature (especially certain kinds of formalism), the distinction between 'literary' and other sorts of texts is of paramount importance. Other schools (particularly post-structuralism in its various forms: new historicism, deconstruction, some strains of Marxism and feminism) have sought to break down distinctions between the two and have applied the tools of textual interpretation to a wide range of 'texts', including film, non-fiction, historical writing, and even cultural events.

Another crucial distinction among the various theories of literary interpretation is intentionality, the amount of weight given to the author's own opinions about and intentions for a work. For most pre-20th century approaches, the author's intentions are a guiding factor and an important determiner of the 'correct' interpretation of texts. The New Criticism was the first school to disavow the role of the author in interpreting texts, preferring to focus on "the text itself" in a close reading. In fact, as much contention as there is between formalism and later schools, they share the tenet that the author's interpretation of a work is no more inherently meaningful than any other.

Schools of literary theory

Listed below are some of the most commonly identified schools of literary theory, along with their major authors. (In many of these cases, such as those of the historian and philosopher Michel Foucault and the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, these authors were not literary critics and did not primarily write about literature; but, since their work has been broadly influential in literary theory, they are nonetheless listed here.)

New Criticism

W.K. Wimsatt, F.R. Leavis, John Crowe Ransom, Cleanth Brooks, Robert Penn Warren

Russian Formalism

Victor Shklovsky, Vladimir Propp

German hermeneutics and philology

Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm Dilthey, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Erich Auerbach

Reader Response

Wolfgang Iser, Hans-Robert Jauss

Structuralism

Roman Jakobson, Claude Lévi-Strauss, the early Roland Barthes, Mikhail Bakhtin, Jurij Lotman

Post-structuralism

Michel Foucault, Julia Kristeva, the late Roland Barthes, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Maurice Blanchot

Postmodernism

Jean-Francois Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, Linda Hutcheon, Ihab Hassan

Marxism

Georg Lukács, Raymond Williams, Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin

Feminism

Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, Elaine Showalter

Queer theory

Judith Butler, Eve Sedgwick

Psychoanalytic criticism

Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Slavoj Žižek

Deconstruction

Jacques Derrida, Paul de Man, J. Hillis Miller

New historicism

Stephen Greenblatt

Cultural studies

Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, John Guillory

Postcolonialism

Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi Bhabha

American pragmatism and other American approaches

Harold Bloom, Stanley Fish, Richard Rorty

Other theorists

Robert Graves, Alamgir Hashmi, John Sutherland

MAJOR Theoretical Schools: A More Detailed View

NEW CRITICISM

New Criticism was the dominant trend in English and American literary criticism of the early twentieth century, from the 1920s to the early 1960s. Its adherents were emphatic in their advocacy of close reading and attention to texts themselves, and their rejection of criticism based on extra-textual sources, especially biography. At their best, the "New Critics" readings were brilliant, articulately argued, and broad in scope, but sometimes they were idiosyncratic and moralistic. In literary criticism, close reading describes the careful, sustained interpretation of a brief passage of text. Such a reading places great emphasis on the particular over the general, paying close attention to individual words, syntax, and the order in which sentences and ideas unfold as they are read.

Among the best-known figures associated with the New Criticism are: T.S. Eliot, F.R. Leavis, I.A. Richards, W.K. Wimsatt, Monroe Beardsley, William Empson, Robert Penn Warren, John Crowe Ransom, Cleanth Brooks.

Key concepts

- The intentional fallacy: Wimsatt and Beardsley's essay of the same name argued strongly against any discussion of an author's "intention" or "intended meaning." For the New Critics, the words on the page were all that mattered; importation of meanings from outside the text was quite irrelevant, and potentially distracting.
- Ambiguity: Several of the New Critics were enamored above all else of ambiguity and multiple simultaneous meanings. In the 1930s, Richards presciently borrowed Sigmund Freud's term "overdetermination" (which would later be revived in Marxist political theory by Louis Althusser) to refer to the multiple determining meanings which he believed were always simultaneously present in language; he called the opposing argument "the One And Only One True Meaning Superstition" (*The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 39).

RUSSIAN FORMALISM

Russian Formalism refers to a number of highly influential Russian and Soviet scholars (Viktor Shklovsky, Yuri Tynianov, Boris Eichenbaum, Roman Jakobson, Grigory Vinokur) who revolutionised literary criticism between 1914 and the 1930s by establishing the specificity and autonomy of poetic language and literature. Russian Formalism exerted a major influence on thinkers such as Mikhail Bakhtin and Yuri Lotman; and on structuralism as a whole. The movement's members are widely considered as the founders of modern literary criticism.

Russian Formalism was a diverse movement, producing no unified doctrine, and no consensus amongst its proponents on a central aim to their endeavours. In fact, "Russian Formalism" describes two distinct movements: the OPOJAZ (Obschestvo izucenija POeticeskogo JAZyka - Society for the Study of Poetic Language) in St. Petersburg and the Linguistic Circle in Moscow. Therefore, it is more precise to refer to the "Russian Formalists", rather than to the more encompassing and abstract term of "Formalism".

The term "Formalism" was first used by the adversaries of the movement, and as such it conveys a meaning explicitly rejected by the Formalists themselves. In the words of one of the foremost Formalists, Boris Eichenbaum: "It is difficult to recall who coined this name, but it was not a very felicitous coinage. It might have been convenient as a simplified battle cry but it fails, as an objective term, to delimit the activities of the "Society for the Study of Poetic Language...."

There is one idea that united the Formalists: the autonomous nature of poetic language and its specificity as an object of study for literary criticism. The Formalists' main endeavour consisted in defining a set of properties specific to poetic language (be it poetry or prose) recognisable by their "artfulness" and consequently analysing them as such. A clear illustration of this, may be provided by the main argument of one of Viktor Shklovsky's -the founder of the OPOJAZ- early text, "Art as Device" (*Iskusstvo kak priem*, 1916): art is a sum of literary and artistic devices, that the artist manipulates to craft his work.

Shklovsky's main objective in "Art as Device" is to dispute the conception of literature and literary criticism common in Russia at that time. Broadly speaking, literature was considered, on the one hand, to be a social or political product, whereby it was then interpreted (in the tradition of the great critic Belinsky) as an integral part of social and political history. On the other hand, literature was considered to be the personal expression of an author's world vision, expressed by means of images and symbols. In both cases, literature is not considered as such, but evaluated on a broad socio-political or a vague psychologico-impressionistic background. The aim of Shklovsky is therefore to isolate and define something specific to literature (or "poetic language"): this, as we saw, are the "devices" who make up the "artfulness" of literature.

Formalists do not agree between each other on exactly what is a "device" (*priem*), nor how these devices are used or how they are to be analysed in a given text. The central (and revolutionary) idea however is more general: poetic language possesses specific properties, which can be analysed as such. This, it may be argued, was already the view defended by Aristotle in his *Poetics*.

In the Soviet period, the authorities further developed the term's pejorative associations to cover any art which used complex techniques and forms accessible only to the elite, rather than being simplified for "the people" (as in socialist realism).

READER-RESPONSE

Reader Response is a primarily German and American literary theory that arose in response to the textual emphasis of New Criticism of the 1940's through 1960's in the west. New Criticism had emphasized that only that which is within a text is part of the meaning of a text. No appeal to the authorial intention, authorial biography, nor reader's psychology was allowed in the exegesis of literary works for the most orthodox New Critics.

Reader Response is a group of approaches to understanding literature that have in common an emphasis on the reader's role in the creation of a literary work's meaning. The term encompasses theorists who share very little besides an attention to the reader. Since the theorists who make up "Reader Response" were not consciously creating

a school of thought, it is very difficult to say when and with whom the movement began. Also, since Reader Response is a reaction and corrective to the excesses of the most dogmatic New Critics, it did not emerge as a total system.

In general, one can break down "reader response" into those who focus upon the reader's experience and psychology, those who concentrate on the linguistic/rhetorical dynamic of audience, and those who concentrate on readers as cultural and historical ciphers.

Among the most important writers who can be called as Reader Response critics are Wolfgang Iser, Umberto Eco, Hans-Robert Jauss, Stanley Fish, Eve Sedgwick, and Jane Tompkins. Some take the position that there is no objective literary text at all, that the entire meaning of a literary work is in the reader's mind, and therefore the reader's personal biography, physical status, and psychology are the center of a literary text. Others argue that meaning is a human event, rather than an objective fact, and therefore all of the meaning of a literary work is a social event (and not so solipsistically private) where the text creates a society and a common culture. Others argue that the psychological effects of a literary event reveal the fringes of a culture's ideology, and therefore the reactions to literary works can be a tool for historical analysis. This last, sometimes called "reception aesthetics" rather than "reader response," is the approach taken by some of the followers of Hans-Georg Gadamer (notably Jauss).

STRUCTURALISM

Structuralism is an approach that grew to become one of the most widely used methods of analyzing language, culture, and society in the second half of the 20th century. 'Structuralism', however, does not refer to a clearly defined 'school' of authors, although the work of Ferdinand de Saussure is generally considered a starting point. Structuralism is best seen as a general approach with many different variations. As with any cultural movement, the influences and developments are complex.

Broadly, structuralism seeks to explore the inter-relationships (the "structures") through which meaning is produced within a culture. According to structural theory, meaning within a culture is produced and reproduced through various practices, phenomena and activities which serve as systems of signification. A structuralist studies activities as diverse as food preparation and serving rituals, religious rites, games, literary and non-literary texts, and other forms of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture. For example, an early and prominent practitioner of structuralism, anthropologist and ethnographer Claude Lévi-Strauss, analyzed cultural phenomena including mythology, kinship, and food preparation.

When used to examine literature, a structuralist critic will examine the underlying relation of elements (the 'structure') in, say, a story, rather than focusing on its content. A basic example are the similarities between West Side Story and Romeo and Juliet. Even though the two plays occur in different times and places, a structuralist would argue that they are the same story because they have a similar structure - in both cases, a girl and a boy fall in love (or, as we might say, are +LOVE) despite the fact that they belong to two groups that hate each other, a conflict that is resolved by their death. Consider now the story of two friendly families (+LOVE) that make an arranged marriage between their children despite the fact that they hate each other (-LOVE), and that the children resolve this conflict by committing suicide to escape the marriage. A structuralist would argue this second story is an 'inversion' of the first, because the relationship between the values of love and the two pairs of parties involved have been reversed. In sum, a structuralist would thus argue that the 'meaning' of a story lies in uncovering this structure rather than, say, discovering the intention of the author who wrote it.

Some feel that a structuralist analysis helps pierce through the confusing veil of life to reveal the hidden, underlying, logically complete structure. Others would argue that structuralism simply reads too much into 'texts' (in the widest sense) and allows clever professors to invent meanings that aren't actually there. There is a variety of positions in between these two extremes, and many of the debates around structuralism focus on trying to clarify issues of this sort.

Saussure's Course

Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1916) is generally seen as being the originator of structuralism. Although Saussure was, like his contemporaries, interested in historical linguistics, in the *Course* he developed a more general theory of semiology. This approach focused on examining how the elements of language related to each other in the present ('synchronically' rather than 'diachronically'). He thus focused not on the use of language (parole, or talk) but the underlying system of language (langue) of which any particular utterance was an expression. Finally, he argued that linguistic signs were composed of two parts, a 'signifier' (roughly, the sound of a word) and a 'signified' (the concept or meaning of the word). This was quite different from previous approaches to language which focused on the relationship between words and the things in the world they designated. By focusing on the internal constitution of signs rather than focusing on their relationship to objects in the world, Saussure made the anatomy and structure of language something that could be analyzed and studied.

Structuralism in linguistics

Saussure's *Course* influenced many linguists in the period between World War I and World War II. In America, for instance, Leonard Bloomfield developed his own version of structural linguistics, as did Louis Hjelmslev in Scandinavia. In France Antoine Meillet and Émile Benveniste continued Saussure's program. Most importantly,

however, members of the Prague School of linguistics such as Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy conducted research that would be greatly influential.

The clearest and most important example of Prague School structuralism lies in phonemics. Rather than simply compile a list of which sounds occur in a language, the Prague School sought to examine how they were related. They determined that the inventory of sounds in a language could be analyzed in terms of a series of contrasts. Thus in English the words 'pat' and 'bat' are different because the 'p' and 'b' sounds contrast. The difference between them is that you vocalize while saying a 'b' while you do not when saying a 'p'. Thus in English there is a contrast between voiced and non-voiced consonants. Analyzing sounds in terms of contrastive features also opens up comparative scope - it makes clear, for instance, that the difficulty Japanese speakers have in differentiating between 'r' and 'l' in English is due to the fact that these two sounds are not contrastive in Japanese. While this approach is now standard in linguistics, it was revolutionary at the time. Phonology would become the paradigmatic basis for structuralism in a number of different forms.

Structuralism after the War

After WWII, and particularly in the 1960s, Structuralism surged to prominence in France and it was structuralism's initial popularity in this country which led it to spread across the globe.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, existentialism such as that practiced by Jean-Paul Sartre was the dominant mood. Structuralism rejected existentialism's notion of radical human freedom and focused instead on the way that human behavior is determined by cultural, social, and psychological structures. The most important initial work on this score was Claude Levi-Strauss's 1949 volume *Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Levi-Strauss had known Jakobson during their time together in New York during WWII and was influenced by both Jakobson's structuralism as well as the American anthropological tradition. In *Elementary Structures* he examined kinship systems from a structural point of view and demonstrated how apparently different social organizations were in fact different permutations of a few basic kinship structures. In the late 1950s he published *Structural Anthropology*, a collection of essays outlining his program for structuralism.

By the early 1960s structuralism as a movement was coming into its own and some believed that it offered a single unified approach to human life that would embrace all disciplines. Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida focused on how structuralism could be applied to literature. Jacques Lacan (and, in a different way, Jean Piaget) applied structuralism to the study of psychology, blending Freud and Saussure. Michel Foucault's book *The Order of Things* examined the history of science to study how structures of epistemology, or epistemes shaped how people imagined knowledge and knowing (though Foucault would later explicitly deny affiliation with the structuralist movement). Louis Althusser combined Marxism and structuralism to create his own brand of social analysis. Other authors in France and abroad have since extended structural analysis to practically every discipline.

The definition of 'structuralism' also shifted as a result of its popularity. As its popularity as a movement waxed and waned, some authors considered themselves 'structuralists' only to later eschew the label. Additionally, the term has slightly different meanings in French and English. In the US, for instance, Derrida is considered the paradigm of post-structuralism while in France he is labeled a structuralist. Finally, some authors wrote in several different styles. Barthes, for instance, wrote some books which are clearly structuralist and others which are clearly not.

Reactions to structuralism

Today structuralism has been superseded by approaches such as post-structuralism and deconstruction. There are many reasons for this. Structuralism has often been criticized for being ahistorical and for favouring deterministic structural forces over the ability of individual people to act. As the political turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s (and particularly the student uprisings of May 1968) began affecting the academy, issues of power and political struggle moved to the center of people's attention. In the 1980s, deconstruction and its emphasis on the fundamental ambiguity of language - rather than its crystalline logical structure - became popular. By the end of the century Structuralism was seen as a historically important school of thought, but it was the movements it spawned, rather than structuralism itself, which commanded attention.

Semiotics

Semiotics, simply put, is the science of signs. Semiology proposes that a great diversity of our human action and productions--our bodily postures and gestures, the the social rituals we perform, the clothes we wear, the meals we serve, the buildings we inhabit--all convey "shared" meanings to members of a particular culture, and so can be analyzed as signs which function in diverse kinds of signifying systems. Linguistics (the study of verbal signs and structures) is only one branch of semiotics but supplies the basic methods and terms which are used in the study of all other social sign systems. Major figures include Charles Peirce, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michel Foucault, Umberto Eco, and Roland Barthes.

POST-STRUCTURALISM

Post-structuralism is a body of work that followed in the wake of structuralism, and sought to understand the Western world as a network of structures, as in structuralism, but in which such structures are ordered primarily by local, shifting differences (as in deconstruction) rather than grand binary oppositions and hierarchies (as in structuralism).

Post-structuralism is most clearly distinct from structuralism in its rejection of structuralism's tendency to seek simple, universal, and hierarchical structures. Post-structuralists challenge the structuralist claim to be a critical metalanguage by which all text can be translated, arguing that a neutral omniscient view outside the realm of text is impossible. Instead, they pursue an infinite play of signifiers and do not attempt to impose, or privilege, one reading of them over another. Appropriately, within the discipline of post-structuralism there are few theories in agreement, but all take as their starting point a critique of structuralism. Post-structuralist investigations tend to be politically oriented, as many of them believe the world we think we inhabit is merely a social construct with different ideologies pushing for hegemony.

Key post-structuralists are the historian Michel Foucault and the philosophers Jean-François Lyotard and Jacques Derrida. The works of Roland Barthes straddle the divide between structuralism and post-structuralism. Also important to the movement are Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Frederic Jameson.

DECONSTRUCTION

The term deconstruction is often used in a loose way as a synonym of critical analysis, especially the kind of uncooperative critical analysis that subjects a work or a text to close scrutiny in order to expose contradictions, poor logic or unwelcome affinities with other works or cultural objects. The term has a more precise and restricted sense in the context of academic humanistic disciplines. In Continental philosophy and literary criticism, deconstruction is a school of criticism developed in part by the French post-structuralist philosopher Jacques Derrida. Derrida offered what he called deconstructive readings of Western philosophers. Roughly speaking, a deconstructive reading is an analysis of a text that uncovers the difference between the text's structure and its Western metaphysical essence. Deconstructive readings show how texts cannot simply be read as works by individual authors communicating distinct messages, but instead must be read as sites of conflict within a given culture or worldview. A deconstructed text will reveal a multitude of viewpoints simultaneously existing, often in direct conflict with one another. Comparison of a deconstructive reading of a text with a more traditional one will also show how many of these viewpoints are suppressed and ignored.

The central move of a deconstructive analysis is to look at binary oppositions within a text (for instance, maleness and femaleness, or homosexuality and heterosexuality) and to show how, instead of describing a rigid set of categories, the two opposing terms are actually fluid and impossible to separate fully. The conclusion from this, generally, is that the categories do not actually exist in any rigid or absolute sense.

Deconstruction was highly controversial both in academia, where it was accused of being nihilistic, parasitic, and silly, and in the popular press, where it was often seized upon as a sign that academia had become completely out of touch with reality. Despite this controversy, it remains a major force in contemporary philosophy and literary criticism and theory.

The philosophical meaning of deconstruction

The term deconstruction in the context of Western philosophy is highly resistant to formal definition. Martin Heidegger was perhaps the first to use the term (in contrast to Nietzschean demolition), although the form we recognize in English is an element in a series of translations (from Heidegger's *Abbau* and *Destruktion* to Jacques Derrida's *déconstruction*), and it has been explored by others, including Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Paul de Man, Jonathan Culler, Barbara Johnson, J. Hillis Miller, Jean-François Lyotard, and Geoffrey Bennington. These authors, however, have actively resisted calls to define the word succinctly. When asked what deconstruction is, Derrida once stated, "I have no simple and formalizable response to this question. All my essays are attempts to have it out with this formidable question." There is a great deal of confusion as to what kind of thing deconstruction is - whether it is a school of thought (it is certainly not so in the singular), a method of reading (it has often been reduced to this by various attempts to define it formally), or, as some call it, a "textual event" and determining what authority to accord to a particular attempt at delimiting it.

It is much easier to explain what deconstruction is not. According to Derrida, deconstruction is neither an analysis, a critique, a method, an act, nor an operation. In addition, deconstruction is not, properly speaking, a synonym for "destruction." Rather, according to Barbara Johnson,

[Deconstruction] is in fact much closer to the original meaning of the word 'analysis' itself, which etymologically means "to undo"—a virtual synonym for "to de-construct." ... If anything is destroyed in a deconstructive reading, it is not the text, but the claim to unequivocal domination of one mode of signifying over another. A deconstructive reading is a reading which analyses the specificity of a text's critical difference from itself."

In addition, deconstruction is not the same as nihilism or relativism. It is not the abandonment of meaning, but a demonstration that Western thought has not satisfied its quest for a "transcendental signifier" that will give

meaning to all other signs. According to Derrida, "Deconstruction is not an enclosure in nothingness, but an openness to the other", and an attempt "to discover the non-place or non-lieu which would be [that] 'other' of philosophy". Thus, meaning is "out there", but it cannot be located by Western metaphysics, because text gets in the way. Deconstruction emphasises the way that presentism leaves us with no more than a chain of relations.

Part of the difficulty in defining deconstruction arises from the fact that the act of defining deconstruction in the language of Western metaphysics requires one to accept the very ideas of Western metaphysics that are thought to be the subject of deconstruction. Nevertheless, various authors have provided a number of rough definitions.

Phallogocentrism and the critique of binary oppositions

Deconstruction's central concern is a radical critique of the Enlightenment project and of metaphysics, including in particular the founding texts by such philosophers as Plato, Rousseau, and Husserl, but also other sorts of texts, including literature. Deconstruction identifies in the Western philosophical tradition a "metaphysics of presence" (also known as logocentrism or sometimes phallogocentrism) which holds that speech-thought (the logos) is a privileged, ideal, and self-present entity, through which all discourse and meaning are derived. This logocentrism is the primary target of deconstruction.

One typical procedure of deconstruction is its critique of binary oppositions. A central deconstructive argument holds that, in all the classic dualities of Western thought, one term is privileged or "central" over the other. The privileged, central term is the one most associated with the phallus (penis) and the logos. Examples include:

- speech over writing
- presence over absence
- identity over difference
- fullness over emptiness
- meaning over meaninglessness
- mastery over submission
- life over death

Derrida argues in "Of Grammatology" (translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and published in English in 1976) that, in each such case, the first term is classically conceived as original, authentic, and superior, while the second is thought of as secondary, derivative, or even "parasitic." These binary oppositions, and others of their form, he argues, must be deconstructed.

This deconstruction is effected in stages. First, Derrida suggests, the opposition must be inverted, and the second, traditionally subordinate term must be privileged. He argues that these oppositions cannot be simply transcended; given the thousands of years of philosophical history behind them, it would be disingenuous to attempt to move directly to a domain of thought beyond these distinctions. So deconstruction attempts to compensate for these historical power imbalances, undertaking the difficult project of thinking through the philosophical implications of reversing them.

Only after this task is undertaken (if not completed, which may be impossible), Derrida argues, can philosophy begin to conceive a conceptual terrain outside these oppositions: the next project of deconstruction would be to develop concepts which fall under neither one term of these oppositions nor the other. Much of the philosophical work of deconstruction has been devoted to developing such ideas and their implications, of which *différance* may be the prototype (as it denotes neither simple identity nor simple difference). Derrida spoke in an interview (first published in French in 1967) about such "concepts," which he called merely "marks" in order to distinguish them from proper philosophical concepts.

As can be seen in this discussion of its terms' undecidable, unresolvable complexity, deconstruction requires a high level of comfort with suspended, deferred decision; a deconstructive thinker must be willing to work with terms whose precise meaning has not been, and perhaps cannot be, established. (This is often given as a major reason for the difficult writing style of deconstructive texts.) Critics of deconstruction find this unacceptable as philosophy; many feel that, by working in this manner with unspecified terms, deconstruction ignores the primary task of philosophy, which they say is the creation and elucidation of concepts. This deep criticism is a result of a fundamental difference of opinion about the nature of philosophy, and is unlikely to be resolved simply.

Text and deconstruction

According to deconstructive readers, one of the phallogocentrisms of modernism is the distinction between speech (logos) and writing, with writing historically being thought of as derivative to logos. As part of subverting the presumed dominance of logos over text, Derrida showed that the idea of a speech-writing dichotomy contains within it the idea of a very expansive view of textuality that subsumes both speech and writing. According to Jacques Derrida, "There is nothing outside of the text". That is, text is thought of not merely as linear writing derived from speech, but any form of depiction, marking, or storage, including the marking of the human brain by the process of cognition or by the senses.

In a sense, deconstruction is simply a way to read text (as broadly defined); any deconstruction has a text as its object and subject. This accounts for deconstruction's broad cross-disciplinary scope. Deconstruction has been

applied to literature, art, architecture, science, mathematics, philosophy, and psychology, and any other disciplines that can be thought of as involving the act of marking.

In deconstruction, text can be thought of as "dead", in the sense that once the markings are made, the markings remain in suspended animation and do not change in themselves. Thus, what an author says about her text doesn't revive it, and is just another text commenting on the original, along with the commentary of others. In this view, when an author says, "You have understood my work perfectly," this utterance constitutes an addition to the textual system, along with what the reader said was understood in and about the original text, and not a resuscitation of the original dead text. The reader has an opinion, the author has an opinion. Communication is possible not because the text has a transcendental signification, but because the brain tissue of the author contains similar "markings" as the brain tissue of the reader. These brain markings, however, are unstable and fragmentary.

The terminology of deconstruction

Deconstruction makes use of a number of terms, many of which are coined or repurposed, that illustrate or follow the process of deconstruction. Among these words are *différance*, *trace*, *écriture*, *supplement*, *hymen*, *pharmakon*, *slippage*, *marge*, *entame*, and *parergon*.

Différance

Against the metaphysics of presence, deconstruction brings a (non)concept called *différance*. This French neologism is, on the deconstructive argument, properly neither a word nor a concept; it names the non-coincidence of meaning both synchronically (one French homonym means "differing") and diachronically (another French homonym means "deferring"). Because the resonance and conflict between these two French meanings is difficult to convey tersely in English, the word *différance* is usually left untranslated.

In simple terms, this means that rather than privileging commonality and simplicity and seeking unifying principles (or grand teleological narratives, or overarching concepts, etc.) deconstruction emphasizes difference, complexity, and non-self-identity. A deconstructive reading of a text, or a deconstructive interpretation of philosophy (for deconstruction tends to elide any difference between the two), often seeks to demonstrate how a seemingly unitary idea or concept contains different or opposing meanings within itself. The elision of difference in philosophical concepts is even referred to in deconstruction as a kind of violence, the idea being that theory's willful misdescription or simplification of reality always does violence to the true richness and complexity of the world. This criticism can be taken as a rejection of the philosophical law of the excluded middle, arguing that the simple oppositions of Aristotelian logic force a false appearance of simplicity onto a recalcitrant world.

Thus the perception of *différance* has two sides, both a deferment of final, unifying meaning in a unit of text (of whatever size, word or book), and a difference of meaning of the text upon every act of re-reading a work. Repetition, and the impossibility of final access to a text, of ever being at the text's "ground zero" so to speak, are emphasized, indefinitely leaving a text outside of the realm of the knowable in typical senses of "mastery". A text can, obviously, be experienced, be read, be "understood" -- but that understanding, for all its deep feeling or lack of it, is marked by a quintessential provisionality that never denies the possibility of rereading. Indeed it requires this. If the text is traditionally thought to be some perdurable sequence of symbols (letters) that go through time unchanged in the formal sense, *différance* moves the concept toward the realization that for all the perdurability of the text, experience of this structure is impossible and inconceivable outside of the realm of the unique instance, outside of the realm of perception.

A text cannot read itself, therein lies the provisionality of *différance*.

Trace

The idea of *différance* also brings with it the idea of *trace*. A trace is what a sign differs/defers from. It is the absent part of the sign's presence. In other words, through the act of *différance*, a sign leaves behind a trace, which is whatever is left over after everything present has been accounted for. According to Derrida, "the trace itself does not exist", because it is self-effacing. That is, "[i]n presenting itself, it becomes effaced". Because all signifiers viewed as present in Western thought will necessarily contain traces of other (absent) signifiers, the signifier can be neither wholly present nor wholly absent.

Écriture

In deconstruction, the word *écriture* (usually translated as writing in English) is appropriated to refer not just to systems of graphic communication, but to all systems inhabited by *différance*. A related term, called *archi-écriture*, refers to the positive side of writing, or writing as an ultimate principle, rather than as a derivative of *logos* (speech). In other words, whereas the Western *logos* encompasses writing, it is equally valid to view *archi-écriture* as encompassing the *logos*, and therefore speech can be thought of as a form of writing: writing on air waves, or on the memory of the listener or recording device.

Supplement, originary lack, and invagination

The word supplement is taken from the philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, who defined it as "an inessential extra added to something complete in itself." According to Derrida, Western thinking is characterized by the "logic of supplementation", which is actually two apparently contradictory ideas. From one perspective, a supplement serves to enhance the presence of something which is already complete and self-sufficient. Thus, writing is the supplement of speech and Eve was the supplement of Adam.

But simultaneously, according to Derrida, the Western idea of the supplement has within it the idea that a thing that has a supplement cannot be truly "complete in itself". If it were complete without the supplement, it shouldn't need, or long-for, the supplement. The fact that a thing can be added-to to make it even more "present" or "whole" means that there is a hole (which Derrida called an originary lack) and the supplement can fill that hole. The metaphorical opening of this "hole" Derrida called invagination. From this perspective, the supplement does not enhance something's presence, but rather underscores its absence.

Thus, what really happens during supplementation is that something appears from one perspective to be whole, complete, and self-sufficient, with the supplement acting as an external appendage. However, from another perspective, the supplement also fills a hole within the interior of the original "something". Thus, the supplement represents an indeterminacy between externality and interiority.

Criticisms of deconstruction

Deconstruction is the subject of at least three main types of criticism. Critics take issue with what they believe is a lack of seriousness and transparency in deconstructive writings, and with what they interpret as a political stance against traditional modernism. In addition, critics often equate deconstruction with nihilism or relativism and criticize deconstruction accordingly.

Unintelligibility

Deconstructive readings have been criticized both academically and popularly as largely nonsensical and unintelligible. Few would argue that such discourse is nonsensical to those who do not understand it, and that just because something is unintelligible to one doesn't mean it is unintelligible to another reader. But there remains a question as to whether deconstruction is so superficial that, after peeling away the often dense and complicated language, anything remains.

A truly nonsensical parody, however, was created later by some artificial intelligence researchers, who wrote a program they called The Postmodernism Generator, which produces a superficially realistic article on a postmodern theme, using much of the textual genre of deconstruction. Overall, however, the generated article is incoherent, and not an actual deconstructive reading.

Therefore, the question of critics is whether there is a substantive difference between "real" deconstruction and these parodies, and whether deconstruction is so lacking in "substance" that it could be done by a machine. In other words, is deconstruction a genre with no plot, and is deconstruction its own hoax or parody?

These parodies of deconstruction have been criticized as not being "true" deconstruction. Ironically, though, there are those within the postmodern community who view the Sokal affair and the Postmodern Generator as an affirmation of what they have been asserting all along: that there is no strict binary opposition between a parody and a "serious" academic work, that all academic work is its own parody and all parodies have serious points to make, and that the reader is not confined by the views of the author, even if the author is a machine or the author does not himself agree with his work.

Lack of seriousness and transparency

As part of the tradition of modernism and the Enlightenment, matters of Western philosophy and literary criticism have generally been framed within a particular standard of formality, transparency, earnestness, rationality, and high-mindedness. As a critique of modernism, however, deconstruction is usually rational at least to an extent; but deconstruction is also critical of Western rationality, which to modernist thinkers appears irrational. In addition, deconstruction tends to be comparatively opaque, eccentric, playful, derivative, and often crass. As a result, deconstruction takes place on the margins of modernist discourse, which invites criticism by modernists. There is a particular expectation of seriousness in Western philosophy. Therefore, many critics find it irreverent to deconstruct Western metaphysics using puns, wordplay, poetry, book reviews, fiction, or the analysis of pop culture.

In addition, deconstruction sprang in part as a critique of such philosophers as Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. While the style of Husserl and Heidegger was dense and opaque, Derrida's criticism of their writings was for some readers even more difficult to understand. Similarly, most deconstructive writings are relatively opaque and dense, and are full of not only the terminology of the text being critiqued, but additional neologisms that many find hard to follow. This opaqueness in texts of the broader movements of postmodernism and post-structuralism has led to criticism of those movements, and implicitly of deconstruction, by many modernists such as Noam Chomsky.

Political criticisms

Deconstruction has also been criticized for its perceived political stance, in that it is perceived as advocating particular movements or points of view. An argument can be made that deconstruction is apolitical. Indeed, Jacques Derrida has consistently denied any simple political aspect to deconstruction, and his later texts are concerned with complicating the relationship between deconstruction and politics. Despite these denials Derrida has made numerous statements supporting the spirit of Marxism, for instance:

"Now these problems of the foreign debt - and everything that is metonymized by this concept - will not be treated without at least the spirit of the Marxist critique, the critique of the market, of the multiple logics of capital, and of that which links the State and international law to this market". *Spectres of Marx*, 1994.

So *différance* can also be understood as part of the revolutionary dialectic that destroys the established order to permit the adoption of some new world order. A new world order that, with the death of Marxism, could take any form that political fashion might dictate. In this sense deconstruction can be seen as a Marxist meme that is persisting after the death of Marxism. In general the deconstructive writers are much more closely associated with the political left and various elements of academia than with the political right but their work may benefit either faction.

Thus, some critics view deconstruction as means of academic empire-building; they see deconstruction as elevating the practice of reading and deconstructing a text to the same status as the original act of writing the text. For example, critics have taken issue with deconstructive writings which seem to elevate the criticism of Western science, metaphysics, and philosophy, such as quantum mechanics and the writings of Aristotle, to the same political status as the original scientific and philosophical writings. This seems to give deconstructive writings a privileged position with respect to other writings. This, critics suggest, is arrogant.

While there are numerous left-leaning political forces at work within postmodernism as a whole, deconstructive writers such as Derrida argue that deconstruction is not simply political. For example, while deconstruction criticizes the binary opposition between presence and absence, and the tendency to favor presence, deconstruction does not go a step further and advocate absence, or argue that the Western favoritism of presence is simply a bad thing. This further step, deconstructive writers argue, would not be deconstruction at all, but construction or reconstruction. Nor, deconstructive writers argue, does deconstruction necessarily imply an advocacy of one type of text over another. They agree, however, that critics of deconstruction ascribe that stance of advocacy to the deconstructive writer, because (they argue) of the critics' own logocentrism.

Undoubtedly, however, everything that deconstructive writers do is not deconstructive, and deconstructive writers hold political views and take the role of advocating aspects of Western metaphysics. Deconstructive writers do not view this as inconsistent with deconstruction. They do not see a paradox in advocating a point of Western metaphysics with self-conscious irony. Derrida stated, "Deconstruction is not an enclosure in nothingness, but an openness to the other".

Criticisms classifying deconstruction as nihilism or relativism

Especially in non-academic forums, deconstruction is criticized for the same reasons as nihilism and relativism, which many view as equivalent to deconstruction. For example, critics commonly argue that deconstruction denies that authors have an intention, or that text has any meaning. Therefore, deconstruction is criticized because of the belief that deconstruction is a form of nihilism or extreme relativism.

Deconstructive writers generally disagree that deconstruction is a destruction of all meaning and authorial intentionality. Rather, they say, meaning exists, as does authorial intent; however, Western philosophy has failed to locate or situate that meaning and that intent outside the realm of text. If one tries through metaphysics to find meaning or intent outside text, they say, one only finds a web of text from which one cannot escape using Western metaphysics. However, there is value, according to some deconstructive writers, in following the textual threads of Western metaphysics, which is something like wordplay. And one may hope, they suppose, to transcend Western metaphysics. This is quite different, in their view, from the nihilist assertion that meaning and intent do not exist, and that it is futile to seek them.

Critics have also criticized deconstruction as a form of solipsism, arguing that deconstruction implies that there is no reality "out there", or that one cannot know its true nature. Deconstructive writers do not agree with this assertion. They acknowledge that there is a reality "out there", and that one may discover knowledge or true nature, but state that Western metaphysics has not provided a mechanism whereby these ideals may be located outside the bounds of text.

Nor do deconstructive writers allege that it is impossible to learn authoritative information. However, authoritative text, they say, is still text, and while Western metaphysics has established methods to establish and perpetuate authority, it has not located the source of that authority as a transcendental signifier.

History of deconstruction

During the period between the late 1960s and the early 1980s many thinkers influenced by deconstruction, including Derrida, Paul de Man, Geoffrey Hartman, and J. Hillis Miller, worked at Yale University. This group came to be known as the Yale school and was especially influential in literary criticism, as de Man, Miller, and Hartman were all

primarily literary critics. Several of these theorists were subsequently affiliated with the University of California Irvine.

Precursors

Deconstruction has significant ties with much of Western philosophy; even considering only Derrida's work, there are existing deconstructive texts about the works of at least many dozens of important philosophers. However, deconstruction emerged from a clearly delineated philosophical context:

- Derrida's earliest work, including the texts that introduced the term "deconstruction," dealt with the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl: Derrida's first publication was a book-length Introduction to Husserl's *The Origin of Geometry*, and *Speech and Phenomena*, an early work, dealt largely with phenomenology.
- A student and prior interpreter of Husserl's, Martin Heidegger, was one of the most significant influences on Derrida's thought: Derrida's *Of Spirit* deals directly with Heidegger, but Heidegger's influence on deconstruction is much broader than that one volume.
- The psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud is an important reference for much of deconstruction: The Post Card, important essays in *Writing and Difference*, *Archive Fever*, and many other deconstructive works deal primarily with Freud.
- The work of Friedrich Nietzsche is a forerunner of deconstruction in form and substance, as Derrida writes in *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*.
- The structuralism of Ferdinand de Saussure, and other forms of post-structuralism that evolved contemporaneously with deconstruction (such as the work of Maurice Blanchot, Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, Jacques Lacan, etc.), were the immediate intellectual climate for the formation of deconstruction. In many cases, these authors were close friends, colleagues, or correspondents of Derrida's.

Deconstruction - some more points:

It exposes the problematic nature of "centre" which was very important for the Structuralists. Structuralists give a scientific basis for everything. According to them every structure needs to have a "centre". Derrida says that the idea of "centre" attempts to exclude all those who accept it. To Derrida, who represents a dispossessed culture, centre is not in the middle- it could be anywhere in the circle. It keeps shifting from the centre. Thus he tries to bring margin to the centre.

For Derrida deconstruction is a political practice not literary because he actually discusses hierarchy. According to him when we apply deconstruction we subvert the original hierarchy and fix a new hierarchy, thereby challenging the old one and allowing to surrender to the play of binaries. This new hierarchy is not fixed and temporarily subverts the old hierarchy. When applied to literary works deconstructionist gives importance not to the message, but to the works in the work. For Derrida every text has opposite terms dancing in a free play of non-hierarchical non-stable meanings. Thus deconstruction does not close up possibilities of interpretations but only opens up new possibilities. Perhaps this is what made Derrida say "I deconstruct what I love".

When it comes to the choice between speech and writing the old European conventions gave importance to speech over writing. Derrida says that the old logic of "my words fit my thoughts, feelings and intuitions" is the precise reason for the priority given to speech over writing. According to Derrida words which are spoken in specific moments and places are present / Writing on the other hand is haunted by absence. The yearning for presence is tied with this favoring of language over writing.

MODERNISM

The modern movement emerged in the late 19th century, and was rooted in the idea that "traditional" forms of art, literature, social organization and daily life had become outdated, and that it was therefore essential to sweep them aside and reinvent culture. It encouraged the idea of re-examination of every aspect of existence, from commerce to philosophy, with the goal of finding that which was "holding back" progress, and replacing it with new, and therefore better, ways of reaching the same end. In essence, the Modern Movement argued that the new realities of the 20th century were permanent and immanent, and that people should adapt to their world view to accept that what was new was also good and beautiful.

Modernism in the cultural historical sense is generally defined as the new artistic and literary styles that emerged in the decades before 1914 as artists rebelled against the late 19th century norms of depiction and literary form, in an attempt to present what they regarded as a more emotionally true picture of how people really feel and think.

Some divide the 20th century into modern and post-modern periods, whereas others see them as two parts of the same larger period. This article will focus on the movement that grew out of the late 19th and early 20th century, while Post-modernism has its own article.

Precursors to modernism

The first half of the 19th century for Europe was marked by a series of turbulent wars and revolutions, which gradually formed into a series of ideas and doctrines now identified as Romanticism, which focused on individual subjective experience, the supremacy of "Nature" as the standard subject for art, revolutionary or radical extensions of expression, and individual liberty. By mid-century, however, a synthesis of these ideas, and stable governing forms had emerged. Called by various names, this synthesis was rooted in the idea that what was "real" dominated over what was subjective. It is exemplified by Otto von Bismarck's *realpolitik*, philosophical ideas such as positivism and cultural norms now described by the word Victorian.

Core to this synthesis, however, was the importance of institutions, common assumptions and frames of reference. These drew their support from religious norms found in Christianity, scientific norms found in classical physics and doctrines which asserted that depiction of the basic external reality from an objective standpoint was possible. Cultural critics and historians label this set of doctrines Realism, though this term is not universal. In philosophy, the rationalist and positivist movements established a primacy of reason and system.

Against this current were a series of ideas. Some were direct continuations of Romantic schools of thought. Notable were the agrarian and revivalist movements in plastic arts and poetry (e.g. the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the philosopher John Ruskin). Rationalism also drew responses from the anti-rationalists in philosophy. In particular, Hegel's dialectic view of civilization and history drew responses from Friedrich Nietzsche and Søren Kierkegaard, who was a major precursor to Existentialism. All of these separate reactions together, however, began to be seen as offering a challenge to any comfortable ideas of certainty derived by civilization, history, or pure reason.

From the 1870s onwards, the views that history and civilization were inherently progressive, and that progress was inherently amicable, were increasingly called into question. Writers like Wagner and Ibsen had been reviled for their own critiques of contemporary civilisation, and warned that increasing "progress" would lead to increasing isolation and the creation of individuals detached from social norms and their fellow men. Increasingly it began to be argued not merely that the values of the artist and those of society were different, but that society was antithetical to progress itself, and could not move forward in its present form. Moreover, there were new views of philosophy which called into question the previous optimism. The work of Schopenhauer was labelled "pessimistic" for its idea of the "negation of the will", an idea which would be both rejected and incorporated by later thinkers such as Nietzsche.

Two of the most disruptive thinkers of the period were, in biology Charles Darwin, and in political science Karl Marx. Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection undermined religious certainty of the general public, and the sense of human uniqueness of the intelligentsia. The notion that human beings were driven by the same impulses as "lower animals" proved to be difficult to reconcile with the idea of an ennobling spirituality. Karl Marx seemed to present a political version of the same problem: that problems with the economic order were not transient, the result of specific wrong doers or temporary conditions, but were fundamentally contradictions within the "capitalist" system. Both thinkers would spawn defenders and schools of thought which would become decisive in establishing modernism.

Separately, in the arts and letters, two ideas originating in France would have particular impact. The first was Impressionism, a school of painting which was initially focused on work done, not in studios, but in the "plain air." They argued that human beings do not see objects, but instead see light itself. The school gathered adherents, and despite deep internal divisions among its leading practitioners, became increasingly influential. Initially rejected from the most important commercial show of the time - the government sponsored Paris Salon (Emperor Napoleon III created the "Salon des Refuses" which displayed all of the paintings rejected by the Paris Salon). While most were in standard styles, but by inferior artists, the work of Manet attracted tremendous attention, and opened commercial doors to the movement.

The second school was Symbolism, marked by a belief that language is expressly symbolic in its nature, and that poetry and writing should follow whichever connection the sheer sound and texture of the words create. The poet Stéphane Mallarmé would be of particular importance to what would occur afterwards.

At the same time social, political, and economic forces were at work which would eventually be used as the basis to argue for a radically different kind of art and thinking.

Chief among these was industrialization, which produced buildings such as the Eiffel Tower that broke all previous limitations on how tall man-made objects could be, and at the same time offered a radically different environment in urban life. The miseries of industrial urbanity, and the possibilities created by scientific examination of subjects would be crucial in the series of changes which would shake European civilization, which, at that point, regarded itself as having a continuous and progressive line of development from the Renaissance.

The breadth of the changes can be seen in how many disciplines are described, in their pre-20th century form, as being "classical", including physics, economics, and arts such as ballet.

The beginning of modernism 1890-1910

Initially the movement can be described as a rejection of tradition, and a tendency to face problems from a fresh perspective based on current ideas and techniques. Thus Gustav Mahler considered himself a "modern" composer and Gustave Flaubert made his famous remark that "It is essential to be thoroughly modern in one's tastes." The rejection

of tradition by the Impressionist movement makes it one of the first artistic movements to be seen, in retrospect, as a modern movement. In literature the symbolist movement had a tremendous influence on the development of the Modernism, because of its focus on sensation. Philosophically, the break with tradition by Nietzsche and Freud provides a key underpinning of the movement going forward: to begin again from first principles, abandoning previous definitions and systems. This wave of the movement generally stayed within late 19th century norms of presentation; often its practitioners regarded themselves as reformers rather than revolutionaries.

Beginning in the 1890s and with increasing force afterwards, a strand of thinking began to assert that it was necessary to push aside previous norms entirely, and instead of merely revising past knowledge in light of current techniques, it would be necessary to make more thorough changes. The movement in art paralleled such developments as the Theory of Relativity in physics; the increasing integration of internal combustion and industrialization; and the rise of social sciences in public policy. In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century a series of writers, thinkers, and artists made the break with traditional means of organizing literature, painting, and music - again, in parallel to the change in organizational methods in other fields. The argument was that if the nature of reality itself was in question, and the restrictions which, it was felt, had been in place around human activity were falling, then art too, would have to radically change.

As vividly Sigmund Freud offered a view of subjective states that involved a subconscious mind full of primal impulses and counterbalancing restrictions, and Carl Jung would combine Freud's doctrine of the subconscious with a belief in natural essence to stipulate a collective unconscious that was full of basic typologies that the conscious mind fought or embraced. This attacked the idea that people's impulses towards breaking social norms were the product of being childish or ignorant, and were instead essential to the nature of the human animal, and the ideas of Darwin had introduced the idea of "man, the animal" to the public mind.

At the same time, and in nearly the same place as Freud, Friedrich Nietzsche championed a process philosophy, in which processes and forces, specifically the 'will to power', were more important than facts or things. Similarly the writings of Henri Bergson became increasingly influential, who also championed the vital 'life force' over static conceptions of reality. What united all these writers was a romantic distrust of the Victorian positivism and certainty. Instead they championed, or, in case of Freud, attempted to explain, irrational thought processes through the lens of rationality and holism. This was connected with a general search to culminate the century long trend to thinking in terms of holistic ideas, which would include an increased interest in the occult, and "the vital force".

Out of this collision of ideals from Romanticism, and an attempt to find a way for knowledge to explain that which was as yet unknown, came the first wave of works, which, while their authors considered them extensions of existing trends in art, broke the implicit contract that artists were the interpreters and representatives of bourgeois culture and ideas. The landmarks include Arnold Schoenberg's atonal ending to his Second String Quartet in 1906, the abstract paintings of Wassily Kandinsky starting in 1903 and culminating with the founding of the Blue Rider group in Munich, and the rise of cubism from the work of Picasso and Georges Braque in 1908.

Powerfully influential in this wave of modernity were the theories of Freud, who argued that the mind had a basic and fundamental structure, and that subjective experience was based on the interplay of the parts of the mind. All subjective reality was based, according to Freud's ideas, on the play of basic drives and instincts, through which the outside world was perceived. This represented a break with the past, in that previously it was believed that external and absolute reality could impress itself on an individual, as, for example, in John Locke's tabula rasa doctrine.

However, the modern movement was not merely defined by its avant garde but also by a reforming trend within previous artistic norms. This search for simplification of diction was found in the work of Joseph Conrad. The pressures of communication, transportation and more rapid scientific development began placing a premium on architectural styles which were cheaper to build and less ornamented, and on writing which was shorter, clearer, and easier to read. The rise of cinema and "moving pictures" in the first decade of the twentieth century gave the modern movement an art form which was uniquely its own, and again, created a direct connection between the perceived need to extend the "progressive" tradition of the late nineteenth century, even if this conflicted with the then established norms.

This wave of the modern movement broke with the past in the first decade of the twentieth century, and tried to redefine various artforms in a radical manner. Leading lights within the literary wing of this movement include Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, Guillaume Apollinaire, Joseph Conrad, Marcel Proust, Gertrude Stein, Wyndham Lewis, H.D., Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams, and Franz Kafka. Composers such as Schoenberg and Stravinsky represent modernism in music. Artists such as Gustav Klimt, Picasso, Matisse, Mondrian, and the Surrealists represent the visual arts, while architects and designers such as Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe brought modernist ideas into everyday urban life. Several figures outside of artistic modernism were influenced by artistic ideas; for example, John Maynard Keynes was friends with Woolf and other writers of the Bloomsbury group.

The explosion of modernism 1910-1930

On the eve of World War I, a growing tension and unease with the social order began to break through - seen in the Russian Revolution of 1905, the increasing agitation of "radical" parties, and an increasing number of works which either radically simplified or rejected previous practice. In 1913, Igor Stravinsky, working for Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, composed *Rite of Spring* for a ballet that depicted human sacrifice, and young painters such as Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse had only recently begun causing a shock with their rejection of traditional perspective as the means of structuring paintings - a step that the Impressionists, and even Cezanne, had not taken.

This development began to give a new meaning to what was termed 'Modernism'. At its core was the embracing of disruption, and a rejection of, or movement beyond, simple Realism in literature and art, and the rejection of, or dramatic alteration of, tonality in music. In the 19th century, artists had tended to believe in 'progress', though what that word entailed varied dramatically, and the importance of the artist's contributing positively to the values of society. So, for example, writers like Dickens and Tolstoy, painters like Turner, and musicians like Brahms were not 'radicals' or 'Bohemians', but were instead valued members of society who produced art which added to society, even if it was, at times, critiquing less desirable aspects of it. Modernism, while it was still "progressive" increasingly saw traditional forms and traditional social arrangements as hindering progress, and therefore the artist was recast as revolutionary, overthrowing, rather than enlightening.

An example of this trend was to be found in Futurism. In 1909, a manifesto was published in the *Le Figaro*, and rapidly a group of painters (Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, and Gino Severini) co-signed *The Manifesto of Futurist Painting*. Such manifestos were modelled on the famous "Communist Manifesto" of the previous century, and were meant to provoke and gather followers while they put forward principles and ideas. However, Futurism was strongly influenced by Bergson and Nietzsche, and it should be seen as part of the general trend of Modernist rationalization of disruption.

It must be stressed that Modernist philosophy and art were still viewed as being part, and only a part, of the larger social movement. Artists such as Klimt, Paul Cezanne and Mahler and Richard Strauss were "the terrible moderns" - those farther to the avant-garde were more heard of, than heard. Polemics in favour of geometric or purely abstract painting were largely confined to 'little magazines' (like *The New Age* in the UK) with tiny circulations. Modernist primitivism and pessimism was controversial but was not seen as representative of the Edwardian mainstream, which was more inclined towards a Victorian faith in progress and liberal optimism.

However, World War I and its subsequent events were the cataclysmic disruptions which Victorians such as Brahms had worried about, and avant-gardists had embraced.

First, the fantastic failure of the previous status quo seemed self-evident to a generation which had seen millions die fighting over scraps of earth - prior to the war, it had been argued that no one would fight such a war, since the cost was too high. Second, the introduction of a machine age into life seemed obvious - machine warfare became a touchstone of the ultimate reality. Finally, the immensely traumatic nature of the experience made both critical and subjective strands of the modern movement basic assumptions: Realism seemed to be bankrupt when faced with the fundamentally fantastic nature of trench warfare - as exemplified by books such as Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Moreover, the view that Mankind was making slow and steady moral progress came to seem ridiculous in the face of the senseless slaughter of the Great War. The First World War, at once, fused the harshly mechanical geometric rationality of technology, with the nightmarish irrationality out of myth.

Thus in the 1920s and increasingly after, modernism, which had been such a minority taste before the war, came to define the age. There was a subtle, but important, shift from the earlier phase: in the beginning the movement was by individuals who were part of the establishment, or wished to join the establishment. However, increasingly, the tone became one of individuals who were trying to replace the older hierarchy with one based on new ideas, norms, and methods. Modernism was seen in Europe in such critical movements as Dada, and then in constructive movements such as Surrealism, as well as in smaller movements such as the Bloomsbury Group. Each of these "modernisms", as some observers labelled them at the time, stressed new methods to produce new results. Again Impressionism was a precursor: breaking with the idea of national schools, artists and writers adopted ideas of international movements. Surrealism, Cubism, Bauhaus, and Leninism are all examples of movements which rapidly found adopters far beyond their original geographic base.

Exhibitions, theatre, cinema, books and buildings all served to cement in the public view the perception that the world was changing - and this often met with hostile resistance. Paintings were spat upon, riots organized at the opening of works, and some political figures even denounced modernism as being connected with immorality. At the same time, the 1920's were known as the "Jazz Age", and there was a public embrace of the advancements of mechanization: cars, air travel and the telephone. The assertion of Modernists was that these advancements required people to change, not merely their habits, but their fundamental aesthetic sense.

By 1930, modernism had won a place in the establishment, including the political and artistic establishment.

Ironically, by the time it was being accepted, Modernism itself had changed. There was a general reaction in the 1920s against the pre-1918 Modernism which emphasised its continuity with a past even as it rebelled against it, and against the aspects of that period which seemed excessively mannered, irrational and emotionalistic. The post-World War period, at first, veered either to system or nihilism, and had, as perhaps its most paradigmatic movement, Dada.

Since both rationality and irrationality are present in all large movements, some writers attacked the madness of the new Modernism, while, at the same time, others described it as soulless and mechanistic. Modernists, in turn, attacked the madness of hurling millions of young men into the hell of war, and the falseness of artistic norms which could not depict the emotional reality of life in the 20th century.

The rationalistic side of modernism was a move back towards control, self-restraint, and an urge to re-engage with society. Examples of this approach include Stravinsky's neoclassical style of composition, the "International style" of Bauhaus, Schoenberg's atonality, the New Objectivity in German painting. At the same time, the desire to turn social critique into persuasive counter-order found expression in the beginnings of econometrics, and the rise of societies to reform nations along scientific, and often socialistic, lines. The victories of the Russian Revolution, with its emphasis, at least in words, to both humane life and rational planning, came to be taken by many that "the future is here, and it works".

However, it must be remembered that these concepts and movements were often in competition with each other, and even in direct conflict. Within modernity there were disputes about the importance of the public, the relationship of art to audience, and the role of art in society. Rather than a lockstep organization, it is better to see modernism as taking a series of responses to the situation as it was understood, and the attempt to wrestle universal principles from it. In the end science and scientific rationality, often taking models from the 18th Century Enlightenment came to be seen as the source of logic and stability, while the basic primitive sexual and unconscious drives, along with the seemingly counter-intuitive workings of the new machine age, were taken as the basic emotional substance. From these two poles, modernists began to fashion a complete world view which could encompass every aspect of life, and express "everything from a scream to a chuckle".

Modernism's second generation (1930-1945)

By 1930, modernism had entered popular culture with "The Jazz Age" and the increasing urbanization of populations, it had begun making systematic challenges to previous art and ideas, and was beginning to be looked to as the source for ideas to deal with the host of challenges faced in that particular historical moment. Modernism was, by this point, increasingly, represented in academia and was developing a self-conscious theory of its own importance. The Modernism of the 1930's then increasingly begins to focus on the realities of there being a popular culture which was not derived from high culture, but instead from its own realities, particularly of mass production. Modern ideas in art were also increasingly used in commercials and logos. The famous London Underground logo is an early example of the need for clear, easily recognizable and memorable visual symbols.

Another strong influence at this time was Marxism. After the generally primitivistic/irrationalist aspect of pre-war modernism, which for many modernists precluded any attachment to merely political solutions, and the neoclassicism of the 1920s, as represented most famously by T.S. Eliot and Igor Stravinsky - which rejected popular solutions to modern problems - the rise of Fascism, the Great Depression, and the march to war helped to radicalise a generation. The Russian Revolution was the catalyst to fuse political radicalism and utopianism, with more expressly political stances. Bertolt Brecht, Auden, and the philosophers Gramsci and Walter Benjamin are perhaps the most famous exemplars of this Modernist Marxism. This move to the radical left, however, was neither universal, nor definitional. There is no particular reason to associate Modernism, fundamentally, with 'the left' and, in fact, many Modernists were explicitly of 'the right' (for example, Wyndham Lewis, W.B. Yeats, Arnold Schoenberg, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and many others).

One of the most visible changes of this period is the adoption of objects of modern production into daily life, electricity, the telephone, the automobile - and the need to work with them, repair them and live with them - created the need for new forms of manners, and social life. The kind of disruptive moment which only a few knew in the 1880's, became a common occurrence. The kind of speed of communication reserved for the stock brokers of 1890, became part of family life. Modernism as leading to social organization would produce inquiries into sex and the basic bondings of the nuclear, rather than extended, family. The Freudian tensions of infantile sexuality and the raising of children became more intense, because people had fewer children, and therefore a more specific relationship with each child: the theoretical, again, became the practical and even popular.

Modernism after the Second World War (1945-)

People often draw the lessons from history that they feel others should have learnt from experience, and the post-world war modernist experience is no exception. Nazi Germany was depicted as "the last charge Romanticism had in its belly", and the product of irrational attachment to the state. The shattering of Europe swept away many of the traditional forms and lifestyles which had been arguing against the adoption of a mechanized economy, and there was such a vast need of rebuilding, that everything had to be made new.

This period is often described as "High Modernism", and on the one hand it led to artists exploring the most extended, some would say extreme, consequences of modernist ideas—for example serialism and abstract expressionism, and at the same time, modernist design—in consumer goods, architecture, clothing and furnishings, became the norm. The top hats, dresses and frills of another age were tossed aside, or used only as high costume. The expansion of rail and road networks, the pouring of labor into cities from the country-side, and the vast building programs necessitated by the need to command and control the new economy, meant that the societies of Europe, America and Japan were thrust into the modern, and modernist, world.

The collision between popular sensibility and rarefied ideas became one of the most contentious, and extended, debates within modernism. The conflict, always latent, became acute, as, on one hand, the need for ever more specialized elites and ever more specialized knowledge pushed towards the "pure" forms of modernism, while at the same time mass production, broadcasting and organization lead to the creation of popular culture which, while it made reference to the imagined Victorian way of life, was as rooted in new ideas as the most esoteric of poems.

Modernism itself began to face a series of crisis points as the unquestioned assumption that artistic and philosophical progress was mirrored and equivalent to technical progress became more problematic for more and more artists. One example from music is in the serialist music of Pierre Boulez - where he began to feel that pure parameterization was not enough to produce the variety of sound which was pleasing. His correspondent, and some time rival, John Cage argued that if pure serial music sounded random to people, why not just use random process to create music? Another example from painting can be seen at the boundary of Abstract Expressionism and Minimalism in painting - if the only thing that mattered was the presentation, why cover a canvas with so much.

For some artists these challenges were best met by reviving, renewing or expanding the precepts of Modernism as a continuing revolution, that the new environment, having produced more liberation was an invitation to yet further artistic "experimentation", as a modernist would call it, and more direct methods of creation. One example of this would be the work of Willem de Kooning, who as a painter sought more and more expressionistic means of presentation. For others, it meant the abandoning of the "pressure" that modernism seemed to impose on them, for example the change in styles of composer Lukas Foss. For other young artists, there was no conflict, merely a permission to act in whatever manner seemed most conducive to their inner sense of expression - exemplified by Andy Warhol.

The views on what this meant, and mean, differ widely. For some, the relaxation of progress and rationality represent a betrayal of modernism, for others, for whom modern and contemporary are close synonyms, it was merely modernism by other means. This division, between modern as meaning a particular way of responding to conditions and those who feel that modernism is merely "relevant to the present", has been seen in arguments over what music to include in programs, what art to show at galleries and were to draw lines in history.

Modernism's reception and controversy

The most controversial aspect of the modern movement was, and remains, its rejection of tradition, both in organization, and in the immediate experience of the work. If there is a fundamental idea of modernism it is that spiritual existence should conform to outside pressures, and that art and human activity should, and could, be moulded to do this. This dismissal of tradition also involved the rejection of conventional expectations: hence modernism often stresses freedom of expression, experimentation, radicalism, and primitivism. In many art forms this often meant startling and alienating audiences with bizarre and unpredictable effects. Hence the strange and disturbing combinations of motifs in Surrealism, or the use of extreme dissonance in modernist music. In literature this often involved the rejection of intelligible plots or characterisation in novels, or the creation of poetry that defied clear interpretation.

Many modernists believed that by rejecting tradition they could discover radically new ways of making art. Schoenberg believed that by ignoring traditional tonal harmony, the hierarchical system of organizing works of music which had guided music making for at least a century and a half, and perhaps longer, he had discovered a wholly new way of organizing sound, based in the use of twelve-note rows. This led to what is known as serial music by the post-war period. Abstract artists, taking as their examples the Impressionists, as well as Paul Cézanne and Edvard Munch, began with the assumption that colour and shape formed the essential characteristics of art, not the depiction of the natural world. Wassily Kandinsky, Piet Mondrian, and Kazimir Malevich, and lesser known yet prolific painters such as Fuller Potter, all believed in redefining art as the arrangement of pure colour. The use of photography, which had rendered much of the representational function of visual art obsolete, strongly affected this particular aspect of modernism. However, these artists also believed that by rejecting the depiction of material objects they helped art move from a materialist to a spiritualist phase of development.

Other modernists, especially those involved in design, had more pragmatic views. Modernist architects and designers believed that new technology rendered old styles of building obsolete. Le Corbusier (born Charles-Edouard Jeanneret) thought that buildings should function as "machines for living in", analogous to cars, which he saw as machines for travelling in. Just as cars had replaced the horse, so modernist design should reject the old styles and structures inherited from Ancient Greece or from the Middle Ages. Following this machine aesthetic, modernist designers typically reject decorative motifs in design, preferring to emphasise the materials used and pure geometrical forms. The skyscraper, such as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building in New York (1956 - 1958), became the archetypal modernist building. Modernist design of houses and furniture also typically emphasised simplicity and clarity of form, open-plan interiors, and the absence of clutter. Modernism reversed the 19th century relationship of public and private: in the 19th century, public buildings were horizontally expansive for a variety of technical reasons, and private buildings emphasized verticality - to fit more private space on more and more limited land. Where as in the 20th century, public buildings became vertically oriented, and private buildings became organized horizontally. Many aspects of modernist design still persist within the mainstream of contemporary architecture today, though its previous dogmatism has given way to a more playful use of decoration, historical quotation, and spatial drama.

In other arts such pragmatic considerations were less important. In literature and visual art some modernists sought to defy expectations mainly in order to make their art more vivid, or to force the audience to take the trouble to question their own preconceptions. This aspect of modernism has often seemed a reaction to consumer culture, which developed in Europe and North America in the late 19th century. Whereas most manufacturers try to make products that will be marketable by appealing to preferences and prejudices, high modernists rejected such consumerist attitudes in order to undermine conventional thinking. The art critic Clement Greenberg expounded this theory of modernism in his essay *Avant Garde and Kitsch*. Greenberg labelled the products of consumer culture "kitsch", because their design aimed simply to have maximum appeal, with any difficult features removed. For Greenberg, modernism thus formed a reaction against the development of such examples of modern consumer culture as commercial popular music, Hollywood, and advertising. Greenberg associated this with a revolutionary rejection of capitalism.

Many modernists did see themselves as part of a revolutionary culture - one that included political revolution. However, many rejected conventional politics as well as artistic conventions, believing that a revolution of consciousness had greater importance than a change in political structures. Many modernists saw themselves as apolitical, only concerned with revolutionizing their own field of endeavour. Others, such as T. S. Eliot, rejected mass popular culture from a conservative position. Indeed one can argue that modernism in literature and art functioned to sustain an elite culture which excluded the majority of the population.

Because of its emphasis on individual freedom and expression, and its emphasis on the individual, many modern artists ran afoul of totalitarian governments, many of which saw traditionalism in the arts as an important prop to their political power. Two of the most famous examples are the Soviet Communist government rejected modernism on the grounds of alleged elitism; and the Nazi government in Germany deemed it narcissistic and nonsensical, as well as "Jewish" and "Negro". The Nazis exhibited modernist paintings alongside works by the mentally ill in an exhibition entitled *Degenerate art*. Accusations of "formalism" could lead to the end of a career, or worse. For this reason many modernists of the post-war generation felt that they were the most important bulwark against totalitarianism, the "canary in the coal mine", whose repression by a government or other group with supposed authority represented a warning that individual liberties were being threatened.

In fact, modernism flourished mainly in consumer/capitalist societies, despite the fact that its proponents often rejected consumerism itself. However, high modernism began to merge with consumer culture after World War II, especially during the 1960s. In Britain, a youth sub-culture even called itself "moderns", though usually shortened to *Mods*. In popular music, Bob Dylan combined folk music traditions with modernist verse, adopting literary devices derived from Eliot and others. The Beatles also developed along these lines, even creating atonal and other modernist musical effects in their later albums. Musicians such as Frank Zappa and Captain Beefheart proved even more experimental. Modernist devices also started to appear in popular cinema, and later on in music videos. Modernist design also began to enter the mainstream of popular culture, as simplified and stylized forms became popular, often associated with dreams of a space age high-tech future.

This merging of consumer and high versions of modernist culture led to a radical transformation of the meaning of "modernism" itself. Firstly, it implied that a movement based on the rejection of tradition had become a tradition of its own. Secondly, it demonstrated that the distinction between elite modernist and mass consumerist culture had lost its precision. Some writers declared that modernism had become so institutionalized that it was now "post avant garde", indicating that it had lost its power as a revolutionary movement. Many have interpreted this transformation as the beginning of the phase that became known as Postmodernism. For others, such as, for example, art critic Robert Hughes, postmodernism represents an extension of modernism.

One deep element of modernism has been alienation, either of the individual from self, or from society, or from the "natural" basis of existence. For this reason there have been repeated "anti-modern" or "counter-modern" movements, which seek to emphasize holism, connection and spirituality as being remedies or antidotes to modernism. Such movements see Modernism as reductionist, and therefore subject to the failure to see systematic and emergent effects. Many Modernists came to this viewpoint, for example Paul Hindemith in his late turn towards mysticism. Writers such as Paul Ray and Sherry Ruth, in *Culture Creatives*, Fredrick Turner in *A Culture of Hope* and Lester Brown in *Plan B*, have articulated a critique of the basic idea of modernism itself: that individual creative expression should conform to the realities of technology, and instead that individual creativity should make every day life more emotionally acceptable.

In some fields the effects of modernism have remained stronger and more persistent than in others. Visual art has made the most complete break with its past. Most major capital cities have museums devoted to 'Modern Art' as distinct from post-Renaissance art (circa 1400 to circa 1900). Examples include the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Tate Gallery in London, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris. Such galleries (and popular attitudes) make no distinction between modernist and postmodernist phases, seeing both as developments within 'Modern Art'.

Modernism outside the west

Modernism, while a Western movement, has been both influenced by, and influential upon, other societies. One example is the absorption of the styles of Japan towards a taste for horizontality in domestic structures, functionalism, and tectonicity, as well as sparseness of vocabulary and the use of line rather than ornament to create style. The translations of Japanese and Chinese literature showed to many Western artists that there was a long,

continuous and consistent tradition which was not based on the norms they were used to. Artists such as Vincent van Gogh were inspired directly by models from Japan and China, such as woodblock prints. Ezra Pound's long relationship with Chinese poetry, beginning in 1913, would lead to his translating some of Li Po and publishing haiku in English.

This absorption of Eastern philosophy and style went beyond the surface, and included re-examination of such Western ideas as Christianity from the perspective of Eastern values and concepts. Composers such as Gustav Mahler and Claude Debussy, poets such as Rainer Maria Rilke and architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright would all find aspects of the Eastern traditions of art that would be congenial to their own ideas.

At the same time, trade, mechanisation, and "modernisation", plunged the world outside of the West into a different kind of turmoil. Western powers over ran or pressured cultures and states that had existed for centuries or even millenia, the need for resources created new trade and power structures. Many nations were forced to Westernise and modernise their economies and armed forces. This brought with it a different kind of Modernism which was based on adoption of Western forms and norms on to pre-existing cultures. The result was an explosion which, while clearly related to modernity and modernism, was not specifically Western, nor directed at being a mere extension of Western modernism.

One example of this is the rise of a generation of architects, artists and writers who studied in the West, but returned to their native countries to produce work in the expanding tradition of Modernism. Maekawa Kunio, an architect from Japan, for example, studied in Paris, but returned to Tokyo in the 1930's to become a leading advocate for Modernism in his native land.

Bali's gamelan gong kebyar provides a example of homegrown musical modernism featuring explosive changes in tempo and dynamics that are comparatively modern in relation to traditional Balinese music as European influenced modernism is to traditional European influenced culture.

POSTMODERNISM

Introduction

Postmodernism is a term applied to a variety of artistic, architectural, philosophical, and cultural movements that are said to arise as the result of and in reaction to modernism.

The term and its use have a wide variety of different meanings in different disciplines, and the existence of postmodernism as a coherent set of ideas is often debated. The most commonly cited areas of disagreement are the basis for knowledge, and political philosophy.

Modernism is usually said to frame itself as the culmination of the Enlightenment's quest for an authoritatively-rational aesthetics, ethics, and knowledge. In contrast, Postmodernism is usually held to be concerned with how the authority of those would-be-ideals, sometimes called metanarratives, are subverted through fragmentation, consumerism, and deconstruction. This dichotomy is somewhat problematic, since it ignores the strong emphasis on irrationalism and fragmentation within modernism. For this reason postmodernism can equally be seen as a development of aspects of modernism while rejecting others, in particular the emphasis on authenticity. Jean-François Lyotard famously described postmodernity as an "incredulity toward metanarratives". Postmodernism attacks the specific notions of monolithic universals and encourages fractured, fluid and multiple perspectives and is marked by an increasing importance in the ideas from the Sociology of knowledge.

A related term is postmodernity, which refers to the state of things after modernity. This includes a focus on the sociological, technological, and other conditions that distinguish the Modern Age from what is thought to have arisen thereafter. Postmodernism, on the other hand, denotes intellectual, cultural, artistic, academic, and philosophical responses to the condition of postmodernity. Another related term is postmodern, an adjective used to describe either a condition of, or a response to, postmodernity. For example, one may refer to postmodern architecture, postmodern literature, postmodern culture, postmodern music and postmodern philosophy.

Brief outline of postmodernism

Features of postmodern culture begin to arise in the 1920s with the emergence of the Dada movement, which featured collage and a focus on the framing of objects and discourse as being as important, or more important, than the work itself. Another strand which would have tremendous impact on post-modernism would be the existentialists, who placed the centrality of the individual narrative as being the source of morals and understanding. However, it is with the end of the Second World War that recognizably post-modernist attitudes begin to emerge.

Central to these is the focusing on the problems of any knowledge which is founded on anything external to an individual. Post-modernism, while widely diverse in its forms, almost invariably begins from the problem of knowledge which is both broadly disseminated in its form, but not limited in its interpretation. Post-modernism rapidly developed a vocabulary of anti-enlightenment rhetoric, used to argue that rationality was neither as sure or as clear as rationalists supposed, and that knowledge was inherently linked to time, place, social position and other factors from which an individual constructs their view of knowledge. To escape from constructed knowledge, it then becomes necessary to critique it, and thus deconstruct the asserted knowledge. Jacques Derrida argued that to defend against the inevitable self-deconstruction of knowledge, systems of power, called hegemony would have to

postulate an original utterance, the logos. This "privileging" of an original utterance is called "logocentrism". Instead of rooting knowledge in particular utterances, or "texts", the basis of knowledge was seen to be in the free play of discourse itself, an idea rooted in Wittgenstein's idea of a language game. This emphasis on the allowability of free play within the context of conversation and discourse leads postmodernism to adopt the stance of irony, paradox, textual manipulation, reference and tropes.

Armed with this process of questioning the social basis of assertions, postmodernist philosophers began to attack unities of modernism, and particularly unities seen as being rooted in the Enlightenment. Since Modernism had made the Enlightenment a central source of its superiority over the Victorian and Romantic periods, this attack amounted to an indirect attack on the establishment of modernism itself. Perhaps the most striking examples of this skepticism are to be found in the works of French cultural theorist, Jean Baudrillard. In his book *Simulations*, he contends that social 'reality' no longer exists in the conventional sense, but has been supplanted by an endless procession of simulacra. The mass media, and other forms of mass cultural production, generate constant re-appropriation and re-contextualisation of familiar cultural symbols and images, fundamentally shifting our experience away from 'reality', to 'hyperreality'. Along this line, it is significant that the beginning of postmodern architecture is not considered to be the construction of any great building, but the destruction of the modernist Pruitt-Igoe housing project.

Postmodernism therefore has an obvious distrust toward claims about truth, ethics, or beauty being rooted in anything other than individual perception and group construction. Utopian ideals of universally applicable truths or aesthetics give way to provisional, decentered, local petit recits which, rather than referencing an underlying universal truth or aesthetic, point only to other ideas and cultural artifacts, themselves subject to interpretation and re-interpretation. The "truth", since it can only be understood by all of its connections is perpetually "deferred", never reaching a point of fixed knowledge which can be called "the truth." This emphasis on construction and consensus is often used to attack science.

Postmodernism is often used in a larger sense, meaning the entire trend of thought in the late 20th century, and the social and philosophical realities of that period. Marxist critics argue that post-modernism is symptomatic of "late capitalism" and the decline of institutions, particularly the nation-state. Other thinkers assert that post-modernity is the natural reaction to mass broadcasting and a society conditioned to mass production and mass political decision making. The ability of knowledge to be endlessly copied defeats attempts to constrain interpretation, or to set "originality" by simple means such as the production of a work. From this perspective, the schools of thought labelled "postmodern" are not as widely at odds with their time period as the polemics and arguments appear, pointing, for example, to the shift of the basis of scientific knowledge to a provisional consensus of scientists, as posited by Thomas Kuhn. Post-modernism is seen, in this view, as being conscious of the nature of the discontinuity between modern and post-modern periods which is generally present.

Postmodernism has manifestations in many modern academic and non-academic disciplines: philosophy, theology, art, architecture, film, television, music, theatre, sociology, fashion, technology, literature, and communications are all heavily influenced by postmodern trends and ideas, and are thoroughly scrutinised from postmodern perspectives. Crucial to these are the denial of customary expectations, the use of non-orthogonal angles in buildings such as the work of Frank Gehry, and the shift in arts exemplified by the rise of minimalism in art and music. Post-modern philosophy often labels itself as critical theory and grounds the construction of identity in the mass media.

(Note: "post-modern" tends to be used by critics, "postmodern" by supporters. This may be because postmodern is considered merely a symbol and its meaning (as obtained through simple linguistic analysis) can be ignored.)

Postmodernism was first identified as a theoretical discipline in the 1980s, but as a cultural movement it predates them by many years. Exactly when modernism began to give way to postmodernism is difficult to pinpoint, if not simply impossible. Some theorists reject that such a distinction even exists, viewing postmodernism, for all its claims of fragmentation and plurality, as still existing within a larger 'modernist' framework. The philosopher Jürgen Habermas is a strong proponent of this view, which has aspects of a lumpers/splitters problem: is the entire 20th century one period, or two distinct periods?

The theory gained some of its strongest ground early on in French academia. In 1979 Jean-François Lyotard wrote a short but influential work *The Postmodern Condition*: a report on knowledge. Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes (in his more post-structural work) are also strongly influential in postmodern theory. Postmodernism is closely allied with several contemporary academic disciplines, most notably those connected with sociology. Many of its assumptions are integral to feminist and post-colonial theory.

Some identify the burgeoning anti-establishment movements of the 1960s as the earliest trend out of cultural modernity toward postmodernism.

Tracing it further back, some identify its roots in the breakdown of Hegelian idealism, and the impact of both World Wars (perhaps even the concept of a World War). Heidegger and Derrida were influential in re-examining the fundamentals of knowledge, together with the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein and his philosophy of action, Søren Kierkegaard's and Karl Barth's important fideist approach to theology, and even the nihilism of Nietzsche's philosophy. Michel Foucault's application of Hegel to thinking about the body is also identified as an important landmark. While it is rare to pin down the specific origins of any large cultural shift, it is fair to assume that postmodernism represents

an accumulated disillusionment with the promises of the Enlightenment project and its progress of science, so central to modern thinking.

The movement has had diverse political ramifications: its anti-ideological insights appear conducive to, and strongly associated with, the feminist movement, racial equality movements, gay rights movements, most forms of late 20th century anarchism, even the peace movement and various hybrids of these in the current anti-globalization movement. Unsurprisingly, none of these institutions entirely embraces all aspects of the postmodern movement, but reflect or, in true postmodern style, borrow from some of its core ideas.

Postmodernism in language

Postmodern philosophers are often regarded as difficult to read, and the critical theory that has sprung up in the wake of postmodernism has often been ridiculed for its stilted syntax and attempts to combine polemical tone and a vast array of new coinages. However, similar charges could be levelled at the works of previous eras, such as the works of Immanuel Kant, as well as at the entire tradition of Greek thought in antiquity.

More important to postmodernism's role in language is the focus on the implied meaning of words and forms, the power structures that are accepted as part of the way words are used, from the use of the word "Man" with a capital "M" to refer to the collective humanity, to the default of the word "he" in English as a pronoun for a person of gender unknown to the speaker, or as a casual replacement for the word "one". This, however, is merely the most obvious example of the changing relationship between diction and discourse which postmodernism presents.

An important concept in postmodernism's view of language is the idea of "play". In the context of postmodernism, play means changing the framework which connects ideas, and thus allows the troping, or turning, of a metaphor or word from one context to another, or from one frame of reference to another. Since, in postmodern thought, the "text" is a series of "markings" whose meaning is imputed by the reader, and not by the author, this play is the means by which the reader constructs or interprets the text, and the means by which the author gains a presence in the reader's mind. Play then involves invoking words in a manner which undermines their authority, by mocking their assumptions or style, or by layers of misdirection as to the intention of the author.

This view of writing is not without harsh detractors, who regard it as needlessly difficult and obscure, and a violation of the implicit contract of lucidity between author and reader: that an author has something to communicate, and shall choose words which transmit the idea as transparently as possible to the reader. Thus postmodernism in language has often been identified with poor writing and communication skills. The term pomobabble came to be within pop culture to illustrate this trend.

Postmodernism in Literature

In some ways, it can be said that postmodern literature does not so much set itself against modernist literature, as develop and extend the style, making it self-conscious and ironic. Both modern and postmodern literature represent a break from 19th century realism, in which narrative told a story from an objective or omniscient point of view. In character development, both modern and postmodern literature explore subjectivism, turning from external reality to examine inner states of consciousness, in many cases drawing on modernist examples in the "stream of consciousness" styles of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce. In addition, both modern and postmodern literature explore fragmentariness in narrative- and character-construction, often reference back to the works of Swedish dramatist August Strindberg and the Italian author Luigi Pirandello.

Postmodernism and post-structuralism

In terms of frequently cited works, postmodernism and post-structuralism overlap quite significantly. Some philosophers, such as Francois Lyotard, can legitimately be classified into both groups. This is partly due to the fact that both modernism and structuralism owe much to the Enlightenment project.

Structuralism has a strong tendency to be scientific in seeking out stable patterns in observed phenomena - an epistemological attitude which is quite compatible with Enlightenment thinking, and incompatible with postmodernists. At the same time, findings from structuralist analysis carried a somewhat anti-Enlightenment message, revealing that rationality can be found in the minds of 'savage' people, just in forms differing from those that people from 'civilized' societies are used to seeing. Implicit here is a critique of the practice of colonialism, which was partly justified as a 'civilizing' process by which wealthier societies bring knowledge, manners, and reason to less 'civilized' ones.

Post-structuralism, emerging as a response to the structuralists' scientific orientation, has kept the cultural relativism in structuralism, while discarding the scientific orientations.

One clear difference between postmodernism and poststructuralism is found in their respective attitudes towards the demise of the project of the Enlightenment: post-structuralism is fundamentally ambivalent, while postmodernism is decidedly celebratory.

Another difference is the nature of the two positions. While post-structuralism is a position in philosophy, encompassing views on human beings, language, body, society, and many other issues, it is not a name of an era. Post-modernism, on the other hand, is closely associated with "post-modern" era, a period in the history coming after the modern age.

Postmodernity and digital communications

Technological utopianism is a common trait in Western history from the 1700s when Adam Smith essentially labelled technological progress as the source of the Wealth of Nations, through the novels of Jules Verne in the late 1800s, through Winston Churchill's belief that there was little an inventor could not achieve. Its manifestation in the post-modernity was first through the explosion of analog mass broadcasting of television. Strongly associated with the work of Marshall McLuhan who argued that "the medium is the message", the ability of mass broadcasting to create visual symbols and mass action was seen as a liberating force in human affairs, even at the same time others were calling television "a vast wasteland".

The second wave of technological utopianism associated with post-modern thought came with the introduction of digital internetworking, and became identified with Esther Dyson and such popular outlets as Wired Magazine. According to this view digital communications makes the fragmentation of modern society a positive feature, since individuals can seek out those artistic, cultural and community experiences which they regard as being correct for themselves.

The common thread is that the fragmentation of society and communication gives the individual more autonomy to create their own environment and narrative. This links into the post-modern novel, which deals with the experience of structuring "truth" from fragments.

Postmodernism and its critics

Charles Murray, a strong critic of postmodernism, defines the term:

By contemporary intellectual fashion, I am referring to the constellation of views that come to mind when one hears the words multicultural, gender, deconstruct, politically correct, and Dead White Males. In a broader sense, contemporary intellectual fashion encompasses as well the widespread disdain in certain circles for technology and the scientific method. Embedded in this mind-set is hostility to the idea that discriminating judgments are appropriate in assessing art and literature, to the idea that hierarchies of value exist, hostility to the idea that an objective truth exists. Postmodernism is the overarching label that is attached to this perspective. [1]

Though Murray's arguments against postmodernism are far from facile, critics have cautioned that Murray's own work in *The Bell Curve* arrives at racist conclusions through research and argumentation that show flagrant disregard for the very standards he defends.

One example is the figure of Harold Bloom, who has simultaneously been hailed as being against multiculturalism and contemporary "fads" in literature, and also placed as an important figure in postmodernism. If even the critics cannot keep score as to which side of a supposedly clear line figures stand on, the best conclusion that can be drawn is that conclusions about membership in the post-modern club are provisional.

Central to the debate is the role of the concept of "objectivity" and what it means. In the broadest sense, denial of objectivity is held to be the post-modern position, and a hostility towards claims advanced on the basis of objectivity its defining feature. It is this underlying hostility toward the concept of objectivity, evident in many contemporary critical theorists, that is the common point of attack for critics of postmodernism. Many critics characterise postmodernism as an ephemeral phenomenon that cannot be adequately defined simply because, as a philosophy at least, it represents nothing more substantial than a series of disparate conjectures allied only in their distrust of modernism.

This antipathy of postmodernists towards modernism, and their consequent tendency to define themselves against it, has also attracted criticism. It has been argued that modernity was not actually a lumbering, totalizing monolith at all, but in fact was itself dynamic and ever-changing; the evolution, therefore, between 'modern' and 'postmodern' should be seen as one of degree, rather than of kind - a continuation rather than a 'break'. One theorist who takes this view is Marshall Berman, whose book *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (a quote from Marx) reflects in its title the fluid nature of 'the experience of modernity'.

As noted above, some theorists such as Habermas even argue that the supposed distinction between the 'modern' and the 'postmodern' does not exist at all, but that the latter is really no more than a development within a larger, still-current, 'modern' framework. Many who make this argument are left academics with Marxist leanings, such as Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and David Harvey (philosopher), who are concerned that postmodernism's undermining of Enlightenment values makes a progressive cultural politics difficult, if not impossible. How can we effect any change in people's poor living conditions, in inequality and injustice, if we don't accept the validity of underlying universals such as the 'real world' and 'justice' in the first place? How is any progress to be made through a philosophy so profoundly skeptical of the very notion of progress, and of unified perspectives? The critics charge that the postmodern vision of a tolerant, pluralist society in which every political ideology is perceived to be as valid, or as redundant, as the other; may ultimately encourage individuals to lead lives of a rather disastrous apathetic quietism. This reasoning leads Habermas to compare postmodernism with conservatism and the preservation of the status quo.

Such critics often argue that, in actual fact, such postmodern premises are rarely, if ever, actually embraced—that if they were, we would be left with nothing more than a crippling radical subjectivism, that the projects of the

Enlightenment and modernity are alive and well can be seen in the justice system, in science, in political rights movements, in the very idea of universities; and so on.

To some critics, there seems, indeed, to be a glaring contradiction in maintaining the death of objectivity and privileged position on one hand, while the scientific community continues a project of unprecedented scope to unify various scientific disciplines into a theory of everything, on the other. Hostility toward hierarchies of value and objectivity becomes similarly problematic when postmodernity itself attempts to analyse such hierarchies with, apparently, some measure of objectivity and make categorical statements concerning them.

Such critics see postmodernism as, essentially, a kind of semantic gamesmanship, more sophistry than substance. Postmodernism's proponents are often criticised for a tendency to indulge in exhausting, verbose stretches of rhetorical gymnastics, which critics feel sound important but are ultimately meaningless. (Some postmodernists may argue that this is precisely the point.) In the Sokal Affair, Alan Sokal, a physicist, wrote a deliberately nonsensical article purportedly about interpreting physics and mathematics in terms of postmodern theory, which was nevertheless published by the Left-leaning *Social Text*, a journal which he and most of the scientific community considered as postmodernist. Notable among Sokal's false arguments published in *Social Text* was that the value of π changed over time and that the strength of Earth's gravity was relative to the observer. Sokal claimed this highlighted the postmodern tendency to value rhetoric and verbal gamesmanship over serious meaning. Sokal also co-wrote *Fashionable Nonsense*, which criticizes the inaccurate use of scientific terminology in intellectual writing and finishes with a critique of some forms of postmodernism. Ironically, postmodern literature often self-consciously plays on the format and structure of scientific writing, emphasizing the distinction between the complex content of the word and its understanding in written form. To borrow a phrase from René Magritte, some postmodern literature and art says "This is not a pipe", pointing out that the form of technical writing is not necessarily connected to its content. The Sokal affair also generated political controversy, with conservative pundits parading it as proof of the irrelevance of the academic left, while leftists criticized Sokal of serving a conservative agenda. Sokal, meanwhile, identified himself as an "unabashed Old Leftist."

Some critics feel that postmodernism is so strongly linked to politics that it does not qualify as a philosophy. These critics claim that, inasmuch as many postmodernist arguments rely on charges of racism and ethnocentrism in traditional Western science, it is little more than an attempt by postmodernists to impose their own political agenda on the sciences. Meanwhile, other critics claim that postmodernism is nothing but a new trend of solipsism, and a complete withdrawal from the political sphere.

Whatever its philosophical value, postmodern phenomena can be observed in nearly all areas of Western capitalist cultures, and a postmodern theoretical approach can help explain much of this cultural condition, irrespective of whether it offers a coherent, functional epistemology.

MARXISM

Marxism is the political practice and social theory based on the works of Karl Marx, a 19th century philosopher, economist, journalist, and revolutionary, along with Friedrich Engels. Marx drew on Hegel's philosophy, the political economy of Adam Smith, Ricardian economics, and 19th century French socialism to develop a critique of society which he claimed was both scientific and revolutionary. This critique achieved its most systematic (if unfinished) expression in his masterpiece, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (*Das Kapital*).

Since Marx's death in 1883, various groups around the world have appealed to Marxism as the intellectual basis for their politics and policies, which can be dramatically different and conflicting. One of the first major splits occurred between the advocates of social democracy, who argued that the transition to socialism could occur within a democratic framework, and communists, who argued that the transition to a socialist society required a revolution. Social democracy resulted in the formation of the British Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, while communism resulted in the formation of various communist parties.

Although there are still many Marxist revolutionary social movements and political parties around the world, since the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, relatively few countries have governments which describe themselves as Marxist. Although social democratic parties are in power in a number of Western nations, they long ago distanced themselves from their historical connections to Marx and his ideas. As of 2004, Laos, Vietnam, Cuba, and the People's Republic of China have governments in power which describe themselves as Marxist. North Korea is inaccurately described as Marxist, as both Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il have rejected conventional Marxist views in favour of the Korean "communist" variant, *juche*. Also, Libya is often referred to as Communist, but Muammar al-Qaddafi has sought to lead them into Islamic socialism.

Some members of the *laissez-faire* and "individualist" schools believe the principles of modern bourgeois states or big governments can be understood as "Marxist". Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto* include a number of steps that they believed a society would experience as workers emancipated themselves from the capitalist system such as "Free education for all children in public schools": some of these appear to have been implemented in the form of Keynesianism, the welfare state, new liberalism, and other changes to the capitalist system in some capitalist states. Some individualists believe that reformers in the capitalist system are (or were) "secret Marxists" as they support policies that are similar to those steps Marx and Engels said a developed capitalist society would go through. Some

other individualists in common with Marx's theory of historical materialism see the capitalist reforms as harbingers of the future coming of communism.

To Marxists, on the other hand, these reforms represent responses to political pressures from working-class political parties and unions, themselves responding to perceived abuses of the capitalist system. Further, in this view, many of these reforms reflect efforts to "save" or "improve" capitalism (without abolishing it) by dealing with market failures, i.e., inefficiencies of the system. Further, although Marxism does see a role for an enlightened (socialist) government to represent the proletariat through a revolutionary period of indeterminate length, it sees an eventually lightening of that burden, a "withering away of the state."

The Hegelian roots of Marxism

Hegel proposed a form of idealism in which the development of ideas into their contraries is the guiding theme of human history. This process, dialectic, sometimes involves gradual accretion but at other times requires discontinuous leaps -- violent upheavals of previously existing status quo. World-historical figures such as Napoleon Bonaparte are, on the Hegelian reading, symptoms and tools of the underlying impersonal dialectical process rather than shapers of the same.

Marx, and the circle of Young Hegelians of whom he was one, retained much of Hegel's way of thinking. But Marx, "stood Hegel on his head," in his own view of his role, by turning the idealistic dialectic into a materialistic one, in proposing that material circumstances shape ideas, instead of the other way around. In this, Marx was following the lead of another Young Hegelian, Ludwig Feuerbach.

Marx summarized the materialistic aspect of his theory of history, otherwise known as historical materialism, in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.

Marx emphasized that the development of material life will come into conflict with the superstructure. These contradictions, he thought, were the driving force of history. Primitive communism had developed into slave states. Slave states had developed into feudal societies. Those societies in turn became capitalist states, and those states would be overthrown by the self-conscious portion of their working-class, or proletariat, creating the conditions for socialism and, ultimately, a higher form of communism than that with which the whole process began. Marx illustrated his ideas most prominently by the development of capitalism from feudalism and by the prediction of the development of socialism from capitalism.

The Political-Economy Roots of Marxism

Political economy is essential to this vision, and Marx built on and critiqued the most well-known political economists of his day, the British classical political economists. Political economy predates the 20th century division of the two disciplines, treating social relations and economic relations as interwoven. Marx claimed the source of profits under capitalism is value added by workers not paid out in wages—a claim he found implied in the works of Adam Smith and especially in David Ricardo but never explicitly formulated.

Capital is written over three volumes, of which only the first was complete at the time of Marx's death. The first volume, and especially the first chapter of that volume, contains the core of the analysis. Hegel's legacy is especially overpowering here, and the work is seldom read with the thoroughness Marx urges in his introduction. The method of presentation proceeds from the most abstract concepts, incorporating one new layer of determination at a time and tracing the effects of each such layer, in an effort to arrive eventually at a total account of the concrete relationships of everyday capitalist society. This investigation is commonly taken to commit Marx to a species of labor theory of value.

Marx critiqued Smith and Ricardo for not realizing that their economic concepts reflected specifically capitalist institutions, not innate natural properties of human society, and could not be applied unchanged to all societies. Marx's theory of business cycles; of economic growth and development, especially in two sector models; and of the declining rate of profit, or crisis theory, are other important elements of Marxist economics.

The Liberal Challenge

The Austrian School were the first liberal economists to systematically challenge the Marxist school. This was partly a reaction to the *Methodenstreit* when they attacked the Hegelian doctrines of the Historical School, though many Marxist authors have argued that the Austrian school was a bourgeois reaction to Marx. The Austrian economists were, however, the first to clash directly with Marxism, since both dealt with such subjects as money, capital, business cycles, and economic processes. Eugen von Boehm-Bawerk wrote extensive critiques of Marx in the 1880s and 1890s, and several prominent Marxists—including Rudolf Hilferding—attended his seminar in 1905-06.

Class Analysis

Marxists believe that capitalist society is divided into two powerful social classes:

- the working class or proletariat: Marx defined this class as "those individuals who sell their labor and do not own the means of production" whom he believed were responsible for creating the wealth of a society (buildings, bridges and furniture, for example, are physically built by members of this class).
- the bourgeoisie : those who "own the means of production" and exploit the proletariat. The bourgeoisie may be further subdivided into the very wealthy bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie: those who employ labor, but may also work themselves. These may be small proprietors, land-holding peasants, or trade workers. Marx predicted that the petty bourgeoisie would eventually be destroyed by the constant reinvention of the means of production and the result of this would be the force movement of the vast majority of the petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat. An example of this would be many small business giving way to fewer larger ones.

At first the bourgeoisie, and now the proletariat, are considered to be the universal class, the section of society best equipped to take human progress forwards a further step.

Marx developed these ideas to support his advocacy of socialism and communism: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently; the point is, to change it." Communism would be a social form wherein this system would have been ended and the working classes would be the sole beneficiary of the "fruits of their labour".

Some of these ideas were shared by anarchists, though they differed in their beliefs on how to bring about an end to the class society. Socialist thinkers suggested that the working class should take over the existing capitalist state, turning it into a workers revolutionary state, which would put in place the democratic structures necessary, and then "wither away". On the anarchist side people such as Mikhail Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin argued that the state per se was the problem, and that destroying it should be the aim of any revolutionary activity.

Many governments, political parties, social movements, and academic theorists have claimed to be founded on Marxist principles. Social democratic movements in 20th century Europe, the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries, Mao and other revolutionaries in agrarian developing countries are particularly important examples. These struggles have added new ideas to Marx and otherwise transmuted Marxism so much that it is difficult to specify its core.

It is common to speak of Marxian rather than Marxist theory when referring to political study that draws from the work of Marx for the analysis and understanding of existing (usually capitalist) economies, but rejects the more speculative predictions that Marx and many of his followers made about post-capitalist societies.

Marxist Revolutions and Governments

Marx's Views on the Structure of Communist Society

Other than control by the working class, Marx laid out no plans for the structuring of a communist society or of the society which the working class would build on the way to communism. He assumed the working class could do that for themselves and that it would be a productive society able to meet the needs of the people and much more. Marx was followed in his optimistic approach by the political parties who adopted his theories and detailed plans for the structuring of socialist or communist society were not put forth or developed. With the success of the October Revolution in Russia a Marxist party took power, but without any blueprints for building the new society.

The October Revolution

The 1917 October Revolution, led by Vladimir Lenin was the first large scale attempt to put Marxist ideas about a workers' state into practice. The new government faced counter-revolution, civil war and foreign intervention. Socialist revolution in Germany and other western countries failed and the Soviet Union was on its own. An intense period of debate and stopgap solutions ensued, war communism and the New Economic Policy (NEP). Lenin died and Joseph Stalin gradually assumed control, eliminating rivals for power. He instituted a ruthless program of industrialisation which, while successful, was prosecuted at great cost in human suffering.

Modern followers of Trotsky maintain that as predicted by Lenin, Trotsky, and others already in the 1920s, Stalin's "socialism in one country" was unable to maintain itself, and according to some Marxist critics, the USSR ceased to show the characteristics of a socialist state long before its formal dissolution.

Following World War II, Marxist ideology, often with Soviet military backing, spawned a rise in revolutionary communist parties all over the world. Some of these parties were eventually able to gain power, and establish their own version of a Marxist state. Such nations included the People's Republic of China, Vietnam, Romania, East Germany, Albania, Poland, Cambodia, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Yugoslavia, and others. In some cases, these nations did not get along. The most notable examples were rifts that occurred between the Soviet Union and China, as well as Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (in 1948), whose leaders disagreed on certain elements of Marxism and how it should be implemented into society.

Many of these self-proclaimed Marxist nations (often styled People's Republics) eventually became authoritarian states, with stagnating economies. This caused some debate about whether or not these nations were in fact led by "true Marxists". Critics of Marxism speculated that perhaps Marxist ideology itself was to blame for the nations' various

problems. Followers of the currents within Marxism which opposed Stalin, principally cohered around Leon Trotsky, tended to locate the failure at the level of the failure of world revolution: for communism to have succeeded, they argue, it needed to encompass all the international trading relationships that capitalism had previously developed.

In 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed and the new Russian state ceased to identify itself with Marxism. Other nations around the world followed suit. Since then, radical Marxism or Communism has generally ceased to be a prominent political force in global politics, and has largely been replaced by more moderate versions of democratic socialism—or by capitalism, sometimes becoming more democratic but often retaining an authoritarian government.

FEMINISM

Feminism is a social theory and political movement primarily informed and motivated by the experience of women. While generally providing a critique of social relations, many proponents of feminism also focus on analyzing gender inequality and the promotion of women's rights, interests, and issues.

Feminist theory aims to understand the nature of inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Feminist political activism campaigns on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment, discrimination and sexual violence. Themes explored in feminism include discrimination, stereotyping, objectification (especially sexual objectification), oppression and patriarchy.

The basis of feminist ideology is that rights, privilege, status and obligations should not be determined by gender.

Modern feminist theory has been extensively criticized as being predominantly, but not exclusively, associated with western middle class academia. Feminist activism, however, is a grass roots movement which crosses class and race boundaries. It is culturally specific and addresses the issues relevant to the women of that society, for example, genital mutilation in Sudan, or the glass ceiling in North America. Some issues, such as rape, incest, mothering, are universal.

History of feminism

Feminism is generally said to have begun in the 19th century as people increasingly adopted the perception that women are oppressed in a male-centered society. The feminist movement is rooted in the West and especially in the reform movement of the 19th century. The organized movement is dated from the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In 1869, John Stuart Mill published *The Subjection of Women* to demonstrate that "the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong...and...one of the chief hindrances to human improvement."

Emmeline Pankhurst was one of the founders of the suffragette movement and aimed to reveal the institutional sexism in British society, forming the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). After many members were jailed repeatedly under the Cat and Mouse Act for trivial misdemeanours in activism, they were inspired to go on hunger strikes. The resultant force feeding caused these members to be very ill, serving to draw attention to the brutality of the legal system at the time and, thus, further their cause.

Over a century and a half the movement has grown to include diverse perspectives on what constitutes discrimination against women. Early feminists and primary feminist movements are often called the first-wave, and feminists after about 1960 the second-wave. There is a so-called third-wave, but feminists disagree as to its necessity, its benefits, and its ideas. These three "waves" are so called because like ocean waves, each wave comes on top of the one before, drawing on each other.

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, written by Mary Wollstonecraft, is one of the few works written before the 19th century that can be called feminist. Another is the *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, written by the occult philosopher Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa in the year 1529. In modern feminism a book by anthropologist Margaret Mead, entitled *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935) was published. She was a professor at Columbia University, where Bella Abzug studied (Abzug eventually became one of the main leaders of American feminism). In Mead's book, women were reported to be dominant in the Tchambuli tribe, without causing any problems. Among intellectuals of Abzug's era, the book inspired the belief that European ideas of masculinity and femininity were very much cultural, rather than being indelibly instinctive.

Feminism in many forms

The name "feminism" suggests a single ideology, but in reality the movement has many subgroups. Due to historical precedents, the current legal status of women in certain countries, and other factors, feminist ideology has been compelled to move in different directions to achieve its goals. As a result, there are many different kinds of feminism.

One subtype of feminism, Radical feminism, considers patriarchy to be the root cause of the most serious social problems. Violence and oppression of women, because they are women, is more fundamental than oppressions related to class, ethnicity, religion, etc. This form of feminism was popular in the so-called second wave (a "wave" being a large major change in general feminist ideas), though it is not as prominent today. However, many still equate the word "feminism" to mean solely the ideas proposed by Radical feminism. Some find that the prioritization

of oppression and the universalization of the idea of "Woman", which was part of traditional Radical feminist thinking, too generic, and that women in other countries would never experience the same experience of being "woman" than women in Western countries did.

Some radical feminists advocate separatism—a complete separation of male and female in society and culture—while others question not only the relationship between men and women, but the very meaning of "man" and "woman" as well. Some argue that gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality are themselves social constructs. For these feminists, feminism is a primary means to human liberation (i.e., the liberation of men as well as women, and men and women from other social problems).

Other feminists believe that there may be social problems separate from or prior to patriarchy (e.g., racism or class divisions); they see feminism as one movement of liberation among many, each affecting the others.

Although many leaders of feminism have been women, not all feminists are women. Some feminists argue that men should not take positions of leadership in the movement, because men, having been socialized to aggressively seek positions of power or direct the agendas within a leadership hierarchy, would apply this tendency to feminist organizations; or that women, having been socialized to defer to men, would be hindered in developing or expressing their own self-leadership in working too closely with men. However, most feminists do accept and seek the support of men.

Relationship to Other Movements

Most feminists take a holistic approach to politics, believing the saying of Martin Luther King Jr., "A threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere". In that belief, some feminists usually support other movements such as the civil rights movement, the gay rights movement and, more recently Fathers' rights. At the same time many black feminists such as Bell Hooks criticise the movement for being dominated by white women. Feminist claims about the disadvantages women face in Western society are often less relevant to the lives of black women. This idea is the key in postcolonial feminism. Many black feminist women prefer the term womanism for their views.

However, feminists are sometimes wary of the transsexual movement because they challenge the distinctions between men and women. Transsexual women are excluded from some "women-only" gatherings and events and are rejected by some feminists who say that no one born male can truly understand the oppression women face. This is criticized as transphobic by transsexual women who assert that the discrimination and various struggles (such as that for legal recognitions) that they face due to asserting their gender identity, more than makes up for any they may have "missed out on" growing up, and that discrimination against gender-variant people is another face of heterosexism and patriarchy.

Effect of Feminism in the West

Feminism has effected many changes in Western society, including women's suffrage; broad employment for women at more equitable wages ("equal pay for equal work"); the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce; the right of women to control their own bodies and medical decisions, including obtaining birth control devices and safe abortions; and many others. Some feminists would argue that there is still much to be done on these fronts, while third-wave feminists would disagree and claim that the battle has basically "been won". As Western society has become increasingly accepting of feminist principles, some of these are no longer seen as specifically feminist, because they have been adopted by all or most people. Some beliefs that were radical for their time are now mainstream political thought. Almost no one in Western societies today questions the right of women to vote, choose her own marital partner if any, or to own land, concepts that seemed quite strange only 100 years ago.

Feminists are often proponents of using non-sexist language, using "Ms." to refer to both married and unmarried women, for example, or the ironic use of the term "herstory" instead of "history". Feminists are also often proponents of using gender-inclusive language, such as "humanity" instead of "mankind", or "he or she" in place of "he" where the gender is unknown. Feminists in most cases advance their desired use of language either to promote an equal and respectful treatment of women or to affect the tone of political discourse. This can be seen as a move to change language which has been viewed by some feminists as imbued with sexism - providing for example the case in the English language the word for the general pronoun is "he" or "his" (The child should have his paper and pencils), which is the same as the masculine pronoun (The boy and his truck). These feminists purport that language then directly affects perception of reality. However, to take a postcolonial analysis of this point, many languages other than English may not have such a gendered pronoun instance and thus changing language may not be as important to some feminists as others. Yet, English is becoming more and more universal, and the issue of language may be seen to be of growing importance.

Effect on moral education

Opponents of feminism claim that women's quest for external power, as opposed to the internal power to affect other people's ethics and values, has left a vacuum in the area of moral training, where women formerly held sway. Some feminists reply that the education, including the moral education, of children has never been, and should not be, seen as the exclusive responsibility of women. Paradoxically, it is also held by others that the moral education of children at home in the form of homeschooling is itself a women's movement. Such arguments are entangled within

the larger disagreements of the Culture Wars, as well as within feminist (and anti-feminist) ideas regarding custodianship of societal morals and compassion.

Effect on Heterosexual Relationships

The feminist movements have certainly affected the nature of heterosexual relationships in Western and other societies affected by feminism. While these effects have generally been seen as positive, there have been some negative consequences.

In some of these relationships, there has been a change in the power relationship between men and women. In these circumstances, women and men have had to adapt to relatively new situations, sometimes causing confusions about role and identity. Women can now avail themselves more to new opportunities, but some have suffered with the demands of trying to live up to the so-called "superwomen" identity, and have struggled to 'have it all', i.e. manage to happily balance a career and family. In response to the family issue, many Socialist feminists blame this on the lack of state-provided childcare facilities. Instead of the onus of childcare resting solely on the female, men have started to recognize their responsibilities to assist in managing family matters.

There have been changes also in attitudes towards sexual morality and behaviour with the onset of second wave feminism and "the Pill": women are then more in control of their body, and are able to experience sex with more freedom than was previously socially accepted for them. This sexual revolution that women were then able to experience was seen as positive (especially by sex-positive feminists) as it enabled women and men to experience sex in a free and equal manner. However, some feminists felt that the result of the sexual revolution only was beneficial to men. Whether Marriage is an institution that oppresses women and men, or not, has generated discussion. Those that do view it as oppressive sometimes opt for cohabitation.

Effect on Religion

Feminism has had a great effect on many aspects of religion. In liberal branches of Protestant Christianity, women are now ordained as clergy, and in Reform, Conservative and Reconstructionist Judaism, women are now ordained as rabbis and cantors. Within these Christian and Jewish groups, women have gradually become more nearly equal to men by obtaining positions of power; their perspectives are now sought out in developing new statements of belief. These trends, however, have been resisted within Islam and Roman Catholicism. All the mainstream denominations of Islam forbid Muslim women from being recognized as religious clergy and scholars in the same way that Muslim men are accepted. Liberal movements within Islam have nonetheless persisted in trying to bring about feminist reforms in Muslim societies. Roman Catholicism has historically excluded women from entering the main Church hierarchy and does not allow women to hold any positions as clergy except as nuns.

Feminism also has had an important role in creating new forms of religion. Neopagan religions especially tend to emphasise the importance of Goddess spirituality, and question what they regard as traditional religion's hostility to women and the sacred feminine. In particular Dianic Wicca is a religion whose origins lie within radical feminism. Among traditional religions, feminism has led to self examination, with reclaimed positive Christian and Islamic views and ideals of Mary, Islamic views of Fatima Zahra, and especially to the Catholic belief in the Coredeumptrix, as counterexamples. However, criticism of these efforts as unable to salvage hopelessly corrupt church structures and philosophies, continues; with respect to Mary especially, it has been argued that she, with her status as mother and virgin, and as traditionally the main role model for women, sets women up to aspire to an impossible ideal, and also thus has negative consequences on human sense of identity and sexuality.

Criticisms of Feminism

Feminism has attracted attention due to its large effects in social change in Western society. While feminism in some forms is generally accepted, dissenting voices do exist.

Some critics (both male and female) find that some feminists are effectively preaching hatred against males or claiming male inferiority, citing that if the words "male" and "female" were replaced by "black" and "white" respectively in some feminist writings, the texts could be viewed as racist propaganda. While some feminists generally disagree with the view that men are equally oppressed under patriarchy, other feminists, especially third-wave feminists agree that men are similarly oppressed and that gender equality means oppression of neither gender.

Many feel that while feminists claim to believe in equality of the sexes, the ideology of present-day feminism is inherently gynocentric. These critics cite both the etymology and symbology of the contemporary feminist movement, and the constant focus of its work is concerned with issues that affect women. They feel that followers of this ideology tend to see the world through a certain lens, leading them to be prejudiced. These critics say that the feminists start with the assumption that women are widely oppressed in contemporary America, and never stray from that assumption - leading to observations that are clouded by confirmation bias. This group of critics would like to see a new non gender-biased term replace "feminism," such as "gender egalitarianism." This term would then replace "feminism" when used in reference to the belief, close to universal now in contemporary Western culture, in basic equal rights and opportunities for both sexes.

Some argue that because of feminism, males are beginning to be oppressed. Those who make this claim often note that males die from suicide 4 times more frequently than females attempting suicide in the USA; rates climbed dramatically during the 1980s and early 1990s; 72% of all suicides are committed by white males; slightly over half of

all suicides are adult men, aged 25-65; critics conclude that the USA is becoming a country where males especially white males are severely oppressed. According to sociologists, there are various reasons for these suicide rate increase, and they do not indicate a greater level of male oppression. Some studies of the 20 year increase in male suicide rates (ending in 1998, when the rate began to decrease) have found only a correlation between it and: local economic health and employment rates, suicide methods preferred by men, male isolation if divorced, women seeking treatment for depression in far greater numbers than do men, and (especially) aging populations. It should be noted that during the same approximate period (1952 to 1995) the rates for teen and elder suicide nearly tripled.

Many people object to the feminist movement as trying to destroy traditional gender roles. They say that men and women have many natural differences and that everyone benefits from recognizing those differences. For example, children are thought to benefit from having a masculine father and a feminine mother; in this view, divorce, single parenthood, or non-traditional gender roles are all seen as harming children more than do conflict in the home, dual but poor role models, or new definitions of masculinity, femininity, or family. The traditional nuclear family is now an exceptional background in the US, and has been the subject of many critiques characterizing it as a racist or culturally ignorant or nostalgic idealized model.

Criticism has been made that social change and legal reform have gone too far and now negatively affect men and families with children. For example, it has been suggested that custody hearings in divorces are biased towards the mother, and several organizations have formed to fight for fathers' rights.

Some men also express worry that a belief in the glass ceiling for women has led to women being promoted more than men for the purpose of public relations than for their merit. This could be compared to affirmative action; thus, feminists who favour such a method of reform usually present arguments similar to those used for defending affirmative action (i.e. that such a system is required to offset the results of previous discrimination).

There is also a group of Paleo-Conservatives including George Gilder and Pat Buchanan who have argued that feminism has produced a fundamentally unworkable, self-destructive, stagnant society. These authors have noted that all of the societies in which feminism has developed the most have below replacement rates of fertility, high rates of immigration (frequently from countries with cultures and religions extremely hostile to feminism). In the US, the "liberal" religious groups most accepting of feminism have had noted decline in both conversions and natural increase. The most rapidly growing major religion in the US is Islam which is extremely hostile to feminism.

Although efforts to curb sexual harassment against women in the workplace are normally applauded, there are those who note that the situation is such that the concern directed towards women in resolving disputes of sexual harassment is indirect discrimination, in that less concern is given to men when they are the subject of the claims, or when they are claiming a case of sexual harassment. Since the 1990s, proving sexual harassment in the United States (by either men or women) has been made much more difficult by Supreme Court decisions.

Postcolonial feminists criticise Western forms of feminism, notably radical feminism and its most basic assumption, universalization of female experience. These feminists argue that the assumption of a global experience as a woman is based on a white middle-class experience in which gender oppression is primary, and cannot apply to women for whom gender oppression may come second to racial or class oppression.

Today, young women most commonly associate "feminism" with radical feminism, and this has put off a lot of these women from being active in feminism, spurring a move away from second-wave labels. However, the basic values of feminism (gender equality of rights and opportunities) have become so integrated into Western culture as to be accepted over-whelmingly as valid, and non-conformity to those values characterized as unacceptable, by the same men and women who reject the label "feminist".

Gender Studies: New Directions in Feminism

What do Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Gloria Naylor have in common? All are African-American women writers who have successfully bridged the gap between subaltern authors and the dominant culture. Each has achieved a place of prominence in American culture, with Toni Morrison winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993. Thanks, at least in part, to an increasing interest in postcolonial literature, these female authors have bridged not only the cultural but also the gender gap. As models for other women, these writers have found their voice in a society dominated by males and Western metaphysics, and their works have become seminal texts in feminist and gender studies.

Concerned primarily with feminist theories of literature and criticism and sometimes used synonymously with feminism or feminist theories, gender studies broaden traditional feminist criticism to include an investigation not only of femaleness but also maleness. What does it mean, it asks, to be a woman or a man? Like traditional feminist theory, gender studies continues to investigate how women and men view such terms as ethics, definitions of truth, personal identity, and society. Is it possible, gender specialists question, that women view each of these differently than men?

Into the multivoiced feminist theories, gender studies adds the ever-growing and ever-diverse voices of black feminists, the ongoing concerns of French feminism, and the impact of poststructural theories on customary feminist issues. Its authors include the almost canonical status of writers such as Adrienne Rich, Bonnie Zimmerman, and Barbara Smith, along with those of Elaine Showalter, Sandra Gilbert, Susan Gubar, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Toril Moi. But new authors and critics such as Yvonne Vera, Anne McClintock, Sara Suleri, Dorothea Drummond Mbalia, and Sara Mills also appear, asking and adding their own unique questions to feminist theory.

Striving to develop a philosophical basis of feminist literary theory, gender studies re-examines the canon and questions traditional definitions of the family, sexuality, and female reproduction. In addition, it continues to articulate and investigate the nature of feminine writing itself. And it joins feminist scholarship with postcolonial discourses, noting that postcolonial literature and feminist writings share many characteristics, the chief being that both are examples of oppressed peoples.

As with feminist theory, the goal of gender studies is to analyze and challenge the established literary canon. Women themselves, gender specialists assert, must challenge the hegemony and free themselves from the false assumptions and the long-held prejudices that have prevented them from defining themselves. By involving themselves in literary theory and its accompanying practices, gender specialists believe women and men alike can redefine who they are, what they want to be, and where they want to go.

PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

Psychoanalytic literary criticism is literary criticism which, in method, concept, theory or form, is influenced by the tradition of psychoanalysis begun by Sigmund Freud. Psychoanalytic reading has been practiced since the early development of psychoanalysis itself, and has developed into a rich and heterogeneous interpretive tradition.

Freud himself wrote several important essays on literature, which he used to explore the psyche of authors and characters, to explain narrative mysteries, and to develop new concepts in psychoanalysis (for instance, *Delusion and Dream* in Jensen's *Gradiva*). His sometime disciples and later readers, such as Carl Jung and later Jacques Lacan, were avid readers of literature as well, and used literary examples as illustrations of important concepts in their work (for instance, Lacan argued with Jacques Derrida over the interpretation of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Purloined Letter").

The object of psychoanalytic literary criticism, at its very simplest, can be the psychoanalysis of the author or of a particularly interesting character. In this directly therapeutic form, it is very similar to psychoanalysis itself, closely following the analytic interpretive process discussed in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*. But many more complex variations are possible. The concepts of psychoanalysis can be deployed with reference to the narrative or poetic structure itself, without requiring access to the authorial psyche (an interpretation motivated by Lacan's remark that "the unconscious is structured like a language"). Or the founding texts of psychoanalysis may themselves be treated as literature, and re-read for the light cast by their formal qualities on their theoretical content (Freud's texts frequently resemble detective stories, or the archaeological narratives of which he was so fond).

NEW HISTORICISM

New Historicism as an approach to literary criticism and theory arose in the 1990s. Scholars of Renaissance literature particularly associate it with the work of Stephen Greenblatt; another group of New Historicist critics write about Romanticism.

New Historicist scholars begin their analysis of literary texts by attempting to look at what other texts -- both literary and non-literary -- a public could access at the time of writing, and what the author of the original text might have read. They also, however, attempt to relate texts to the political and socio-economic circumstances in which they originated. For example, a well-known New Historicist reading examines the travellers' tales and geographical works available to William Shakespeare about the discovery of the 'new world' (i.e. North America), and relates them to his play *The Tempest*. Therefore, this reading argues, we should interpret Shakespeare's play less as a 'timeless' literary creation and more as a product of the context in which it appeared, and should see it as contributing to contemporary debates about colonialism.

Clearly, in its historicism and in its political interpretations, New Historicism owes something to Marxism. But whereas Marxism (at least in its cruder forms) tended to see literature as part of a 'superstructure' in which the economic 'base' (i.e. material relations of production) manifested itself, New Historicist thinkers tend to take a more nuanced view of power, seeing it not exclusively as class-related but extending throughout society. This view derives primarily from Michel Foucault. In its tendency to see society as consisting of texts relating to other texts, with no 'fixed' literary value above and beyond the way specific societies read them in specific situations, New Historicism also owes something to post-modernism. However, New Historicists tend to exhibit less skepticism than post-modernists, and show more willingness to perform the 'traditional' tasks of literary criticism: i.e. explaining the text in its context, and trying to show what it 'meant' to its first readers. In the example of *The Tempest* above, New Historicist writers sometimes touch on themes also dealt with by critics in the school of Edward Said.

CULTURAL STUDIES

Cultural studies combines sociology, literary theory, film/video studies, and cultural anthropology to study cultural phenomena in industrial societies. Cultural studies researchers often concentrate on how a particular phenomenon relates to matters of ideology, race, social class, and/or gender.

Cultural studies concerns itself with the meaning and practices of everyday life. Cultural practices comprise the ways people do particular things (such as watching television, or eating out) in a given culture. Particular meanings attach to the ways people in particular cultures do things.

In his book *Introducing Cultural Studies*, Ziauddin Sardar lists the following five main characteristics of cultural studies:

- Cultural studies aims to examine its subject matter in terms of cultural practices and their relation to power.
- It has the objective of understanding culture in all its complex forms and of analysing the social and political context in which culture manifests itself.
- It is both the object of study and the location of political criticism and action.
- It attempts to expose and reconcile the division of knowledge, to overcome the split between tacit (cultural knowledge) and objective (universal) forms of knowledge.
- It has a commitment to a moral evaluation of modern society and to a radical line of political action.

Scholars in the United Kingdom and the United States developed somewhat different versions of cultural studies after the field's inception in the late 1970s. The British version of cultural studies often promulgated overtly politically leftist views and criticisms of capitalist mass culture; it absorbed some of the ideas of the Frankfurt School critique of the "culture industry" (i.e. mass culture). This emerges in the writings of early British cultural-studies scholars and their influences: see the work of (for example) Raymond Williams and Paul Gilroy.

In contrast, the American version of cultural studies initially concerned itself more with understanding the subjective and appropriative side of audience reactions to, and uses of, mass culture; American cultural-studies advocates wrote about the liberatory aspects of fandom. See the writings of critics such as John Guillory. The distinction between American and British strands, however, has faded.

Some scholars, especially in early British cultural studies, apply a Marxist model to the field. The main focus of an orthodox Marxist approach concentrates on the production of meaning. This model assumes a mass production of culture and identifies power as residing with those producing cultural artifacts. In a Marxist view, those who control the means of production (the economic base) essentially control a culture.

Other approaches to cultural studies, such as feminist cultural studies and later American developments of the field, distance themselves from this rigidly deterministic view. They criticise the Marxist assumption of a single, dominant meaning, shared by all, for any cultural product. The non-Marxist approaches suggest that different ways of consuming cultural artifacts affect the meaning of the product.

Another major point of criticism involved the traditional view assuming a passive consumer. Other views challenge this, particularly by underlining the different ways people read, receive, and interpret cultural texts. On this view, a consumer can appropriate, actively reject, or challenge the meaning of a product. These different approaches have shifted the focus away from the production of items. Instead, they argue that consumption plays an equally important role, since the way consumers consume a product gives meaning to an item. Some closely link the act of consuming with identity. Stuart Hall has become influential in these developments. Some commentators have described the shift towards meaning as the cultural turn.

In the context of cultural studies, the idea of a text not only includes written language, but also films, photographs, fashion or hairstyles: the texts of cultural studies comprise all the meaningful artifacts of culture. Similarly, the discipline widens the concept of "culture". "Culture" for a cultural studies researcher not only includes the traditional high arts and popular arts, but also everyday meanings and practices. The last two, in fact, have become the main focus of cultural studies.

POST-COLONIALISM

Post-colonialism refers to the intellectual field opened up by Edward Said's book *Orientalism*. It refers to a set of theories in continental philosophy that grapple with the legacy of 19th century British and French colonial rule, especially with the dilemmas of developing a national identity in the wake of colonial rule. It is concerned with the ways knowledge of colonized people have served the interests of colonizers, and raises more general questions about how knowledge of subordinate people is produced, and how such knowledge is used. More controversial trends, like hybridity postcolonialism (Homi Bhabha) and liberal postcolonialism (Duncan Ivison), are probably reactions to the communitarian history of postcolonialism, which was and still is embedded in identity politics.

Ethnic Studies, sometimes referred to as Minority Studies, has an obvious historical relationship with Postcolonial Criticism in that Euro-American imperialism and colonization in the last four centuries, whether external (empire) or internal (slavery) has been directed at recognizable ethnic groups: African and African-American, Chinese, the subaltern peoples of India, Irish, Latino, Native American, and Philipino, among others. Ethnic Studies concerns itself generally with art and literature produced by identifiable ethnic groups either marginalized or in a subordinate position to a dominant culture. Postcolonial Criticism investigates the relationships between colonizers and colonized in the period post-colonization. Though the two fields are increasingly finding points of intersection—the work of bell hooks, for example—and are both activist intellectual enterprises, Ethnic Studies and Postcolonial Criticism have significant differences in their history and ideas.

Ethnic Studies has had a considerable impact on literary studies in the United States and Britain. In W.E.B. Dubois, we find an early attempt to theorize the position of African-Americans within dominant white culture through his concept of "double consciousness," a dual identity including both American and Negro. Dubois and theorists after him seek an understanding of how that double experience both creates identity and reveals itself in culture. Afro-Caribbean and African writers—Aime Cesaire, Frantz Fanon, Chinua Achebe—have made significant early contributions to the theory and practice of ethnic criticism that explores the traditions, sometimes suppressed or underground, of ethnic literary activity while providing a critique of representations of ethnic identity as found within the majority culture. Ethnic and minority literary theory emphasizes the relationship of cultural identity to individual identity in historical circumstances of overt racial oppression. More recently, scholars and writers such as Henry Louis Gates, Toni Morrison, and Kwame Anthony Appiah have brought attention to the problems inherent in applying theoretical models derived from Euro-centric paradigms (i.e., structures of thought) to minority works of literature while at the same time exploring new interpretive strategies for understanding the vernacular (common speech) traditions of racial groups that have been historically marginalized by dominant cultures.

Though not the first writer to explore the historical condition of postcolonialism, the Palestinian literary theorist Edward Said's book *Orientalism* is generally regarded as having inaugurated the field of explicitly Postcolonial Criticism in the West. Said argues that the concept of "the Orient" was produced by the "imaginative geography" of Western scholarship and has been instrumental in the colonization and domination of non-Western societies. Postcolonial theory reverses the historical center/margin direction of cultural inquiry: critiques of the metropolis and capital now emanate from the former colonies. Moreover, theorists like Homi K. Bhabha have questioned the binary thought that produces the dichotomies—center/margin, white/black, and colonizer/colonized—by which colonial practices are justified. The work of Gayatri C. Spivak has focused attention on the question of who speaks for the colonial "Other" and the relation of the ownership of discourse and representation to the development of the postcolonial subjectivity. Like feminist and ethnic theory, Postcolonial Criticism pursues not merely the inclusion of the marginalized literature of colonial peoples into the dominant canon and discourse. Postcolonial Criticism offers a fundamental critique of the ideology of colonial domination and at the same time seeks to undo the "imaginative geography" of Orientalist thought that produced conceptual as well as economic divides between West and East, civilized and uncivilized, First and Third Worlds. In this respect, Postcolonial Criticism is activist and adversarial in its basic aims. Postcolonial theory has brought fresh perspectives to the role of colonial peoples—their wealth, labour, and culture—in the development of modern European nation states. While Postcolonial Criticism emerged in the historical moment following the collapse of the modern colonial empires, the increasing globalization of culture, including the neo-colonialism of multinational capitalism, suggests a continued relevance for this field of inquiry.

Postcolonialism or post-colonialism (either spelling is acceptable, but each represents slightly different theoretical assumptions) can be defined as an approach to literary analysis that concerns itself particularly with literature written in English in formerly colonized countries. It usually excludes literature that represents either British or American viewpoints, and concentrates on writings from colonized cultures in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, South America, and other places and societies that were once dominated by but outside of the white, male European cultural, political, and philosophical tradition. Often called third-world literature by Marxist critics—a term many other critics think pejorative—postcolonial literature and theory investigate what happens when two cultures clash and when one of them with its accompanying ideology empowers and deems itself superior to the other.

The beginnings of such literature and theoretical concerns date back to the 1950s. During this decade, France ended its long involvement in Indochina, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus parted ways on their differing views about Algeria, Fidel Castro delivered his now-famous speech "History Shall Absolve Me," and Alfred Sauvy coined the term Third World to represent countries that philosophically, politically, and culturally were not defined by Western metaphysics. During the 1960s, Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, George Lamming, and other authors, philosophers, and critics began publishing texts that would become the cornerstone of postcolonial writings.

The terms post-colonial and postcolonialism first appear in the late 1980s in many scholarly journal articles and as a subtitle in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin's text *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (1989) and again in 1990 in Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin's *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism*. By the mid-1990s, the terms had become firmly established in scholarly writing, and now postcolonialism usually refers to literature of cultures colonized by the British Empire.

Like deconstruction and other postmodern approaches to textual analysis, postcolonialism is a heterogeneous field of study where even its spelling provides several alternatives. Some argue that it should be spelled postcolonialism with no hyphen between post and colonialism, whereas others insist on using the hyphen as in post-colonialism. Many of its adherents suggest there are two branches: those who view postcolonialism as a set of diverse methodologies that possess no unitary quality, as suggested by Homi Bhabha and Arun P. Murkerjee, and those who see postcolonialism as a set of cultural strategies centered in history. Even this latter group however, can be subdivided into two branches: those who believe postcolonialism refers to the period after the colonized societies or countries have become independent and those who regard postcolonialism as referring to all the characteristics of a society or culture from the time of colonization to the present.

However postcolonialism is defined, that it concerns itself with diverse and numerous issues becomes evident when we examine the various topics discussed in one of its most prominent texts, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin's *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (1995). Such subjects include universality, difference, nationalism, postmodernism,

representation and resistance, ethnicity, feminism, language, education, history, place, and production. As diverse as these topics appear, all of them draw attention to one of postcolonialism's major concerns: highlighting the struggle that occurs when one culture is dominated by another. As postcolonial critics are ever ready to point out, to be colonized is to be removed from history. In its interaction with the conquering culture, the colonized or indigenous culture is forced to go underground or to be obliterated.

Only after colonization occurs and the colonized people have had time to think and then to write about their oppression and loss of cultural identity does postcolonial theory come into existence. Born out of the colonized peoples' frustrations, their direct and personal cultural clashes with the conquering culture, and their fears, hopes, and dreams about the future and their own identities, postcolonial theory slowly emerges. How the colonized respond to changes in language, curricular matters in education, race differences, and a host of other discourses, including the act of writing, become the context and the theories of postcolonialism.

Because different cultures that have been subverted, conquered, and often removed from history will necessarily respond to the conquering culture in a variety of ways, no one approach to postcolonial theory, practice, or concerns is possible or even preferable. What all postcolonialist critics emphatically state, however, is that European colonialism did occur, that the British Empire was at the center of this colonialism, that the conquerors not only dominated the physical land but also the hegemony or ideology of the colonized people, and that the effects of these colonizations are many and are still being felt today.

An inherent tension exists at the center of post-colonial theory, for those who practice this theory and provide and develop its discourse are themselves a heterogeneous group of critics. On one hand, critics such as Fredric Jameson and George Gugelberger come from a European and American cultural, literary, and scholarly background. Another group that includes Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and many others were raised in Third World cultures but now reside, study, and write in the West. And still another group, that includes writers such as Aijaz Ahmad, lives and works in the Third World. A theoretical and a practical gap occurs between the theory and practice of those trained and living in the West and the Third World, subaltern writers living and writing in non-Western cultures. Out of such tension postcolonial theorists have and will continue to discover problematic topics for exploration and debate.

Although a number of postcolonial theorists and critics such as Frantz Fanon, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak have contributed to postcolonialism's ever-growing body of theory and its practical methodology, the key text in the establishment of postcolonial theory is Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978). In this text, Said chastises the literary world for not investigating and taking seriously the study of colonization or imperialism. According to Said, nineteenth-century Europeans tried to justify their territorial conquests by propagating a manufactured belief called Orientalism- creation of non-European stereotypes that suggested "Orientals" were indolent, thoughtless, sexually immoral, unreliable, and demented. The European conquerors, Said notes, believed that they were accurately describing the inhabitants of their newly conquered land. What they failed to realize, maintains Said, is that all human knowledge can be viewed only through one's political, cultural, and ideological framework. No theory, either political or literary, can be totally objective.

That no political, social, or literary theory can be objective also holds true for a person living and writing in a colonized culture. Such an author must ask of himself or herself three questions: Who am I- How did I develop into the person that I am- To what country or countries or to what cultures am I forever linked- In asking the first question, the colonized author is connecting himself or herself to historical roots. By asking the second question, the author is admitting a tension between these historical roots and the new culture or hegemony imposed on the writer by the conquerors. And by asking the third question, the writer confronts the fact that he or she is both an individual and a social construct created and shaped by the dominant culture. And the writing penned by these authors will necessarily be personal and always political and ideological. Furthermore, its creation and its reading may also be painful, disturbing, and enlightening. Whatever the result, the story will certainly be a message sent back to the Empire, telling the Imperialists what they did wrong and how their Western hegemony damaged and suppressed the ideologies of those who were conquered.

Post-Colonialism and African-American Criticism

The growing interest in postcolonialism in American literary theory during the late 1970s to the present provided a renewed interest in African American writers and their works. To say that postcolonialism or other postmodern theories initiated African-American criticism and theory, however, would be incorrect. For the first seven decades of the twentieth century, African-American criticism was alive and well, its chief concern being the relationship between the arts (writing, music, theater, poetry, etc.) and a developing understanding of the nature of African-American culture. During this time, writers such as Langston Hughes (*Not Without Laughter*, *The Weary Blues*), Richard Wright (*Black Boy*, *Native Son*), Zora Neale Hurston (*Their Eyes Were Watching God*, *Dust Racks on a Road*), James Baldwin (*Go Tell It on the Mountain*, *The First Next Time*), and Ralph Ellison (*The Invisible Man*), wrote texts depicting African-Americans interacting with their culture. In this body of literature, these subaltern writers concerned themselves mainly with issues of nationalism and helped to expose the treatment of African Americans-a suppressed, repressed, and colonized subculture-at the hands of their white conquerors. Presenting a variety of themes in their fiction, essays, and autobiographical writings, such as the African American's search for personal identity; the bitterness of the struggle of black men and women in America to achieve political, economic, and social

success; and both mild and militant pictures of racial protest and hatred, these authors gave to America personal portraits of what it meant to be a black writer struggling with personal, cultural, and national identity.

Although literature authored by black writers was gaining in popularity, more often than not it was interpreted through the lens of the dominant culture, a lens that, for the most part, could see only one color: white. A black aesthetic had not yet been established, and critics and theorists alike applied the principles of Western metaphysics and Western hermeneutics to this ever-evolving and steadily increasing body of literature. Although theoretical and critical essays by W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison had begun to announce to America and the literary world that black literature was a distinctive literary practice with its own aesthetics and should not be dubbed a subcategory or a footnote of American literature, it was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that black theorists began to articulate the distinctiveness of African-American literature.

In this ever-increasing group of literary critics, two stand out: Abdul R. JanMohamed and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. The founding editor of *Cultural Critique*, JanMohamed is one of the most influential postcolonial theorists. A professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley, JanMohamed has authored a variety of scholarly articles and texts that stress the interdisciplinary nature of literary criticism. Raised in Kenya (and therefore not considered by some to be an African American), JanMohamed witnessed first hand the British Imperialists' attempt to dominate and eliminate the colonized culture. He has thus spent his life studying the effects of colonization with its accompanying economic and social dynamics, concerning both the conqueror and the conquered. Of particular importance is his text *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa* (1983). In this work, JanMohamed argues that literature authored by the colonized (Africans in Kenya and African-Americans in America, for example) is more interesting for its noematic value-the complexities of the world it reveals-than its noetic or subjective approach to what it perceives. Consequently, JanMohamed delineates the antagonistic relationship that develops between a hegemonic and a nonhegemonic literature. In African-American literature, for example, he notes that black writers such as Richard Wright and Frederick Douglass were shaped by their personal socioeconomic conditions. At some point in their development as writers and as people who were on the archetypal journey of self-realization, these writers became "agents of resistance" and were no longer willing to "consent" to the hegemonic culture. According to JanMohamed, subaltern writers, at some time, resist being shaped by their oppressors and become literary agents of change. It is this process of change from passive observers to resisters that forms the basis of JanMohamed's aesthetics,

Perhaps the most important and leading African-American theorist, however, is Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Unlike many African-American writers and critics, Gates directs much of his attention to other African-American critics, declaring that they and he "must redefine 'theory' itself from within [their] own black cultures, refusing to grant the premise that theory is something that white people do We are all heirs to critical theory, but we black critics are heir to the black vernacular as well". Accordingly, Gates attempts to provide a theoretical framework for developing a specifically African-American literary canon. In this new framework, he insists that African-American literature be viewed as a form of language, not a representation of social practices or culture. For black literary criticism to develop, he contends that its principles must be derived from the black tradition itself and must include what he calls "the language of blackness, the signifying difference which makes the black tradition our very own." In his texts *The Signifying Monkey* (1988) and *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self* (1987), Gates develops these ideas and announces the "double-voicedness" of African-American literature-that is, African-American literature draws on two voices and cultures, the white and the black. It is the joining of these two discourses, Gates declares, that produces the uniqueness of African-American literature.

Along with other theorists such as Houston Baker and a host of African-American feminist critics, present-day African-American critics believe that they must develop a culturally specific theory of African-American literature. Theirs, they believe, is a significant discourse that has for too long been neglected. The study of this body of literature, they insist, must be reformed. The beginnings of this reformation have brought to the foreground another body of literature that has also been ignored or at least relegated to second-class citizenship: the writings of females with its accompanying literary theory, gender studies.

Founding Works of Post-Colonialism

- Edward Said *Orientalism*
- Franz Fanon *The Wretched of the Earth*
- Albert Memmi *The Colonizer and the Colonized*
- Homi Bhabha *The Location of Culture*
- Duncan Ivison *Postcolonial Liberalism*

MAJOR THEORETICIANS: AN INTRODUCTION

MIKHAIL BAKHTIN

Although Bakhtin's first book, on Dostoevsky, was published in 1929, it was only in the last thirty years of the twentieth century that the publication of much of his writing, in Russian and then in translation, allowed his work to become widely influential. Along with the recovery of Bakhtin's writing, the related work of the Bakhtin Circle (a group of intellectuals from the 1920s) has also been rediscovered, especially the writings of V. N. Voloshinov and P. N. Medvedev. Much controversy has surrounded the authorship of the work of these latter two writers, which has been widely ascribed to Bakhtin himself; however, in the absence of conclusive archival evidence, it is safest to consider their books to be their own work, albeit closely related to the ideas of Bakhtin.

These ideas emerge from a set of philosophical affiliations to neo-Kantianism, lebensphilosophie, Hegelianism and Marxism which were widespread in the early twentieth-century European academy. These commitments were of course given some distinctively Russian intonations. Nevertheless Bakhtin's primary commitment in the 1920s was to philosophy; it was only subsequently that he concentrated on the novel, as the form which gave substance to some of his characteristic philosophical concerns. His early writings, unpublished in his lifetime, have now been published and translated in *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays* by M. M. Bakhtin, and *Toward a Philosophy of the Act*. In "Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity", a book-length philosophical essay published in *Art and Answerability*, Bakhtin's neo-Kantian commitments are evident in the way that form is argued to emerge from the engagement of self with other; it is indeed the "gift" of the self to the other. Aesthetic form arises from the situatedness of artistic creation in the self-other relationship.

These essentially philosophical notions were confronted, in the Soviet Union of the 1920s, with two alternative philosophical and literary positions, namely Marxism and Formalism, and out of the dialogue with these positions emerged some of the distinctive Bakhtinian emphases. The influence of Marxism meant that the relative abstractions of the "I-other" relationship, or that of the "Author-hero", were given a more fully social colouring, so that the discourse which joins them is to be understood as being marked by surrounding social realities, and is itself the carrier of an ideologically charged conflict over values. Equally, the engagement and critique of Formalism (especially in M. M. Bakhtin and P. N. Medvedev, *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship, A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics*, first published in Russian in 1928) led to a stress upon the immersion of all art works in socially-charged conflicts of values, and thus to a reversal of the distorted relationship of form to content that, Medvedev contends, characterised Formalism.

V. N. Voloshinov's *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* first published in 1929), pursues these themes into the study of language. The book seeks to provide a synthesis of two opposed views of language, which respectively emphasise individual creativity on the one hand, and the abstract laws of language-as-system on the other. In this synthesis, the individual utterance is relocated in the chain of utterances which give it its force; each utterance is social through and through, being saturated with social evaluations which tie it to its past usages and to its present context, but the utterance is nevertheless a unique event in which those evaluations are given a distinctive intonation. Voloshinov wrote in an explicitly Marxist idiom; but Bakhtin's ideas on language, as expressed in the essay "Discourse in the Novel" give a still more thoroughly socialised view of language. In this account, the apparent unity of the great national languages such as Russian, French or English is broken down into a multiplicity of competing "languages" - dialects, the distinctive jargons spoken by differing professional groups, generational usages, evanescent slogans and catch-phrases. Bakhtin calls this diversity "heteroglossia", a coinage designed to register not just the diversity of co-existing "languages" but also their actual competition and even mutual hostility. The genre best placed to exploit this linguistic situation is the novel, since it characteristically both inhabits and thrives off the subaltern and popular accents which a recognition of heteroglossia entails.

Bakhtin's account of the novel in this essay, however, is one of several related but nevertheless differing accounts of the genre in his writings; both published and unpublished, from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. One comes in his first published book, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Art* (1929). This differs substantially from its 1963 republication, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. In the 1929 book, Dostoevsky is praised as the inventor of the "polyphonic" novel, marking a decisive advance in the history of the genre. Polyphony is far from a simple advocacy of multiple voices or accents in the novel; what distinguishes the polyphonic novel is the quality of the relationship between narrator and character, in that the latter eschews the "last word" and allows the characters - especially the hero - to stand as full and unmerged voices in their own right. The opposing notion here is the monologic novel, in which the author's voice remains the dominant and organising one.

A second account of the novel is to be found in the essay "Discourse in the Novel", already referred to. Here the novel is the form which exploits heteroglossia, reproducing within itself the socially-marked tensions and potential subversions which characterise the charged relationships between elite and popular accents within the apparent unity of a national language. Related ideas are to be found in two other essays from the 1930s, "Epic and Novel" and "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse" (in *The Dialogic Imagination*). Here the novel is conceived as having a subversive and parodic relationship to other genres, especially to the high seriousness of epic; the form's antecedents are to be found in the parodying and travestying forms of classical and medieval culture. According to these

accounts, the novel is the genre which devours other genres, so that it becomes a kind of anti-genre which can include within itself fragments of other genres such as epic, romance or lyric, but which always subverts their generic certainties in favour of its own unfinished openness towards the world.

A further version of these diverse histories of the novel appears in "Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel", another essay from the 1930s unpublished until the 1970s (in *The Dialogic Imagination*). Bakhtin derived the notion of the chronotope from contemporary science; he used it to provide a history of the novel in which transformations in social and cultural history get translated into dominant metaphors which condense, for the purposes of narrative, profound historically-created understandings of the world. Thus the chronotope which dominates Rabelais' work in the sixteenth century is a condensation of an epochal understanding of the natural world which sees it as both generative and destructive.

The fullest development of this line of thought is to be found in Bakhtin's ideas on carnival, developed in the 1930s but not published until the belated appearance of his doctoral thesis on Rabelais as the book *Rabelais and his World* (1965). Here the extraordinary and grotesque representation of the human body, the lavish linguistic diversity, and the parodies and travesties which characterise Rabelais' writings, are seen as deriving from the widespread practices of carnival in Renaissance Europe. Pantagruel and Gargantua are thus to be understood as drawing upon the energies manifested in contemporary social life in the various feasts, celebrations, and inversions of authority that "carnival" represents. These energies are themselves epochal; that is, they are the result of very ancient attitudes to life manifesting themselves in carnival celebrations. Bakhtin's account of Rabelais thus emphasises those aspects of his writing which draw upon popular rather than learned sources, and gives these popular forms and rituals a benign and even utopian interpretation.

The central aesthetic notion of Rabelais and his World, complementing this act of social and historical location, is that of "grotesque realism"; in the writings of Rabelais (and his near-contemporaries Cervantes and Shakespeare) the grotesque body is constantly represented in ways which insist on the capacity of the "lower bodily strata" to degrade and yet to regenerate. The grotesque body is that which eats, drinks, copulates and defecates; it is unfinished and open to the world, by contrast with the sealed and formally perfect classical body. This contrast permits Bakhtin to venture an alternative cultural (indeed anthropological) history of Europe since the Renaissance, in which the benign balance of the Renaissance, uniting the degrading and regenerative aspects of grotesque realism, has broken down, and separated into merely negative scatology or idealism in subsequent centuries.

Bakhtin's writings, and those of his intellectual colleagues Medvedev and Vološinov, do not form a consistent and coherent "system". Partly this is a matter of their grievously interrupted careers. Medvedev, despite being the most orthodox Marxist of the group, died in the Stalinist purges of the 1930s. Vološinov died of illness in the same decade. Bakhtin himself was arrested in 1929, and spent much of the following decade in internal exile; his essays were produced in very unpropitious circumstances, he was cavalier with his manuscripts, and they were not published until the end of his lifetime and are only now being gathered into uniform collections. In these circumstances it is unsurprising that his work should cover related ground in different ways, and that similar themes should be restated in differing vocabularies and with different emphases. Yet this is also a matter of philosophical or literary disposition; Bakhtin was opposed to "theoreticism", or the belief that truth was abstractable from each occasion of its utterance, so a central emphasis to be taken from his work is that the meaning and force of every statement is unique to the occasion of its utterance. Nevertheless it is possible to take the following emphases from his work and that of his circle.

Bakhtin and Vološinov understood all utterances as occurring in the social world, and inevitably taking part in the rejoinder and response that make up the chain of utterances. This location of language and art in the social world entails understanding them as saturated with the ideologically-charged valuations of that world. The history of the novel especially can only be understood as partaking in, and exploiting, the to-and-fro of linguistic interaction; these interactions mark the very discursive texture of novelistic prose, which is characterised by many varieties of discourse which bear, to varying degrees, the traces of other voices in their formation. The novel is thus privileged as the form which is open to the contemporary world, and which characteristically undoes the authority of all claimants to the last or authoritative word. In this respect, it is the form which carries forward from antiquity and the Renaissance the subversive energies of carnival, which, despite their historical location above all in pre-Modern Europe, remain as a fructifying force in Europe's subsequent history.

The differing emphases to be found in the writings of Bakhtin and his circle, and the extraordinary circumstances of their survival and publication, have naturally led to widely varying appropriations of his work. His starting point in neo-Kantian philosophy and the self-other relationship have led some to emphasise the ethical dimension in his writing. Alternatively, the various typologies of novelistic prose that are to be found in his work have induced other critics to use his writings as the basis for a stylistics of the novel. Critics who wish to emphasise the social dimension of language and literature, by contrast, have found in the writings of Medvedev, Vološinov and the book on Rabelais a powerful and non-reductive version of materialist criticism. The account of carnival equally lends itself to a libertarian politics of the body. Finally, the undoubted religious strain in Bakhtin's thinking - despite his hostility to the authority of the "sacred word" he is perhaps religious in his opposition to a modernity drained of affect - has meant that he has appealed to sections of the religious right amongst Russia's intelligentsia. None of these appropriations is simply mistaken; rather they reflect a fundamental Bakhtinian principle, "re-accentuation": that the force of any utterance varies with its successive restatements, as it gets reworked in different contexts and

for different purposes. This principle applies with particular force to the writings of Bakhtin and his colleagues themselves.

ROLAND BARTHES

Roland Barthes was born in France on November 12, 1915, the son of Henriette and Louis Barthes. Barthes's father was a naval officer and he died in action a month before his son's first birthday. Barthes's childhood was spent in Bayonne in the south-west of France near the border with Spain, here he lived with his mother, his paternal grandmother and his aunt, a piano teacher who helped instil in Barthes his lifelong interest in music. In 1924 Barthes and his mother moved to Paris, although Barthes continued throughout his life to consider Bayonne as his true home and Paris as somewhere to pursue a career. Barthes's promising academic career was interrupted from 1934 onwards by illness: from 1934 to 1947 he suffered repeated attacks of tuberculosis, a disease which required lengthy stays in isolated sanatoria, and as a consequence he never completed the prestigious *agrégation* examinations which are a required qualification for scholars employed in the traditional universities in France.

Between the 1940s and the end of the 1950s Barthes held various short-term teaching posts in Bucharest, Egypt and in Paris. In this period he published important critical works, such as *Le Degré zéro de l'écriture*, *Michelet par lui-même*, *Mythologies* and a host of influential essays on theatre, the *nouveau roman*, and other subjects. In 1960 Barthes gained a more permanent post at the *École pratique des Hautes Études* (EPHE) in Paris, where he became Director of Studies in "Sociology of signs, symbols and representations" in 1962. Barthes's appointment at the EPHE corresponds with a second phase in his career. Already a distinguished critic and intellectual, Barthes now began to publish seminal works within the fields of structuralism and semiology. The later essays in his *Essais critiques* largely deal with the changes these movements were making in academic and intellectual notions of criticism, literature and interpretation. In the 1960s Barthes also published important semiological and structuralist-inspired works such as *Eléments de sémiologie*, his influential 1966 essay on the structural analysis of literary narratives and ultimately *Système de la mode*. His book-length study of Racine, *Sur Racine*, published again by Seuil in 1963 led in this period to a very public quarrel between Barthes and the Sorbonne Professor Raymond Picard. Barthes's 1966 text *Critique et vérité* is a rigorous rebuttal of Picard's charges of "fraud" within the "new criticism" (structuralist, Marxist, psychoanalytical) and an important statement of the need for what has become known as literary theory.

Barthes's later years at the EPHE are distinguished by a series of brilliant articles and books which see him moving beyond a strictly semiological and structuralist approach towards a position which was to become known as post-structuralist. *L'Empire des signes*, *Sade*, *Fourier*, *Loyola*, *Le Plaisir du texte* and *Roland Barthes*, along with still highly influential essays such as "La mort de l'auteur" ("The Death of the Author"), first published in 1968, established Barthes as perhaps the most important writer within a period many would consider the high-point of literary theory and criticism since the Second World War. The later works saw Barthes developing a new, erotic, highly personal theory of reading and writing. Barthes's late work, indeed, is distinguished by concerns over the bodily effect of literature and other art forms, the anti-social, hedonistic pleasures offered to the reader by literary texts, music and photography, and ultimately the violence (repression of such pleasures and bodily responses) contained within language itself. Barthes was appointed to the Chair of Literary semiology at the Collège de France in 1976. In his now famous inaugural address Barthes had declared that "language - the performance of a language system - is neither reactionary nor progressive; it is quite simply fascist". His last works, particularly his book on the discourse of the lover, *Fragments d'un discours amoureux* and his study of photography in the context of the death of his mother, *La Chambre claire: note sur la photographie*, begin to push such a view of language and thus of writing into a realm in which theoretical work is replaced by a kind of discourse Barthes called the *novelistic*.

Whether Barthes would have eventually attempted to write a novel, or whether his last works already constitute a kind of *novelistic* writing, is still a topic discussed by scholars, theorists and critics of Barthes's oeuvre. The question is perhaps interminable since Barthes did not live to complete the projects he was planning at the end of the 1970s. Barthes, having lunched at the invitation of the future President, François Mitterand, was involved in a traffic accident crossing the Rue des Écoles on February 25, 1980. Barthes has had and continues to have an immense impact and influence on many different fields within disciplines collectively known, within the academic establishment, as the Humanities. His work on cultural studies, exemplified by *Mythologies* and *The Fashion System*, helped to lay the foundations for that still vibrant mode of study and analysis. Concepts such as textuality and intertextuality, the death of the author, the writerly and the readerly text, and so on, still play a crucial role in the manner in which contemporary students and scholars approach literary texts. Barthes's provocative meditations on music, cinema and most significantly on photography continue to provide a basis for a great deal of current theoretical work in these areas. Recent innovations in theory, particularly those concerned with the new computer technologies, continue to find a host of questions and at times answers within Barthes's work. It needs to be recognized, however, that there has been and will never be a Barthes school of criticism or theory. No one ever styles themselves as a Barthesian critic or theorist. As Tzvetan Todorov explains, Barthes "created a role for himself which consisted in subverting the mastery inherent in discourse, and in assuming that role he [...] made himself irreplaceable". Barthes is a theorist and writer who is at once irreplaceable and yet unrepeatable. A writer who cannot be treated in the singular, since he adopted throughout his career so many contrasting styles and theoretical approaches, and yet whose writing from first to last confronts the basic problem of modern avant-garde and

intellectual thought: how to produce a form of writing or discourse which can resist absorption by dominant culture and thus by what in later work Barthes would simply call “power”. Barthes was rarely sanguine about the chances of producing such a mode of writing, such a discourse. Throughout his work, from his first book to his last, Barthes testifies to the irresistible powers of assimilation possessed by dominant, institutionalized culture. And yet his own massive oeuvre now stands before us as a complete testament to a life spent in such a mode of resistance. There is no Barthes school of criticism or theory; yet Roland Barthes remains a crucial model to all those who would today involve themselves in theoretical and intellectual work.

HAROLD BLOOM

Harold Bloom, son of William Bloom and Paula Levi, was born into a working-class Jewish family in New York, his father making a living as a garment worker. He was educated at Cornell University, where he gained his B.A. in 1951, and at Yale University, where he gained his Ph.D in 1955. In 1958 he married Jeanne Gould with whom he has two sons. He has spent the majority of his academic career at Yale where, since 1983, he has been Sterling Professor of Humanities.

Bloom has always been a prodigious author. His early critical work in the 1950s and 1960s centres on the study of Romantic poetry. An important contributor to the reassessment of Romanticism in those two decades, Bloom published Shelley's Mythmaking in 1959, *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry* in 1961, Blake's Apocalypse in 1963, and *The Ringers in the Tower: Studies in Romantic Tradition*, a collection of his most important essays on Romantic poetry, in 1971. Bloom's work of this period is influenced by the work of M. H. Abrams and, more significantly still, the great Canadian critic Northrop Frye. However, by the time of the later essays collected in *The Ringers in the Tower* a new, more theoretical note can be found emerging in Bloom's account of Romantic poetry and its relation to poetic tradition. This note is to be heard throughout his monumental study *Yeats*, published in 1970, and finally achieves its full expression in the small but astonishing book published in 1973 which Bloom entitled *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*.

The Anxiety of Influence made Bloom famous throughout the world and is perhaps one of the most extensively reviewed works of literary criticism ever published. Bloom's argument in that work is that poetry since the time of Milton has increasingly suffered from an anxiety of influence, a fear that the writing of great poetry is no longer possible. This anxiety, Bloom argues, is not simply a matter of admiration and awe in the face of the achievements of the past, but is central to the creation and the meaning of modern poetry, since, as he goes on to argue, poetry itself is intertextual. If every poem has its meaning in its relation to previous poetry (if every poem is intertextual) then, Bloom asserts, as the history of poetry lengthens the anxiety over poetic influence will increase. Modern poetry, in this reading, is almost exclusively generated by strategies of evading the truth about influence, and Bloom develops a reading of Romantic and post-Romantic poetry which views it as a linguistic and psychological defence against past poetry. Every great poet (Bloom calls them “strong” poets) has a major precursor, a figure analogous to the Freudian Father, against whom the younger poet wrestles for existence. Bloom's vision of poetry (and indeed all literature) is thus highly competitive and many have asserted highly patriarchal in its insistence on male models of conflict and aggression. Bloom's main defence against his critics, apart from his characteristic self-reliance as a thinker, has been to assert that criticism itself suffers from the anxiety of influence as well and can only join with poetry in the competitive struggle for literary space.

Bloom published three other books shortly after *The Anxiety of Influence*, each of which develops the theory of the anxiety of influence: *A Map of Misreading* (1975), *Kabbalah and Criticism* (1975) and *Poetry and Repression* (1976). These four books, Bloom's “tetralogy” on influence, were supplemented by the publication in 1976 of a collection of essays, *Figures of Capable Imagination*, which employ the theory of the anxiety of influence in the reading of a number of more recent poets.

During the 1970s whilst Bloom worked at Yale University a number of his colleagues, all of whom were distinguished scholars of Romantic literature, became involved with the work of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida and the deconstructive movement his work inspired. Derrida himself began to teach at Yale for a few weeks of the academic year from 1975 onwards. In the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s deconstruction became the subject of great debate within American universities and the U.S. media, and Paul de Man, J. Hillis Miller and Geoffrey Hartman, at the centre of this debate because of their association with Derrida, became known as the “Yale Critics”, the principal founders of “Yale Deconstruction”. Bloom, always a promoter of Anglo-American philosophy and literature over the more influential French theory of this period, was, nonetheless, included within the company of the “Yale Critics”. In order to distance his approach from the American version of deconstruction, exemplified in the work of de Man, Bloom, from *A Map of Misreading* onwards, increasingly oriented his “theory of poetry” against the main tenets of deconstructive criticism. This critique of deconstruction can be seen vividly in his lengthy work *Wallace Stevens: The Poems of Our Climate* (1977) and in his contribution (including the ironic title, where only Bloom is meant to be represented by the second word) to the 1979 collection *Deconstruction and Criticism*. In that same year Bloom published his sole foray into the realms of fiction, *The Flight to Lucifer: A Gnostic Fantasy*.

Bloom's critique of deconstruction partly takes the form of a reassertion of a distinctly American tradition of poetry and philosophy originating in the work of Ralph Waldo Emerson, a trait which is much in evidence in his *Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism* (1982). His *The Breaking of the Vessels* (1981), first presented as the inaugural

Wellek Library Lectures at The University of California, is a crucial work of theory which extends his account of poetic rhetoric, makes important interventions into debates about contemporary criticism and literary theory, and presents a fascinating analysis of the work of Freud and the Jahvist or J-writer (earliest Biblical author) on the idea of human origins. Bloom was later to publish a controversial book on the J-writer, *The Book of J* (1990), in which he argues from purely internal evidence that the J-writer was a female poet. He has long projected a work, still to appear in print, which would present an analysis of the complete works of Freud.

In the last two decades Bloom has continued to publish major works of criticism, including the collection of essays *Poetics of Influence* (1988) and *Ruin the Sacred Truths*, along with more idiosyncratic works outside of the orbit of literary criticism, such as his *The American Religion* (1992) and *Omens of Millennium: The Gnosis of Angels, Dreams and Resurrection* (1996). However, his main contribution to criticism since *Ruin the Sacred Truths* has been in terms of a defence of the Western Literary Canon, and in particular Shakespeare's central place within that Canon. Bloom's recent work, therefore, has somewhat switched focus from the anxiety of influence to the earlier works of towering originality which are the causes of that anxiety. This recent work on originality and the Canon is marked by a critique of current academic modes of reading and teaching, which Bloom views as founded upon a fundamentally mistaken belief in the social utility of literature. *The Western Canon* (1994), *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (1999) and *How to Read and Why* (2000) are works which not only celebrate the great originality of Shakespeare and other canonical authors but also direct themselves to readers outside of the contemporary academy. Bloom, that is to say, no longer writes to academic readers but instead he presents his work to what remains of a public ("common") readership which still desires to confront literary greatness. His works now sell in quantities unmatched and unmatchable by his academic critical peers. At the same moment that Bloom eschews an academic audience, however, he continues to edit and write the introductions to the many hundreds of volumes of Chelsea House volumes which span the entire historical range of world literature. Students of literature, where ever they are situated, nowadays find the voice and presence of Harold Bloom inescapable and indispensable. Harold Bloom is, quite simply, the most famous and widely-read literary critic of the present century.

JACQUES DERRIDA

Jacques Derrida is the best-known contemporary French thinker, writer, and literary, cultural and political theorist. While primarily working on the unstable borders of philosophical thinking, Derrida became the most decisive influence upon literary criticism during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Of Jewish descent, he was born Jackie Derrida in El-Biar, Algeria on 15th July 1930, Algeria being a colony of France at this time. His education was to be disrupted by the Second World War, with exclusion from school in 1942 due to the Vichy government's anti-Semitism. After Algerian independence in the early 1960s, along with many other pied-noirs (a derogative term used by metropolitan France to describe colonial families of French descent), the Derrida family was finally to move permanently to France. In consequence of this upbringing, an ambivalent relation to identity has been a principle resource for Derrida's thinking. (For instance, sensitivity to issues to do with racism and xenophobia appear in Derrida's support for Nelson Mandela in the 1980s and his work on behalf on immigrants and refugees in Europe in the 1990s and since). Derrida left Algeria in 1952 to study philosophy at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, then taught at the Sorbonne at the Sorbonne (1960-4), returning to the ENS as maître-assistant from 1965 to 1984. Since 1984 Derrida has been Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.

Since the 1970s Derrida has been a controversial academic-superstar in the Anglo-American literary world, although his difficult texts are more often named and "discussed" than read. The role of academic celebrity is one Derrida continues to fill with modesty and generosity, maintaining a prodigious output of books and papers. These cover fields as diverse as philosophy, politics, poetics, gender issues, psychoanalysis, the nature of the university and ethics. His international influence and reputation can be dated from a conference at Johns Hopkins University in 1966 where he gave the well-known paper "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" (later published in the book *L'Écriture et la différence* [Writing and Difference] in 1967, an extraordinary publishing year which also saw Derrida's *De la grammatologie* [Of Grammatology] and *La Voix et la phénomène* [Speech and Phenomenon] . It was also at this conference that Derrida first met and befriended Paul de Man, the Belgian literary theorist whose work was to be closely allied to Derrida's in the 1970s and early 1980s (de Man died in 1983). Since the early 1970s, Derrida has spent small parts of the year in the United States, holding visiting professorships at Yale, and later at the University of California at Irvine. To those familiar with Derrida's international reputation and impact, his relative marginalization in France university life till the 1980s is a puzzle. In 1982, however, Derrida was a part of a small group of thinkers entrusted by the French government with the task of establishing the Collège International de Philosophie in France. The Collège offers an international forum for thought, with seminars and lectures free and open to the public. Derrida served as its first elected director in 1983.

To non-specialists Derrida is known mainly in relation to his deployment of the word "deconstruction". It is a term which soon became loosely applied to any work by Derrida or by his disciples and which has since entered the general language. Although "to deconstruct" is now often used merely as a synonym for "to analyse", Derrida's own definitions are specific and, necessarily, difficult. The term names, provisionally speaking, the close reading of the texts of the Western philosophic tradition with a view to teasing out within them tensions or incoherencies that enact that tradition's dependence on elements of the non-evident, the non-intuitable, the unformalisable and the

undecidable, i.e. elements at odds with some of the deepest commitments and ambitions of Western thought since the Greeks. These include the notion of truth as certainty in representation, and of evidence in thought as the secure self-showing of its object, and that of thought itself as the agency of a self-transparent consciousness, master in its own domain. Such “metaphysical” commitments, Derrida argues, have long actually constituted thought and the disciplines of thought in Western life. A deconstructive close reading, then, is not a “post-modern” affirmation of relativism or of the unlimited “play of the signifier”, but a tracing of those elusive alogical conditions of reason which insist when one follows philosophical arguments scrupulously, i.e. to the point at which, on their own terms, they begin to transgress themselves. In this sense deconstruction continues, even as it revises, Martin Heidegger’s project of reading the Western thinking with a view to affirming its “unthought”.

The difficulty of deconstruction, as well as the immense challenge it offers to some of our deepest assumptions of intellectual and cultural life, led inevitably to its being widely misunderstood or caricatured (in introductions to literary theory, for instance, deconstruction is still usually associated with a meretricious construction called “poststructuralism”). In 1992 the world of Anglo-Saxon letters was convulsed by a prejudiced and finally unsuccessful campaign by some philosophers in the analytic tradition to prevent Derrida being awarded an honorary degree at Cambridge. This affair followed other, more weighty controversies concerning “deconstruction” as an allegedly nihilistic or destructive cultural movement, especially after 1987 when scandals flared concerning the war-time support of Nazism by two thinkers important to Derrida’s project, Martin Heidegger’s and Paul de Man.

Derrida’s work has always been “of the left”, but critically and in ways that exclude dogmatic commitments to party, and his uneasy relation to any total belonging to a nation or a political or ethnic group was evident in his merely qualified involvement in the uprisings of 1968, and his refusal in 1972 to toe the Marxist (later specifically Maoist) line of the important journal *Tel Quel*, with which he had been previously associated.

In the 1970s “deconstruction” was widely appropriated by Anglo-American literary critics as a mode of reading literary texts with a view to affirming an element of resistance in the literary to “metaphysical” theses. Such criticism meant often to apply to literary texts modes of analysis that had been worked out for the close reading of philosophical ones, and such ‘deconstructions’ did not always escape the danger of becoming a general all-purpose method of reading which reduces all individual texts to a general philosophical problematic. Derrida left it until 1992 to give a full, detailed interview which offered a partial formalization of the nature of his interest in the literary, and on his own consideration of the writers Maurice Blanchot, James Joyce, William Shakespeare, Antonin Artaud, Paul Celan, Stéphane Mallarmé and Francis Ponge. The interview, “This Strange Institution Called Literature”, reaffirmed a statement of Derrida’s thesis defence in 1980 that his most enduring interest, pre-dating even his interest in philosophy, was in literature. In professing this, Derrida was referring mainly to his fascination by the question of the mode of being of the literary text. For, if submitted to the scrupulous attention of the philosopher who approaches it with the simple question “what is...?”, then “literature” presents certain difficulties. A literary text is clearly not “there” in the way an object like a table or vase is. Its mode of being is that of something that, if it speaks or seems to speak of one thing, always admits of the possibility that is also speaking of another. What differentiates Derrida from, say, a predecessor such as Roman Ingarden, author of *Das Literarische Kunstswerke* [The Literary Work of Art] (1931) and who had also worked through the issues of the mode of being of the literary within the terms of phenomenology (the philosophical school in which Derrida was also first trained), is that Derrida’s thought turns what seems a minor issue into a thinking that entails a revisionist disturbance of the very bases of European philosophy.

Derrida’s understanding of literature is that it is an institution of modern democratic or quasi-democratic societies in which the right to say anything at all is affirmed - the space of a kind of responsible irresponsibility. Its power lies in both its resistance to totalising interpretation and its capacity to mean unpredictably and questioningly. This power stems from the way literary texts engage two seemingly opposed but interdependent elements of language. Firstly, in some ways the literary is that language which strives to be (impossibly) absolutely singular, the only and the irreplaceable articulation of what it says or does (e.g. no parsing or rephrasing of, say, William Blake’s “O Rose thou art sick” will exhaust it semantically, let alone such a writing on Joyce’s *Ulysses*). This is a topic that especially fascinates Derrida in the hermetic work of the poet Paul Celan (as in the study *Schibboleth* of 1986) and Derrida’s own prose-ode, “Che cos’è la poesia?” [“What is poetry?”] (1988), turns around the dream of the poetic or “poematic” as an absolutely singular trace or monument. Yet an absolutely singular language is impossible, for repetition and familiarity are necessary for recognition, let alone for reading. So the literary is also an affair of repeated conventions, shared codes governing not only the sense of individual words but also protocols of genre (such as the lyric voice, use of apostrophe etc). Without these, no (relative) singularity of idiom would even be legible. As the event of a specific interimplication and contamination of general codes and conventions with singular modes of language, the literary text may achieve a peculiar force. It resists conceptualisation, one can say, in the mode of a seeming example whose singularity keeps unclosed the question of what is exemplified: thus, if one reads the Blake lyric one way, it still seems to leave open the possibility of its being read in another. In this way a literary text may tend to the exciting status of resisting current instituted ways of understanding or valuing, and of becoming something that, while it requires given codes in order to be readable, may also institute or inaugurate the very modes of understanding by which it may be understood. Necessarily then, Derrida’s readings of literature cannot admit of being formalized into some general system of actions or a method for broad application. A reading is what Derrida terms a critic’s “countersignature”, a singular attempt to respond to the singular idiom of the text.

Derrida affirms that it is distinctive of the literary that it has no essence, and must be seen precisely in or as its elusiveness, its undecidability. This is not, of course, to claim that “the undecidable” is the “real meaning” of the text, though this is may be the import of many critical essays which profess to be following Derrida, but it is to affirm the text’s lack of closure, its force in relation to novel and even to unforeseen contexts. Hence Derrida has always argued that deconstruction is far from being some sort of nihilism, reducing all texts to instances of the same paralysing problematic, but is “affirmative”. Similarly, such work has been argued to be “ethical” in a sense that draws on the proximity between Derrida’s practice and the revisionist ethics of Emmanuel Levinas, for it affirms always an element of otherness in its would-be object, something that forbids the good conscience of a finished job of interpretation. Therefore, while Derrida’s literary thinking travels a long way with some of the “politicised” or demystifying literary criticism of the last decade and with the latter’s ambitions of situating texts in relation to their cultural politics, yet it is also at odds with it in some ways. For the pervasive critical assumption that to articulate a text’s cultural politics is to reach the finishing post of a worthwhile analysis may itself be complacency in need of deconstruction (as in the drift to a certain moralism in the often uncritical use of notions of race, class and gender as bottom-line principles of explanation).

Derrida’s own practice of writing has necessarily questioned the borders between the domains of literature and philosophy. The 1970s and early 1980s saw Derrida publishing texts that use more “literary” modes of presentation in texts which can still be called “philosophical” in their concerns. Unlike most philosophy, which strives to be a work of concepts considered in themselves as transcending the particular form of their presentation (in supposedly transparent prose) texts like *Glas* (1974), *La Carte postale* [The Post Card] (1980), *Signéponge* [Signsponge] (1983), foreground their own means of representation, raising many questions, about the concept of the “book” to name but one. It is striking that Derrida has turned away from his extremes of experimentation with philosophic practice in the 1980s, not to repudiate his earlier texts but to work more often in the seemingly familiar and more widely accessible forms of the expository essay or lecture or interview.

During the 1990s Derrida’s work showed a growing concern with questions of justice, whether in relation to a revaluation of Marxism in the context of the so-called new world order (*Spectres de Marx* [Specters of Marx], 1994), the status of the nation state and the idea of Europe (*L’autre cap* [The Other Heading], 1991), or questions of hospitality, migration and the claims of the refugee in *Politiques de l’amitié* [The Politics of Friendship], 1997, and *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (Thinking in Action), 2001. Justice, Derrida argues, forms the undeconstructible horizon of deconstruction: it is the claim of the singular case, that which is always submerged in the application of general norms of intelligibility or of right. Such norms are always desirable and essential, but also always unjust: politics is the art of making the least bad decision in the face of incompatible, singular claims. For instance, in relation to questions of migration and refuge, any community has to negotiate contradictory demands; both the requirement of universal hospitality (let everyone come), and the need for conditions and restrictions (only some may come).

The claim of what is singular is its refusal to be taken as an example of anything but itself. For Derrida, this links the singularity at work in the literary to the traditional idea of testimony, i.e. something which is inherently singular to each witness - for even when my word only confirms that of others, it still remains, as testimony, unique and irreplaceable. These ideas are fleshed out most fully in *Demeure: Maurice Blanchot* [Demeure: Fiction and Testimony], 1998. This is Derrida’s reading of a late narrative by Maurice Blanchot (which may or may not be autobiographical) concerning the suddenly suspended execution by firing squad of a young man in occupied France. The literary on this account becomes the plural realm of an always singular witnessing, each work inherently refusing to be taken as an example of anything but itself. There a clear disagreement here with that widespread critical practice that deploys notions of cultural identity as a principle of explanation for the nature of a text. Derrida’s argument gives instead an ethical, even existentialist twist to a traditional defence of art: that it is the realm of irreducibly particular knowledge(s) which cannot be expressed in systematic concepts (e.g. what Ulysses says cannot be summed up in other terms without great loss - in Derrida’s parlance, it is inherently “secret”, even though nothing is hidden). Correspondingly, the claim on us at work in the text is not of a kind that admits of cognitive proof - just as a testimony can never eliminate out the possibility of perjury - but is a kind of appeal. At issue in every reading, however gently, is the nature of the social bond itself, and of those common horizons of understanding that make up a community: for the implicit demand of singularity, to be taken only on its own terms, is simultaneously also an appeal to a community of readers for recognition - the literary is both “secret”, singular, and yet completely public. This double demand engages the idea of what Derrida terms the “democracy to come”, meaning not some distant or future ideal to be achieved, but that which is at work each time we negotiate, in every singular case, the demand for both a common and equitable horizon of shared norms of understanding and recognition, and (simultaneously) the claim of the singular, of the always exceptional nature of the specific case.

Jacques Derrida died on October 10th 2004.

MICHEL FOUCAULT

Michel Foucault is primarily a cultural theorist whose impact has been immense across many disciplines within the social sciences and humanities. Madness, sexuality, the history of medicine, the nature of authorship, literature and transgression, the practice of historiography, the development of the penitentiary, the nature of power and discourse in modern societies: these are just some of the manifold topics on which Foucault wrote with vision and insight. Foucault is often associated with other French thinkers such as Jacques Derrida or Jacques Lacan as a founder of post-structuralism although, arguably, Foucault's work has been the more influential across a wider range of subjects, such as cultural studies, feminism, political theory, sociology, queer theory or cultural history. Foucault's work as a whole can best be classified according to three categories roughly corresponding to the chronological development of his thought: texts that employ a method he termed archaeology, texts of genealogy, and works concerned with the ethics of the subject.

Paul Foucault was born 15 October 1926 in Poitiers to a well-off bourgeois family. Foucault was christened with the family name, Paul, which his mother altered to Paul-Michel. His father, Paul Foucault, was a surgeon who taught at the local medical school and Foucault's use of Michel rather than Paul may stem from his difficult relationship with his father. Foucault's father planned that he should follow him into medicine and take over his practice; the young Foucault expressed no such desire, wishing instead to study history and philosophy and enroll at the prestigious Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) in Paris. After initially failing the entrance exams Foucault entered the ENS in 1946 and studied there until 1950, coming into contact with influential teachers such as Georges Duménil, Jean Hyppolite and Louis Althusser.

Influenced by Althusser, Foucault briefly joined the French Communist Party (PCF) in 1950, leaving sometime in 1953, perhaps, as he once claimed, because his homosexuality was not welcomed by the PCF. His early reading was dominated by Martin Heidegger and only later, in 1953, did Foucault begin reading Friedrich Nietzsche, coming to his work through the novels and criticism of Maurice Blanchot and Georges Bataille. Many commentators regard Nietzsche as the most profound influence upon Foucault's thought.

Foucault first came to prominence in the era of the so-called structuralist revolution in the French postwar philosophical scene. Foucault, however, disassociated himself on several occasions from structuralism and other intellectual movements, remarking once that "I have never been a Freudian, I have never been a Marxist, and I have never been a structuralist." Although this description is, in general, not without some truth, it would be somewhat disingenuous to suggest that Foucault's thought did not have important connections with these patterns of thought. Indeed, much of his formative intellectual make-up can broadly be related to these three tendencies.

Foucault's first major work was *Folie et déraison; histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* [1961; translated as *Madness and Civilization: A History of Madness in the Age of Reason*] and was based upon the text submitted by Foucault for his doctorate in 1960. One of the most original aspects of Foucault's work is his integration of rigorous philosophical questioning into the detailed scrutiny of historical archives. In *Madness and Civilization* Foucault demonstrated this by demanding that philosophical ideas about human reason and unreason are understood within the context of the historical treatment of those deemed to be "mad". *Madness and Civilization* is the first of his great works of archaeology, a provocative approach that combines history and philosophy and which dominated his work up to the 1970s. The book examines how madness as an idea was constructed and investigates the changes in how madness was treated, analyzed, and theorized from the Renaissance to the present day.

Foucault's discussion ends with the claim that the voice of unreason that has progressively been silenced since the end of the eighteenth century, only manifesting itself in a few works by Hölderlin, Nerval, Nietzsche or Artaud. When madness erupts in a work of art it brings into question whether this work can still be called art: there is not an art of madness, for that would only contain the savage power of madness in a new rational discourse. Rather, madness is a kind of creative energy that fuels the very annihilation of the work of art.

Foucault's text had a great and contentious impact, and not only in academic circles. It was said to be a leading influence on the anti-psychiatry movement associated with R. D. Laing and David Cooper in the late 1960s. In France the book received positive reviews from Roland Barthes and Blanchot. However, it did receive a significant critique from Derrida, a former pupil of Foucault's. The reception of Foucault's text by historians was varied, with some suggesting that his characterization of the happy existence of the mad in the Renaissance was rather overstated.

After short academic appointments in Lille in France and Uppsala in Finland, and work as director of a French cultural center in Warsaw, Poland, Foucault was appointed to a philosophy post at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, France, in 1962. A year later he published *Naissance de la clinique: Une archéologie du regard médical* [1963; translated as *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*]. This is the first work in which Foucault explicitly uses the notion of archaeology. The book concentrates upon the development of modern medicine at the end of the eighteenth century and tries to link the systematic study of discourse with the growth of a particular institution; the book closes by suggesting that the history of medicine is closely associated with a certain philosophical view of the human subject. Foucault referred to the book as a "structural study", a phrase he later regretted using. Significantly, the book had an intensely personal dimension, only later obliquely noted by Foucault in an interview: his father's work as a surgeon, and Foucault's refusal to follow his father's profession, form a key backdrop to the arguments of the text.

Around this time Foucault also published several essays on literary figures such as Bataille, Blanchot, and Friedrich Hölderlin. In 1963 he published a full-length book on the obscure late nineteenth-century French poet

Raymond Roussel. These writings confirmed Foucault's interest in the literature of the avant-garde and in texts which, by exploring extreme experiences, challenged fundamental conception of human nature and the language of literature itself.

One of the most original features of Foucault's methodology in *Birth of the Clinic* and *Madness and Civilization* was the emphasis upon the concept of breaks or discontinuities in the development of historical ideas or practices. This became central to *Les Mots et les choses* [The Order of Things], the book that established Foucault's reputation in France when published in 1966. Subtitled *Une archéologie des sciences humaines*, and covering the same historical period as *Madness and Civilization*, this book sought to analyze how, at the end of the eighteenth century, there emerged the human sciences of philology, biology, and political economy. This work was, however, no conventional history of ideas; rather Foucault investigates the "conditions of possibility" in the "epistemological field", or *epistème*, that allowed these sciences to emerge. Archaeology, in Foucault's sense of the term, is not interested in tracing how individual thinkers contributed to the development of the new sciences, but in revealing the anonymous space or *epistème* forming the context that enabled specific individuals to carry out innovative work. The *epistème* is what governs the statements that can be made within, for instance, biology, consisting of the "fundamental codes of a culture". This approach, argued Foucault, gave a truer picture of the cultural and intellectual field in which scientific knowledge operated, unhindered by the need to give overwhelming credit to individual thinkers. It also shows how far Foucault adopted, with key revisions, much of the structuralist revolution in France at this time, including its antihumanism. The book was a huge success in French publishing: within a year it was reprinted six times and topped the nonfiction bestseller list in August 1966. Foucault's long and obscure work of archaeological history became a kind of coffee-table book, and he was obliged to give constant interviews to the French press defending his views from critics such as Sartre.

Foucault himself felt that the archaeological method employed in the book required more sustained explanation and justification, as well as a clearer statement of his distance from structuralism. Published in 1969, *L'Archéologie du savoir* [The Archaeology of Knowledge] aimed to address these issues and is Foucault's only major book devoted to theory and methodology. It is also his most sustained statement of how the archaeological method challenges the conventional writing of history. In proposing to study the rules and practices that envelop discourses, Foucault's work shifts towards a consideration of how power shapes discourses and knowledge. Not surprisingly, after this book of deep self-criticism, Foucault's work started to shift towards the new genealogical approach he employed throughout the 1970s.

L'Archéologie du savoir was mainly composed in Tunisia, where Foucault took up a post at the University of Tunis from September 1966 until October 1968. This voluntary exile in Tunisia meant that Foucault did not witness the student uprising in Paris in May 1968. He did, however, witness violent student protests in Tunisia, and on his return to France at the end of 1968 Foucault's work started a process of politicization. Previously regarded as hostile to political activity, Foucault began to engage in a variety of political struggles in France in the 1970s, and these practical activities also colored the nature of his academic work, bringing the concept of power to the forefront of his thinking.

Before his next major book Foucault wrote several shorter works in which he outlined a new methodological approach called "genealogy". In the 1969 lecture "What is an Author?" Foucault covers some of the same ground outlined in the previous year by Barthes in his essay "The Death of the Author", and together the two works outline key elements of a post-structuralist theory of literary criticism. "The Order of Discourse" was Foucault's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1970, where he was elected to a chair that he named the "History of Systems of Thought". In a wide-ranging discussion Foucault meditates upon how discourse is always linked with power, drawing upon a variety of examples, such as biology, education, religion, and literary criticism. The essay is the first explicit statement of a key theme in Foucault's work in the 1970s, the way in which power and knowledge are deeply and troublingly intertwined. In "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" Foucault outlines how genealogy develops a philosophical project of historical inquiry where all claims to knowledge are enmeshed within forms of power and are thus dependent upon perspectives rather than absolutes. Overall, these three essays represent Foucault as a key theorist of post-structuralism and lead into a period of political engagement and further research upon the body as an historical object, genealogy as a "history of the present", and the manifest ways in which power and knowledge are linked.

Foremost amongst Foucault's political work in the early 1970s was the formation, along with his long-term partner Daniel Defert, of a pressure group that aimed to make the public aware of the brutal conditions in French prisons. Foucault's theory of genealogy now found a contemporary object of investigation, the prison, a topic illustrating more clearly how power and knowledge were linked. This work came to fruition in 1975 with *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* [Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison], perhaps the most widely-read of his texts. Foucault finds in the history of the development of modern penal systems the emergence of a form of power-knowledge that has application across a large number of other domains in Western societies. For Foucault modern forms of punishment, such as the use of training and regimentation of the body, are not just found in prisons but elsewhere in society; prisons resemble schools or hospitals, he says, because schools and hospitals resemble prisons in their utilization of the same form of power-knowledge. In the modern world power is not just a repressive force from above, rather it is "a productive network which runs through the whole social body" as well as upon each individual human body.

To substantiate this claim Foucault points to a whole panoply of seemingly innocent techniques, such as the teaching of handwriting in schools or the architectural arrangement of hospitals. Power is now what Foucault punningly calls disciplinary power: it disciplines the gestures and practices of the human body by the use of new disciplines of knowledge. Disciplinary power is part of the growth of the social sciences in the nineteenth century; knowledge and power intertwine in debates around how to govern populations, the role of public censuses, or the use of individual medical records.

One of the most famous images drawn upon by Foucault in the book is his reference to the panopticon. This scheme for prison architecture was devised by utilitarian reformer Jeremy Bentham and was intended to produce a more efficient use of space. The prison cells are arranged in a circular fashion around a central watchtower, from which unseen prison guards watch the inmates. People police themselves because they are not aware if they are being observed by guards or not; the panopticon is thus a model for how power operates anonymously throughout society.

Discipline and Punish is certainly the most fully realized of Foucault's genealogies, demonstrating how historical inquiry connects with philosophical questions about subjectivity, power and knowledge. The book was well received in France, with interviews and features about it appearing in many newspapers and magazines. The impact of Foucault's theory of power-knowledge was also significant in the English-speaking world, especially among social and cultural theorists. The book helped consolidate an emerging post-structuralist and post-modernist critique of what Foucault termed "global, totalitarian theories", whether found in Marxism, structuralism, or the Enlightenment.

The final phase of Foucault's work concerned sexuality, a topic he had planned to write upon for some time. *Histoire de la sexualité* began as a sort of sequel to *Madness and Civilization* with the first volume appearing in 1976. It was advertised as the first of six volumes on the subject, of which only two revised volumes were published in Foucault's lifetime. The first volume alluded to Nietzsche's "will to power" in its title, *La Volonté de savoir*, thus signaling a continuation of the interrogation of power-knowledge.

La Volonté de savoir questions the conventional view of Victorian ideas about sexuality and sex as being governed by a prurient repression. This "repressive hypothesis" holds that it was only in the twentieth century, with the help of thinkers such as Freud, that people began to openly discuss sexuality. Foucault inverts this orthodoxy by showing that discourses on sex were not repressed in the nineteenth century but were actually encouraged. The Victorians witnessed a proliferation of discourses on sex: definitions of homosexuality; pornography and campaigns against it; campaigns to prevent children from masturbating; medical discussions of the threat of venereal diseases and so on. In this period power did not just repressively say no to sexuality; rather, sexuality is put into discourse, and Foucault sees an intensification of power relations linked to this increase in discourses about sexuality. Foucault also argues that contemporary discourses on sexuality do not lead to liberation from power relations around sex. The modern view that sexuality is the key to one's subjectivity shows that there is no simple liberation from power, only a more insidious form of power relation around sexuality.

Foucault's argument in *La Volonté de savoir* prompted much further research into the cultural construction of sexuality and the body in literary, cultural and social studies. Some feminist critics were disappointed that Foucault's text did not discuss the specificities of women's experience of sexuality, although others found the book more productive. For other writers Foucault's argument provided a means to take debates around sexuality away from questions of political oppression, and into a more philosophical questioning of the nature of sexual identity itself. Practitioners of queer theory, for example, owe much to Foucault's critique of the idea of an essential sexual self.

Along with sexuality, Foucault's later work considers conceptions of subjectivity, truth and ethics. If something as seemingly "natural" as human sexuality is an historical construct, then how is it that human subjects come to believe in such "truths" about their identities? Foucault's final writings shifted the direction of the *Histoire de la sexualité* project and he laid aside his earlier plans for the series and reconsidered the aims of his work. "The goal of my work during the last twenty years", he wrote in 1982, "has not been to analyse the phenomenon of power. [...] My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects."

Another key essay in this period was the 1983 lecture, "What is Enlightenment?" Kant's comments on the Enlightenment are used by Foucault to understand the philosophical "attitude" to modernity, a way of relating to contemporary reality exemplified in the writings of Charles Baudelaire on modern painting. This attitude of modernity involves forming what Foucault terms an "historical ontology of the self." The human self must actively form itself by a set of practices or techniques, and Foucault studies the historical limits of these practices of self-formation in order to diagnose where, in the present, changes might occur.

The two final volumes of *Histoire de la sexualité*, (*The Uses of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self*) confirmed this renewed concern with subjectivity and techniques of the self. The first of these books also introduced another new topic for Foucault's work, the question of ethics. Why, asked Foucault, was sexuality the topic of so many moral prescriptions? To answer this question his genealogy needed to search much further back in history, to examine Greek and Roman texts of antiquity to uncover the roots of this linkage of subjectivity, morality and sexuality. Greek and Greco-Roman thinking about sexuality, suggests Foucault, was governed by ideas about correct social behavior, of how to lead an ethical life that made one a good citizen of the state. But the conception of ethics was not that of a set of external rules to which one must be obedient, but rather ethics as a set of practices, or an "aesthetics of

existence". Foucault was interested in this situation partly because he thought it paralleled the contemporary Western world.

The last two volumes of Foucault's history of sexuality are written, as many commentators note, in a new style and tone, and they combine both an archaeological and genealogical approach. They seem the work of a more conventional historiography, measured and detailed in their descriptions, and less prone to the dazzling and rhetorical claims found in earlier books; however, they are no less original or disturbing for this change in tone. The books provoked a variety of responses, from classicists who complained that Foucault had deliberately misinterpreted key texts for his own purposes, to critics who suggested that his new-found interest in questions of subjectivity and truth demonstrated a rejection of the post-structuralist antihumanism commonly associated with his work. The notion of an "aesthetics of existence" also puzzled people, as it seemed to abandon any recognition of the perceived need for moral norms to help guide and determine one's behavior.

The rich vein of research and questions opened up in these last works was never fully carried out by Foucault. On 2 June 1984 he collapsed at home, after several months of ill-health, and was eventually hospitalized at the Salpêtrière, the Paris hospital that, coincidentally, had been central to the story of *Folie et déraison*. His condition deteriorated and he died on 25 June, at the age of fifty-seven. Dogged by controversy over the implications of his books during his life, in his death Foucault was also the subject of rumours and speculations in the French press. The exact cause of death, from complications attendant upon infection with the AIDS virus, was not made clear for some time.

Michel Foucault's work always seemed to return to this notion of attempting to transgress orthodox limits; viewing his final work as part of his own philosophical life represented another challenge to the detached way in which most academic work is conceived. It also represented a challenge to the post-structuralist orthodoxy that authorship was to be ignored in favor of textuality, a view Foucault himself helped create in the 1970s. "When I write," said Foucault in 1978, "I do it above all to change myself and not to think the same thing as before." This imperative to "think differently" runs through all his writing: the lesson of Foucault's work is that one should ascertain the limits to a certain form of knowledge or practice, and one should see if it is necessary to go beyond them.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

The thought of Friedrich Nietzsche has had a pervasive influence on Western thought since his death. Psychologists such as Sigmund Freud and existential philosophers such as Karl Jaspers, Martin Heidegger and Albert Camus have acknowledged their debt to his work, as have the post-structuralist and deconstructionist thinkers Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Nietzsche has also influenced many great literary authors, notably George Bernard Shaw, André Gide, Rainer Maria Rilke, W. B. Yeats, Thomas Mann, Herman Hesse and André Malraux. Nietzsche's influence is grounded in the fact that he wrote with poetic force and elegance to express what his age in any case believed - that "God is dead", that human kind is alone on the face of the earth, that our illusions of self-importance clothe us against the immense non-being of space, that all we know is known in terms of our own prejudices and limited point of view. There is no God-like "truth", no certain "real", but there is an enormous ethical responsibility placed upon us to inspect how our philosophies of existence create the world in which we live.

Nietzsche was born in Roken, Saxony (near Leipzig), son and grandson of a line of distinguished Lutheran pastors. His father died when he was four and for the next ten years Nietzsche lived in a household comprising his mother, her two sisters, his grandmother and his younger sister Elisabeth. In 1858 Nietzsche won a scholarship to the Pforta School, the most distinguished protestant German boarding school, where he distinguished himself for his academic excellence and graduated in 1864 to enter the University of Bonn as a student of theology and classics. His first year in Bonn was, however, rendered unhappy by disputes between its two leading classics professors, Otto Jahn and Friedrich Ritschl, and in 1865, having written a few musical compositions in the Romantic manner of Robert Schuman, he followed Ritschl to the University of Leipzig. Nietzsche's studies were interrupted in 1867 for military service in the cavalry, but he was seriously injured in an accident when mounting a horse in March 1868, enabling him to return to his studies in October 1868. It was in Leipzig that Nietzsche encountered the works of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) and met the composer Richard Wagner, the two figures that were to exert profound influence over his early writings.

In 1869, despite the fact that Nietzsche had not completed his doctoral studies, Ritschl recommended him for a chair in classical philology at the University of Basel in Switzerland, praising him as the most gifted student he had ever encountered. The University of Leipzig obliged by taking the unusual step of conferring a doctorate based upon some published essays, Nietzsche took Swiss nationality, and in 1870 he was made a full professor of classical philology in Basel. Scarcely in post, however, Nietzsche took leave to volunteer as a medical orderly in the Franco-Prussian war, during which he fell seriously ill with dysentery and diphtheria, compounding the damage suffered earlier in his riding accident. The years 1871-79 seem to have been full of the drudgery of teaching but illumined by an intense friendship with Richard and Cosima Wagner which eventually faded and died as Wagner became more involved with nationalist-Christian myths. As a result of poor health, Nietzsche resigned his professorship in 1879 and lived for the rest of his life on the pension that the university granted him. In January 1889, at the age of 45,

Nietzsche suffered a devastating mental collapse from which he never recovered. Rendered a helpless invalid, Nietzsche spent the last eleven years of his life being cared for by his mother and, after her death, his sister.

As the dates of his published works indicate, Nietzsche's creative intellectual life was relatively short (1872 to 1888). Although sharp differences in style and approach separate the youthful Nietzsche who wrote *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* [The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music, 1872] from the mature Nietzsche responsible for works such as *Die Götzen-Dämmerung* [Twilight of the Idols] and *Ecce Homo* (1888-9), his thought is characterised by a consistent concern with the nature of culture which shifts in emphasis from, in his early works, an engagement with classical aesthetics to, in the later writings, a moral and political engagement with the contemporary. Nietzsche's first book, *The Birth of Tragedy*, offers an account of Ancient Greek tragic art (e.g. the Oedipus plays of Sophocles) that emphasises its cultural significance, using Schopenhauerean pessimism as an explanatory tool. For the youthful and mature Nietzsche alike, Ancient Greek tragedy marks one of the great achievements in European history. The central concern of *The Birth of Tragedy* is to provide an explanation of this cultural achievement. Nietzsche's text needs to be grasped in the context of the conception of Ancient Greek culture prevalent at this time. For figures such as J. J. Winckelmann (1717-68) and Mathew Arnold (1822-88), Greek art expressed an underlying calm and enlightened simplicity, witnessed by the harmonious designs apparent in its sculpture and architecture. In contrast, Nietzsche argues that significance of the formal simplicity and beauty these art forms exhibit conceals a violence that permeated the Ancient Greek cultural scene. They are in fact sublimated expressions of this violence. As a means of both exposing and explicating such violence, Nietzsche introduces two aesthetic categories, the Apollonian and the Dionysian. The term "Apollonian" denotes a formalised aesthetic of constraint. It thereby signifies a channel or structure that renders possible artistic expression (the "principle of individuation"). The Apollonian is typified by the plastic art of sculpture. In contrast, the Dionysian, which is linked to the expressive activities of music and dance, denotes the violent and chaotic forces of becoming that constitute reality and produce a loss of the very sense of self that typifies the Apollonian. The great achievement of Greek tragedy, Nietzsche contends, lies in its fusion of these opposed forces. In tragedy, Dionysian forces of becoming are harnessed by Apollonian structuring forces; the latter thereby provide a channel that allows for the Dionysian reality to be given its greatest possible expression in artistic form. Thus, the great artistic achievements of Greek culture ought not to be read as emerging from the dominance of a harmonious rationality. Rather, they emerge out of the ability of the tragic form creatively to harness inherently destructive forces present within the Greek world itself. Greek tragedy draws upon Dionysian forces, and in doing so it provides (particularly by way of the chorus) a metaphysical comfort to the spectator, in so far as it affirms the view "that life is at the bottom of things, despite all the changes of appearances, indestructibly powerful and pleasurable [...] With this chorus the profound Hellene, uniquely susceptible to the tenderest and deepest suffering, comforts himself [...] Art saves him, and through art - life" (Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, section 7). In this way, Nietzsche argues, Greek art achieved its highest expressive potential through satisfying the need to make the terrible, destructive Dionysian reality of life bearable. Art, it follows, is regarded as achieving its greatest potential when it simultaneously serves and expresses the needs of life. Later sections of *The Birth* draw a connection between this argument about Ancient Greek art and contemporary issues in German culture. The claim put forward here is that Wagner's music can be grasped as initiating "a rebirth of tragedy", and hence offers the possibility for a rejuvenated German culture.

It should be evident that *The Birth of Tragedy* is not, in any straightforward sense, a "philosophical" work. Socrates, the exemplar of philosophical reason, is linked explicitly by Nietzsche with the destruction of tragedy, a destruction which marks the cultural decline of Ancient Greece, and Nietzsche never abandons an avowedly ambivalent attitude toward Socrates, the exemplar of philosophical reason, is linked explicitly by Nietzsche with the destruction of tragedy. This destruction, in turn, marks the cultural decline of Ancient Greece. Although Nietzsche never abandons an avowedly ambivalent attitude toward Socrates and philosophy (his later principal aim is to outline a creative conception of philosophy) his later work is marked by the abandonment of any adherence to Wagner. Schopenhauer's philosophical pessimism is likewise subject to critical scrutiny and rejection. It is notable in connection with Wagner that even though one of the *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* [Untimely Meditations, 1873-6] seems to celebrate him, it is possible to detect even there the beginnings of a critical attitude on Nietzsche's part toward him.

The publication of *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* [Human, All-Too-Human] in 1878 marked both the decisive break with Schopenhauer's thought and with Wagner (the work was dedicated in its first edition to the memory of Voltaire and Wagner was rabidly anti-French). Likewise, the German nationalism evident in *The Birth of Tragedy* is also abandoned. In place of these, and the aesthetic concerns that marked *The Birth*, Nietzsche's thinking turns to a critical scrutiny of morality, and does so in an increasingly adventurous, experimental and masterful style of polemical thought that provokes, tempts and frustrates any reader's attempts to produce a seamless overview of Nietzsche's own position.

Human, All-Too-Human opens by posing a relatively trivial and general question about the origins of concepts: how can something originate in its opposite? In other words, how could things such as truth originate in untruth, rationality in irrationality, selflessness in covetousness, etc.? There are two aspects to Nietzsche's response to this question. On the one hand he stresses the misunderstandings produced by "metaphysical philosophy" in its attempts to resolve such questions. Metaphysical philosophy endorses the belief that such oppositions are fixed in place: reason cannot be derived from unreason; the origin of logic cannot be sought in illogic, etc. Metaphysical philosophy adopts

this view because it holds that reason, truth, and logic all come from a “miraculous source” that underlies experience. The problem with this is that such an approach must thereby invoke something that is strictly impossible to demonstrate in order to justify itself. It is no coincidence that philosophising of this kind also asserts for itself a supra-historical perspective on reality. This is because metaphysical philosophy, Nietzsche argues, thinks that the word “true” signifies what is immune to change. He wishes to challenge this view.

Nietzsche’s challenge to metaphysical philosophy is mounted by way of an alternative approach, which he calls “historical philosophy”. From the viewpoint that espouses historical philosophy, what is needed is a rethinking of the significance of human thought by situating it within processes of development. On such a view, self-consciousness emerged from the material conditions of life. One significant consequence of this was to set in place presuppositions of thought that we are now unable to relinquish. In other words, the way that we construe our everyday experiences involves inescapable presuppositions that facilitate thought. Such presuppositions originated in the prehistoric phase of human development. Metaphysical philosophy simply accepts in uncritical fashion this legacy of assumptions by taking them to indicate eternal structures upon which our knowledge of “reality” rests. Against this kind of view Nietzsche holds that if there is an essential characteristic of reality it is that of change: “everything has become”. Human knowledge, therefore, is in actual fact confined to the realm of experience - what metaphysical philosophy dismisses as the realm of so-called “appearances”.

The conception of philosophy Nietzsche outlines in *Human, All-Too-Human* is in many ways inspired by the example of the “natural sciences”. Thus, if we turn to the realm of values, what is required, Nietzsche claims, “is a chemistry of the moral, religious and aesthetic conceptions and sensations, likewise of all the agitations we experience within ourselves in cultural and social intercourse, and indeed even when we are alone: what if this chemistry would end up by revealing that in this domain too the most glorious colours are derived from base, indeed from despised materials?”. It is clear from the chemical metaphor used here that what Nietzsche proposes is an account of the social domain of values that seeks to reduce them to their basic constituents. Values and feelings are like chemical compounds: they can be broken down. A reduction of this kind, however, entails looking at the origins of values and conventions. Historical philosophy, it follows, has the task of elucidating the elements that constitute the fabric of social life and thought. Importantly, such a project entails dispensing with the belief in a universal knowledge capable of grasping ultimate reality. Historical philosophising can offer nothing more than “little unpretentious truths [...] discovered by means of rigorous method”.

As his thought develops Nietzsche abandons some of the views advocated in *Human, All-Too-Human*; most obviously, the faith in the methods of the natural sciences is subject to ever-increasing scepticism with regard to their purportedly “objective” status. A passage from *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [Beyond Good and Evil, 1886] should serve to illustrate the point. We may sometimes be tempted, he says, to think of physics as an explanation of reality. It is not: “physics, too, is only an interpretation and exegesis of the world (to suit us, if I may say so!) and not a world-explanation”. The physical sciences no less than metaphysics (to which they are indebted for some of their essential concepts) can be misleading if we take their interpretations of phenomena to be explanations. Even a notion central to the physical sciences, that of cause and effect, Nietzsche notes, is best numbered among the “conventional fictions for the purpose of designation and communication [...] In the ‘in-itself’ there is nothing of ‘causal connections’, of ‘necessity’ [...] there the effect does not follow the cause, there is no rule of ‘law’”. Science is no more capable than metaphysics of offering us an unmediated and eternal “truth” about reality. To think in this way would be to misunderstand what science is good for. Natural science is one way among others of engaging with our environment practically, of manipulating that environment. The mature Nietzsche is an advocate of science, as evidenced by the title of his 1882 book *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [The Gay Science]. However, when he affirms “science” in this context Nietzsche is endorsing something whose implications are rather different from those that would strike an English speaker when faced with this word. The latter would tend to think of “science” as denoting the natural sciences (e.g. physics, chemistry, etc.) and hence as involving something essentially different from the disciplines associated with the study of the humanities (history, English literature, philosophy, etc.). *Wissenschaft*, today as in Nietzsche’s time, denotes the academic study of all forms of knowledge. Thus, philosophy is one of the *Geisteswissenschaften*, i.e. sciences of the mind. In this sense, Nietzsche’s advocacy of science is more to do with endorsing the spirit of critical enquiry than the strict application of pre-existing methodological principles to a narrowly defined subject matter. For Nietzsche, science, to recall the title already mentioned, is something “joyful” or “gay”. It is something, in other words, that is more to do with sensibility than mere method. Indeed, the view that there is a single method is one that Nietzsche would be at pains to deny.

Nietzsche’s books written between 1878 and 1882 (between *Human, All-Too-Human* and *The Gay Science* - though the latter had a fifth “book” added to it in 1886) - display aspects that are further developed in his later works. These include an increasing scepticism about traditional modes of philosophical enquiry (especially epistemology and moral theory) accompanied by a growing concern with psychology, physiology and questions of power. *The Gay Science* contains what is probably his best-known pronouncement: the “death of God”. This is the “greatest modern event” which consists of a loss of faith in the Christian conception of God and the accompanying moral “certainties” that were bolstered by that faith. Nietzsche baptises the state of complete loss of belief in moral values that the death of God signifies with the name “nihilism”: the belief that nothing is true and everything is permitted is, in fact, a direct consequence of self-destructive elements in Christian ideals fulfilling themselves. Also sprach Zarathustra [Thus Spoke Zarathustra] (written between 1883 and 1885) is a sustained, rhapsodic biblical

parody that engages with the nihilistic ramifications of the death of God. Most notoriously, Zarathustra presents the demand that the “overman” (Übermensch) be the goal of human existence. The overman represents the highest form of human perfection possible. Such a being lives with creative autonomy of a kind impossible for the average human in so far as he or she is capable of affirming in joyful and creative terms a world devoid of religious consolations or moral certainties.

The Nietzschean rejection of Christian morality and metaphysics brought with it a demand for the critical reevaluation of the meaning of values as such. This reevaluation is performed in works that also display a developing theory of power. What in the mature Nietzsche comes to be termed the “will to power” is a theory that regards all identity, interpretation and development in the human world as produced by relations of power. Indeed, Nietzsche even toys with the idea that life itself can be grasped as the play of power relations. It is important to note that, for Nietzsche, the word “power” does not denote a mysterious force permeating independently existing entities. Rather, power is constitutive of entities as such. Zur Genealogie der Moral [On the Genealogy of Morals, 1887] shows Nietzsche putting the power theory to work. The Genealogy develops his earlier critique of religious and ethical systems of belief in seeking to offer a critical, historical analysis of the origins of ethical discourses. In the first of the three essays that make up the Genealogy, Nietzsche divides moral discourses into the contending camps of “noble morality” and “slave morality”. Each expresses a different, and ultimately incompatible, base of interests and a struggle is apparent in the history of the ancient world. Noble morality expresses the standpoint of aristocratic classes. It both embodies and affirms the noble perspective as one of dominion and power. As a dominant social group the nobility affirms itself first as “good” and only subsequently characterises those of a lower station as “bad”. This Nietzsche terms the “good-bad” ethical discourse of evaluation. Such a discourse, Nietzsche claims, underlies the origin of all discourses of value, since the right of giving names and thereby defining and evaluating is initially a privilege of those with power. The contrasting discourse of slave morality arises when the interests of those who encounter and evaluate the world from the perspective of the victim are voiced. The slave’s identity emerges out of their status as a victim of domination. Helpless in the face of dominant social forces and hence impotent when it comes to exerting retribution on their oppressor, the slave takes the only form of revenge possible for them. They label their oppressor as “evil” and condemn them to eternal retribution at the hands of a slave-loving God. This evaluative deed, says Nietzsche, is the precondition of the slave’s subsequent affirmation of his or her own identity as “good”. In this way, slave morality expresses a “good-evil” discourse of evaluation. Notably, the slave’s conception of “good” represents a reaction to the world that oppresses them. What is first designated as “evil” (namely the noble) forms the basis of subsequent self-affirmation. Slave morality is thus negatively “reactive” rather than affirmatively “active” in nature.

Nietzsche argues that Christian culture (whose roots lie in the slave ethos of Judaism) is a prime example of slave morality. In contrast, Ancient Rome exemplifies a noble morality. Clearly Nietzsche sees the correct interpretation of how values are posited to be a contextual matter. Values are not inherently “true” or “false” since their meaning is inseparable from the context from which they are articulated. Nietzsche’s later writings, for example, *Die Götzen-Dämmerung* [Twilight of the Idols, 1888], develop this viewpoint to the point where the possibility is asserted that we need to overcome the view that consciously held beliefs are autonomous “causes”. Following on from aspects of the Genealogy which invite a symptomatic interpretation of values, here Nietzsche develops the thesis that values may be read as “signs” denoting attitudes to life.

This kind of approach is also reflected in another earlier book, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [Beyond Good and Evil, 1886] where the contention is made that no “facts” of consciousness exist upon which it would be possible to erect an objective theory of values or knowledge. So, Nietzsche argues, any account of knowledge that starts with the supposedly self-evident nature of self-consciousness will always be prey to the criticism that we cannot explain what self-consciousness is. The realm of “instincts” is thereby highlighted: “by far the greater part of conscious thinking must still be included among instinctive activities, and that goes even for philosophical thinking. We have to relearn here, as one has had to relearn about heredity and what is “innate”. As the act of birth deserves no consideration in the whole process and procedure of heredity, so “being conscious” is not in any decisive sense the opposite of what is instinctive”. To put the matter another way, it would be a good idea if we were to learn how to draw our distinctions better. The act of giving birth does not, of itself, confer heredity upon the one who is born. Social and genetic factors do this. Likewise, consciousness is not born of consciousness alone. There is, in other words, a genealogy of consciousness, one that reveals consciousness as depending upon unconscious preconditions. A notebook entry from 1887-1888 puts the matter succinctly enough: “‘Thinking’, as epistemologists conceive it, simply does not exist: it is a quite arbitrary fiction, arrived at by selecting one element from the process and eliminating all the rest, an artificial arrangement for the purpose of intelligibility”.

Nietzsche shares at least one important feature with the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-76). For both thinkers, humans are essentially instinctive or habitual creatures. In Nietzsche’s case, these habits are most manifest in the way we use language. Language works by referring to our experiences. Because of this we are tempted to draw the further inference that the “things” designated by words actually exist independently of them in the manner that the words imply. Not so, Nietzsche claims. When we designate “things” (and the notion of a “thing” is also a kind of designation) we actively impose meaning upon experience, presupposing entities must exist which correspond to the names we utter. This is the root of a bad habit. For we habitually interpret words as being representations of independently existing “states of affairs”. In turn, this renders us susceptible to believing that our language is

capable of representing the “essential properties” of objects. In matter of fact, this belief is probably an essential precondition of language use. But, says Nietzsche, it does not follow from this that the belief in question is objectively true. Indeed, Nietzsche goes so far as to assert that names do not represent things at all. Language is better understood as expressing something about our relationship with our environment: language is a means of coping with that environment. The further implication of this view is that there is an intrinsic connection between consciousness and language. In *The Gay Science*, for instance, we are told that “the development of language and the development of consciousness [...] go hand in hand”. Hence, the extent that we are obliged to think linguistically governs the conduct of our “reason” too. Rationality, it turns out, may be best understood as deriving from preconditions that facilitate language. If this is so, then human reason is an achievement springing from linguistic norms and practices. It follows that, like morality; the significance of reason needs to be re-evaluated.

Modern culture is, for Nietzsche, bifurcated in so far as it is caught between the two ethical discourses characterised in the *Genealogy* in terms of noble and slave. The modern soul bears the marks of this dual legacy. Modern humanity, for Nietzsche, inherits the dual legacy of this struggle. The modern soul is akin to a field of conflict upon which the still-undecided historical struggle between spontaneous activity and reflective thought is re-enacted at “ever deeper and more intellectual” levels. Nietzsche’s concern with modernity, which he interprets as the nihilistic result of the triumph of Christian doctrine, has tempted many commentators to regard him as pertaining to a central importance within the discourse of postmodernism. Gianni Vattimo, for instance, argues that Nietzsche’s *Human, All-Too-Human* marks the birth of post-modernity. Likewise Nietzsche’s influence is evident in the writings of a range of figures associated with postmodernism (and by inference with structuralist and poststructuralist thought). Thus, Michel Foucault’s development of a theory of power is deeply indebted to Nietzsche’s power theory and “genealogical method”. Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, too, embrace a Nietzschean stance. Their affirmation of an ontology of becoming is a case in point. For them, Nietzsche’s thought typifies their favoured model of “nomadic”, anti-institutional thinking. Thinkers such as Paul de Man and Jacques Derrida have noted that Nietzsche is in many ways a precursor of their own deconstructive approaches to interpretation. That said, Derrida has also voiced suspicion about the implications of Nietzsche’s legacy. Nietzsche’s questioning of modern concepts of rationality also influenced the thought of Frankfurt School philosophers, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno’s. Their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944) locates in the development of Enlightenment thought a destructive force that, in its aim to overcome pre-scientific mythology and theology created its own mythological rationalist dogma. Amongst Nietzsche scholars, one central debate concerns the politics of his thought. Thus, attempts have been made to situate Nietzsche within the ethos of a radical democratic politics, in spite of his avowed anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian views.

EDWARD SAID

Edward Wadie Said (November 1, 1935 - September 24, 2003) was a well-known literary theorist and critic. He was also an outspoken Palestinian activist.

Said was born in Jerusalem into the Anglican faith, but spent his childhood in Cairo, Egypt except for several long stays in Palestine. After preparing at Victoria College in Cairo, Said received his B.A. from Princeton University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University. He was professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University for many years. He also taught at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Yale universities. He spoke English and French fluently, excellent colloquial and very good standard Arabic, and was literate in Spanish, German, Italian and Latin.

ORIENTALISM

Said is best known for describing and rejecting what he saw as a constellation of false assumptions underlying Western attitudes toward the East, which he termed Orientalism.

In his book *Orientalism* (1978), he decried the “subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice against Arabo-Islamic peoples and their culture”. He argued that a long tradition of false and romanticized images of Asia and the Middle East in Western culture had served as an implicit justification for Europe’s and America’s colonial and imperial ambitions. Later observers would say that Said, writing in 1980, astutely anticipated the post-9/11 outlook:

“So far as the United States seems to be concerned, it is only a slight overstatement to say that Moslems and Arabs are essentially seen as either oil suppliers or potential terrorists. Very little of the detail, the human density, the passion of Arab-Moslem life has entered the awareness of even those people whose profession it is to report the Arab world. What we have instead is a series of crude, essentialized caricatures of the Islamic world presented in such a way as to make that world vulnerable to military aggression.”

Critiquing Said, Christopher Hitchens wrote that he denied any possibility “that direct Western engagement in the region is legitimate” and that Said’s analysis cast “every instance of European curiosity about the East [as] part of a grand design to exploit and remake what Westerners saw as a passive, rich, but ultimately contemptible ‘Oriental’ sphere”.

ACTIVISM

As a Palestinian activist, Said defended the rights of Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories. For many years, Said was a member of the Palestinian National Council, but he broke with Yasser Arafat because he believed that the Oslo Accords signed in 1993 sold short the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes in pre-1967 Israel. He also opposed the Oslo formula of creating a Palestinian entity out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, arguing instead for the elimination of the State of Israel and the creation of one state in the entirety of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and pre-1967 Israel, in which Arabs and Jews would have equal rights (often known as the binational solution).

I have spent a great deal of my life during the past 35 years advocating the rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination, but I have always tried to do that with full attention paid to the reality of the Jewish people and what they suffered by way of persecution and genocide. The paramount thing is that the struggle for equality in Palestine/Israel should be directed toward a humane goal, that is, co-existence, and not further suppression and denial."

His relationship with the Palestinian Authority was so bad that PA leaders once called for the banning of his books.

In July 2000, he created a minor controversy in a stone-throwing incident on the Lebanon-Israeli border, where he hurled a stone at an Israeli guardhouse as a gesture of solidarity with the stone-throwing youth of the First Intifada. Many Israelis condemned Said's symbolic act of resistance as an act of violence intended to incite anti-Israeli emotions.

Said's books on the Israeli occupation of Palestine include *The Question of Palestine* (1979) and *The Politics of Dispossession* (1994).

Said was also a prolific journalist and his writing regularly appeared in *The Nation*, the *London Guardian*, the *London Review of Books*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Counterpunch*, *Al Ahram*, and the pan-Arab daily *al-Hayat*.

A skilled pianist, Said also contributed music criticism to *The Nation* for many years. In 1999, he jointly founded the West-East Divan Orchestra with the Argentine-Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim, a close friend. The orchestra brings together every summer a group of talented young classical musicians from Israel and Arab countries. In recognition of this collaboration, Said and Barenboim received the 2002 Prince of Asturias Awards for "improving understanding between nations."

Edward Said died at the age of 67 in New York after a long battle with leukemia.

GLOSSARY OF LITERARY AND THEORETICAL TERMS

LITERARY TERMS

Accentual Verse: Verse in which the metre depends upon counting a fixed number of stresses (which are also known as 'accents') in a line, but which does not take account of unstressed syllables. The majority of Germanic poetry (including Old English) is of this type.

Accentual-Syllabic Verse: The normal system of verse composition in England since the fourteen century, in which the metre depends upon counting both the number of stresses and the total number of syllables in any give line. An iambic pentameter for example contains five stressed syllables and a total of ten syllables.

Alexandrine: a line of six iambic feet, often used to mark a conclusion in a work which is in heroic couplets: Alexander Pope in his *Essay on Criticism* (1709) satirised this technique (which he was not above using himself): 'Then, at the last and only couplet fraught | With some unmeaning thing they call a thought, | A needless Alexandrine ends the song, | That like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along.' The final line of that extract is of course itself an alexandrine. Spenser used an alexandrine to end his modified form of ottava rima. The same word is used to describe a line of twelve syllables which is the dominant form of French verse. See syllabic verse.

Allegory: the saying of one thing and meaning another. Sometimes this trope works by an extended metaphor ('the ship of state foundered on the rocks of inflation, only to be salvaged by the tugs of monetarist policy'). More usually it is used of a story or fable that has a clear secondary meaning beneath its literal sense. Orwell's *Animal Farm*, for example, is assumed to have an allegorical sense.

Alliteration: The repetition of the same consonants (usually the initial sounds of words or of stressed syllables) at the start of several words or syllables in sequence or in close proximity to each other. In Anglo-Saxon poetry and in some fourteenth century texts such as *Piers Plowman* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* rigid patterns of alliteration were an essential part of poetic form. More recently it is used for expressive or occasionally onomatopoeic effect.

Anapaest: A metrical foot consisting of three syllables. The first two are unstressed and the last is stressed: 'di di dum'.

Anaphora: Repetition of the same word or words at the beginning of consecutive syntactic units.

Apostrophe: In rhetoric the word is used to describe a sudden address to a person or personification. In punctuation the same word is used to describe the mark ' which can be used to indicate the beginning and end of direct speech, a quotation, or an elision. From the late sixteenth century an apostrophe was used, very irregularly, to indicate a possessive form of a noun: by the mid-nineteenth century it was established by convention that singular possessive forms should be indicated by "'s" ('the cat's pajamas') and that regular plural possessive forms should be indicated by "'s" ('my parents' house'). If a plural does not normally end in 's' then the form "'s" is used for the plural possessive form ('the children's tea was delicious'). The main exception to this rule is 'it's', which is used as the contracted form of 'it is' or 'it has'. The form 'its' is reserved for the possessive use ('the door has lost its paint').

Assonance: The word is usually used to describe the repetition of vowel sounds in neighbouring syllables (compare Alliteration. The consonants can differ: so 'deep sea' is an example of assonance, whereas 'The queen will sweep past the deep crowds' is an example of internal rhyme. More technically it is used to describe the 'rhyming of one word with another in the accented vowel and those which follow, but not in the consonants, as used in the versification of Old French, Spanish, Celtic, and other languages' (OED).

Asyndeton: The omission of a conjunction from a list ('chips, beans, peas, vinegar, salt, pepper'). Compare polysyndeton.

Blank Verse: is the metre most frequently used by Shakespeare. It consists of an unrhymed iambic pentameter. It was first used in Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's, translation of Books 2 and 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, composed some time in the 1530s or 40s. It was adopted as the chief verse form in Elizabethan verse drama, and was subsequently used by Milton in *Paradise Lost* and in a wide range of subsequent meditative and narrative poems.

Caesura: A pause or breathing-place about the middle of a metrical line, generally indicated by a pause in the sense. The word derives from a Latin word meaning 'cut or slice', so the effect can be quite violent. However in many lines of blank verse the caesura may be almost inaudible. A medial caesura is the norm: this occurs in the middle of a line. An initial caesura occurs near the start of a line; a terminal caesura near its end. A 'masculine caesura' occurs after a stressed syllable, and a 'feminine caesura' occurs after an unstressed syllable.

Couplet: a rhymed pair of lines, which are usually of the same length. If these are iambic pentameters it is termed a heroic couplet. This form was made popular by Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and became the dominant poetic form in the latter part of the seventeenth century. In the work of Alexander Pope it becomes a flexible medium for pointed expression. Couplets of four iambic feet (i.e. eight syllables in all) are called octosyllabic couplets. These were

favoured by John Gower, Chaucer's near contemporary, and became a vehicle for a comically brisk style in Samuel Butler's satirical poem *Hudibras* (1663-78).

Dactyl: A metrical foot consisting of three syllables, in which the first is stressed and the last two are unstressed.

Decorum: In literary parlance, the appropriateness of a work to its subject, its genre and its audience.

Diction: or lexis, or vocabulary of a passage refers to nothing more or less than its words. The words of a given passage might be drawn from one register, they might be drawn from one linguistic origin (e.g. Latin, or its Romance descendants Italian and French; Old English); they might be either very formal or very colloquial words.

Elision: The omission of one or more letters or syllables from a word. This is usually marked by an apostrophe: as in 'he's going to the shops'. In early printed texts the elided syllable is sometimes printed as well as the mark of elision, as in Donne's 'She 'is all States, all Princes I'.

Enjambement: The effect achieved when the syntax of a line of verse transgresses the limits set by the metre at the end of the verse. Metre aims for the integrity of the single verse, whereas syntax will sometimes efface that integrity. Thus 'Black drizzling crags that spake by the way-side/ As if a voice were in them, the sick sight/ And giddy prospect of the raving stream...' End-stopping is the alternative to enjambement.

End-stopping: The effect achieved when the syntax of a line coincides with the metrical boundary at the end of a line. The contrary of enjambement.

Fabliau (Plural Fabliaux): A short, pithy story, usually of a bawdy kind.

Foot: the basic unit for describing metre, usually consisting of a certain number and combination of stressed and unstressed syllables. Stressed and unstressed syllables form one or other of the recognised metrical forms: an iamb is 'di dúm'; a trochee is 'dúm di', a spondee is 'dúm dúm' (as in 'home-made'), an anapaest is 'di di dúm', and a dactyl is 'dúm di di'.

Feminine Rhyme: a rhyme of two syllables in which the final syllable is unstressed ('mother | brother'). If an iambic pentameter ends in a feminine rhyme the last, unstressed, syllable is usually not counted as one of the ten syllables in the line ('To be or not to be, that is the question' - the 'ion' is unstressed and takes the line into an eleventh syllable). Feminine rhyme can be used for comic effect, as it is frequently in the works of Byron: 'I've spent my life, both interest and principle, | And think not what I thought, my soul invincible.' It can also be sometimes used to suggest a feminine subject-matter, as in Shakespeare's Sonnet 20, which is addressed to the 'master mistress of my passion' and which makes extensive use of 'feminine' rhymes.

Form: The term is usually used in the analysis of poetry to refer to the structure of stanzas (such as ottava rima). It can also be used less technically of the general structural principles by which a work is organised, and is distinguished from its content.

Free Verse: verse in which the metre and line length vary, and in which there is no discernible pattern in the use of rhyme.

Genre (from Latin *genus*, type, kind): works of literature tend to conform to certain types, or kinds. Thus we will describe a work as belonging to, for example, one of the following genres: epic, pastoral, satire, elegy. All the resources of linguistic patterning, both stylistic and structural, contribute to a sense of a work's genre. Generic boundaries are often fluid; literary meaning will often be produced by transgressing the normal expectations of genre.

Homophones: Words which sound exactly the same but which have different meanings ('maid' and 'made').

Hypermetrical: having an extra syllable over and above the expected normal length of a line of verse. See also feminine rhyme.

Iambic Pentameter: an unrhymed line of five feet in which the dominant accent usually falls on the second syllable of each foot (di dúm), a pattern known as an iamb. The form is very flexible: it is possible to have one or more feet in which the expected order of accent is reversed (dúm di). These are called trochees.

Irony: strictly a sub-set of allegory: irony not only says one thing and means another, but says one thing and means its opposite. The word is used often of consciously inappropriate or understated utterances (so two walkers in the pouring rain greet each other with 'lovely day!', 'yes, isn't it'). Irony depends upon the audience's being able to recognise that a comment is deliberately at odds with its occasion, and may often discriminate between two kinds of audience: one which recognises the irony, and the other which fails to do so. Dramatic irony occurs when an audience of a play know some crucial piece of information that the characters onstage do not know (such as the fact that Oedipus has unwittingly killed his father).

Lexical set: words that are habitually used within a given environment constitute a lexical set. Thus 'Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday...' form a lexical set.

Metaphor: the transfer of a quality or attribute from one thing or idea to another in such a way as to imply some resemblance between the two things or ideas: 'his eyes blazed' implies that his eyes become like a fire. Many metaphors have been absorbed into the structure of ordinary language to such an extent that they are all but invisible, and it is sometimes hard to be sure what is or is not dead metaphor: 'the fat book' may imply a metaphor, as may also be the case when we talk of a note of music as 'high' or 'low'. Mixed metaphors often occur when a speaker combines two metaphors from very diverse areas in such a way as to create something which is physically impossible or absurd ('the report of the select committee was a bombshell which got right up my nose'). These often result from the tendency of metaphors to become received idioms in which the original force of the implied comparison is lost. See also Simile.

Metonymy: A figure of speech in which the name of one object is replaced by another which is closely associated with it. So 'the turf' is a metonym for horse-racing, 'Westminster' is a metonym for the Houses of Parliament, 'Downing Street' is a metonym for the Prime-Minister or his office. 'Sceptre and crown came tumbling down' is a metonymic way of saying 'the king fell from power'. See synecdoche.

Metre: A regular patterned recurrence of light and heavy stresses in a line of verse. These patterns are given names. Almost all poems deliberately depart from the template established by a metrical pattern for specific effect. Assessing a poem's metre requires more than just spotting an iambic pentameter or other metrical pattern: it requires you to think about the ways in which a poem departs from its underlying pattern and why. Emotion might force a reverse foot or trochee, or the normal patterns of speech might occasionally cut across an underlying rhythm. See Iambic Pentameter.

Monorhyme: A rhymescheme in which all lines rhyme (aaaa etc.)

Onomatopoeia: The use of words or sounds which appear to resemble the sounds which they describe. Some words are themselves onomatopoeic, such as 'snap, crackle, pop.'

Ottava rima: an eight line verse stanza rhyming abababcc. In English it is usually in iambic pentameter. It was introduced into English by Sir Thomas Wyatt in the 1530s, and was widely used for long verse narratives. Sir John Harington translated Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* into ottava rima in 1591; Byron used the form in *Don Juan* (1819-24). Edmund Spenser produced a nine line modification of the form which ends with an alexandrine and rhymes ababbcbcc for his *Faerie Queene* (1590-6). This is known as the Spenserian stanza, and was quite widely used by Wordsworth, Byron and Keats.

Personification: the attribution to a non-animate thing of human attributes. The thing personified is often an abstract concept (e.g. 'Lust'). Personification is related to allegory, insofar as personification says one thing ('Lust possessed him') and really means another. But it is opposed to allegory insofar as it aims for the maximum degree of explicitness, whereas allegory necessarily involves greater degrees of obliquity.

Plosive: A consonantal sound in the formation of which the passage of air is completely blocked, such as 'p', 'b', 't'. The blockage can be made in a variety of places (between the lips, between the tongue and teeth, between the tongue and palate). A 'bi-labial plosive' is made with the lips (Latin labia): examples are 'p' and 'b'; a 'dental plosive' is made by blocking the passage of air with the tongue and the teeth ('d', 't'); an 'uvular' plosive is made right at the back of the throat ('q', 'g'). Phoneticists (people who study the science of pronunciation) distinguish between 'voiced' and 'unvoiced' plosives. This is the distinction between 'b' (in saying which you have to make a sound as well as simply letting the air escape between your lips; hence it is 'voiced') and 'p' (in saying which you do not have to make a sound; hence it is termed 'unvoiced'). Similarly 't' is an unvoiced dental plosive; 'd' is a voiced dental plosive. The International Phonetic Association provides more information about how words are pronounced and the specialised alphabet with which such sounds are transcribed.

Polysyndeton: The use of multiple conjunctions, usually where they are not strictly necessary ('chips and beans and fish and egg and peas and vinegar and tomato sauce'). Compare asyndeton.

Quantitative Metre: A metrical system based on the length or 'weight' of syllables, rather than on stress. This is the norm in classical Latin and Greek, but is rare in English. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-86) made some attempts to write in quantitative metre in order to bring English poetry closer to its classical models, but he had few imitators.

Quatrain: a verse stanza of four lines, often rhyming abab. Tennyson's *In Memoriam* rhymes abba, however.

Refrain: A repeated line, phrase or group of lines, which recurs at regular intervals through a poem or song, usually at the end of a stanza. The less technical term is 'chorus'.

Register: a term designating the appropriateness of a given style to a given situation. Speakers and writers in specific situations deploy, for example, a technical vocabulary (e.g. scientific, commercial, medical, legal, theological, psychological), as well as other aspects of style customarily used in that situation. Literary effect is often created by switching register.

Rhetorical Figures: Linguistic effect can be perceptible to the mind and/or the eye. Figures of thought appeal to the mind by twisting language in a way that is strictly improper, but licensed by usage. Thus the word 'is' is used improperly in the sentence 'John is a lion', but the metaphorical usage is permissible. Or when we hear the sentence 'All hands on deck', we understand that the word 'hands' is being used as a synecdoche for sailors. Figures of thought are sometime called tropes (from a Greek word meaning 'turn', 'twist') or conceits (from a Latin word meaning 'concept', because the conceit appeals to the mind). Figures of speech are perceptible to the eye and the ear. Thus rhyme is a figure of speech, as is alliteration and anaphora. Figures of speech are sometimes called schemes (Greek 'forms').

Rhyme: When two or more words or phrases contain an identical or similar vowel-sound, and the consonant-sounds that follow are identical or similar (red and dead). Feminine rhyme occurs when two syllables are rhymed ('mother | brother'). Half-rhyme occurs when the final consonants are the same but the preceding vowels are not. ('love | have'). Eye rhyme occurs when two syllables look the same but are pronounced differently ('kind | wind' - although sometimes changes in pronunciation have made what were formerly perfect rhymes become eye rhymes). Rime riche occurs when the same combination of sounds is used in each element of the rhyme, but where the two identical sounding words have different senses ('maid | made'). This was in the medieval period regarded as a particularly perfect form of rhyme. Leonine rhyme occurs when the syllable immediately preceding the caesura rhymes with the syllable at the end of the line. The Rhyme Scheme, or regularly recurring patterns of rhyme within a poem or stanza, is recorded by using a letter of the alphabet to denote each rhyme, and noting the order in which the rhymes recur (aabbcc... is the most simply rhyme scheme of all, that of the couplet).

Rhythm: a term designating the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables in verse or prose. Different lines of verse can have the same metre but a different rhythm. Thus two lines of alliterative verse in Middle English poetry might have the same metrical pattern of four stressed syllables, but their rhythm might differ by having a greater or lesser number of unstressed syllables intervening between the stressed syllables.

Rhyme Royal: A form of verse which consists of stanzas of seven ten-syllable lines, riming a b a b b c c. It was first used by Chaucer, and was also the form chosen by Shakespeare for the tragic gravity of his narrative poem *Lucrece* (1594).

Simile: a comparison between two objects or ideas which is introduced by 'like' or 'as'. The literal object which evokes the comparison is called the tenor and the object which describes it is called the vehicle. So in the simile 'the car wheezed like an asthmatic donkey' the car is the tenor and the 'asthmatic donkey' is the vehicle. Negative similes are also possible (as in Shakespeare's Sonnet 'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun'). Epic similes are more extended similes, which might involve multiple points of correspondence between tenor and vehicle. The frequently occur in long heroic narrative poems in the classical tradition, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), as when Milton describes the combat of Satan and Death:

Incens'd with indignation Satan stood
Unterrifi'd, and like a Comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge
In th' Arctick Sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
Level'd his deadly aime; thir fatall hands
No second stroke intend, and such a frown
Each cast at th' other, as when two black Clouds
With Heav'ns Artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
Hov'ring a space, till Winds the signal blow
To joyn thir dark Encounter in mid air:
So frownd the mighty Combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at thir frown, so matcht they stood...

This double simile (first Satan is compared to a comet, then to a cloud) reflects back on the literal action: the violent energy of the comet is damped down by the immobile clouds. This change of vehicle reflects back on the fight which is the simile's tenor: it suggests that Satan starts off blazing with eagerness to fight Death, and then pauses, perhaps nervously.

Sonnet: In its earliest usages this can mean just 'a short poem, often on the subject of love.' Now it is almost always used to denote a fourteen line poem in iambic pentameter. There are two main forms of Sonnet: the 'Shakespearean Sonnet' rhymes abab cdcd efef gg. It was the form favoured by Shakespeare, in his Sonnets (1609), although it is first found in the work of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. The three quatrains can be linked together in argument in a variety of ways, but often there is a 'volta' or turn in the course of the argument after the second quatrain. The final couplet often provides an opportunity to sum up the argument of the poem with an epigram. Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595) introduced a variant form in which the quatrains are connected by rhyme: abab bcbc cdcd ee. The

'Petrarchan Sonnet', which is the earliest appearance of the form, falls into an octet, or eight line unit, and a sestet, or six line unit. The Petrarchan sonnet form rhymes abbaabba cdecde (although the sestet can follow other rhyme-schemes, such as cdcdcd). Often there is a marked shift in the progression of the argument after the octet in the Petrarchan sonnet, which is sometimes vestigially registered in the Shakespearean form by a change of argument or mood at the start of the third quatrain. Sonnets may be free-standing poems, or they may form part of an extended sequence of poems which might relate in a loose narrative form the progress of a love affair (as is the case in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, Spenser's *Amoretti* and Petrarch's *Canzoniere*).

Stanza: 'A group of lines of verse (usually not less than four), arranged according to a definite scheme which regulates the number of lines, the metre, and (in rhymed poetry) the sequence of rhymes; normally forming a division of a song or poem consisting of a series of such groups constructed according to the same scheme' (OED). See also ottava rima, quatrain. This term is preferable to the less technical 'verse', since that word can also refer to a single line of a poem. In printed poems divisions between stanzas are frequently indicated by an area of blank space.

Stress: Emphasis given to a syllable in pitch, volume or duration (or several of these). In normal spoken English some syllables are given greater stress than others. In metrical writing these natural variations in stress are formed into recurrent patterns, such as iambs, anapaests or trochees.

Strophe: A stanza or other grouping of lines within a poem. In classical odes the term is used of the first group of lines which might be followed by an antistrophe which exactly replicates the form of the strophe.

Syllable: The smallest unit of speech that normally occurs in isolation, or a distinct sound element within a word. This can consist of a vowel alone ('O') or a combination of a vowel and one or more consonants ('no', 'not'). Monosyllables contain only one syllable ('dog', 'big', 'shoe'); polysyllables contain more than one syllable. The word 'syllable' contains three syllables.

Syllabic Verse: A metrical system which depends solely on syllable count, and which takes no account of stress. This is the norm in most Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish), but is unusual (and almost always consciously experimental) in English.

Synecdoche: the rhetorical figure whereby a part is substituted for a whole ('a suit entered the room'), or, less usually, in which a whole is substituted for a part (as when a policeman is called 'the law' or a manager is called 'the management'). See metonymy.

Topos: from a Greek word meaning 'place', a 'topos' in poetry is a 'commonplace', a standard way of describing a particular subject. Describing a person's physical features from head to toe (or somewhere in between) is, for example, a standard topos of medieval and Renaissance poetry.

Trochee: a foot of two syllables, in which the accent falls on the first syllable (dúm di). Some words which are trochaic include 'broken', 'taken', 'Shakespeare'.

Trope: a general term for any figure of speech which alters the literal sense of a word or phrase: so metaphor, simile and allegory are all tropes, since they affect the meaning of words. In the rhetorical tradition tropes are contrasted with figures, which are rhetorical devices which affect the order or placing of words (so the repetition of a particular word at the start of each line is a figure).

THEORETICAL TERMS

Affective fallacy

A term used by W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley to describe the "confusion between the poem and its result (what it is and what it does)." According to them, the critic should regard a poetic structure as formally self-sufficient and not commit the error of considering its emotional or pragmatic effects upon a reader.

Ambiguity

A nonpejorative term for the capacity of language to sustain multiple meanings. Also called plurisignation or polysemy, ambiguity arises from what William Empson calls "any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language." In literary parlance, ambiguity is not a mistake in denotation to be avoided, but a resource of connotation to be exploited. In *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930), Empson argues that the richness, complexity, and concentration of literary language derives from the seven types of ambiguity he discusses. The notion that ambiguity is the root condition of all literary discourse, a notion that arises from I. A. Richards's distinction between the scientific (referential or denotative) and the poetic (emotive or connotative) uses of language, is an integral aspect of the New Critical view that irony, paradox, and tension are definitive aspects of the work of art.

Anxiety of influence

A term used by Harold Bloom to describe the overriding sense of belatedness that creative writers feel when they confront the rich plenitude of a literary tradition that seems to leave little room for novelty. According to Bloom, strong writers make literary history by misreading and misinterpreting their titanic predecessors so as to clear imaginative space for themselves. Every poem is a misprision or misconstrual of a hypothetical parent poem. Bloom's theory of the genesis of poems has a self-admitted psychoanalytic resonance, Sigmund Freud's Oedipal scenario being used as an analogy for the relationship between poet and predecessor.

Aporia

A term used by deconstructionists to describe the point of impasse or undecidability to which reading a text necessarily gives rise. Because all texts undo or dismantle the philosophical system to which they adhere by revealing its rhetorical nature, all texts are riven by indeterminacies, and the clash between the referential or literal and the rhetorical or figural levels of discourse inevitably produces aporia. The reader is thereby left in the double bind of trying to master a self-subverting text.

Binary oppositions

A structuralist term used to describe the differential nature of any signifying system. Binary oppositions are not facts or substances that have detectable positive qualities, but relational elements that are detectable only by virtue of their difference from other elements intrinsic to the system itself. Thus individual terms acquire meaning only by being cast in opposition to other terms within a system of arbitrary and conventional signs.

Canon

An authorized or accepted list of books. In modern parlance, the literary canon comprehends the privileged texts, classics, or great books which are thought to belong permanently on university reading lists. Recent theory -- especially feminist, Marxist, and poststructuralist -- critically examines the process of canon formation and questions the hegemony of white male writers. Such theory sees canon formation as the ideological act of a dominant institution and seeks to undermine the notion of canonicity itself, thereby preventing the exclusion of works by women, minorities, and oppressed peoples.

Carnival / carnivalesque

A term used by Mikhail Bakhtin to describe the "joyful relativity" and "vitality" of the novel, which, unlike the lyric poem, incorporates a rich variety and multiplicity of styles, points of view, and voices. The "polyphonic" novel, unlike the "monological" poem, is inherently "dialogical." The novelistic, together with the carnivalistic, runs in its early forms from the Socratic dialogue through the Menippean satire. For Bakhtin truth is arrived at dialectically and dialogically through the competitive cooperation of divergent voices.

Concretization

A phenomenological term used by Roman Ingarden to describe the process whereby the reader fills in the gaps in the structure of a work by rendering concrete and determinate its "places of indeterminacy." According to Ingarden, the reader has to concretize the work, making the implicit explicit, the potential actual.

Decorum

A term used by classical, Renaissance, and neoclassical critics (Horace, Sir Philip Sidney, John Dryden, and others) to describe the mutual appropriateness of genre, style, action, subject matter, and character. For example, a high style is fit and proper for royalty, a grave style for old men, a rustic style for shepherds, and a prosaic style for clowns. According to the dictates of correctness and good taste, the genre (tragedy, comedy, epic, or another), style (high,

middle, low), action (whether serious or comic), subject matter (death, marriage, and so on), and character (age, rank, and status) must decorously merge.

Deep structure

A term used by Noam Chomsky, who argues that grammatically well-formed utterances in a language conceal a bipartite structure consisting, on the one hand, of a visible or "surface structure" -- the structure of the actual sentence uttered--and, on the other hand, of a "deep structure" or "base component" -- the paradigm underlying it. According to Chomsky, every language has a core structure comprehending a set of generating principles which allows certain syntactic transformations, and these are to be analyzed as independent of particular meanings. Hence the idea of generative or transformational grammar, which focuses on the laws of transformation within the realm of deep structure and assumes the priority of syntax over semantics, structure over use.

Defamiliarization

A term used by the Russian Formalist Viktor Shklovsky to describe the capacity of art to counter the deadening effect of habit and convention by investing the familiar with strangeness and thereby deautomatizing perception. Defamiliarization is not simply a question of perception; it is the essence of "literariness." Calling attention to its techniques and conventions ("barring the device"), literature exposes its autonomy and artificiality by foregrounding and defamiliarizing its devices.

Diachrony

A term describing a mode of analysis that undertakes to construct the historical evolution of a system of thought or language. The synchronic, by contrast, undertakes to describe the system as an existing whole without respect to its history. Structural linguistics rejects the diachronic assumptions of classical philology, which studies linguistic change over a long period of time, and embraces the synchronic assumptions of Saussurian linguistics, which studies language as a functioning system existing in the here and now.

Dialogism

A term used by Mikhail Bakhtin to describe how a literary work may incorporate a rich variety and multiplicity of voices, styles, and points of view. Unlike a monological text, which depends on the centrality of a single authoritative voice, the dialogical text allows for "a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices."

Différance

A term coined by Jacques Derrida to describe the difference, differing, deferring, and deferral of meaning to which any signifying system gives rise. Because language is composed of differences rather than positive terms, the free play of signifiers is limitless.

Discourse

Formal and orderly speech or writing. In the writings of Michel Foucault, discourse is construed as the whole mass of texts that belongs to a single "discursive formation." Foucault argues that discursive hierarchies are established by a set of rules that is always subject to historical transformation. He attempts to map out the way discursive territory is divided into the disciplines of science, literature, history, philosophy, and so forth, revealing the hierarchy of discourses and the implicit power structure at a given historical moment. For Foucault, discursive practice is necessarily interwoven with power relations and social practices, history itself being but a "web" of discursive formations.

Episteme

A term used by Michel Foucault to describe a heterogeneous and discontinuous epistemological field which is not to be understood as a cultural totality. It is an unmasterable web of historical ideas, social practices, power relations, and discursive formations that provides an alternative to the totalizing history that seeks to draw "all phenomena around a single center -- a principle, a meaning, a spirit, a world-view, an overall shape."

Écriture

A structuralist and poststructuralist term for the social institution of writing. On this view, literature is simply a mode of writing, a signifying system of codes and conventions that operates within the larger sphere of écriture.

Formalism

An application of the linguistic model to literature, associated in the early part of this century with the Moscow and Prague Linguistic Circles. According to the precepts of Russian Formalism, content is the "motivation" of form, and the literary work is an assemblage of devices which function within a total textual system. "Literariness" emerges when these devices, normally perceived by the reader to be familiar and conventional, are foregrounded, brought into an unaccustomed prominence such that the effect upon the reader is one of estrangement or defamiliarization. Literature, by "barring the device," deautomatizes one's perceptions, its language composing a deliberate set of deviations from the norms of ordinary language. In its hybridization -- its heterogeneous mixture of devices, conventions, forms, and techniques -- literature, in the words of Roman Jakobson, is "organized violence committed on ordinary speech." In a general sense, "formalism" is applied to any critical approach (including New Criticism) that

regards the text as a self-enclosed universe of discourse, subject to interpretation without reference to biographical or historical context.

Frankfurt School

A school of German Marxists -- Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, and others -- which views modernist writers such as Marcel Proust and Samuel Beckett not as reactionary exemplars of the diseased subjectivism and antihistorical myopia of late consumer capitalism, but as literary innovators whose experimentation with disruptive forms implicitly provides a critique of mass society -- its fragmentation, its estrangement, its dehumanization.

Grammatology

A term used by Jacques Derrida to describe a science of the written sign as an entity in itself. Antiphonocentric (that is, refusing to privilege speech over writing) and antilogocentric (that is, refusing to look for a "presence," or "ultimate referent," for any reality extrinsic to language), grammatology sees writing as a free play of signifiers.

Hermeneutics

A term which, in its broadest sense, describes the interpretation of meanings—explication, analysis, commentary. Originally applied to the interpretation of the Bible, hermeneutics comprised valid readings plus exegesis—commentary on how the meanings were to be applied. In the nineteenth century, hermeneutics came to be considered as a general theory of interpretation applied to texts of all description. Wilhelm Dilthey developed Friedrich Schleiermacher's idea of the hermeneutic circle -- the paradox which emerges from the fact that the reader cannot understand any part of the text until the whole is understood, while the whole cannot be understood until the parts are understood. According to E. D. Hirsch, who sees the hermeneutic circle as nonvicious, valid interpretation involves a correct construal of the author's willed meaning. Such a construal takes into account the author's purview or perspective, his horizon of expectations—generic, cultural, and conventional. For Hirsch, verbal meaning is stable and determinate. By contrast, Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer insist on the historicity and temporality of interpretation. For them, meaning is always codetermined, the reader's horizon of expectations attempting to fuse with the author's. An inescapable relativity and indeterminacy is thereby introduced into the notion of interpretation.

Horizon of expectation

The purview or vista of a text or reader, the set of historically, psychologically, and culturally conditioned assumptions or conventions that are implicit either in the verbal meaning of a text or in the interpretive strategy of a reader.

Ideology

A set of beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideas that characterizes the consciousness of a class at a given historical moment. This set is determined by social, economic, and historical factors. According to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, any ideological superstructure derives from a material infrastructure or economic base.

Indeterminacy

A deconstructionist term for the necessary lack of fixed or stable meanings in any signifying system.

Intention / intentionality

A hermeneutical term for the willed verbal meaning of an author, in principle determinate and in principle understandable. Verbal intention is not a psychological phenomenon but a linguistic one. It comprises conventions and norms that the author explicitly and implicitly deploys and that the competent reader is able to reconstruct.

Intentionality is also a phenomenological term for the fact that consciousness is always directed to an object, is consciousness of something. One cannot separate the thinking subject from the objects it intends.

In speech act theory, intention is an integral part of the proposition that what an utterer means by a given term or utterance is more important in the order of explanation than what a given term or utterance means in a language. Meaning is use-oriented and context-dependent; it should be regarded as a species of the genus intending-to-communicate.

Intertextuality

A term used by Julia Kristeva to describe the preexisting body of discourse that makes an individual text intelligible. Every text is a response to and an interpretation of other texts, and it can be read only in relation to them. The meaning of a text is dependent upon other texts that it absorbs and transforms, for, as Roland Barthes puts it, "the text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning . . . but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash."

Linguistics and literary theory

The revolution in modern linguistics consists in regarding language synchronically rather than diachronically. Classical philology undertakes to construct a historical evolution of a system of language, focusing on the study of linguistic change over a period of time (diachrony), whereas modern linguistics studies the system as a functioning totality, a signifying structure (synchrony). According to Ferdinand de Saussure, the pivotal distinction is between *langue* ("the whole set of linguistic habits which allow an individual to understand and to be understood") -- which Noam Chomsky

calls competence ("what the speaker of a language knows implicitly") -- and parole (the individual speech act itself) -- which Chomsky calls performance (what the speaker does). The linguistic sign, Saussure contends, is composed of the union between a signifier (an acoustic image which differentiates the sign from all others) and a signified (a concept or meaning). Affirming the relation between signifier and signified to be arbitrary and conventional, Saussure deliberately ignores the referent, the extralinguistic object to which the sign may or may not point. For Saussure, language is a system of differences without any positive terms. It has a vertical axis -- the paradigmatic, associative, or metaphoric axis -- and a horizontal axis -- the syntagmatic, contiguous, or metonymic axis. The former concerns the relations between an individual word in a sentence and other, similar words that might be substituted for it; the latter concerns the possibilities of syntactic combinations of words so as to make a well-formed sentence. All of the oppositions that structural linguistics generates -- langue and parole, system and event, signifier and signified, code and message, metaphor and metonymy, paradigm and syntagm, selection and combination, substitution and context, similarity and contiguity -- are variations of the opposition between synchrony and diachrony. In each case, the first term is privileged.

The application of this linguistic model to the study of literature has been fruitful. Russian Formalism, semiotics, and structuralism analogically extend Saussure's terms into the analysis of literature. As Roland Barthes puts it, "Literature is simply a language, a system of signs. Its being [être] is not in its message, but in this 'system.'" Similarly, it is not for criticism to reconstitute the message of a work, but only its system, exactly as the linguist does not decipher the meaning of a sentence, but establishes the formal structure which allows the meaning to be conveyed." Poststructuralism goes one step further, contending that if it is true, as structuralism maintains, that language is a system of differences without any positive terms, then the relational nature of signs produces a potentially infinite process of signification. Deconstruction, therefore, tries to demonstrate how structuralism's focus on the systematic undercuts itself and how its privileging of langue over parole can be upset or reversed, leaving a free play of signifiers and an elastic context that can be infinitely extended. By contrast, speech act theory privileges parole over langue, seeing meaning as a species of the genus intending-to-communicate, as something use-oriented and context-dependent. Rejecting the assumptions of theories based on the linguistic model, speech act criticism holds that the investigation of structure always presupposes something about meanings, language use, and extralinguistic functions.

Logocentrism

A term used by Jacques Derrida to describe the bias of Western philosophy toward a metaphysics of presence, an order of being, meaning, truth, reference, reason, or logic conceived as independent of language.

Margin

A term used by Jacques Derrida to describe the undoing of any attempt to impose closure or boundaries upon a text. Deconstruction's concentration on the seemingly marginal or inessential aspects of a text seeks to subvert the distinctions between marginal and central, inessential and essential, inside and outside.

Metacriticism

A criticism of criticism, the goal of which is to scrutinize systematically the terminology, logic, and structure that underlie critical and theoretical discourse.

Metalanguage

A language used to describe and analyze the codes, conventions, and structures of another language.

Metonymy / metaphor

Roman Jakobson's terms for the two axes of language. The vertical or metaphoric axis concerns the relations between an individual word in a sentence and other, similar words that might be substituted for it. Like metaphor, the vertical axis works according to the principle of similarity and substitution. The horizontal or metonymic axis concerns the possibilities of syntactic combinations of words so as to make a well-formed sentence. Like metonymy, the horizontal axis works according to the principle of combination and context.

Misprision

A term used by Harold Bloom to describe the process by which strong writers misread or misinterpret their literary predecessors so as to clear imaginative space for themselves. According to Bloom, every poem is a misprision or misconstrual of a hypothetical parent poem.

Narratology

An offshoot of structuralism which seeks to apply the linguistic model to the analysis of narrative. Its enabling distinction is between story (the "actual" chronological sequence of events) and discourse (the order in which those events are presented to the reader). Narratology attempts to construct a poetics of fiction or grammar of storytelling, analyzing the codes, conventions, and systems that structure all narration.

Paradigm / paradigmatic

Structuralists use the term "paradigmatic" to refer to the vertical axis of language, the relations between an individual word in a sentence and other, similar words that might be substituted for it.

Phenomenology

A system of "presuppositionless" philosophy developed by Edmund Husserl, who sought to investigate the pure data of human consciousness -- its *Lebenswelt*, or "lived world." According to Husserl's key concept of intentionality, consciousness is always consciousness of something; it is always directed to an object. Bracketing external reality (*epoché*) and making neither epistemological assumptions about the foundations of knowledge nor ontological assumptions about the nature of being, the phenomenologist examines the intentional objects of consciousness without making reference to any external objects or real existence.

Polyphonic novel

A term used by Mikhail Bakhtin to describe a dialogical text which, unlike a monological text, does not depend on the centrality of a single authoritative voice. Such a text incorporates a rich plurality and multiplicity of voices, styles, and points of view. It comprises, in Bakhtin's phrase, "a plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices."

Power

A pivotal concept in Michel Foucault's analyses of historical systems of institutional and discursive practices. According to Foucault, knowledge is governed by power relations; truth relies on institutional support, and disciplines constitute a system of control in the production of discourse. It is not enough merely to speak the truth: one must be in the truth (*dans le vrai*).

Prague Linguistic Circle

An offshoot of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, members of which included Boris Eikhenbaum, Viktor Shklovsky, and Roman Jakobson. When Formalist criticism was suppressed by the Russian government in the early 1930s, Jakobson emigrated to Czechoslovakia and became part of the Prague Linguistic Circle, members of which included René Wellek and Jan Mukarovsky.

Praxis

A Marxist term used to describe the unity of theory and practice, the aim of Marxism being not only to understand the world but also to change it.

Presence, metaphysics of

A term used by Jacques Derrida to describe the logocentric bias of Western metaphysics toward an order of being, meaning, truth, reference, reason, or logic conceived as independent of language, as a presence that stands outside discourse.

Reception theory

A form of reader-response theory that focuses on the reception of a text, both on an individual and on a historical basis. Reception aesthetics examines how readers realize the potentials of a text; reception history examines how readings change over the course of time.

Sign / Signification / Signified / Signifier

Terms used by Ferdinand de Saussure. The linguistic sign, Saussure contends, is composed of the union between a signifier (an acoustic image which differentiates the sign from all others) and a signified (a concept or meaning). Affirming the relationship between signifier and signified to be arbitrary and conventional, Saussure deliberately ignores the referent, the extralinguistic object to which the sign may or may not point. For Saussure, language is a system of differences without any positive terms. Signification, then, is purely an internal linguistic affair; it has nothing to do with a reality outside the signifying system itself.

Story / Discourse

Formalist, structuralist, and semiotic terms used to distinguish the "actual" chronological sequences of events in a work of fiction (story) from the order and manner in which those events are presented to the reader (discourse).

Stylistics

A mode of analyzing literature that focuses on aspects of form rather than aspects of content and that may be used to determine the distinctive features of a literary work, an author, or a particular literary period. At the phonological level, such analysis concerns itself with sound patterns, rhyme, meter, assonance, alliteration, euphony, and so forth. At the syntactic level, it concerns itself with sentence structure, grammatical kinds of sentences (simple, compound, complex, compound-complex), rhetorical kinds of sentences (loose, periodic, balanced, antithetical), functional kinds of sentences (statement, question, command, exclamation), sentence length, sentence openers (subject, expletive, coordinating conjunction, adverb word, conjunctive phrase, prepositional phrase, verbal phrase, adjective phrase, absolute phrase, adverb clause, front-shift), means of articulating sentences (coherence devices, transitional expressions), and the like. At the lexical level, it concerns itself with diction (general or specific, abstract or concrete, formal or informal, polysyllabic or monosyllabic, common or technical, referential or emotive, denotative or connotative). At the rhetorical level it concerns itself with iterative imagery and figures of speech (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, and personification, among other things). Stylistics often has scientific pretensions and may involve the amassing of reams of quantitative data.

Synchrony

A term describing a mode of analysis that undertakes to describe a system of thought or language as an existing whole without respect to its history, its diachronic development over a long period of time. Saussurian linguistics, for example, studies language as a functioning system of signs existing in the here and now.

Syntagm / Syntagmatic

Linguistic terms used to describe the linear or horizontal axis of language, the relations among words arranged sequentially to produce meaningful utterances, the rules and norms governing the production of these utterances.

Text

A formalist term for the work of art conceived as an autonomous verbal object, a self-enclosed universe of discourse.

Textuality

Écriture, the social institution of writing, a heterogeneous collection of texts that interanimate one other (intertextuality) and that cannot be studied as autonomous objects. Textuality is an all-embracing term for the idea that the world itself is nothing but a culturally endorsed system of signs -- of shared codes, conventions, and ideologies -- a textual system whose free play is limitless.

Trace

A term used by Jacques Derrida to describe the residue of all non-present meanings, written marks, or sounds. Because language is a system of differences without any positive terms, features are identifiable only by the absence of other features.

INTRODUCTION TO POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

The field of Postcolonial Studies has been gaining prominence since the 1970s. Some would date its rise in the Western academy from the publication of Edward Said's influential critique of Western constructions of the Orient in his 1978 book, *Orientalism*. The growing currency within the academy of the term "postcolonial" (sometimes hyphenated) was consolidated by the appearance in 1989 of *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. Since then, the use of cognate terms "Commonwealth" and "Third World" that were used to describe the literature of Europe's former colonies has become rarer. Although there is considerable debate over the precise parameters of the field and the definition of the term "postcolonial," in a very general sense, it is the study of the interactions between European nations and the societies they colonized in the modern period. The European empire is said to have held sway over more than 85% of the rest of the globe by the time of the First World War, having consolidated its control over several centuries. The sheer extent and duration of the European empire and its disintegration after the Second World War have led to widespread interest in postcolonial literature and criticism in our own times.

The list of former colonies of European powers is a long one. They are divided into settler (eg. Australia, Canada) and non-settler countries (India, Jamaica, Nigeria, Senegal, Sri Lanka). Countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe which were partially settled by colonial populations complicate even this simple division between settler and non-settler. The widely divergent experiences of these countries suggest that "postcolonial" is a very loose term. In strictly definitional terms, for instance, the United States might also be described as a postcolonial country, but it is not perceived as such because of its position of power in world politics in the present, its displacement of native American populations, and its annexation of other parts of the world in what may be seen as a form of colonization. For that matter, other settler countries such as Canada and Australia are sometimes omitted from the category "postcolonial" because of their relatively shorter struggle for independence, their loyalist tendencies toward the mother country which colonized them, and the absence of problems of racism or of the imposition of a foreign language. It could, however, be argued that the relationship between these countries to the mother country is often one of margin to center, making their experience relevant to a better understanding of colonialism.

The debate surrounding the status of settler countries as postcolonial suggests that issues in Postcolonial Studies often transcend the boundaries of strict definition. In a literal sense, "postcolonial" is that which has been preceded by colonization. The second college edition of *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines it as "of, relating to, or being the time following the establishment of independence in a colony." In practice, however, the term is used much more loosely. While the denotative definition suggests otherwise, it is not only the period after the departure of the imperial powers that concerns those in the field, but that before independence as well.

The formation of the colony through various mechanisms of control and the various stages in the development of anti-colonial nationalism interest many scholars in the field. By extension, sometimes temporal considerations give way to spatial ones (i.e. in an interest in the postcolony as a geographical space with a history prior or even external to the experience of colonization rather than in the postcolonial as a particular period) in that the cultural productions and social formations of the colony long before colonization are used to better understand the experience of colonization. Moreover, the "postcolonial" sometimes includes countries that have yet to achieve independence, or people in First World countries who are minorities, or even independent colonies that now contend with "neocolonial" forms of subjugation through expanding capitalism and globalization. In all of these senses, the "postcolonial," rather than indicating only a specific and materially historical event, seems to describe the second half of the twentieth-century in general as a period in the aftermath of the heyday of colonialism. Even more generically, the "postcolonial" is used to signify a position against imperialism and Eurocentrism. Western ways of knowledge production and dissemination in the past and present then become objects of study for those seeking alternative means of expression. As the foregoing discussion suggests, the term thus yokes a diverse range of experiences, cultures, and problems; the resultant confusion is perhaps predictable.

The expansiveness of the "postcolonial" has given rise to lively debates. Even as some deplore its imprecision and lack of historical and material particularity, others argue that most former colonies are far from free of colonial influence or domination and so cannot be postcolonial in any genuine sense. In other words, the overhasty celebration of independence masks the march of neocolonialism in the guise of modernization and development in an age of increasing globalization and transnationalism; meanwhile, there are colonized countries that are still under foreign control. The emphasis on colonizer/colonized relations, moreover, obscures the operation of internal oppression within the colonies. Still others berate the tendency in the Western academy to be more receptive to postcolonial literature and theory that is compatible with postmodern formulations of hybridity, syncretization, and pastiche while ignoring the critical realism of writers more interested in the specifics of social and racial oppression. The lionization of diasporic writers like Salman Rushdie, for instance, might be seen as a privileging of the transnational, migrant sensibility at the expense of more local struggles in the postcolony. Further, the rise of Postcolonial Studies at a time of growing transnational movements of capital, labor, and culture is viewed by some with suspicion in that it is thought to deflect attention away from the material realities of exploitation both in the First and the Third World.

Major Issues

Despite the reservations and debates, research in Postcolonial Studies is growing because postcolonial critique allows for a wide-ranging investigation into power relations in various contexts. The formation of empire, the impact of colonization on postcolonial history, economy, science, and culture, the cultural productions of colonized societies, feminism and postcolonialism, agency for marginalized people, and the state of the postcolony in contemporary economic and cultural contexts are some broad topics in the field.

The following questions suggest some of the major issues in the field:

How did the experience of colonization affect those who were colonized while also influencing the colonizers? How were colonial powers able to gain control over so large a portion of the non-Western world? What traces have been left by colonial education, science and technology in postcolonial societies? How do these traces affect decisions about development and modernization in postcolonies? What were the forms of resistance against colonial control? How did colonial education and language influence the culture and identity of the colonized? How did Western science, technology, and medicine change existing knowledge systems? What are the emergent forms of postcolonial identity after the departure of the colonizers? To what extent has decolonization (a reconstruction free from colonial influence) been possible? Are Western formulations of postcolonialism overemphasizing hybridity at the expense of material realities? Should decolonization proceed through an aggressive return to the pre-colonial past? How do gender, race, and class function in colonial and postcolonial discourse? Are new forms of imperialism replacing colonization and how?

Along with these questions, there are some more that are particularly pertinent to postcolonial literature: Should the writer use a colonial language to reach a wider audience or return to a native language more relevant to groups in the postcolony? Which writers should be included in the postcolonial canon? How can texts in translation from non-colonial languages enrich our understanding of postcolonial issues? Has the preponderance of the postcolonial novel led to a neglect of other genres?

Major Figures

Some of the best known names in Postcolonial literature and theory are those of Chinua Achebe, Homi Bhabha, Buchi Emecheta, Frantz Fanon, Jamaica Kincaid, Salman Rushdie, Wole Soyinka, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

LITERATURE: Chinua Achebe, Aime Césaire, John Pepper Clark, Anita Desai, Buchi Emecheta, Nāmitav Ghosh, Nadine Gordimer, Jamaica Kincaid, Hanif Kureishi, George Lamming, Rohinton Mistry, V. S. Naipaul, Taslima Nasrin, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Ben Okri, Michael Ondaatje, Arundhati Roy, Salman Rushdie, Allan Sealy, Shyam Selvadurai, Leopold Senghor, Vikram Seth, Bapsi Sidhwa, Wole Soyinka, M.G. Vassanji, Derek Walcott, etc.

FILM: Shyam Benegal, Gurinder Chadha, Shekhar Kapoor, Srinivas Krishna, Deepa Mehta, Ketan Mehta, Mira Nair, Pratibha Parmar, Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen, etc.

THEORY: Aijaz Ahmad, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Bill Ashcroft, Homi Bhabha, Frantz Fanon, Gareth Griffiths, Ranajit Guha, Ania Loomba, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Arun Mukherjee, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Benita Parry, Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Helen Tiffin, etc.

Some Issues in Postcolonial Theory

Post-colonial theory deals with the reading and writing of literature written in previously or currently colonized countries, or literature written in colonizing countries which deals with colonization or colonized peoples. It focuses particularly on

1. The way in which literature by the colonizing culture distorts the experience and realities, and inscribes the inferiority, of the colonized people
2. On literature by colonized peoples which attempts to articulate their identity and reclaim their past in the face of that past's inevitable otherness.

It can also deal with the way in which literature in colonizing countries appropriates the language, images, scenes, traditions and so forth of colonized countries.

This page addresses some of the complexities of the post-colonial situation, in terms of the writing and reading situation of the colonized people, and of the colonizing people.

The literature(s) of the colonized

Postcolonial theory is built in large part around the concept of otherness. There are however problems with or complexities to the concept of otherness, for instance:

1. otherness includes doubleness, both identity and difference, so that every other, every different than and excluded by is dialectically created and includes the values and meaning of the colonizing culture even as it rejects its power to define;
2. The western concept of the oriental is based, as Abdul JanMohamed argues, on the Manichean allegory (seeing the world as divided into mutually excluding opposites): if the west is ordered, rational, masculine, good, then the orient is chaotic, irrational, feminine, evil. Simply to reverse this polarizing is to be complicit in its totalizing and

identity-destroying power (all is reduced to a set of dichotomies, black or white, etc.);

3. colonized peoples are highly diverse in their nature and in their traditions, and as beings in cultures they are both constructed and changing, so that while they may be 'other' from the colonizers, they are also different one from another and from their own pasts, and should not be totalized or essentialized -- through such concepts as a black consciousness, Indian soul, aboriginal culture and so forth. This totalization and essentialization is often a form of nostalgia which has its inspiration more in the thought of the colonizers than of the colonized, and it serves give the colonizer a sense of the unity of his culture while mystifying that of others; as John Frow remarks, it is a making of a mythical One out of many...

4. The colonized peoples will also be other than their pasts, which can be reclaimed but never reconstituted, and so must be revisited and realized in partial, fragmented ways. You can't go home again.

Postcolonial theory is also built around the concept of resistance, of resistance as subversion, or opposition, or mimicry—but with the haunting problem that resistance always inscribes the resisted into the texture of the resisting: it is a two-edged sword. As well, the concept of resistance carries with it or can carry with it ideas about human freedom, liberty, identity, individuality, etc., which ideas may not have been held, or held in the same way, in the colonized culture's view of humankind.

On a simple political/cultural level, there are problems with the fact that to produce a literature which helps to reconstitute the identity of the colonized one may have to function in at the very least the means of production of the colonizers -- the writing, publishing, advertising and production of books, for instance. These may well require a centralized economic and cultural system which is ultimately either a western import or a hybrid form, uniting local conceptions with western conceptions.

The concept of producing a national or cultural literature is in most cases a concept foreign to the traditions of the colonized peoples, who (a) had no literature as it is conceived in the western traditions or in fact no literature or writing at all, and/or b) did not see art as having the same function as constructing and defining cultural identity, and/or c) were, like the peoples of the West Indies, transported into a wholly different geographical/political/economic/cultural world. (India, a partial exception, had a long-established tradition of letters; on the other hand it was a highly balkanized sub-continent with little if any common identity and with many divergent sub-cultures). It is always a changed, a reclaimed but hybrid identity, which is created or called forth by the colonizeds' attempts to constitute and represent identity.

The very concepts of nationality and identity may be difficult to conceive or convey in the cultural traditions of colonized peoples.

There are complexities and perplexities around the difficulty of conceiving how a colonized country can reclaim or reconstitute its identity in a language that is now but was not its own language, and genres which are now but were not the genres of the colonized. One result is that the literature may be written in the style of speech of the inhabitants of a particular colonized people or area, which language use does not read like Standard English and in which literature the standard literary allusions and common metaphors and symbols may be inappropriate and/or may be replaced by allusions and tropes which are alien to British culture and usage. It can become very difficult then for others to recognize or respect the work as literature (which concept may not itself have relevance -- see next point).

There other are times when the violation of the aesthetic norms of western literature is inevitable,

1. as colonized writers search to encounter their culture's ancient yet transformed heritage, and
2. as they attempt to deal with problems of social order and meaning so pressing that the normal aesthetic transformations of western high literature are not relevant, make no sense.

The idea that good or high literature may be irrelevant and misplaced at a point in a culture's history, and therefore for a particular cultural usage not be good literature at all, is difficult for us who are raised in the culture which strong aesthetic ideals to accept.

The development (development itself may be an entirely western concept) of hybrid and reclaimed cultures in colonized countries is uneven, disparate, and might defy those notions of order and common sense which may be central not only to western thinking but to literary forms and traditions produced through western thought.

The term 'hybrid' used above refers to the concept of hybridity, an important concept in post-colonial theory, referring to the integration (or, mingling) of cultural signs and practices from the colonizing and the colonized cultures ("integration" may be too orderly a word to represent the variety of stratagems, desperate or cunning or good-willed, by which people adapt themselves to the necessities and the opportunities of more or less oppressive or invasive cultural impositions, live into alien cultural patterns through their own structures of understanding, thus producing something familiar but new). The assimilation and adaptation of cultural practices, the cross-fertilization of cultures, can be seen as positive, enriching, and dynamic, as well as as oppressive. "Hybridity" is also a useful concept for helping to break down the false sense that colonized cultures -- or colonizing cultures for that matter -- are monolithic, or have essential, unchanging features.

The representation of these uneven and often hybrid, polyglot, multivalent cultural sites (reclaimed or discovered colonized cultures searching for identity and meaning in a complex and partially alien past) may not look very much like the representations of bourgeois culture in western art, ideologically shaped as western art is to represent its own truths (that is, guiding fictions) about itself.

To quote Homi Bhabha on the complex issue of representation and meaning from his article in Greenblatt and Gun's *Redrawing the Boundaries*,

Culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational. It is transnational because contemporary postcolonial discourses are rooted in specific histories of cultural displacement, whether they are the middle passage of slaver and indenture, the voyage out of the civilizing mission, the fraught accommodation of Third World migration to the West after the Second World War, or the traffic of economic and political refugees within and outside the Third World. Culture is translational because such spatial histories of displacement -- now accompanied by the territorial ambitions of global media technologies -- make the question of how culture signifies, or what is signified by culture, a rather complex issue. It becomes crucial to distinguish between the semblance and similitude of the symbols across diverse cultural experiences -- literature, art, music, ritual, life, death -- and the social specificity of each of these productions of meaning as they circulate as signs within specific contextual locations and social systems of value. The transnational dimension of cultural transformation -- migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation-- makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. the natural(ized), unifying discourse of nation , peoples , or authentic folk tradition, those embedded myths of cultures particularity, cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition.

The literature(s) of the colonists

In addition to the post-colonial literature of the colonized, there exists as well the postcolonial literature of the colonizers.

As people of British heritage moved into new landscapes, established new founding national myths, and struggled to define their own national literature against the force and tradition of the British tradition, they themselves, although of British or European heritage, ultimately encountered the originating traditions as Other, a tradition and a writing to define oneself against (or, which amounts to the same thing, to equal or surpass). Every colony had an emerging literature which was an imitation of but differed from the central British tradition, which articulated in local terms the myths and experience of a new culture, and which expressed that new culture as, to an extent, divergent from and even opposed to the culture of the "home", or colonizing, nation.

The colonizers largely inhabited countries which absorbed the peoples of a number of other heritages and cultures (through immigration, migration, the forced mingling of differing local cultures, etc.), and in doing so often adapted to use the myths, symbols and definitions of various traditions. In this way as well the literature of the hitherto colonizers becomes 'post-colonial'. (It is curiously the case that British literature itself has been colonized by colonial/postcolonial writers writing in Britain out of colonial experiences and a colonial past.)

In this regard a salient difference between colonialist literature (literature written by colonizers, in the colonized country, on the model of the "home" country and often for the home country as an audience) and post-colonial literature, is that colonialist literature is an attempt to replicate, continue, equal, the original tradition, to write in accord with British standards; postcolonial literature is often (but not inevitably) self-consciously a literature of otherness and resistance, and is written out of the specific local experience.

Myths of the Native

The Colonizer

Though various empires throughout history have been imperialistic, Imperialism itself has maintained a similar form in each of its manifestations. In his essay, *Literature and Society*, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o explores the action and strategy of Imperialism. Thiong'o writes, "the aim of any colonial mission is to get at a people's land and what that land produces." To ensure economic and political control the colonizing power tries to control the cultural environment: education, religion, language, literature, songs, forms of dances, every form of expression, hoping in this way to control a people's values and ultimately their world outlook, their image and definition of self.

Thiong'o continues this explanation, citing Amílcar Cabral, on the subject of the rule of the colonizer over the colonized:

[colonial rule] cannot be sustained except by the permanent and organized repression of the cultural life of the people in question. It can only firmly entrench itself if it physically destroys a significant part of the dominated people.

One repressive strategy used by colonizers is the re-education of the native. Though the colonizing empire may indeed entrench itself in the land which it means to take, the empire must also entrench itself in the minds of the people whom it means to rule. Therefore, the colonizer must present a model of reality which is seemingly absolute and flawless as a replacement for what comes to be considered the old, savagely imperfect modes of thought ascribed to by the natives. During re-education, natives are inundated with negative images of themselves and their culture, as well as idyllic, nearly perfect images of the colonizer. For one to more wholly understand the significance of native re-education, one must look closely at the mentality of the educator. An example of the deification of the image of the colonizer is found in the history of the English colonization of India. In this case, the English colonizers presented the image of the ideal Englishman to the Indians. This ideal was conveyed for the most part through literature, for the actual Englishmen who were in India, especially those involved with the West India

Trading Company, did not present the near-godly perfection which the English assumed as a basis for their right to re-educate the inferior Indians.

Cannadine gives us an insight into the mind of colonial England:

The really important category was status', and . . . it was 'fundamental to all other categories'. Hierarchy was the conventional vehicle of [the Empire]: it provided the prevailing ideology of empire, and it underpinned the prevailing spectacle of empire . . . It bears repeating that one aspect of this hierarchical-cum-imperial mindset was indeed the cultivation and intensification of racial differences based on post-Enlightenment attitudes of white and western superiority and of coloured and colonial inferiority (along with the cultivation and intensification of gender differences based on attitudes of white and male superiority and white and female inferiority). When, as they sometimes did, Britons thought of the inhabitants of their empire in collective rather than in individualistic categories, they were inclined to see them, literally, in terms of crude stereotypes of black and white, and no-less crude relationships of superiority and inferiority.

Alatas also discusses this crude knowledge and its crude conception:

The negative image of the people subjugated by Western colonial powers, which dominated the colonial ideology, was drawn on the basis of cursory observations, sometimes with strong built-in prejudices, or misunderstandings and faulty methodologies. The general negative image was not the result of scholarship. Those who proclaimed the people of the area indolent, dull, treacherous, and childish, were generally not scholars.

Those British who lived in Britain, never lost the basic sense of their superiority of rank and wisdom over mere colonials'. In the eighteenth century, Whig grandees and their clients looked down on returning nabobs as vulgar upstarts. In the nineteenth century, Britons in Australia were dismissed for being Irish Catholic, or the descendants of convicts, or both.

Ironically, it was precisely these teachers who re-taught the natives using the biased, stereotypes, which became the native's scholarship, and the opinion of an overwhelming majority of Britons.

The Native as Violent Savage, Ignorant Laborer, and Sexual Deviant

Re-education drastically reduces the amount of necessary physical violence on the part of the colonizer, for the re-educated native (ideally) is submissive instead of rebellious. Thiong'o describes the ideal function of re-education: "[the colonizer] would like to have a slave who not only accepts that he is a slave, but that he is a slave because he is fated to be nothing else but a slave. Hence he must love and be grateful to the master for his magnanimity in enslaving him to a higher, nobler civilisation."

This inferior image of the native is the primary active force in colonialist re-education. Kutzer discusses "three common stereotypes of African natives prevalent in writing by the British: the noble savage, the bestial savage, prone to cannibalism and other unnamed 'savage rites'; and the childlike savage." The natives were commonly considered terrifyingly violent savages. Kutzer quotes Richard Burton's description of the Africans:

The cruelty of the negro is, like that of a schoolboy, the blind impulse of rage combined with the want of sympathy. Thus he thoughtlessly tortures and slays his prisoners, as the youth of England torment and kill cats. He mentally remains a child, and is never capable of a generalization.

This violent image places the native in a dire opposition to the colonizer, in which case the only solutions are assimilate or be destroyed as a result of their ignorance and savage imperfection.

The imperfection of the natives is often considered bestially, as in the description of the Irish by colonial Britons, who characterized them as being "lazy, morally depraved as well as subhuman," thus leading Dr. James Kay to write: "this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity". The natives often had a functional, labor-focused status in the colonizer's hierarchy a position similar to that of livestock, who are considered for their efficientness in labor. Alatas quotes a British Government official who writes:

From a labor point of view, there are practically three races, the Malays (including Javanese), the Chinese, and the Tamils (who are generally known as Klings). By nature, the Malay is an idler, the Chinaman is a thief, and the Kling is a drunkard, yet each, in his special class of work, is both cheap and efficient, when properly supervised.

This devaluing of the native's existence as a human, gives the colonizer a superior, almost God-like presence and power. "The advantage of power," writes Lewes, "is that it enables one to define the reality of the powerless."

Another common form of the anti-native myth presents an image of the native as sexually deviant. Lewes discusses the "view of 'the wild exotic'," which portrayed "Eastern men as paragons of effeminacy and self-indulgence; [and] Eastern women as immoral, sexually insatiable courtesans."

Lewes analyzes a British children's story from the middle of the nineteenth-century, in which the rape of a woman is a reflection on the attitude of the colonizer to the native:

Such views of African female sexuality produced pornographic doggerel such as 'Lady Hamilton: or Nelson's Inamorata' (1851) a chilling blend of imperialism and rape fantasy. A sailor describes an oceanic encounter with a boat occupied by five black men and a woman. Although the natives are apparently peaceful (or at least sane enough to avoid provoking an armed British frigate), the British sailors 'pops off the men, then the girl and the boat / We takes as our true lawful prize.' Naturally, the 'prize' is enthusiastic about being gang raped by a boatload of sailors who have just slaughtered

her countrymen. When the seamen 'all [have] a fuck just our friendship to float,' they, '[please] her right up to her eyes'. The sailors re-create the African woman as they would like her to be. She becomes a property who recognizes that she, 'like Africa, is something to be defined, charted, probed, exploited and overcome.'

Colonial literature, concludes Lewes, contains many images which suggest "that women raped forcefully enough will generally come to admire the manly force of their attackers. Applied to the imperial project, the lesson is that Englishmen need only vanquish native populations ruthlessly enough, and the English will be accepted and indeed, welcomed as masters."

The re-education of the natives by way of the aforementioned anti-native stereotypes is effective by way of its ability to dehumanize the native not in the minds of the people of the empire, but in the minds of the natives as well. Teaching and enforcing the new hierarchy, the natives are placed mentally and physically in a position of extreme submission to the colonizer.

"The Empire Writes Back to and from the Centre"

"The Empire Writes Back to the Centre" — is a phrase originally used by Salman Rushdie, as he was punning on "The Empire Strikes Back", the famous American T.V. show. Here, the Empire is the sum total of the colonies of the British Empire, which Britain lost with the coming to independence in the 1960s of nation-states from Africa to Sri Lanka. "The Centre" is here Britain and the notion of "writing back" is crucial in understanding the various strategies of decolonization that Britain's former colonies have used to set the record straight. At the same time, since various members of the erstwhile British colonies are now living and writing in Britain, one could argue that they are also writing back to the Centre but, also more accurately, from within the belly of the beast, as it were, the Centre of the Centre.

As a cautionary tale, I should say that the notion of "centre" does not mean the same thing to everyone. For instance, when W.B. Yeats, the Irish writer who was to become the Senator of the Irish Free State, wrote in *The Second Coming* (1919) — "Things Fall Apart; the centre cannot hold; / Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world", he had in mind, Man losing touch with the Judeo-Christian God but also its corollary : the advent of a strange, savage God; the death of God announced by Nietzsche but also, since we are in 1919, the end of Czarism in Russia and the aftermath of the October Revolution. As if to complicate matters a bit further, the Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe, took from Yeats's poem the title for his first novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958) but what was falling apart was the pre-colonial coherence of Eastern Nigerian or Igbo society under the impact of Christianity which was a cause of disruption.

The notion of "centre" as applied to Britain goes back to the sixteenth century, an age of colonial expansion but the crystallization of England as the centre harks back to the nineteenth century, when English began to be studied as an academic subject and became linked to the spread of colonial education for the "natives". The study of English as an academic discipline (before it was the Classics) and the growth of the British Empire therefore stem from the same ideological climate (1884 had just witnessed the "scramble for Africa" by the European powers). With the teaching of English came other concepts such as "humanity", "civilization" which, conversely, established "savagery", "native" "primitive"; a dichotomy reinforced by racial theories à la Gobineau on the "inequality of the human races." Hence the crystallization of the notions of "centre" vs. "periphery" or "margins" teeming with "others." (The iconic "other" is now in current critical parlance that which is non-Western).

The result of the experience of colonialism is that three quarters of the world population today have had their lives shaped by it. As of the 60s then Britain stepped into the post-imperial phase, as it ceased to be an Empire or rather became an Empire in decline. Britain is indeed at present the last colony of the British Empire. It stepped into the post-colonial era but also at the same time in the post-modern era and the post-feminist era. It is this three-tiered development that I would briefly like to look at today, with special reference to the last decade but occasional excursions into earlier fiction.

Postcoloniality

"Post-colonial" as it is used by the authors of *The Empire Writes back* (1989) largely refers to the period after independence but it also covers all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. So the literatures of African countries, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Caribbean countries, India, Malaysia, Malta, New Zealand, Pakistan, Singapore, the South Pacific Islands and Sri Lanka (so both settler cultures and colonies) are all post-colonial literatures writing back to the centre. Note that the U.S. have been left out because of its neo-colonial, hegemonic power). This involves the appropriation of the English language and writing for new and distinctive uses and the techniques of abrogation.

A common and early example of "writing back" from the 1960s is Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1968) in which Jean Rhys from Dominica in the Caribbean "re-writes" the story of Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre* (1847) by Charlotte Brontë. In the Victorian novel, Bertha is the "mad woman in the attic" (which is going to be the title of a feminist analysis of Victorian writing by Gilbert and Gubar, 1984). Bertha is kept under lock and key by Mr. Rochester who married her, a rich Creole heiress from the Caribbean, in a "transatlantic marriage" as was common in Victorian times for dispossessed young British men. Jean Rhys, by telling Bertha's story, provided the supplement, the

apocryphal or alternative (“alter-native”) supplement, that which is unsaid or repressed in the Victorian text, Jane Eyre; the purloined letter, as it were, of British history, in its colonial dealings with the Caribbean.

Since we are concerned with the last decade, I will take an example closer to us, and “from the Centre” : Marina Warner’s *Indigo* (1992). This is also a re-writing of Caribbean colonial history and of a major canonical text such as Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1611) which, you may remember, deals with Prospero, the duke of Milan who was dethroned by his own brother (Antonio) while engrossed in the study of magic and is subsequently marooned in an island somewhere in the Caribbean with his daughter, Miranda. Interestingly, Prospero is a powerful figure, the heliocentric arch-magician of the Renaissance; he is the magus who master-minds everything, enslaves both Caliban, “the deformed slave” and Ariel, the “airy spirit” and conjures up his own tempest to bring his enemies to the island and plan his revenge (although he will forgive them all). In *Prospero’s Books* by Peter Greenaway, who is at the forefront of British post-modern auteur cinema, that Prospero masterminds everything is clearly seen in the fact that he voices all the lines of the other characters. So here in Warner and Greenaway, you have the two possible re-visions of the same Prospero-figure that are going to determine the ideological shape of the twentieth century: Prospero as a tired actor, Western man faced with the loss of his white magic, reluctant to drown his magic books or Prospero the Eurocentric God-like Magus who effortlessly controls the rest of the planet. On the other hand, it is also easy to imagine this fin de siècle as a huge chessboard with Warner’s Black Queen rivalling Peter Greenaway’s White King for the ownership of meaning.

What is missing in Shakespeare’s play and which Warner provides is the story of Miranda, so not history (“his-story”) but her-story; so not the Bardscript but the Daughter’s plot by foregrounding a most unholy matriarchy between Sycorax, the witch (also Caliban’s mother), Ariel who is no longer a spirit but an Arawak (Indian) girl and Miranda who has “a touch of the tar brush.” Warner thereby provides that which was missing in Shakespeare’s play but also in the whole of the Shakespeare corpus, i.e. the mother-daughter relationship (indeed women are conspicuously absent from the play and one can even argue that it is a misogynistic play), what Adrienne Rich, the American radical lesbian feminist, called “the great unwritten story” in *Of Woman Born* (1977). Warner also by the same token provides a history of miscegenation and exogamy which is often laundered off colonial accounts (we just have to imagine Bertha Mason and Rochester having a child of mixed blood) and debunks myths of racial and ethnic purity. So that the future to Warner, herself the great-grand-grand-daughter of Thomas Warner of St Kitts and thus of creole ancestry, is one of inevitable hybridity – a blurred chessboard, if you will, with no clearly delineated black-and-white squares. All in all, this is a typical contemporary writing back to the centre but also from the centre since Marina Warner is alive and well and living in London. Along the major writers writing in England today (some of them are only in their thirties) are people who are “exiled in English” like, to name but a few, David Dabydeen (Guyana), Linton Kwesi Johnson (Jamaica), Timothy Mo (China), Kashuo Ishiguro (Japan) and Ben Okri (Nigeria). Ben Okri, for instance, has got his name, along with Chaucer’s, on the cover of the Cambridge Guide to Literature in English republished last year (note that we no longer say “English Literature”). So that the concept of Englishness has been dealt a severe blow, not to mention the “English language” which has been the butt through phoneticization of Nobel Prize winning Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka who does not hesitate to mock RP (Received Pronunciation).

As a post-scriptum, I might add that myths of linguistic purity are also being debunked. What post-colonial linguistics is trying to promote is that English is no longer the monopoly of the “Englishman” (also a mythical creature on the verge of extinction, along with the Times and the bowler hat on a rainy, foggy day in London) since post-colonial people are now the co-owners of the language. You may remember that Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (1916) had distinguished between *langue* and *parole*, the idealized grammatical form and what goes on in real language interactions. Post-colonial linguists have argued that Saussurian linguistics has marginalized the social by bracketing the message or *parole* to concentrate on the *langue*. They (Ashcroft, for instance) propose to redress this imbalance by reinstating the *parole*. As the contest is between margins or the periphery and the centre, it is by the same token between language variants or “the new englishes” and a standard code; the post-colonial discourse in English has thus been labelled a “counter-discourse” which entails writing back with an accent.

All in all, the post-colonial linguistic programme is certainly more humane than M.I.T. linguist Noam Chomsky’s act of universalization in his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), where he posits an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community. Post-colonial theory thus views language as a human behaviour and the ethnography of speaking as a new area of critical inquiry.

Postmodernism

What postcoloniality and postmodernism (and postfeminism) may have in common is the reconstruction of history or rather the demonstration that history is a human construct, just like fiction. Salman Rushdie in *Shame* (1983) wrote: “History is natural selection. Mutant versions of the past struggle for dominance; new species of fact arise, and old, saurian truths go to the wall, blindfolded and smoking last cigarettes. Only the mutations of the strong survive. The weak, the anonymous, the defeated leave few marks. ... History loves only those who dominate her. It is a relationship of mutual enslavement.” And who writes history? Those who have the power to write it down, to shape it.

Instead of defining postmodernism (Lyotard, Baudrillard, Calinescu, Jameson, McHale, Hassan, Hutcheon), I will digress briefly on what it actually does in fiction, for in both postcoloniality and postmodernism (PoMo in Dutch) there is revisionism: apocryphal history contradicts the official version by supplementing the historical record,

claiming to restore what has been lost or suppressed, or it displaces official history altogether (McHale). What is official history the history of? Reply: of the winners, says Stanley Elkin; of the male sex, says Günter Grass who, in *The Flounder*, writes the history of cooks, the women who fed and cared for history's "great men" and were left in historical anonymity for their pains. Official history is often opposed to "stories", as in French, *l'Histoire* vs. *des histoires*, *la petite histoire* often female and where plurality takes away from male, official truth. Although American literature counts many revisionists of history such as in the paranoid conspiracy-theorists like Thomas Pynchon and Ishmael Reed (in *Mumbo Jumbo*), the most grandiose postmodernist revision of official history is Carlos Fuentes's *Terra Nostra* (1975) which provides an alternative history of Spain and Spanish America by having Felipe II of Spain marry Elizabeth Tudor of England and bringing her to live with him at Escorial.

The term "post-modernism" indeed first appeared in Latin America in the 1930s but it is generally agreed that, in its present-day connotation, it grew out of the collapse of the Western system of values, the denial of metaphysics but also the exclusion of "others" in Western thought like women, madmen or slaves. It is therefore no wonder that postmodernist fiction in Britain as anywhere else aims at revising the past (often the Victorian past) and correcting the future or "premembering the future" by engaging with the pleasures of anachronism. To take an early example, John Fowles in *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1967) revisits 1867, which happens to be the date of publication of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* and signals John Stuart Mill's attempt to pass women's suffrage during the second reform bill. The author at some point takes the train with his own character, sits across from him and asks himself: "What am I going to do with you?", a clear illustration of a step beyond what Barthes called "the death of the author" in that it here illustrates the return of the author with a vengeance and the conflict of wills between creator and created. The questioning of authority has been described by William Gass as a decline in "theological power, as if Zeus were stripped of his thunderbolts and swans, perhaps residing on Olympus still, but now living in a camper and coo-king with propane. He is, but he is no longer a God" (Qtd by Hutcheon, p. 190).

To take an example from this decade now, Antonia S. Byatt in *Possession* (1990) retrieves voices of nineteenth-century originals by their twentieth-century counterparts, including the obscure wife to some famous husband (the reverse of the relationship between Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning when Robert was only known as Mrs. Browning's husband). This retrieval by the critic Maud Bailey of the nineteenth-century plot becomes a disturbing reconstruction of her own past and thus of her own self. Byatt's nineteenth-century pastiche makes use of painstakingly uncompromising reconstructions of voices recognizable as those of Robert Browning, Emily Dickinson, and possibly Christina Rossetti.

This beautifully illustrates what is meant by the "real" today (which McHale punningly construed as the "reel" of film), as it is only accessible to us in textualized form: documents, eye-witness accounts, archives. The past is indeed "archeologized," as the Canadian critic Linda Hutcheon would have it.

The phrase used to describe these novels of the last two decades or so is "historiographic metafiction" (surfiction in French). In the words of Hutcheon again, it "refutes the natural or commonsense methods of distinguishing between historical fact and fiction. It refuses the view that only history has a truth claim, both by questioning the ground of that claim in historiography and by asserting that both history and fiction are discourses, human constructs, signifying systems, and both derive their major claim to truth from that identity" (*A Poetics of Postmodernism*).

Postfeminism

Similarly, postfeminism is a development from the feminisms of the 1960s which got too intellectualized (especially in France) and lost their social edge (for it was at least in the 60s associated with the Civil Rights Movements). Whereas Western gynocriticism (coined by Elaine Showalter) heralds the pen and the penis as responsible for the fathering of texts and the female ink/milk as a possible lubricant for the blank page, the search for a female language beyond the organs of patriarchy remains problematic. Elaine Showalter's three categories are called the "feminine" (from the 1840s to the 1880s with the death of George Eliot); "the feminist" between the 1880s and the 1920s which corresponds to women's suffrage and the war of the sexes and "the female" from the 1920s up to now, away from "T.H.E. tradition" (*A Literature of their Own*), which entered a new phase around 1968 with the Women's Lib Movement. This is what may have signalled the beginning of the post-feminist phase, when one stopped apologizing for one's "femininity"—"What is the point of sexcusing oneself?" asked Cixous in *Coming to Writing*. Feminisms have now split into womanism (Alice Walker, U.S.), afrofemcentrism (Awa Thiam, Senegal) or misovirism (Calixthe Beyala, Cameroon). On a linguistic level, the *écriture féminine* has given way to the desire to erect the language of post-patriarchy, which is not tangible as yet.

The feminization of language seems to go hand in glove with its dehierarchization through the representation of colloquial talk or the "vulgar body" of popular culture, whose language, like that of woman and performance, has been inferiorized. However, this effort at debunking patriarchy has given rise to overt and confident accounts of lesbian relationships as in Jeanette Winterson's *Oranges are Not the Only Fruit* (1985; gingerly recast as a B.B.C. drama) and Penguin has just come up with a collection of *Gay Short Stories* (1994), an anthology which refuses to "ghettoize" gay men as the shadowy inhabitants of a nocturnal subculture. So that all in all recent literature presents allegories of marginality by shifting the periphery such as gay or lesbian culture to the centre, so that the very notion of "gender" (as the social construction of sex) is being questioned in literature and the social arena.

The politics of the post-

“Post-” acts as a temporal marker in that it signals something that happened after a previous movement such as modernism or it is a pointer to the challenge and subversion of what precedes; for instance postmodernism subverts modernism. Greenaway even talks about Westerners as having solved “our post-Christian problems” of sex in the last couple of decades (Take Ten). In the words of Ihab Hassan, whereas modernism was dominated by epistemological issues, postmodernism has been thought to be dominated by ontological issues, i.e. “Which world is this? What is to be done with it? Which of my selves is to do it?” Yet, postmodernism is more a development from modernism than a break with it in the sense in which modernist writers like James Joyce tried to escape the “nightmare of history” (Stephen Daedalus did say that “history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake.”)

We have indeed reached an aporia, a dead-end, an impasse, unless we use the prefix “trans-”. But what we remember from this is that we are indeed faced with what Kermode termed “the sense of an ending”, the sense of embracing a fin de siècle which is also the end of a millennium, and the sense of a centre as infinitely shiftable and fragmented; possibly also the sense of being on the “eve” of the twentieth-century. And I use the word advisedly since post-patriarchy is around the corner and authority may never again be completely white, blue-eyed male, “heterosoc” (as the late homosexual British playwright put it), as it is being de-centered and ousted by a hybridized poetics of marginality.

Mimicry, Ambivalence and Hybridity

When Robinson Crusoe set foot on the island and declared it his own, a new page was inscribed in the history of colonialism. The shipwreck becomes a historical moment in this history. Defoe is able to create a textual plantation with the undaunted Robinson at its center, involved in a double divine action of invention and original self-invention. The footprint, however, will unsettle his undisturbed tranquility, and fear enters the stage. Neither the bible nor his guns will bring him peace. Crusoe will undergo the painful experience of recurrent traumatic nightmares before the event. The silence is broken. The Other has already inhabited the Self prior to the uncanny encounter: anxiety invades the body and mind of the stranded hero. The “textual empire” is shaken by the unknown: “The island is full of noises.” The captured absent/present utterances are therefore unbounded; authority is de-authorized (is it?), and writing hybridized.

What is hybridization?, Bakhtin asks:

It is a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation, or by some other factor. (358)

When on a certain Friday, the encounter actually happens; Crusoe will demonstrate to the highest degree of perfection the noble qualities of an English tradesman-Gentleman: those of making and self-making, prowess and determination. Driven by an instinctive sense of a charitable concern for the meek, he rescues a young criollo cannibal from being devoured by other cannibals. Faithful to the already-established Spanish tradition, he names him Friday, teaches him English, the words of God, and above all, the basics of humanity; in other words, he has driven him out of utter darkness to an overwhelming whitening light.

Under these conditions, however, Crusoe paradoxically is more isolated than ever since the words he hears are his words—the very words he wanted Friday to say, to repeat. Crusoe is blinded by his narcissism. He seems, Brantlinger states, “almost to will his isolation, and to cling to it even when it is being invaded” (Brantlinger 3). Friday does not exist. Friday is a lie, an illusion created by a mad masterly imagination. He is an ever incomplete, insubstantial image, a mere inorganic shadow, a dark spot on the ground, an image. Friday is filling an empty space cynically prepared and strategically organized by the colonizer as a speaking subject. The mirror-image that Friday is striving to see reflected will be a distorted one, a neither-nor: one that is ambivalent, doubled. “It was one of the tragedies of slavery and of the conditions under which creolization had to take place.”

Nevertheless, some postcolonial critics argue that it is precisely this kind of mimicry that disrupts the colonial discourse by doubling it. For them, the simple presence of the colonized Other within the textual structure is enough evidence of the ambivalence of the colonial text, an ambivalence that destabilizes its claim for absolute authority or unquestionable authenticity. Hence, today, the term hybridity has become one of the most recurrent conceptual leitmotifs in postcolonial cultural criticism. It is meant to foreclose the diverse forms of purity encompassed within essentialist theories. Homi Bhabha is the leading contemporary critic who has tried to disclose the contradictions inherent in colonial discourse in order to highlight the colonizer’s ambivalence in respect to his position toward the colonized Other.

Along with Tom Nairn, Homi Bhabha considers the confusion and hollowness that resistance produces in the minds of such imperialist authors as Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, and E. M. Forster. But while Nairn sees their colonialist grandiose rhetoric as disproportionate to the real decadent economic and political situation of late Victorian England, Bhabha goes as far as to see this imperial delirium forming gaps within the English text, gaps which are

the signs of a discontinuous history, an estrangement of the English book. They mark the disturbance of its authoritative representations by the uncanny forces of race, sexuality, violence, cultural and even climatic differences which emerge in the colonial discourse as the mixed and split texts of

hybridity. If the English book is read as a production of hybridity, then it no longer simply commands authority.

His analysis, which is largely based on the Lacanian conceptualization of mimicry as camouflage focuses on colonial ambivalence. On the one hand, he sees the colonizer as a snake in the grass who, speaks in “a tongue that is forked,” and produces a mimetic representation that “... emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge” (Bhabha 85). Bhabha recognizes then that colonial power carefully establishes highly-sophisticated strategies of control and dominance; that, while it is aware of its ephemerality, it is also anxious to create the means that guarantee its economic, political and cultural endurance, through the conception, in Macaulay’s words in his “Minute on Indian Education” (1835), “of a class of interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern --a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect”--that is through the reformation of that category of people referred to by Frantz Fanon in the phrase, “black skin/white masks,” or as “mimic men” by V. S. Naipaul.

On the other hand, Bhabha immediately diverts his pertinent analysis by shifting the superlative certainty of the colonizer and the strategic effectiveness of his political intentions into an alarming uncertainty. Macaulay’s Indian interpreters along with Naipaul’s mimic men, he asserts, by the very fact that they are authorized versions of otherness, “part-objects of a metonymy of colonial desire, end up emerging as inappropriate colonial subjects... [who], by now producing a partial vision of the colonizer’s presence (88), de-stabilize the colonial subjectivity, unsettle its authoritative centrality, and corrupt its discursive purity. Actually, he adds, mimicry repeats rather than re-presents.... (author’s emphases), and in that very act of repetition, originality is lost, and centrality de-centred. What is left, according to Bhabha, is the trace, the impure, the artificial, the second-hand. Bhabha analyses the slippages in colonial political discourse, and reveals that the janus-faced attitudes towards the colonized lead to the production of a mimicry that presents itself more in the form of a “menace “ than “resemblance”; more in the form of a rupture than consolidation.

Hybridity, Bhabha argues, subverts the narratives of colonial power and dominant cultures. The series of inclusions and exclusions on which a dominant culture is premised are deconstructed by the very entry of the formerly-excluded subjects into the mainstream discourse. The dominant culture is contaminated by the linguistic and racial differences of the native self. Hybridity can thus be seen, in Bhabha’s interpretation, as a counter-narrative, a critique of the canon and its exclusion of other narratives. In other words, the hybridity-acclaimers want to suggest first, that the colonialist discourse’s ambivalence is a conspicuous illustration of its uncertainty; and second, that the migration of yesterday’s “savages” from their peripheral spaces to the homes of their “masters” underlies a blessing invasion that, by “Third-Worlding” the center, creates “fissures” within the very structures that sustain it.

Orientalism

Edward Said’s evaluation and critique of the set of beliefs known as Orientalism forms an important background for postcolonial studies. His work highlights the inaccuracies of a wide variety of assumptions as it questions various paradigms of thought which are accepted on individual, academic, and political levels.

The Terms

The Orient signifies a system of representations framed by political forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and Western empire. The Orient exists for the West, and is constructed by and in relation to the West. It is a mirror image of what is inferior and alien (“Other”) to the West.

Orientalism is “a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient.” It is the image of the ‘Orient’ expressed as an entire system of thought and scholarship.

The Oriental is the person represented by such thinking. The man is depicted as feminine, weak, yet strangely dangerous because poses a threat to white, Western women. The woman is both eager to be dominated and strikingly exotic. The Oriental is a single image, a sweeping generalization, a stereotype that crosses countless cultural and national boundaries.

Latent Orientalism is the unconscious, untouchable certainty about what the Orient is. Its basic content is static and unanimous. The Orient is seen as separate, eccentric, backward, silently different, sensual, and passive. It has a tendency towards despotism and away from progress. It displays feminine penetrability and supine malleability. Its progress and value are judged in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, so it is always the Other, the conquerable, and the inferior.

Manifest Orientalism is what is spoken and acted upon. It includes information and changes in knowledge about the Orient as well as policy decisions founded in Orientalist thinking. It is the expression in words and actions of Latent Orientalism.

Earlier Orientalism

The first 'Orientalists' were 19th century scholars who translated the writings of 'the Orient' into English, based on the assumption that a truly effective colonial conquest required knowledge of the conquered peoples. This idea of knowledge as power is present throughout Said's critique. By knowing the Orient, the West came to own it. The Orient became the studied, the seen, the observed, the object; Orientalist scholars were the students, the seers, the observers, the subject. The Orient was passive; the West was active.

One of the most significant constructions of Orientalist scholars is that of the Orient itself. What is considered the Orient is a vast region, one that spreads across a myriad of cultures and countries. It includes most of Asia as well as the Middle East. The depiction of this single 'Orient' which can be studied as a cohesive whole is one of the most powerful accomplishments of Orientalist scholars. It essentializes an image of a prototypical Oriental--a biological inferior that is culturally backward, peculiar, and unchanging--to be depicted in dominating and sexual terms. The discourse and visual imagery of Orientalism is laced with notions of power and superiority, formulated initially to facilitate a colonizing mission on the part of the West and perpetuated through a wide variety of discourses and policies. The language is critical to the construction. The feminine and weak Orient awaits the dominance of the West; it is a defenseless and unintelligent whole that exists for, and in terms of, its Western counterpart. The importance of such a construction is that it creates a single subject matter where none existed, a compilation of previously unspoken notions of the Other. Since the notion of the Orient is created by the Orientalist, it exists solely for him or her. Its identity is defined by the scholar who gives it life.

Contemporary Orientalism

Said argues that Orientalism can be found in current Western depictions of "Arab" cultures. The depictions of "the Arab" as irrational, menacing, untrustworthy, anti-Western, dishonest, and--perhaps most importantly--prototypical, are ideas into which Orientalist scholarship has evolved. These notions are trusted as foundations for both ideologies and policies developed by the Occident. Said writes: "The hold these instruments have on the mind is increased by the institutions built around them. For every Orientalist, quite literally, there is a support system of staggering power, considering the ephemerality of the myths that Orientalism propagates. The system now culminates into the very institutions of the state. To write about the Arab Oriental world, therefore, is to write with the authority of a nation, and not with the affirmation of a strident ideology but with the unquestioning certainty of absolute truth backed by absolute force." He continues, "One would find this kind of procedure less objectionable as political propaganda--which is what it is, of course--were it not accompanied by sermons on the objectivity, the fairness, the impartiality of a real historian, the implication always being that Muslims and Arabs cannot be objective but that Orientalists. . . writing about Muslims are, by definition, by training, by the mere fact of their Westernness. This is the culmination of Orientalism as a dogma that not only degrades its subject matter but also blinds its practitioners."

Said's Project

Said calls into question the underlying assumptions that form the foundation of Orientalist thinking. A rejection of Orientalism entails a rejection of biological generalizations, cultural constructions, and racial and religious prejudices. It is a rejection of greed as a primary motivating factor in intellectual pursuit. It is an erasure of the line between 'the West' and 'the Other.' Said argues for the use of "narrative" rather than "vision" in interpreting the geographical landscape known as the Orient, meaning that a historian and a scholar would turn not to a panoramic view of half of the globe, but rather to a focused and complex type of history that allows space for the dynamic variety of human experience. Rejection of Orientalist thinking does not entail a denial of the differences between 'the West' and 'the Orient,' but rather an evaluation of such differences in a more critical and objective fashion. 'The Orient' cannot be studied in a non-Orientalist manner; rather, the scholar is obliged to study more focused and smaller culturally consistent regions. The person who has until now been known as 'the Oriental' must be given a voice. Scholarship from afar and second-hand representation must take a back seat to narrative and self-representation on the part of the 'Oriental.'

Colonial Discourse

- Austen, Jane. *Mansfield Park*.
- Beckford, William. *Vathek*.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim*.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Leatherstocking Tales*.
- Defoe, Daniel. *Robinson Crusoe* and *Captain Singleton*.
- E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India*.
- Haggard, Rider. *King Solomon's Mines* and *She*.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *Kim*.
- Kingsley, Mary. *Travels in West Africa*.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Tempest*.
- Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Drapier's Letters*.

Relatively Recent African Fiction:

- Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart* etc. (Nigeria)
- Aidoo, Ama Ata. *Changes*. (Ghana)
- Coetzee, J. M. *Waiting for the Barbarians*. (S Africa)
- Emecheta, Buchi. *Bride Price* etc. (Nigeria)
- Laye, Camera. *The Radiance of the King*. (Guinea)
- Lessing, Doris. *The Butcher's Boy*. (South Africa)
- Mahfouz, Naguib. *Any Novel*. (Egypt)
- M'phahlele, Es'kia. *Second Avenue*. (South Africa)
- N'gugi wa Thiong'o. *A Grain of Wheat*. (Kenya)
- Ousmane, Sembane. *God's Bits of Wood*. (Senegal)
- Soyinka, Wole. *Any Novel or Play*. (Nigeria)

Relatively Recent Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi Fiction:

- Devi, Mahasweta. *Breastgiver and Other Stories*. (India)
- Mukherjee, Bharati. *The Holder of the World*. (India)
- Narayan, R. K. *Any Novel*. (India)
- Nasrin, Taslima. *Shame*. (Bangladesh)
- Roy, Arundhati. *The God of Small Things*. (India)
- Rushdie, Salman. *Midnight's Children*, *The Satanic Verses*, *Shame*. (India)
- Sidwa, Bapsi. *The Ice-Candy Man*. (Pakistan)
- Suleri, Sara. *Meatless Days* (a memoir, but reads like fiction). (Pakistan)

Relatively Recent Caribbean Fiction:

- Baldeosingh, Kevin. *The Autobiography of Paras P*. (Trinidad)
- Cabrera-Infante, G. *Tres Tristes Tigres*. (Cuba)
- Carpentier, Alejo. *The Kingdom of This World*. (Cuba)
- Chamoiseau, Patrick. *Texaco and Solibo the Magnificent*. (Martinique)
- Cliff, Michele. *Abeng and No Telephone to Heaven*. (Jamaica)
- Condé, Maryse. *The Last of the African Kings and Crossing the Mangrove*. (Guadeloupe)
- Danticat, Edwidge. *Krik-Krak and The Farming of Bones*. (Haiti)
- Edgell, Zee. *Beka Lamb*. (Belize)
- Harris, Wilson. *The Guyana Quartet*. (Guyana)
- Hodge, Merle. *Crick-Crack Monkey*. (Trinidad)
- Kincaid, Jamaica. *Annie John*. (Antigua)
- Lammie, George. *In the Castle of My Skin*. (Barbados)
- Lovelace, Earl. *The Dragon Can't Dance*. (Trinidad)
- Naipaul, V. S. *Guerrillas*. (or any other novel) (Trinidad)
- Rhys, Jean. *Wide Sargasso Sea*. (Dominica)
- Sanchez, Luis Rafael. *Macho Comacho's Beat*. (Puerto Rico)
- Thelwell, Michael. *The Harder They Come*. (Jamaica)

Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon's relatively short life yielded two potent and influential statements of anti-colonial revolutionary thought, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), works which have made Fanon a prominent contributor to postcolonial studies.

Fanon was born in 1925, to a middle-class family in the French colony of Martinique. He left Martinique in 1943, when he volunteered to fight with the Free French in World War II, and he remained in France after the war to study medicine and psychiatry on scholarship in Lyon. Here he began writing political essays and plays, and he married a Frenchwoman, Jose Dubé. Before he left France, Fanon had already published his first analysis of the effects of racism and colonization, *Black Skin, White Masks* (BSWM), originally titled "An Essay for the Disalienation of Blacks," in part based on his lectures and experiences in Lyon.

BSWM is part manifesto, part analysis; it both presents Fanon's personal experience as a black intellectual in a whitened world and elaborates the ways in which the colonizer/colonized relationship is normalized as psychology. Because of his schooling and cultural background, the young Fanon conceived of himself as French, and the disorientation he felt after his initial encounter with French racism decisively shaped his psychological theories about culture. Fanon inflects his medical and psychological practice with the understanding that racism generates harmful psychological constructs that both blind the black man to his subjection to a universalized white norm and alienate his consciousness. A racist culture prohibits psychological health in the black man.

For Fanon, being colonized by a language has larger implications for one's consciousness: "To speak . . . means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (17-18). Speaking French means that one accepts, or is coerced into accepting, the collective consciousness of the French, which identifies blackness with evil and sin. In an attempt to escape the association of blackness with evil, the black man dons a white mask, or thinks of himself as a universal subject equally participating in a society that advocates an equality supposedly abstracted from personal appearance. Cultural values are internalized, or "epidermalized" into consciousness, creating a fundamental disjuncture between the black man's consciousness and his body. Under these conditions, the black man is necessarily alienated from himself.

Fanon insists, however, that the category "white" depends for its stability on its negation, "black." Neither exists without the other, and both come into being at the moment of imperial conquest. Thus, Fanon locates the historical point at which certain psychological formations became possible, and he provides an important analysis of how historically-bound cultural systems, such as the Orientalist discourse Edward Said describes, can perpetuate themselves as psychology. While Fanon charts the psychological oppression of black men, his book should not be taken as an accurate portrait of the oppression of black women under similar conditions. The work of feminists in postcolonial studies undercuts Fanon's simplistic and unsympathetic portrait of the black woman's complicity in colonization.

In 1953, Fanon became Head of the Psychiatry Department at the Blida-Joinville Hospital in Algeria, where he instituted reform in patient care and desegregated the wards. During his tenure in Blida, the war for Algerian independence broke out, and Fanon was horrified by the stories of torture his patients—both French torturers and Algerian torture victims—told him. The Algerian War consolidated Fanon's alienation from the French imperial viewpoint, and in 1956 he formally resigned his post with the French government to work for the Algerian cause. His letter of resignation encapsulates his theory of the psychology of colonial domination, and pronounces the colonial mission incompatible with ethical psychiatric practice: "If psychiatry is the medical technique that aims to enable man no longer to be a stranger to his environment, I owe it to myself to affirm that the Arab, permanently an alien in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalization. . . . The events in Algeria are the logical consequence of an abortive attempt to decerebralize a people" (Toward the African Revolution 53).

Following his resignation, Fanon fled to Tunisia and began working openly with the Algerian independence movement. In addition to seeing patients, Fanon wrote about the movement for a number of publications, including Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes*, *Presence Africaine*, and the FLN newspaper *el Moudjahid*; some of his work from this period was collected posthumously as *Toward the African Revolution* (1964). But Fanon's work for Algerian independence was not confined to writing. During his tenure as Ambassador to Ghana for the Provisional Algerian Government, he worked to establish a southern supply route for the Algerian army.

While in Ghana, Fanon developed leukemia, and though encouraged by friends to rest, he refused. He completed his final and most fiery indictment of the colonial condition, *The Wretched of the Earth*, in 10 months, and the book was published by Jean-Paul Sartre in the year of his death. Fanon died at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, where he had sought treatment for his cancer, on December 6, 1961. At his request, his body was returned to Algeria and buried with honors by the Algerian National Army of Liberation.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon develops the Manichean perspective implicit in BSWM. To overcome the binary system in which black is bad and white is good, Fanon argues that an entirely new world must come into being. This utopian desire, to be absolutely free of the past, requires total revolution, "absolute violence" (37). Violence purifies, destroying not only the category of white, but that of black too. According to Fanon, true revolution in Africa can only come from the peasants, or "fellaheen." Putting peasants at the vanguard of the revolution reveals the influence of the FLN, who based their operations in the countryside, on Fanon's thinking. Furthermore, this emphasis on the rural underclass highlights Fanon's disgust with the greed and politicking of the comprador bourgeoisie in new African nations. The brand of nationalism espoused by these classes, and even by the urban proletariat, is insufficient for total revolution because such classes benefit from the economic structures of imperialism. Fanon claims that non-agrarian revolutions end when urban classes consolidate their own power, without remaking the entire system. In his faith in the African peasantry as well as his emphasis on language, Fanon anticipates the work of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who finds revolutionary artistic power among the peasants.

Given Fanon's importance to postcolonial studies, the obituaries marking his death were small; the two inches of type offered by *The New York Times* and *Le Monde* inadequately describe his achievements and role. He has been influential in both leftist and anti-racist political movements, and all of his works were translated into English in the decade following his death. His work stands as an important influence on current postcolonial theorists, notably Homi Bhabha and Edward Said.

British director Isaac Julien's *Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask* (1996) has recently been released by California Newsreel. Weaving together interviews with family members and friends, documentary footage, readings from Fanon's work, and dramatizations of crucial moments in his life, the film reveals not just the facts of Fanon's brief and remarkably eventful life but his long and tortuous journey as well. In the course of the film, critics Stuart Hall and Françoise Vergès position Fanon's work in his own time and draw out its implications for our own.

Representation

1. Presence, bearing, air; Appearance; impression on the sight. 2. An Image, likeness, or reproduction in some manner of a thing; A material image or figure; a reproduction in some material or tangible form; in later use, a drawing or painting. (of a person or thing); The action or fact of exhibiting in some visible image or form; The fact of expressing or denoting by means of a figure or symbol; symbolic action or exhibition. 3. The exhibition of character and action upon the stage; the performance of a play; Acting, simulation, pretense. 4. The action of placing a fact, etc., before another or others by means of discourse; a statement or account, esp. one intended to convey a particular view or impression of a matter in order to influence opinion or action. 5. A formal and serious statement of facts, reasons, or arguments, made with a view to effecting some change, preventing some action, etc.; hence, a remonstrance, protest, expostulation. 6. The action of presenting to the mind or imagination; an image thus presented; a clearly conceived idea or concept; The operation of the mind in forming a clear image or concept; the faculty of doing this. 7. The fact of standing for, or in place of, some other thing or person, esp. with a right or authority to act on their account; substitution of one thing or person for another. 8. The fact of representing or being represented in a legislative or deliberative assembly, spec. in Parliament; the position, principle, or system implied by this; The aggregate of those who thus represent the elective body.

Representation is presently a much debated topic not only in postcolonial studies and academia, but in the larger cultural milieu. As the above dictionary entry shows, the actual definitions for the word alone are cause for some confusion. The Oxford English Dictionary defines representation primarily as “presence” or “appearance.” There is an implied visual component to these primary definitions. Representations can be clear images, material reproductions, performances and simulations. Representation can also be defined as the act of placing or stating facts in order to influence or affect the action of others. Of course, the word also has political connotations. Politicians are thought to ‘represent’ a constituency. They are thought to have the right to stand in the place of another. So above all, the term representation has a semiotic meaning, in that something is ‘standing for’ something else. These various yet related definitions are all implicated in the public debates about representation. Theorists interested in Postcolonial studies, by closely examining various forms of representations, visual, textual and otherwise, have teased out the different ways that these “images” are implicated in power inequalities and the subordination of the ‘subaltern’.

Representations-- these ‘likenesses’--come in various forms: films, television, photographs, paintings, advertisements and other forms of popular culture. Written materials--academic texts, novels and other literature, journalistic pieces--are also important forms of representation. These representations, to different degrees, are thought to be somewhat realistic, or to go back to the definitions, they are thought to be ‘clear’ or state ‘a fact’. Yet how can simulations or “impressions on the sight” be completely true? Edward Said, in his analysis of textual representations of the Orient in *Orientalism*, emphasizes the fact that representations can never be exactly realistic:

In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such. On the contrary, the written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced, made supererogatory any such real thing as “the Orient”. (21)

Representations, then can never really be ‘natural’ depictions of the orient. Instead, they are constructed images, images that need to be interrogated for their ideological content.

In a similar way, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak makes a distinction between *Vertretung* and *Darstellung*. The former she defines as “stepping in someone’s place. . .to tread in someone’s shoes.” Representation in this sense is “political representation,” or a speaking for the needs and desires of somebody or something. *Darstellung* is representation as re-presentation, “placing there.” Representing is thus “proxy and portrait,” according to Spivak. The complicity between “speaking for” and “portraying” must be kept in mind (“Practical Politics of the Open End,” *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*.) Elsewhere, Spivak addresses the problem of “speaking in the name of”: “It is not a solution, the idea of the disenfranchised speaking for themselves, or the radical critics speaking for them; this question of representation, self-representation, representing others, is a problem.” Spivak recommends “persistent critique” to guard against “constructing the Other simply as an object of knowledge, leaving out the real Others because of the ones who are getting access into public places due to these waves of benevolence and so on” (“Questions of Multi-Culturalism” *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*).

If there is always an element of interpretation involved in representation, we must then note who may be doing the interpreting. Ella Shohat claims that we should constantly question representations:

Each filmic or academic utterance must be analyzed not only in terms of who represents but also in terms of who is being represented for what purpose, at which historical moment, for which location, using which strategies, and in what tone of address. (“The Struggle over Representation: Casting, Coalitions, and the Politics of Identification,” *Late Imperial Culture*, 173)

This questioning is particularly important when the representation of the subaltern is involved. The problem does not rest solely with the fact that often marginalized groups do not hold the ‘power over representation’ (Shohat 170); it rests also in the fact that representations of these groups are both flawed and few in numbers. Shohat asserts that dominant groups need not preoccupy themselves too much with being adequately represented. There are so

many different representations of dominant groups that negative images are seen as only part of the “natural diversity” of people. However, “representation of an underrepresented group is necessarily within the hermeneutics of domination, overcharged with allegorical significance.” (170) The mass media tends to take representations of the subaltern as allegorical, meaning that since representations of the marginalized are few, the few available are thought to be representative of all marginalized peoples. The few images are thought to be typical, sometimes not only of members of a particular minority group, but of all minorities in general. It is assumed that subalterns can stand in for other subalterns. A prime example of this is the fact that actors of particular ethnic backgrounds were often casted as any ethnic “other”. (Some examples include Carmen Miranda in *The Gang’s All Here* (1943), Ricardo Montalban in *Sayonara* (1957), and Rudolph Valentino in *The Son of the Sheik*). This collapsing of the image of the subaltern reflects not only ignorance but a lack of respect for the diversity within marginalized communities.

Shohat also suggests that representations in one sphere--the sphere of popular culture--effects the other spheres of representation, particularly the political one:

The denial of aesthetic representation to the subaltern has historically formed a corollary to the literal denial of economic, legal, and political representation. The struggle to ‘speak for oneself’ cannot be separated from a history of being spoken for, from the struggle to speak and be heard. (173)

It cannot be ignored that representations effect the ways in which actual individuals are perceived. Although many see representations as harmless likenesses, they do have a real effect on the world. They are meant to relay a message and as the definition shows, ‘influence opinion and action’. We must ask what ideological work these representations accomplish. Representations or the ‘images or ideas formed in the mind’ have vast implications for real people in real contexts.

Both the scarcity and the importance of minority representations yield what many have called “the burden of representation”. Since there are so few images, negative ones can have devastating affects on the real lives of marginalized people. We must also ask, if there are so few, who will produce them? Who will be the supposed voice of the subaltern? Given the allegorical character of these representations, even subaltern writers, artists, and scholars are asking who can really speak for whom? When a spokesperson or a certain image is read as metonymic, representation becomes more difficult and dangerous.

Solutions for this conundrum are difficult to theorize. We can call for increased “self representation” or the inclusion of more individuals from ‘marginalized’ groups in ‘the act of representing’, yet this is easier said than done. Also, the inclusion of more minorities in representation will not necessarily alter the structural or institutional barriers that prevent equal participation for all in representation. Focusing on whether or not images are negative or positive, leaves in tact a reliance on the “realness” of images, a “realness” that is false to begin with.

Finally, I again turn to Spivak and her question, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak’. In this seminal essay, Spivak emphasizes the fact that representation is a sort of speech act, with a speaker and a listener. Often, the subaltern makes an attempt at self-representation, perhaps a representation that falls outside the ‘the lines laid down by the official institutional structures of representation’ (306). Yet, this act of representation is not heard. It is not recognized by the listener, perhaps because it does not fit in with what is expected of the representation. Therefore, representation by subaltern individuals seems nearly impossible.

Despite the fact that Spivak’s formulation is quite accurate, there must still be an effort to try and challenge status quo representation and the ideological work it does. The work of various ‘Third world’ and minority writers, artists, and filmmakers attest to the possibilities of counter-hegemonic, anti-colonial subversion.

It is obvious that representations are much more than plain ‘likenesses’. They are in a sense ideological tools that can serve to reinforce systems of inequality and subordination; they can help sustain colonialist or neocolonialist projects. A great amount of effort is needed to dislodge dominant modes of representation. Efforts will continue to be made to challenge the hegemonic force of representation, and of course, this force is not completely pervasive, and subversions are often possible. ‘Self representation’ may not be a complete possibility, yet is still an important goal.

“Postcolonial Literature”: Problems with the Term

“Postcolonial Literature” is a hot commodity these days. On the one hand writers like Salman Rushdie and Arundhati Roy are best-selling authors; and on the other hand, no college English department worth its salt wants to be without a scholar who can knowledgeably discourse about postcolonial theory.

But there seems to be a great deal of uncertainty as to just what the term denotes. Many of the debates among postcolonial scholars center on which national literatures or authors can be justifiably included in the postcolonial canon. Much of the traffic on the postcolonial e-mail discussion list involves criticisms of the term “postcolonial” itself. In addition, it is seldom mentioned but quite striking that very few actual authors of the literature under discussion embrace and use the term to label their own writing.

It should be acknowledged that postcolonial theory functions as a subdivision within the even more misleadingly named field of “cultural studies”: the whole body of generally leftist radical literary theory and criticism which includes Marxist, Gramscian, Foucauldian, and various feminist schools of thought, among others. What all of these schools of thought have in common is a determination to analyze unjust power relationships as manifested in

cultural products like literature (and film, art, etc.). Practitioners generally consider themselves politically engaged and committed to some variety or other of liberation process.

It is also important to understand that not all postcolonial scholars are literary scholars. Postcolonial theory is applied to political science, to history, and to other related fields. People who call themselves postcolonial scholars generally see themselves as part of a large (if poorly defined and disorganized) movement to expose and struggle against the influence of large, rich nations (mostly European, plus the U.S.) on poorer nations (mostly in the southern hemisphere).

Taken literally, the term “postcolonial literature” would seem to label literature written by people living in countries formerly colonized by other nations. This is undoubtedly what the term originally meant, but there are many problems with this definition.

First, literal colonization is not the exclusive object of postcolonial study. Lenin’s classic analysis of imperialism led to Antonio Gramsci’s concept of “hegemony” which distinguishes between literal political dominance and dominance through ideas and culture (what many critics of American influence call the “Coca-Colanization” of the world). Sixties thinkers developed the concept of neo-imperialism to label relationships like that between the U.S. and many Latin American countries which, while nominally independent, had economies dominated by American business interests, often backed up by American military forces. The term “banana republic” was originally a sarcastic label for such subjugated countries, ruled more by the influence of the United Fruit Corporation than by their own indigenous governments.

Second, among the works commonly studied under this label are novels like Claude McKay’s *Banjo* and Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* which were written while the nations in question (Jamaica and Nigeria) were still colonies. Some scholars attempt to solve this problem by arguing that the term should denote works written after colonization, not only those created after independence; but that would be “postcolonization” literature. Few people understand the term in this sense outside a small circle of scholars working in the field.

Third, some critics argue that the term misleadingly implies that colonialism is over when in fact most of the nations involved are still culturally and economically subordinated to the rich industrial states through various forms of neo-colonialism even though they are technically independent.

Fourth, it can be argued that this way of defining a whole era is Eurocentric, that it singles out the colonial experience as the most important fact about the countries involved. Surely that experience has had many powerful influences; but this is not necessarily the framework within which writers from--say--India, who have a long history of precolonial literature, wish to be viewed.

For instance, R. K. Narayan—one of the most popular and widely read of modern Indian writers—displays a remarkable indifference to the historical experience of colonialism, a fact which results in his being almost entirely ignored by postcolonial scholars. V. S. Naipaul is so fierce a critic of the postcolonial world despite his origins as a descendant of Indian indentured laborers in Trinidad that he is more often cited as an opponent than as an ally in the postcolonial struggle.

In fact, it is not uncommon for citizens of “postcolonial” countries to accuse Americans and Europeans of practicing a form of neocolonialism themselves in viewing their history through this particular lens. Postcolonial criticism could be compared to the tendency of Hollywood films set in such countries to focus on the problems of Americans and Europeans within those societies while marginalizing the views of their native peoples.

Fifth, many “postcolonial” authors do not share the general orientation of postcolonial scholars toward engaging in an ongoing critique of colonialism. Nigerian writers Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka, for instance, after writing powerful indictments of the British in their country, turned to exposing the deeds of native-born dictators and corrupt officials within their independent homeland. Although postcolonial scholars would explain this corruption as a by-product of colonialism, such authors commonly have little interest in pursuing this train of thought.

Although there has been sporadic agitation in some African quarters for reparations for the slavery era, most writers of fiction, drama, and poetry see little point in continually rehashing the past to solve today’s problems. It is striking how little modern fiction from formerly colonized nations highlights the colonial past. Non-fiction writers often point out that Hindu-Muslim conflicts in South Asia are in part the heritage of attempts by the British administration in India to play the two groups of against each other (not to mention the special role assigned to the Sikhs in the British army); yet Indian fiction about these conflicts rarely points to such colonial causes. A good example is Kushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* (1956) which deals directly with the partition of India from an almost exclusively Indian perspective.

Indeed, “postcolonial” writers often move to England or North America (because they have been exiled, or because they find a more receptive audience there, or simply in search of a more comfortable mode of living) and even sometimes—like Soyinka—call upon the governments of these “neocolonialist” nations to come to the aid of freedom movements seeking to overthrow native tyrants.

Sixth, “postcolonialism” as a term lends itself to very broad use. Australians and Canadians sometimes claim to live in postcolonial societies, but many would refuse them the label because their literature is dominated by European immigrants, and is therefore a literature of privilege rather than of protest. According to the usual postcolonial paradigm only literature written by native peoples in Canada and Australia would truly qualify.

Similarly, the label is usually denied to U.S. literature, though America's identity was formed in contradistinction to that of England, because the U.S. is usually viewed as the very epitome of a modern neo-colonial nation, imposing its values, economic pressures, and political interests on a wide range of weaker countries.

The Irish are often put forward as an instance of a postcolonial European people, and indeed many African writers have been inspired by Irish ones for that reason. Yet some of the more nationalist ones (like Yeats) tended toward distressingly conservative—even reactionary—politics, and James Joyce had the utmost contempt for Irish nationalism. It is not clear how many Irish authors would have accepted the term if they had known of it.

Although postcolonial theory generally confines itself to the past half-century, it can be argued that everyone has been colonized at some time or other. Five thousand years ago Sumer started the process by uniting formerly independent city-states, and Narmer similarly subjugated formerly independent Upper and Lower Egypt. Rushdie likes to point out that England itself is a postcolonial nation, having been conquered by Romans and Normans, among others.

Not only is the term “postcolonial” exceedingly fuzzy, it can also be argued that it is also often ineffective. A good deal of postcolonial debate has to do with rival claims to victimhood, with each side claiming the sympathies of right-thinking people because of their past sufferings. The conflicts between Bosnians and Serbs, Palestinians and Jews, Turks and Greeks, Hindu and Muslim Indians, and Catholic and Protestant Irish illustrate the problems with using historical suffering as justification for a political program. It is quite true that Europeans and Americans often arrogantly dismiss their own roles in creating the political messes of postcolonial nations around the world; but it is unclear how accusations against them promote the welfare of those nations. In addition, when they are made to feel guilty, countries—like individuals—are as likely to behave badly as they are to behave generously.

It may make American and European scholars feel better to disassociate themselves from the crimes of their ancestors (which are admittedly, enormously bloody and oppressive, and should be acknowledged and studied), but people struggling for freedom in oppressed nations are more likely to draw inspiration from the quintessentially European Enlightenment concept of rights under natural law than they are to turn to postcolonial theory. Similarly, European capitalist market theory is far more attractive to most people struggling against poverty in these nations than are the varieties of socialism propounded by postcolonial theoreticians.

“Postcolonial” is also a troublesome term because it draws some very arbitrary lines. South African writers Athol Fugard and Nadine Gordimer are often excluded from postcolonial courses, although their works were powerful protests against apartheid and they have lived and worked far more in Africa than, say, Buchi Emecheta, who emigrated to England as a very young woman and has done all of her writing there—because they are white. A host of fine Indian writers is neglected simply because they do not write in English on the sensible grounds that India has a millennia-long tradition of writing which should not be arbitrarily linked to the British imperial episode.

Of those who write in English, Anita Desai is included, though she is half German. Ngugi wa Thiong'o is included even though he now writes primarily in Gikuyu. Bharati Mukherjee specifically rejects the label “Indian-American,” though she is an immigrant from India, and Rushdie prefers to be thought of as a sort of multinational hybrid (though he has, on occasion, used the label “postcolonial” in his own writing). Hanif Kureishi is more English than Pakistani in his outlook, and many Caribbean-born writers living in England are now classed as “Black British.” What determines when you are too acculturated to be counted as postcolonial: where you were born? How long you've lived abroad? Your subject matter? These and similar questions are the object of constant debate.

In fact, postcolonial theoretician Homi Bhabha developed the term “hybridity” to capture the sense that many writers have of belonging to both cultures. More and more writers, like Rushdie, reject the older paradigm of “exile” which was meaningful to earlier generations of emigrants in favor of accepting their blend of cultures as a positive synthesis. This celebration of cultural considerably blurs the boundaries laid down by postcolonial theory.

In practice, postcolonial literary studies are often sharply divided along linguistic lines in a way which simply reinforces Eurocentric attitudes. Latin American postcolonial studies are seldom explored by those laboring in English departments. Francophone African literature is generally neglected by Anglophone African scholars. Because of these failures to cut across linguistic boundaries, the roles of England and France are exaggerated over those of the colonized regions.

It can even be asked whether the entire premise of postcolonial studies is valid: that examining these literatures can give voice to formerly suppressed peoples. This is the question asked by Gayatri Spivak in her famous essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Using Antonio Gramsci's arcane label for oppressed people, she points out that anyone who has achieved enough literacy and sophistication to produce a widely-read piece of fiction is almost certainly by that very fact disqualified from speaking for the people he or she is supposed to represent. The “Subaltern Group” of Indian scholars has tried to claim the term to support their own analyses (a similar project exists among Latin American scholars), but the nagging question raised by Spivak remains.

It is notable that whenever writers from the postcolonial world like Soyinka, Derek Walcott, or Rushdie receive wide recognition they are denounced as unrepresentative and inferior to other, more obscure but more “legitimate” spokespeople.

This phenomenon is related to the question of “essentialism” which features so largely in contemporary political and literary theory. Usually the term is used negatively, to describe stereotypical ideas of—to take as an example my own ancestors—the Irish as drunken, irresponsible louts. However, protest movements built on self-esteem resort to essentialism in a positive sense, as in the many varieties of “black pride” movements which have

emerged at various times, with the earliest perhaps being the concept of “négritude” developed by Caribbean and African writers living in Paris in the 1930s and 40s. However, each new attempt to create a positive group identity tends to be seen by at least some members of the group as restrictive, as a new form of oppressive essentialism.

Faced with the dilemma of wanting to make positive claims for certain ethnic groups or nationalities while simultaneously acknowledging individualism, some critics have put forward the concept of “strategic essentialism” in which one can speak in rather simplified forms of group identity for the purposes of struggle while debating within the group the finer shades of difference.

There are two major problems with this strategy, however. First, there are always dissenters within each group who speak out against the new corporate identity, and they are especially likely to be taken seriously by the very audiences targeted by strategic essentialism. Second, white conservatives have caught on to this strategy: they routinely denounce affirmative action, for instance, by quoting Martin Luther King, as if his only goal was “color blindness” rather than real economic and social equality. They snipe, fairly effectively, at any group which puts forward corporate claims for any ethnic group by calling them racist. Strategic essentialism envisions a world in which internal debates among oppressed people can be sealed off from public debates with oppressors. Such a world does not exist.

Similarly, “strategic postcolonialism” is likely to be a self-defeating strategy, since most writers on the subject publicly and endlessly debate the problems associated with the term. In addition, the label is too fuzzy to serve as a useful tool for long in any exchange of polemics. It lacks the sharp edge necessary to make it serve as a useful weapon.

However, those of us unwilling to adopt the label “postcolonial” are hard put to find an appropriate term for what we study. The old “Commonwealth literature” is obviously too confining and outdated as well as being extremely Eurocentric. “Anglophone literature” excludes the many rich literatures of Africa, for instance, written in European languages other than English, and taken in the literal sense, it does not distinguish between mainstream British and American writing and the material under discussion. “New literature written in English” (or “englishes” as some say) puts too much emphasis on newness (McKay is hardly new) and again excludes the non-English-speaking world. “Third-world” makes no sense since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist “second world.” “Literature of developing nations” buys into an economic paradigm which most “postcolonial” scholars reject.

The more it is examined, the more the postcolonial sphere crumbles. Though Jamaican, Nigerian, and Indian writers have much to say to each other; it is not clear that they should be lumped together. We continue to use the term “postcolonial” as a pis aller, and to argue about it until something better comes along.

Diaspora

The term diaspora is used (without capitalization) to refer to any people or ethnic population forced or induced to leave their traditional ethnic homelands, being dispersed throughout other parts of the world, and the ensuing developments in their dispersal and culture.

Originally, the term Diaspora (capitalized) was used to refer specifically to the populations of Jews exiled from Judea in 586 BC by the Babylonians, and Jerusalem in 135 AD by the Roman Empire. The academic field of diaspora studies was established in the late twentieth century in regard to the expanded meaning of diaspora. The twentieth century in particular has seen massive ethnic refugee crises due to war and the rise of nationalism and racism. The first half of the twentieth century saw the creation of hundreds of millions of ethnic refugees across Europe, Asia, and northern Africa. Many of these refugees who did not die from starvation or war went to the Americas.

Exile

Like many of the other terms in postcolonial theory and discourse that popularly suggest detachment from metropolitan or local spaces, “exile” has been deployed as a concept beyond simply a forced removal from a given physical location. Exile in everyday use invokes images of individual political dissidents sent overseas or large groups of people banished to distant lands, forming various diasporas. In these cases there is sometimes a presumption that the exiled are different from casual migrants who forget their original homelands and form new allegiances with the places in which they settle. Exiles retain a sense of (be)longing to/for a real or imagined homeland.

While such a presumption appears to be insufficient for postcolonial politics and theory, an important premise of exile surrounds the act of individual/group displacement and the effect such displacements have on the exiled’s perception of his or her current location, the homeland, and intellectual products. The last item being manifested in the form of literary, artistic, political expressions, and so on. In order for “exile” to be politically enabling in postcolonialism, a number of things can occur:

- Physical spaces are important because they are important sites of cultural production; for example, a Nigerian exile living in Britain produces a novel that engages both with her experiences growing up in Nigeria but current residence in Britain. The work becomes one of ambivalence and hybridity, expressing a sense of homelessness, nostalgia, being neither fully a Nigerian nor British writing. Physical spaces are however only one aspect of exile. In effect:
- One doesn’t need to be physically removed from the “homeland” in order to be exiled. Exile can take place in different cultural spaces, especially through processes like colonization and modernization. In this case by living in a

place that has become culturally transformed through colonialism, it is possible for exile to occur particularly when one realizes that a traditional language, way of life, religion, tribal practices can no longer be articulated or experienced without the mediation of modernity. This causes a sense of loss and displacement from a traditional homeland.

- As Edward Said stresses, exile can be both “actual” and “metaphoric,” “voluntary” or “involuntary.” (39) This last point is important because it indicates that physical violence is not the only force to cause exile, but subtler forms of compulsion can do the same as well. This can be seen in the case of intellectuals living overseas for education or research.

- Exile, according to Said in *Representations of the Intellectual*, is fundamentally tied to the notion of the intellectual. The connection with postcolonialism is not easily discernible in this case because exile becomes a larger political gesture to separate intellectuals from those who “toe the line” and those who remain critically resistant to the authorities. For Said these are “the nay-sayers, the individuals at odds with their society and therefore outsiders and exiles in so far as privileges, power, and honors are concerned.” (39)

What is important to grasp in postcolonial exile is therefore the profundity of the impact of colonialism and ongoing imperialism. The term itself has to be overdetermined so as to suggest the magnitude of cultural transformations inflicted by colonialism, the type of consciousness exile produces, and responsibility the exile should uphold.

FEMINISM

Feminism is a social theory and political movement. Primarily informed and motivated by the experience of women, it provides a critique of gender inequality and promotes women’s rights, interests and issues.

Feminist theorists aim to understand the nature of inequality and focus on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Feminist political activists advocate for social, political, and economic equality between the sexes. They campaign on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment, workplace discrimination and sexual violence.

Themes explored in feminism include:

- discrimination
 - stereotyping
 - objectification, and sexual objectification in particular
 - omission
 - oppression and
 - patriarchy
- The basis of feminist ideology is that society is organised into a patriarchal system in which men have advantage over women. Feminist theory is predominantly, but not exclusively, associated with western middle class academia. Feminist activism, however, is a grass roots movement which crosses class and race boundaries. It is culturally specific and addresses the issues relevant to the women of that society, for example, genital mutilation in Sudan or the glass ceiling in North America. Some issues, such as rape, incest, mothering, are universal.

History

The earliest works on ‘the woman question’ criticised the restrictive role of women without necessarily claiming that women were disadvantaged or that men were to blame. Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* is one of the few works written before the 19th century that can unambiguously be called feminist. By modern standards her metaphor of women as nobility, the elite of society, coddled, fragile and in danger of intellectual and moral sloth, does not sound like a feminist argument. Wollstonecraft believed that both sexes contributed to this situation and took it for granted that women had considerable power over men.

Feminism is generally said to have begun in the 19th century as people increasingly adopted the perception that women are oppressed in a male-centered society. The feminist movement is rooted in the West and especially in the reform movement of the 19th century. The organised movement is dated from the first women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

Emmeline Pankhurst was one of the founders of the suffragette movement and aimed to reveal the institutional sexism in British society, forming the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU). Often the repeated jailing by the Cat and Mouse Act, for trivial misdemeanours in activism, inspired members to go on hunger strikes, and because of the resultant force feeding that was the practice, caused these members to be very ill, serving to draw attention to the brutality of the legal system at the time and to further their cause.

Over a century and a half the movement has grown to include diverse perspectives on what constitutes discrimination against women. Early feminists and primary feminist movements are often called the first wave and feminists after about 1960 the second wave. There is a so called third wave, but feminists disagree as to its necessity, its benefits, and its ideas. These three “waves” are known as such, because, like waves on a beach, each wave comes on top of the one before, drawing on each other.

Feminism in many forms

The name “feminism” suggests a single kind of ideology, but this has not been the case. Feminist ideas, due to the historical situation and the current legal status of women in certain countries, and many other factors, has impelled feminist ideology to move in different direction to achieve its goals. As such, there are many different kinds of feminism.

One subtype of feminism, Radical feminism, considers patriarchy to be the root cause of the most serious social problems. This form of feminism was popular in the so-called second wave (a “wave” being a large major change in general feminist ideas), though is not as prominent today, however many identify the word “feminism” to mean the ideas proposed by Radical feminism which is not the case. Some find that the prioritization of oppression and the universalization of the idea of “Woman”, which was part of traditional Radical feminist thinking, was too generic, and that women in other countries would never experience the same experience of being “woman” than women in Western countries did. Instead of gender oppression, for Western women, race, or economic status, instead of gender, may be the root oppression that they may face.

Some radical feminists advocate separatism—a complete separation of male and female in society and culture—while others question not only the relationship between men and women, but the very meaning of “man” and “woman” as well; some argue that gender roles, gender identity, and sexuality are themselves social constructs. For these feminists, feminism is a primary means to human liberation (i.e., the liberation of men as well as women, and men and women from other social problems).

Other feminists believe that there may be social problems separate from or prior to patriarchy (e.g., racism or class divisions); they see feminism as one movement of liberation among many, each with effects on each other.

Certain actions, approaches and people can also be described as proto-feminist or post-feminist.

Although many leaders of feminism have been women, not all women are feminists and not all feminists are women. Some feminists argue that men should not take positions of leadership in the movement, but most accept or seek the support of men. They argue that because men, having been socialized to aggressively seek positions of power, would naturally try and succeed in assuming positions of power within a leadership hierarchy, would make the feminist movement a male-controlled movement, and not be representative of women, contrary to feminist ideas. Compare pro-feminist, humanism, masculism. Feminism has been principally a movement within the Western societies in the 20th century. Some limited advances have been made in some non-Western countries; but the movement has been principally Western in origin and effects. Feminists hope that their movement will have an equal effect across the rest of the world in the 21st century.

Relationship to other movements

Most feminists take a holistic approach to politics, believing the saying of Martin Luther King Jr., “A threat to justice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere”. In that belief, some feminists usually support other movements such as the civil rights movement, the gay rights movement and, more recently Fathers’ rights. At the same time many black feminists such as bell hooks criticise the movement for being dominated by white women. Feminist claims about the disadvantages women face in Western society are often less relevant to the lives of black women. This idea is the key in postcolonial feminism. Many black feminist women prefer the term womanism for their views.

However, Feminists are sometimes wary of the transsexual movement because they challenge the distinctions between men and women. Transsexual women are excluded from most “women-only” gatherings and events and are rejected by some feminists who say that no one born male can truly understand the oppression women face. On the other hand, transsexual women are quick to retort that the discrimination and various struggles (such as that for legal recognitions) that they face due to asserting their gender identity, more than makes up for any they may have “missed out on” growing up, and that discrimination against gender-variant people is another face of heterosexism and patriarchy.

Effect of Feminism in the West

Feminism has affected many changes in Western society, including women’s suffrage; broad employment for women at more equitable wages (“equal pay for equal work”); the right to initiate divorce proceedings and “no fault” divorce; the right of women to control their own bodies and medical decisions, including obtaining birth control devices and safe abortions; and many others. Most feminists would argue, however, that there is still much to be done on these fronts, where third-wave feminism would agree that the battle has basically “been won”. As Western society has become increasingly accepting of feminist principles, some of these are no longer seen as specifically feminist, because they have been adopted by all or most people. Some beliefs that were radical for their time are now mainstream political thought. Almost no one in Western societies today questions the right of women to vote or own land, a concept that seemed quite strange only 100 years ago. In some cases (notably equal pay for equal work) major advances have been made, but most feminists still struggle to achieve their complete goals.

Feminists are often proponents of using non-sexist language, using “Ms.” to refer to both married and unmarried women, for example, or the ironic use of the term “herstory” instead of “history”. Feminists are also often proponents of using gender-inclusive language, such as “humanity” instead of “mankind”, or “he or she” in

place of “he” where the gender is unknown. Feminists in most cases advance their desired use of language either to promote an equal and respectful treatment of women or to affect the tone of political discourse. This can be seen as a move to change language which has been viewed by some feminists as imbued with sexism - providing for example the case in the English language the word for the general pronoun is “he” or “his” (The child should have his paper and pencils), which is the same as the masculine pronoun (The boy and his truck). These feminists purport that language then directly affect perception of reality (compare Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis). However, to take a postcolonial analysis of this point, many languages other than English may not have such a gendered pronoun instance and thus changing language may not be as important to some feminists as others. Yet, English is becoming more and more universal, and the issue of language may be seen to be of growing importance.

Effect on moral education

Opponents of feminism claim that women’s quest for external power, as opposed to the internal power to affect other people’s ethics and values, has left a vacuum in the area of moral training, where women formerly held sway. Some feminists reply that the education, including the moral education, of children has never been, and should not be, seen as the exclusive responsibility of women. Paradoxically, it is also held by others that the moral education of children at home in the form of homeschooling is itself a women’s movement. Such arguments are entangled within the larger disagreements of the Culture Wars, as well as within feminist (and anti-feminist) ideas regarding custodianship of societal morals and compassion.

Effect on heterosexual relationships

The effect of feminism has certainly affected the nature of heterosexual relationships in Western and other societies affected by feminism. While these effects have generally been seen as positive, there have been some negative consequences.

In some of these relationships, there has been a change in the power relationship between men and women. In these circumstances, women and men have had to adapt to relatively new situations, sometimes causing confusions about role and identity. Women can now avail themselves more to new opportunities, but some have suffered with the demands of trying to live up to the so-called “superwomen” identity, and have struggled to ‘have it all’, i.e. manage to happily balance a career and family. Instead of the onus of childcare resting solely on the female, it has shifted somewhat, and the men are expected to assist in managing family matters more than in previous times. Various socialist feminists in response to the family issue blame this on the lack of state-provided childcare facilities, but this is not the case in all societies.

Men in some circumstances have also felt a loss of power and identity, and have struggled to come to terms with the changing social environments and differing demands made upon them.

There have been changes also in attitudes towards sexual morality and behaviour with the onset of second wave feminism and “the Pill”: women are then more in control of their body, and are able to experience sex with more freedom than was previously socially accepted for them. This sexual revolution that women were then able to experience was seen as positive as it enabled women and men to experience sex in a free and equal manner. However, some feminists felt that the results of the sexual revolution only was beneficial to men.

Effect on religion

Feminism has had a great effect on many aspects of religion. In liberal branches of Protestant Christianity, women are now ordained as clergy, and in Reform, Conservative and Reconstructionist Judaism, women are now ordained as rabbis and cantors. Within these Christian and Jewish groups, women have gradually become more nearly equal to men by obtaining positions of power; their perspectives are now sought out in developing new statements of belief. These trends, however, have been resisted within Islam and Roman Catholicism. All the mainstream denominations of Islam forbid Muslim women from being recognized as religious clergy and scholars in the same way that Muslim men are accepted. Roman Catholicism has historically been seen to abuse women (for example, the Magdalen Asylum system in Ireland) -- one example given is that does not allow women to hold any positions as clergy except as nuns; they are excluded from entering the main Church hierarchy.

Feminism also has had an important role in creating new forms of religion. Neopagan religions especially tend to emphasise the importance of Goddess spirituality, and question traditional religion’s downgrading of women. In particular Dianic Wicca is a religion whose origins lie within radical feminism.

Perspective: the nature of the modern movement

Discrimination against women still exists in North American and European nations, as well as worldwide. How much discrimination and whether it is a problem is a matter of dispute.

There are many ideas within the movement regarding the severity of current problems, what the problems are, and how to confront them. Extremes on the one hand include some radical feminists such as Mary Daly who argues that the world would be better off with dramatically fewer men. There are also dissidents, such as Christina Hoff Sommers or Camille Paglia, who identify themselves as feminist but who accuse the movement of anti-male prejudices. Many feminists question the use of the “feminist” label as applying to these individuals.

Many feminists, however, also question the use of the term feminist to refer to any who espouse violence to any gender or who fail to recognize a fundamental equality between the sexes. Some feminists, like Katha Pollitt or Nadine Strossen (President of the ACLU and author of *Defending Pornography* [a treatise on freedom of speech]), consider feminism to be, solely, the view that “women are people.” Views that separate the sexes rather than unite them are considered by these people to be sexist rather than feminist.

There are also debates between difference feminists such as Carol Gilligan on the one hand, who believe that there are important differences between the sexes (which may or may not be inherent, but which cannot be ignored), and those who believe that there are no essential differences between the sexes, and that the roles observed in society are due to conditioning. Modern scientists sometimes disagree on whether inborn differences exist between men and women (other than physical differences such as anatomy, chromosomes, and hormones). Regardless of how many differences between the sexes are inherent or acquired, none of these differences is a basis for discrimination.

This mostly Western debate about feminism should not distract from the fact that the major goal of the feminist movement in the 21st century is to improve the situation of women in non-Western countries.

Feminists disagree over the role of men as participants within the movement. Some female feminists feel that it is inappropriate to describe self-named “feminist men” as “feminist” and instead prefer the title “pro-feminist men”; however, this usage has not caught on in most of American society. Others think that the imposition of a label like “pro-feminist male” on people who prefer another label like “feminist” is equivalent to the imposition of racial epithets that are not preferred by the groups they name.

Postcolonial feminists criticise Western forms of feminism, notably radical feminism and its universalization of female experience. These feminists argue that since the assumption of a global experience as a woman is an assumption that is a white middle-class experience as a woman where gender oppression is the primary one, and cannot apply to women to which gender oppression may come second to racial and class oppression. Today, young women most commonly associate “feminism” with radical feminism, and this has put off a lot of these women from being active in feminism, and this has spurred change to move away from second-wave ideals.

Feminist Theory - An Overview

Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own*, which describes three stages in the history of women's literature, also proposes a similar multi-part model of the growth of feminist theory. First, according to Showalter, comes an androgynist poetics. Next, a feminist critique and female Aesthetic, accompanied by gynocritics, follows, and these are closely pursued by gynesis poststructuralist feminist criticism and gender theory.

Androgynist poetics, having relations and perhaps roots in mid-Victorian women's writing of imitation, contends that the creative mind is sexless, and the very foundation of describing a female tradition in writing was sexist. Critics of this vein found gender as imprisoning, nor believed that gender had a bearing in the content of writing, which, according to Joyce Carol Oates is actually culture-determined. Imagination is too broad to be hemmed in by gender.

However, from the 1970s on, most feminist critics reject the genderless mind, finding that the “imagination” cannot evade the conscious or unconscious structures of gender. Gender, it could be said, is part of that culture-determination which Oates says serves as inspiration. Such a position emphasizes “the impossibility of separating the imagination from a socially, sexually, and historically positioned self.” This movement of thought allowed for a feminist critique as critics attacked the meaning of sexual difference in a patriarchal society/ideology. Images of male-wrought representations of women (stereotypes and exclusions) came under fire, as was the “division, oppression, inequality, [and] interiorized inferiority for women.”

The female experience, then, began to take on positive affirmations. The Female Aesthetic arose -- expressing a unique female consciousness and a feminine tradition in literature -- as it celebrated an intuitive female approach in the interpretation of women's texts. It “spoke of a vanished nation, a lost motherland; of female vernacular or Mother Tongue; and of a powerful but neglected women's culture.” Writers like Virginia Woolf and Dorothy Richardson, emerging out of the Victorian period and influenced by its writings were perhaps the first women to recognize this. In “Professions for Women,” Woolf discusses how a woman writer seeks within herself “the pools, the depths, the dark places where the largest fish slumber,” inevitably colliding against her own sexuality to confront “something about the body, about the passions.”

The French feminists of the day discussed this Mother Tongue, calling it *l'écriture féminine*. Accessible to men and women alike, but representing “female sexual morphology,” *l'écriture féminine* sought a way of writing which literally embodied the female, thereby fighting the “subordinating, linear style of classification or distinction.” Showalter finds that whether this

clitoral, vulval, vaginal, or uterine; whether centered on semiotic pulsions, childbearing, or *jouissance*, the feminist theorization of female sexuality/textuality, and its funky audacity in violating patriarchal taboos by unveiling the Medusa, is an exhilarating challenge to phallic discourse.

There are problems with the Female Aesthetic, which feminist critics recognized. Even its most fervent fans avoided defining exactly what constituted the style of *l'écriture féminine*, as any definition would then categorize it and safely subsume it as a genre under the linear patriarchal structure. Its very restlessness and ambiguity defied identification as part of its identity. Needless to say, some feminists and women writers could feel excluded by the

surreality of the Female Aesthetic and its stress on the biological forms of female experience, which, as Showalter says, also bears close resemblance to sexist essentialism. Men may try their hand at writing woman's bodies, but according to the feminist critique and Aesthetic, only woman whose very biology gave her an edge, could read these texts successfully—risking marginalization and ghettoization of both women's literature and theory. Lastly, the Female Aesthetic was charged with racism, as it rarely referred to racial or class differences between women and largely referred to a white woman's literary tradition.

Gynocritics, which developed shoulder-to-shoulder with the Female Aesthetic, attempted to resolve some of these problems, by agreeing that women's literature lay as the central concern for feminist criticism, but "rejected the concept of an essential female identity and style." One branch of gynocriticism sought to revise Freudian structures and take the edge off of an adversarial methodology of criticism. These critics emphasized a Pre-Oedipal phase wherein the daughter's bond to her mother inscribes the key factor in gender identity. Matriarchal values dissolve intergenerational conflicts and build upon a female tradition of literature rather than the struggle of Oedipus and Lais at the crossroads.

Poststructuralism eventually influenced the course of feminist theory with the idea of a motherless as well as fatherless text. The female experience, as it relates to texts, only occurs in the feminine subjectivity of the reading process. "Gynesis" or "gynetic disruptions" occur in texts when the reader explores "the textual consequences and representations of 'the feminine.'" These considerations or interruptions in the discourse indicate a consideration or interruption of the patriarchal system.

Lastly and most recently are developments of an over-arching gender theory, which considers gender, both male and female, as a social construction upon biological differences. Gender theory proposes to explore "ideological inscription and the literary effects of the sex/gender system," and as many advantages, opening up the literary theory stage and bringing in questions of masculinity into feminist theory. Also, taking gender as a fundamental analytic category brings feminist criticism from the margin to the center, though risks depoliticizing the study of women.

Major Literary Movements

BILDUNGSROMAN

Introduction

Bildungsroman is the name affixed to those novels that concentrate on the development or education of a central character. German in origin, “bildungs” means formation, and “roman” means novel. Although *The History of Agathon*, written by Christoph Martin Wieland in 1766-1767, may be the first known example, it was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*, written in 1795, that took the form from philosophical to personal development and gave celebrity to the genre.

More than any other type of novel, the Bildungsroman intends to lead the reader to greater personal enrichment as the protagonist journeys from youth to psychological or emotional maturity. Traditionally, this growth occurs according to a pattern: the sensitive, intelligent protagonist leaves home, undergoes stages of conflict and growth, is tested by crises and love affairs, then finally finds the best place to use his/her unique talents. Sometimes the protagonist returns home to show how well things turned out. Some bildungsromane end with the death of the hero, leaving the promise of his life unfulfilled. Traditionally, English novelists complicate the protagonist’s battle to establish an individual identity with conflicts from outside the self. German novelists typically concentrate on the internal struggle of the hero. The protagonist’s adventures can be seen as a quest for the meaning of life or as a vehicle for the author’s social and moral opinions as demonstrated through the protagonist.

The Bildungsroman was especially popular until 1860. However, anti-German sentiment during the world wars contributed to the demise of its influence, along with the emergence of a multitude of modern experiments in novel writing. Nonetheless, James Joyce wrote his Bildungsroman, *A Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man*, in 1916, and the genre has continued to be adopted, with distinguishing variations, by writers of many nationalities.

Themes

Coming of Age and Apprenticeship

Goethe’s Bildungsroman appropriately uses the word “apprenticeship” in its title because one distinguishing factor of the genre is the learning process that brings the protagonist from childhood into adulthood. As a coming-of-age novel, the Bildungsroman focuses on the main character’s apprenticeship. These experiences place the character near older practitioners whose roles as models the character either emulates or rejects.

Education

The Bildungsroman is a novel of formation or development. These terms imply that the Bildungsroman is also a novel about education, yet not necessarily in the narrow sense of the Erziehungsroman (novel of educational development). Life is an education, and the process of growing up as chronicled in the Bildungsroman is a series of experiences that teach lessons. The protagonist’s education may be academic; it may also be in other areas, such as learning social graces, conducting business affairs, and gaining integrity in relationships.

Identity and the Self

The protagonist of the Bildungsroman has a unique talent. Part of the maturation process requires discovering this talent and figuring out how to use it. The journey and experiences of the hero are intended to provide an opportunity to examine the inner self and clarify important goals and how to pursue them. As part of the self-discovery, the hero gets a new perspective on his/her relationships with other people. In other words, facing the complexities of the adult world causes the protagonist to learn about others and about himself. Thus, the Bildungsroman is a psychological novel in which the main character evolves toward mature self-awareness.

Journey

In bildungsromane the hero leaves home on a journey or quest. Usually, the protagonist leaves a rural setting to travel into the wider world of the city. In this way, the character encounters a larger society that tests his or her mettle. The physical journey initiates change, and change brings growth.

Love

Finding the right love is a component of the quest as it is enacted in the Bildungsroman. The movement into adulthood begins with separation and often resolves in maturity with adult connection. In some cases the character must negotiate among potential partners in order to discover the appropriate one. The formalization of that relationship may constitute the final event in the novel.

Search for the Meaning of Life

In the Bildungsroman, the novel of development, the hero develops through experiences that assist in clarifying the character’s mature values. Growing up involves the search for universal truths. For Victorians, this involved achieving middleclass status, marrying, and settling down as a responsible citizen. But to writers like Joyce, these truths were associated with the artist’s alienation and the necessary rejection of middle-class values.

Style

Audience

The Bildungsroman doesn't just tell a story. It involves the reader in the same process of education and development as the main character. The aim is to affect the reader's personal growth as well. However, at some point in the narrative, the reader may be in disagreement with the protagonist. Realizing that the hero has made a mistake in judgment, the reader, in effect, learns from the situation before the protagonist or otherwise compares his/her own morality against the moral of the story that the hero eventually learns.

Character

In the Bildungsroman, the focus is on one main character. The structure of the Bildungsroman is to follow this one character from youth to adulthood. Other characters exist in the story, of course, but only in roles that have some kind of tie or relationship that contributes to the growth and development of the protagonist. With this concentration, it is then possible for the reader to become engrossed in the maturation process of the hero and learn the same life lessons.

Chronicle

A Bildungsroman is the chronicle, or record of events, of the protagonist from youth to adulthood. However, it is not an unbiased record, but more like a diary recording the life of a young person on the way to self-understanding and maturity. Consequently, the Bildungsroman uses a chronological time period to follow the hero from year to year.

Conflict

Growing up and finding one's purpose in life is difficult. There are many pitfalls, mistakes, and forces beyond one's control along the way. These conflicts between the protagonist and fate, or nature, or others, or self are part of the process of maturation that the Bildungsroman chronicles. Each crisis the hero endures helps to deepen his selfknowledge and strengthen or challenge his moral fortitude. Multiple conflicts are essential to the credibility of the Bildungsroman as a reflection of the real life experience.

Dialogue

Dialogue is the conversational interaction among the characters of a story. Since the Bildungsroman is focused on the main character, plot and narrative are secondary to dialogue. Using dialogue to carry the story makes the reader feel more of a witness to an actual scene. The reader knows little more than the hero has learned from talking with others and thus makes the same discoveries as the protagonist as events happen.

Historical Context

Development of the Novel

Beginning in the early eighteenth century, long narratives began to be written in prose. The modern novel developed in England with Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722). These works were followed shortly by Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1747). These novels were highly episodic plot-driven stories. In Germany in 1766-1767, Wieland wrote *The History of Agathon*, the first example of a Bildungsroman. Then in 1795, Goethe produced *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.

The term Bildungsroman was coined in 1817 by Karl von Morgenstern but not commonly applied until about 1870. The genre flourished through the middle decades of the nineteenth century, both in England and the United States. The historical novel, developed by Sir Walter Scott, was written also by Dickens and others. The popularity of the Bildungsroman genre waned in the early twentieth century, but variations of the form continued to be written throughout the twentieth century.

Cultural Climate

In 1789, the French Revolution began, followed by the Reign of Terror from 1793 to 1794 and the Napoleonic period from 1804 until 1815. In 1798 in England, Wordsworth and Coleridge published *Lyrical Ballads*, the preface to which marked a literary watershed that came to be known as the beginning of the Romantic period.

The Victorian Age spanned the years of Queen Victoria's reign, from 1837 to her death in 1901. The era of greatest popularity for the Bildungsroman, the nineteenth century, thus spanned the Romantic and Victorian periods in literature. This time of economic and political turbulence saw repeated wars in Europe and social and mechanical transformations wrought by the Industrial Revolution. Germany got its first constitution in 1816. At the same time, several European countries strengthened their colonial territories. According to the Norton Anthology of English Literature, perceptive Victorians suffered from a sense of "being displaced persons in a world made alien by technological changes which had been exploited too quickly for the adaptive powers of the human psyche." With the Industrial Revolution came the rise of the middle class that gradually took control of the means of production,

especially in England and the United States. Many middle-class Victorians wanted the stability of a set of rules to live by. Readers demanded guidance and edification from literature. The Bildungsroman, noted for exemplifying middle-class standards, met their needs.

Often, its hero went from the lower working class to respectability as a gentleman and along the way, he reviews his values and usually concludes that a settled middle-class lifestyle was the best choice. By the end of the Victorian period, writers were seeking more and more realism. Victorian values and self-assurance gave way to pessimism and Stoicism. The French promoted a Bohemian lifestyle that scoffed at notions of respectability. Novelists began experimenting with the time structure of their works, and “stream-of-consciousness” began to be a popular mode of narration in novels. As a genre so tied to convention, German influence, and orderly chronology, the Bildungsroman lost popularity as twentieth-century literary interests and innovations led elsewhere. Still, James Joyce chose the Bildungsroman form for his masterpiece *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1916, and the genre is still popular.

Movement Variations

American Novels

The American style of the Bildungsroman is a combination of the German Bildungsroman and the Spanish picaresque. The American Bildungsroman follows the pattern of moral growth for the protagonist as he discovers his identity in conflict with social norms. Blended into the story is the picaresque element of the hero being a traveler who has an outsider's perspective on what he encounters. Two American classics exemplify this structure: Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* and J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*.

English Novels

In an English Bildungsroman, the protagonist is often a poor orphaned boy whose goal is to become a cultured gentleman of means. As part of his self-education, he moves from his provincial home to an urban setting. While the German Bildungsroman emphasizes internal conflicts within the main character, the English Bildungsroman uses the outside world to threaten the hero's quest for identity. Many English bildungsromane draw from the author's own experience.

Entwicklungsroman

Another name for Bildungsroman is the general term Entwicklungsroman, or novel of development. This name applies to novels constructed to follow the personality development of the protagonist. However, it is sometimes reserved for only those works that describe the hero's physical passage from youth to maturity without delving into his psychological progress. In other words, Bildungsroman-type novels that pay less attention to the hero's intellect and emotions than more fully developed works fit into the category of Entwicklungsroman.

Erziehungsroman

Meaning “novel of education,” this variation is a more pedagogic form of the Bildungsroman. Not only is it more concerned with the formal education and training of the protagonist, but the novel also intends to teach certain lessons about values to the reader as well.

Female Protagonist

The female protagonist of a Bildungsroman encounters problems specific to growing up female in a male-dominated world. Early female bildungsromane with female protagonists mostly follow the traditional pattern that the mature female sees marriage as her fulfillment. Intellectual and social development is often achieved through the mentorship of a knowledgeable and sophisticated man. In some early nineteenth-century female bildungsromane, the female's education occurs through an older and wiser husband. Later novels portray women entering marriage as the culmination of the mutual growth that occurs in a loving relationship.

While a male protagonist in a Bildungsroman may meet his pivotal crisis in the course of his professional career, the female protagonist's turning point may result from a romantic entanglement. Her journey of discovery may be more internal, or psychological, than that of her male counterpart.

Künstlerroman

This form of the Bildungsroman focuses on the development of the artist. In this case, the protagonist achieves a place and opportunity in which to practice his or her art. Thus, graduating from apprenticeship not only ends the formative stage of life but also establishes the destiny that the hero has sought. Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and Thomas Mann's *Dr. Faustus* are examples of this type.

Medical Subgenre

As defined by Anne Hudson Jones for *Lancet*, in this subgenre . . . a young physician, often but not always an intern or resident, sets out to find his special calling and to master his craft. Whether he journeys from city to city or from rotation to rotation within the same hospital, his quest is the same. Two examples of this subgenre are Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* and Samuel Shem's *The House of God*.

Military Subgenre

In this variation of the Bildungsroman, the protagonist enters the military as a young man. His path of discovery causes him to leave home, not necessarily for a city but for wherever the military sends him. Through the rigors of training and combat, the hero is challenged not only to find himself as a person but to find out how good he is as a soldier.

Social Protest Subgenre

The Bildungsroman may be a work of social protest when its female or male hero is a dispossessed or marginalized person. The female Bildungsroman may concern itself with gender issues in a patriarchal society, as in *Jane Eyre*. In other cases Bildungsromane explore the difficulties of growing up as a member of a minority group and may involve the fight for civil rights. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* belongs to this group. Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* and Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* combine female and minority issues interwoven in works of social protest.

Zeitroman

This variation of the Bildungsroman blends the development of the era in which the hero lives with his or her personal development. The protagonist thus serves as a reflection of his or her times. This type of novel provides an interesting study of the effects of historical context on character. For example, Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* dramatizes the effects of being a Civil War soldier on the protagonist.

Representative Authors

Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

One of the greatest British writers of all time, Charles Dickens was a Victorian novelist who chose the Bildungsroman format for at least two of his most famous works: *Great Expectations* and *David Copperfield*. Born in Portsmouth, England, on February 7, 1812, Dickens grew up in London. His father was a navy clerk who went to debtor's prison when Dickens was twelve. Forced to go to work in a shoe dye factory, he lived alone in fear and shame. These feelings led to the creation of his many orphan characters and his sympathy for the plight of the working class that made him the first great urban novelist. Although he was able to return to school and eventually clerked in a law firm, Dickens found his first success as a journalist and comic writer of the *Pickwick Papers*. However, his deep social concerns found expression in a rich intensity and variety in his later works. By the time of his death from a paralytic stroke at age fiftyeight on June 9, 1870, Dickens had written a number of works, including *A Christmas Carol*, *Oliver Twist*, and *A Tale of Two Cities*.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)

Born on August 28, 1749, in Frankfurt, Germany, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe became one of Europe's most well-known and versatile writers. Noted for his lyrical poetry, his influential novels, and his dramatic poem *Faust*, Goethe also made substantial contributions in the fields of biology, music, and philosophy. He wrote the first comprehensive history of science. In 1795, he published *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, a novel that is considered a prime example of the Bildungsroman. In addition, Goethe profoundly affected the growth of literary Romanticism and introduced the novella. He died in Weimar on March 22, 1832, at the age of eighty-two.

James Joyce (1882-1941)

As a poet and novelist, James Joyce brought marked change to modern literature. Born in Dublin, Ireland, on February 2, 1882, Joyce moved frequently as a child because of his father's drinking and financial difficulties. Joyce's classic *Künstlerroman* (novel of an artist's development), *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, portrays a hero who is a character blend of Joyce and his father. Despite his family situation, Joyce received a good education at a Jesuit school. But like his hero in *A Portrait*, Joyce later rejected religion, family, and his home country, living most of his life on the European continent. However, he wrote almost exclusively about Dublin. Joyce felt that being an artist required exile to protect oneself from sentimental involvements and that he could not write about Dublin with integrity and objectivity unless he went away. *A Portrait* established the modern concept of the artist as a bohemian who rejects middle-class values. It also set the example for a number of modern Irish bildungsromane in which heroes achieve their quest when they come to believe that alienation from society, not finding one's place in the social order, is the mark of maturity. Joyce died in Zurich on January 13, 1941, when he was only fifty-nine years old, but his innovations in literary organization and style, particularly his use of stream-of-consciousness technique, remain unique.

Thomas Mann (1875-1955)

Considered the leading German novelist of the twentieth century, Thomas Mann was born in northern Germany on June 6, 1875. However, after 1933, he lived in either Switzerland or the United States because of his opposition to the Nazis. By then he had already won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1929. His masterpiece, *The Magic Mountain* (*Der Zauberberg*), was written in 1924 and is a Bildungsroman, as is a later work, *Doctor Faustus* (1947). The overall theme of Mann's works is the breakdown of civilization. Mann presents this theme in *The Magic Mountain* through a story about the patients in a Swiss sanatorium. *Doctor Faustus* is a Künstlerroman in which the protagonist is an artist who makes a pact with the devil to achieve creative vitality. The story ends tragically and parallels Germany's pact with Hitler to restore national vitality that ends in destruction. Mann died of phlebitis near Zurich on August 12, 1955.

Mark Twain (1835-1910)

Mark Twain is known as one of America's leading realists, native humorists, and local colorists. He was a master in the use of folklore, psychological realism, and dialects. Born Samuel Langhorne Clemens in Florida, Missouri, on November 30, 1835, he died of heart disease in the city he had long made his home, Hartford, Connecticut, on April 21, 1910. Twain produced not one but several classics, including what some believe to be the greatest American novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), a picaresque and satirical Bildungsroman. Probably more than any other writer, Mark Twain provided a uniquely American, and usually comic, portrayal of the Bildungsroman hero. Sadly, Twain's satire became bitter as his personal tragedies and financial reverses led to the disillusionment and depression that cloud his later writings.

Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813)

Whenever the Bildungsroman is discussed, Christoph Martin Wieland, who was born in Germany on September 5, 1733, is mentioned as the writer of *The History of Agathon*, the precursor novel to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. A translator whose work reflects the Enlightenment, the early eighteenth-century period also known as the Age of Reason, and whose style shows rococo influences, Wieland translated twenty-two plays by Shakespeare into German (1762-1766) and also translated the classical writings of Horace and Lucian. Many of Wieland's own writings are set in Greece, including his *Die Geschichte des Agathon* (1766-1767, translated into English as *The History of Agathon* [1773]). In an early instance of publishing German literary periodicals, Wieland edited the journal *Der deutsche Merkur* (*The German Mercury*). Wieland died on January 21, 1813.

Representative Works

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn

Like the Bildungsroman hero, Huck leaves home to find an independent life, has a surrogate father in Jim, is in conflict with his society, and reaches maturity when he repents his treatment of Jim and puts fairness and friendship over expected behavior. Though considered by some to be a masterpiece of American literature, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* initially scandalized reviewers and parents who thought it would corrupt young children with its depiction of a hero who lies, steals, and uses coarse language. In the last half of the twentieth century, the condemnation of the book continued on the grounds that its portrayal of Jim and use of the word "nigger" is racist. While some justify the book as a documentation of the racial notions prevalent at the time of its writing, the novel continues to appear on lists of books banned in schools across the United States.

The Bell Jar

Although Sylvia Plath is well known as a poet, her autobiographical Bildungsroman is one of the best-known works in modern American literature. The novel tells the story of Esther Greenwood, a student editor on an internship at a women's magazine in New York City. It follows the standard Bildungsroman pattern of the young person who goes to the big city to pursue professional aspirations. But there is no traditional happy ending. The psychological anguish of Plath's later poetry is related to the confessional revelations of *The Bell Jar*, in which she describes the events that led to her nervous breakdown. One month after the English publication of this book in 1963 under the pseudonym Victoria Lucas, Plath committed suicide. The novel was published in England under Plath's name in 1966 and in the United States in 1971.

Great Expectations

Great Expectations, published in 1861 by Charles Dickens, follows the tradition of the Bildungsroman. The young protagonist, Pip, leaves his rural home to become a gentleman and win the girl of his dreams. While most Bildungsroman heroes have to make their own way, Pip has a mysterious benefactor who provides the wealth that Pip thinks will make him happy. However, in the course of finding his true values, Pip comes to realize that happiness comes not from money but from the appreciation of good friends, regardless of their social status, and from personal integrity. This novel has become an all-time classic that is still required reading in many high school curricula.

Invisible Man

Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* won the National Book Award when it was published in 1953. A first novel, it expresses in metaphorical language the Bildungsroman theme of searching for one's identity. The nameless black protagonist, looking for his identity, comes to the realization that he has been living the roles prescribed for him by white society. But once he steps outside the assigned sphere, he becomes "invisible" to a dominant culture that does not recognize his individuality. Employing symbols of the traditions of the frontier, the black community, and music, *Invisible Man* achieved international fame and remains one of the most important American works of the twentieth century.

Jane Eyre

Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, published in 1847, is one of the first bildungsromane with a female protagonist. In this Victorian English novel, the female hero is constrained by social expectations determined by gender-specific beliefs. At age ten, Jane is sent to residential school where she acquires skills she later uses as a governess and a village schoolteacher. In its use of natural elements and the supernatural, the novel is both romantic and Gothic. *Jane Eyre* is a Bildungsroman in that it traces Jane's development from a dependent child to a mature and independent woman. The novel dramatizes the love affair between Jane and Edward Rochester, who is married at the time they meet. Rochester keeps his insane wife sequestered in his estate, and after she dies, he and Jane are reunited. In Charlotte Brontë's own life, she had been attracted to the married headmaster of the school in Brussels where she went to study French and to teach in 1842-1843. This unhappy experience, along with the author's memories of early school years at Cowan's Bridge, contributed to the composition of *Jane Eyre*, her first published work of fiction, which was an immediate success.

Jude the Obscure

Thomas Hardy introduced into Victorian literature the concept of fatalism. This belief assumes that humans are subject to arbitrary and random forces, like chance and timing, which shape their destinies. *Jude the Obscure*, published in 1895, received widespread criticism because it attacks the Anglican Church, the elitist admissions policies of Oxford University (called Christminster in the novel), and the rigid laws regarding marriage. As a Bildungsroman, the story follows Jude Fawley's route to destruction from what Hardy called in his preface "the tragedy of unfulfilled aims." Fawley, by trade a stonemason, has spiritual and intellectual ambitions that are thwarted by his exclusion from the university and his involvement with two women, the vulgar Arabella and the intellectual Sue. He marries the first and has one child with her; he does not marry the second, and he has two children by her. Tragedy overwhelms Jude when his oldest child kills the younger ones and hangs himself. Jude himself dies miserably, an alcoholic.

Of Human Bondage

Like so many autobiographical bildungsromane, *Of Human Bondage* (1915) draws from the unhappy early years of its author, W. Somerset Maugham. A popular twentieth-century English novelist, Maugham was a physician who abandoned medicine to write plays and novels. The hero in Maugham's most famous novel is a medical student with a clubfoot who falls in love with a promiscuous Cockney waitress. A still-admired 1935 film version of this obsessive and tragic love affair starred Bette Davis and Leslie Howard.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man

James Joyce's generally agreed upon masterpiece is *Ulysses*, but his autobiographical Bildungsroman is *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, published in 1916. When Joyce's hero Stephen Dedalus grows up, he says farewell to his home country and to his family and religion as well. The Norton Anthology of English Literature describes this novel as portraying "the parallel movement toward art and toward exile." This novel of rebellion insists that the artist is an outcast and that his alienation is a necessary component of his being creative.

Sons and Lovers

Another autobiographical Bildungsroman, *Sons and Lovers* was D. H. Lawrence's third and most notable novel. Published in 1913, it is the coming-of-age story of Paul Morel, the son of a coal miner father and a controlling and ambitious mother who gives up on finding any fulfillment in her marriage. She turns her possessive attention to her children, especially Paul. The resulting struggle for sexual power and individual identity causes Paul difficulties in finding his professional place and establishing a healthy relationship with a woman his own age. This novel dramatizes some of the psychological points Freud explored under the label Oedipus Complex.

CLASSICISM

Introduction

Classicism, by the standards of many critics, is not necessarily defined by the boundaries of time; however, there are several major periods with which Classicism is generally associated, including the Golden Age of Greece, the age of Cicero and Augustus in Rome, and the Enlightenment periods of France, England, and Germany. Classicism also encompasses all of what is considered Neoclassicism, though it should be noted that the inverse is not considered true.

Both ancient Greek and ancient Roman cultures had definite ideas and attitudes about literature. The qualities they valued in literary works included a sense of restraint and of restricted scope, a dominance of reason, a sense of form, and a unity of purpose and design, to name a few. Clarity was especially important to the Greeks, emphasizing that communication was an act of informational transmission between multiple individuals rather than the end result of self-expression by a single individual. They also valued objectivity over passion.

Each classical revival emulated these characteristics differently. The French classicists stressed reason and intellect, while the English took great interest in form. The Germans wanted not only to imitate but to surpass the grandeur of the original classics. Some modern-day literary works also manifest various aspects of the classical traditions, as seen in the works of T. S. Eliot, though there is less agreement about whether they can truly be described as works of classicism.

Themes

History

M. I. Finley, in *The Ancient Greeks*, speaks of the Greeks' concern with the individual and with isolated incidents of the past as expressed in their historical works. According to Finley, the Greeks were interested in history but did not take the pains that a historiographer would to report the past. He also asserts that the function of Greek history, as it expresses itself in the literature of the time, was often to provide an explanation for a current cult practice or ritual (also evidenced by the infusion of gods into these texts). Also, the events of such historical accounts do not offer a context of time or place. Greek "historians" were preoccupied with resurrecting a more glorious, heroic past and tended, in general, to view the past as being somehow "better" than the present. Most of these characteristics also permeate ancient Roman writings, like Vergil's *Aeneid*. Goethe, who wrote much later, shared this interest in history, drawing on the traditional German story of Faustus for the creation of his *Faust*. However, *Faust* does not glorify the past but rather serves as a social and political commentary on contemporary German life.

Order

Classic Greek and Roman writers also influenced the works of the later Classicists in their preference for order over chaos. Symmetry, continuity, smoothness, harmony, and logic were all characteristics classical writers would strive for in their works. The unities are an example or an outgrowth of this need for structure and for order. They are strict rules of dramatic structure formulated by Renaissance dramatists on the basis of Aristotle's views of drama, as expressed in his work *Poetics*. Among them are the three unities of action, time, and place. According to these rules, a play first must have a single plot with a beginning, middle, and an ending. Second, the action of a play should be restricted to the events of a single day. Finally, the scene should be restricted to a single location.

Reason versus Passion

It has been said that the Greeks loved to talk and listen, and they were keen on the art of conversation. Philosophers also taught by discourse and discussion. The art of conversation fed the value the Greeks placed on the process of determining the basis for an action, decision, or conviction. For them, conversation and reason went hand in hand.

The Greeks, like classicists that followed, looked unfavorably upon the over indulgence of intense emotion, preferring reason to passion. Racine's *Andromaque*, for example, centers on the fall of Troy. All of the characters in the play are dominated by their passions. The result is insanity or death, with the exception of *Andromaque*. Euripides' tragedy *Medea* is yet another fatal tale in which *Medea's* passion, rather than reason, informs her decisions. Indulging her jealous rage results in the murder of her own children.

Style

Pastoral

A pastoral is defined as a literary composition on a rural theme. The convention originated with classical Greek poet Theocritus during the third century B.C. In a pastoral, the characters are shepherds who speak in a courtly manner despite their simple setting. Like the poetry Theocritus, Vergil's *Eclogues* are about the experiences, love affairs, and

pastimes of shepherds. Of the ten poems, a few are tragic love stories, a few involve singing contests, and the rest (the majority) recall the seizure of the shepherds' lands by retired Roman soldiers.

Tragedy

The tragic form was practiced extensively by the Greeks. It is usually a drama in prose or poetry involving a noble, courageous hero who, due to a character flaw, brings ruin upon himself or herself. In Racine's tragedy *Andromaque*, all of the characters seem to fall prey to one fatal flaw, that of passion. It is Pyrrhus's passion for Hector's wife that causes him to cast aside the affections of his betrothed, Hermione. In turn, in her passion, Hermione's disappointment with Pyrrhus causes his death. Finally, Oreste, in his love for Hermione, complies with her passionate request to kill Pyrrhus in an effort to win her affections. All but *Andromaque*, by the play's end, either die or go mad as a result of their passionate natures.

Epic

An epic is a long narrative poem dedicated to the adventures of a hero. Usually the hero is a person of great national, historic, or legendary importance. Vergil's work the *Aeneid* has been identified as an epic of the highest caliber. It is, in some respects, an imitation of Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. The protagonist is the Trojan prince Aeneas. His wanderings, after the destruction of his city in the Trojan War, account for a very vast setting (another characteristic of the epic). The action in an epic is often given cosmic significance through the intervention of the supernatural forces. This characteristic is especially evident in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, as Aeneas travels take him to the underworld. He encounters his dead father who reveals to him the future Greatness of Rome and Aeneas's own legacy.

Historical Context

The origins of Classicism are traceable to ancient Greece. Although Greek history includes the Golden Age, the fifth century B.C., one of the greatest periods of cultural development in Western civilization, it was often the negative aspects of their history—the events of war, of plague, and of a Golden Age lost—that became a source of inspiration for Greek classical writers.

Democracy in Greece

Pericles became the leader of the democratic party in Athens in 461 B.C. and ruled during Athens's Golden Age. When state pay was instituted for officials in 450 B.C., Athens nearly became a full democracy; class was no longer a factor in official appointments. However, women, metics, and slaves were still completely excluded from politics. A demonstrated lack of respect as well as the active censorship of these residents were also byproducts of Athenian success.

Historians estimate the population of Attica, the state over which Athens was the capital, to have been approximately 315,000 at the time. Of this population, 172,000 were Athenian citizens, 28,000 were resident aliens, and 115,000 were slaves. All were registered in political and religious units known as demes. The rural population was very small, the land either owned by wealthy nobles or by farmers, whose chief crops were said to be olives and oil. Over half of the grain coming into Athens was imported. The growing middle class, whose members were chiefly involved in commerce or were artisans and laborers, largely influenced urban life. The metics, or resident aliens, were involved in trade and finance, and the state slaves contributed to public works.

The Peloponnesian War

Athens's prosperity during the Golden Age was no reflection of its foreign relations. Expansionist policies in the outlying areas of Greece, which had been denied access to Athens, helped to form an ever-lengthening list of enemies. The growth of Athenian power also caused fear and suspicion in Sparta, the head of the Peloponnesian league. The war began in 431 B.C., with raids by Athens in Peloponnesus and a Spartan attack on Attica. The conflict raged back and forth between Athens and Sparta, with no clear victor. While Athens was a dominating force on the seas, it was no match for Sparta's armies. Sparta, however, had no navy. Eventually, when both their resources depleted, Athens and Sparta signed a treaty in 421 B.C. that temporarily ended the conflict. Nicias was elected to oversee a more peaceful Athens. But Alcibiades, a disciple of Socrates who was interested in the democratic leadership, had visions of aggressive expansionism. Alcibiades's rhetoric would once again excite and incite Athenians and Spartans to take up swords against one another. The final defeat of the Athenians occurred in 405 B.C. at Aegospotami when its final fleet was destroyed when taken by surprise. Athens was under a state of siege at the time, until 404 when it surrendered. Though the city of Athens was spared, its walls were torn down and many of its citizenry were slain.

The Plague

Historians estimate that from 430 to 429 B.C., a plague from the east decimated Athens. Overcrowding within the city walls caused it to spread rapidly, killing one-third of the population and crippling many others. The horror of the event changed the social and religious values of the culture dramatically. Pericles died of the plague in 429 B.C., and historians are quick to point out that his death was a pivotal event with respect to the Peloponnesian war.

Movement Variations

It is difficult to discuss Classicism in terms of its movement variations since any classical variation could, by definition, be considered a part of Classicism. The principles of Classicism have been a part of literature from its ancient origins in Greece until today. However, several periods of distinct classical revival have been recognized in the histories of Rome, France, England, and Germany.

Rome

Historians divide the movement in Rome into two periods, the Age of Cicero, from 80 to 43 B.C. and the Age of Augustus, from 37 B.C. to 14 A.D. The Roman culture is often considered an extension of early Greek civilization, the two often being described as Greco-Roman. The Romans, however, added their own political, military, and legal views to Greek values. Greek literature was the model for Roman writings in prose, poetry, as well as drama, and the works themselves were often composed in both Greek and Latin. Satire also formed the basis for Roman social commentary. Vergil (70-19 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) have been identified as the significant literary figures of the periods. Cicero was one of the greatest prose writers and orators of the time, whose works include numerous legal and political speeches as well as philosophical letters and essays.

France

Historians have recognized the movement in France in the 1600s for its diversity in classical values. The French classicists wrote with an emphasis on reason and intellect. French intellectual Rene Descartes, for example, tended to shy away from authority as the ultimate source of truth. He put a great deal of emphasis instead on the process of reasoning from a priori knowledge, i.e., knowledge based on hypothesis or theory rather than experiment or experience. The French dramas of Racine and others strongly influenced the English Neoclassical period. In addition to drama, the French were also noted for their use of satire. Voltaire's *Candide* (1759) has been identified as one of the best examples of satire. It systematically takes jabs at those in positions of power and privilege. This form of satire has also been identified as being part of a trend towards secularism and criticism of the church.

England

Although the terms Classicism and Neoclassicism are somewhat interchangeable (and often used as such), Neoclassicism (1660-1798) refers specifically to the literary periods in history that produced art inspired by the ancients. It is often defined as the Classicism that dominated English literature during the Restoration Age (1660-1700). In the early years of the movement, the country celebrated and enjoyed the reopening of theaters, when both William Wycherly and William Congreve were infusing the stage with their contemporary plays. Heroic drama, written in couplets, developed, as did the comedy of manners. Poetry tended to take the form of the mock epic, the verse essay, and satire, as used by Dryden, Pope and Swift. Literature drew on classic virtues such as order, restraint, simplicity, economy, and morality, all of which were guided by the politics of the day. The end of the movement would be greatly influenced by the works of Samuel Johnson. The "Age of Johnson," as it was called, represented a transition from a focus on classical study/imitation to an interest in folk literature and popular ballads. The gothic novel also emerged as a genre, due in large part to the efforts of Anne Radcliffe and Horace Walpole.

Germany

The Germans wanted not only to imitate the works of the Greeks and Romans but also to surpass them. In the eighteenth century, classical culture became a subject of great interest. German schools and colleges began offering courses in classical literature, history, and philosophy. Great intellectuals emerged, inspired by classical ideals. During this time period, classical and romantic literature flourished side by side. An interest in a German past was also evident, as expressed in Goethe's *Faust*, an adaptation of a traditional German/Christian tale. *Faust* symbolized the union of Classicism and Romanticism in the marriage of Faust and Helen of Troy. However, many scholars believe this era is best represented in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach, George Friedrich Handel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Franz Joseph Haydn, four of the greatest classical composers the world has known.

Representative Authors

Euripides (c. 485-406 B.C.)

A writer during the first classical period in Greece, Euripides was a playwright of great import. The decline of the Golden Age in Greece, as a result of the Peloponnesian War, was witnessed by Euripides probably accounts for the overall tone of his tragedies. His works also serve as a chronicle of Athenian thought during a rather turbulent time in its history and are excellent representations of Attic Drama, the theatrical genre of the time.

Euripides was born in 485 B.C. in Athens, where he spent most of his life. Historians believe that he was from a middle-class background, which suggests that he was well educated. Euripides was also a friend of many of the great thinkers of the time, including Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Protagoras. During his childhood and into early adulthood, Euripides enjoyed the splendor of an Athens rich in resources and political allies.

In 455, Euripides wrote his first tetralogy, a composition including three tragedies and a satyr play. Ninety-two plays are known to have been written by the dramatist after the start of the war. Only nineteen of his plays still exist, most of them tragedies in the form of divine myths, marital narratives, and noble family histories.

Euripides's works were often not warmly received by the Greeks of his time, as he did not believe in the triumph of reason over passion, nor did he believe that reason and order regulated the universe. This idea is demonstrated in the gods of his plays, who do not always act in just or compassionate ways, even exhibiting the less desirable characteristics of their mortal counterparts. It has been suggested that, as a result of these stylistic differences, Euripides's work was not popular at dramatic festivals, earning him relatively few prizes. Euripides eventually left Athens in response to his critics and at the invitation of the Macedonia King Archelaus. Archelaus requested that Euripides's writings contribute to a new cultural center the king envisioned as a rival to Athens. Unfortunately, Euripides would live less than two years in Macedonia before he died.

Despite his unpopularity, Euripides has been tagged a "stylistic innovator" for his unconventional beliefs, particularly by contemporary critics who contend that his works contributed to the creation of modern drama. In his own time, Sophocles and others admired his work for its psychological realism and its use of simple, everyday dialogue in favor of the decorative aristocratic language that dominated the genre. The Dionysian festival would also revive his plays 100 years after his death in 406, to enjoy a much greater reception.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe has been recognized for his considerable writing talents as well as his genius. He has been called a shaping force in German literature, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An exceptional man, Goethe excelled as a scientist, philosopher, musician, and artist, in addition to his literary accomplishments. Goethe's drama *Faust* has been compared to the works of Dante and Shakespeare and is an important piece of Romantic literature.

Goethe was born August 28, 1749, in Frankfurt, Germany. His mother was the daughter of the mayor, and his father spent much of his time writing memoirs, supporting local artists, and educating his children. Goethe's education was extensive at a very early age—so extensive that Goethe managed to write an epistolary novel (a novel written as a letter or series of letters) incorporating six different languages (German, French, Italian, English, Latin, and Yiddish) by his early teens. He entered the University of Leipzig at the age of sixteen to study law but found greater satisfaction in studying art, literature, and music. After two semesters, Goethe dropped out of the university to pursue an education independently. Some of Goethe's earliest works created during this time include *Buch Annette* (translated as *Book for Annette*), a book of poetry inspired by a landlord's daughter at an inn Goethe frequented, and the play *Die Laune des Verliebten* (translated as *The Wayward Lover*), a pastoral comedy.

In 1768, Goethe became ill and returned to Frankfurt to rest and recover. He studied alchemy, astrology, and the occult during this time and read the works of Shakespeare, Lessing, and Rousseau before continuing his law studies in Strasbourg in March of 1770. Goethe remained in Strasbourg to practice law for several years. During this time, Goethe wrote an epistolary novel entitled *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, based on the true story of a man's suicide over a sour love affair and his own feelings for a friend's fiancée. The novel was wildly popular in Germany but was tagged immoral by British and American critics because of the suicide depicted.

The popularity of Goethe's *Werther* also earned Goethe various official posts in Weimar, by invitation of Duke Karl August, and he stayed for over twenty-five years. A trip to Italy in 1786 fueled his creativity. Goethe was so inspired by this trip that he ultimately changed his creative direction. He began writing poetry in classical form, utilizing principles of formal unity and ordered language, as demonstrated in *Hermann und Dorothea* (Herman and Dorothea) in 1798. Goethe also developed an interest in producing scientific writings, expounding on his knowledge of botany, optics, and light.

Goethe's greatest work, *Faust*, is considered a literary classic. It was published originally in two parts, the first in 1808 and the second posthumously in 1832. Goethe continued to write until his death on March 22, 1832, publishing his autobiography and several novels.

Homer (fl. c. 750 B.C.)

It is of interest to note that Homer, whom many consider as one of the greatest poets of western civilization, may not have existed. Various critics and historians offer conflicting views as to whether the man actually lived or was a fictional character given credit for the work of many. Some believed him to be a bard by profession, a singing poet who composed and recited verses on legends and history. It is difficult to say when exactly the poet would have written. Based on language and style, it can be narrowed down to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries B.C. The language of his works, a blend of Ionic and Aeolic, indicates that he was perhaps from the Island of Chios, off the western coast of Asia Minor, where one family has actually claimed him as a legitimate ancestor.

In support of this theory, Demokodoss, who appears in the *Odyssey*, is believed to be a portrait of Homer, a blind minstrel who sings about the fall of Troy. Until the third century B.C., the Greeks insisted that an individual named Homer was responsible for both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, among other various minor works that have been attributed to the author. However, grammarians eventually began to wonder if the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were written by two different people.

In direct opposition to the idea of a single author, critics also point out that an anonymous group of bards may have been responsible for the work of Homer. Blind, wandering old bards were referred to as “homros” and may be the creative energy behind a fictional Homer. Scholars have also identified many inconsistencies or stylistic differences between the Iliad and the Odyssey, supporting the idea that they were the work of two different authors. Regardless of whether Homer’s voice is that of one man or several, the literary greatness of the Iliad and the Odyssey is unchallenged even today.

Jean Racine (1639-1699)

Born on December 22, 1639, in La Ferte- Milon, France, Jean Racine was orphaned as an infant and raised by his paternal grandparents. Racine’s education was dictated by Jansenist doctrine, a sect within the Roman Catholic Church. Aside from his religious indoctrination, Racine also studied Greek and Latin literature. After studying theology in the south of France, Racine returned to Paris, where he befriended Molière. Molière’s troupe performed Racine’s first play, *La thébaïde, ou les frères ennemis* (translated as *The Thebaid*), a 1664 play about the rivalry between Oedipus’s sons. After Molière agreed to put on his second play, *Alexandre le grand*, a year later, the friendship between Racine and Molière ended over creative differences when Racine pulled the play two weeks into its production.

This would be one of a series of conflicts for Racine. Upon seeing *Alexandre le grand*, Corneille harshly criticized Racine for his work, in turn leading to a bitter rivalry between the two dramatists. Racine incited the anger of the Jansenists for denouncing them publicly, making nasty comments which painted the Catholic sect in a most unfavorable light. Finally, the Duchesse de Bouillon was an enemy of Racine’s and intentionally engaged in activities that would upset Racine’s career as a dramatist. In one instance, the Duchesse encouraged another dramatist to write a play to rival Racine’s production. Additionally, she purposely purchased a group of good seats, only to leave them vacant on the opening nights of Racine’s plays.

All of Racine’s enemies took a toll on his career, and ultimately he left the theater and retired to family life. He then shared a job as royal historiographer, a high-profile post requiring him to travel with Louis XIV on military campaigns. He again put pen to paper at the request of the king’s wife in 1689, writing the biblical story of Esther and a subsequent biblical drama *Athaliah*. Racine produced a few additional works before his death on April 21, 1699.

Racine’s style is representative of several classical (and, by extension, neoclassical) ideals, namely those of simplicity, realism, and polish. Racine is also noted for the ease with which he conformed to the unities of action, time, and place, especially with plays larger in scope. It was common for the playwright to skillfully compress several years of story line into the course of two to three hours in an effort to preserve the convention. It has also been pointed out that Racine followed Aristotle’s view that a cast of characters was inherently more important than any one figure within a drama.

Vergil (70-19 B.C.)

The accomplishments of Vergil as a gifted poet were an inspiration for Roman writers. Vergil drew on classical Greek conventions to compose his works while at the same time asserting his own unique sense of style. Critics also cite the strong influence his themes have had on Western literature, a vast canon from which countless authors can be named.

Publius Vergilius Maro was born on October 15, 70 B.C., at Andes in northern Italy. He was fairly well educated, which suggests his family was at least from the middle class, and was prepared for a career in law. However, he abandoned law practice after making one appearance in court. He retired to Naples, where he spent most of his life, to study philosophy. In 41 B.C., Vergil was forced to appeal to Octavian Caesar, who later became Augustus, to return his parents’ land because it had been confiscated for distribution to war veterans. It was through the intercession of his friends that the land was returned. When Vergil wrote his *Eclogue*, they were partially an expression of his gratitude to his friends and to Octavian.

The *Eclogues*, written sometime between 42 and 37 B.C., were a series of pastoral poems, or poems composed on rural themes and involving shepherd characters. In the case of the ten poems comprising the *Eclogues*, unhappy shepherds unlucky in love featured in idealized settings (such setting being another convention of the pastoral form). The popularity of the works led to the publication of Vergil’s *Georgics* (42-37 B.C.), a treatise on farming.

The final work Vergil undertook before his death was his grandest. The *Aeneid* was commissioned by the emperor, Augustus, as a way to promote his status as Roman Emperor. The epic glorifies the leader’s ancestor Aeneas and prophesies of Rome’s Golden Age. Vergil was paid handsomely for his tribute, which he worked on for roughly ten years until he died in 19 B.C. Curiously that same year, Vergil ordered his literary executor to burn the *Aeneid* in the event of his death upon a trip, planned to last three years, to Greece and Asia, during which he hoped to complete and polish the work. Augustus denied this request and instead had it edited and published, though nothing was added to it. The publication of the *Aeneid* ensured Vergil’s fame as a poet and classicist.

Representative Works

Aeneid

The Aeneid has not only greatly influenced every resurgence of Classicism but has likely changed the course of all of western literature. Its effect on modern writings is so profound that its extent and nature is likely unknowable. The Aeneid recalls the travels of Aeneas, the Trojan Prince, after the fall of his city as a direct result of the Trojan War. Aeneas's journey takes him to Italy at the end of the fifth book. In book, six it is prophesied by Aeneas's dead father that his descendants will be responsible for Rome's future greatness as an empire.

The Aeneid has been called a work that is inherently Roman because of its sense of Augustan patriotism and imperialism. Structurally, Vergil also created his epic in the true mode of a classicist. His epic, apart from its Augustan flavor, is the product of Homeric epic poetry and other ancient practices and beliefs. The work also engages in a celebration of the Golden Age and a tribute to many important political figures of the day.

Vergil's Aeneid is equally recognized for its narrative form. In creating a shifting narrative from the objective to the subjective, Vergil is said to have refined narrative conventions. Scholars see this shifting of perspective as an important development in the work because it fosters a sense of psychological realism while providing for contextual depth and breadth to the work. In other words, it allows readers to have a greater understanding of the events of the work, due to the insights presented by various characters or voices. Vergil also refined the dactylic hexameter, a traditionally Greek meter, in his work.

Andromaque

The play *Andromaque* is Jean Racine's first major work, appearing in Paris in 1667. The play served as direct competition to Pierre Corneille's play *El Cid*. Racine believed that Corneille was intent on ruining Racine's reputation as a dramatist. The work draws on classical characters and themes for its substance: Rome, war, heroes, and fallen empires. The play, much like Racine's other works, would help to shape some of the dramatic literary conventions of the Neoclassical period.

The play takes place shortly after the fall of Troy. It centers on the fate of Andromaque, the widow of Hector, whom Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles (a major figure in the Trojan War), is holding captive. The Greeks send Oreste, the son of Agamemnon (the king who led the expedition against Troy), along with a communication requesting that both Andromaque and her son be returned to them lest Troy should rise once again. The entire plot is complicated by deep love interests.

The world of *Andromaque* is one dominated by passions. The ancients frowned on intense emotion, preferring the dominance of reason over passion, and to that end, the play is didactic, or instructional. An overindulgence in passion can only lead to tragic results for the characters. Pyrrhus is seemingly consumed by the passion he feels for Andromaque, stopping at nothing short of blackmail to win her love. Orestes believes, meanwhile, that his heroic efforts may win over the heart of Hermione, who is already committed to the brooding Pyrrhus. It is passion that leads to the death of Pyrrhus and then to Hermione's suicide. All of the characters in the play, on some level, allow their passions to spiral out of control, and the results are fatal.

Faust

Goethe's classic *Faust* was actually published in two parts. In 1790, Goethe published the incomplete *Faust: Ein Fragment*, which he later revised and published again in 1808 as *Faust: Eine Tragödie*. *Faust: Eine Tragödie* became known as *Faust I* when *Faust II* was published posthumously in 1832. The writing of the work nearly spanned Goethe's lifetime, beginning it in 1773. The parts distinctly document his energetic outlook as a young writer (Part I) and the seasoned views of a more mature mind (Part II).

Goethe's work is modeled after a traditional German tale, warning of the dangers inherent in making a pact with the devil. In the original version, Faustus makes a pact with the devil in order to gain magical powers. He uses them to resurrect Helen of Troy, who lives with him for several years. Faustus is discovered and eventually dragged down into hell, screaming for mercy, by one of God's agents. The moral of this Christian tale is simply that one should not attempt to conspire or make secret agreements with the devil without expecting to lose one's soul.

In Goethe's version, the basic story of *Faust* is the same, with several additions to the original story line. Unlike in the traditional story, Faust's desire for knowledge, the very thing that compels him to make a pact with the devil, ultimately becomes his way to realize redemption. The story of *Faust*, as retold by Goethe, has been called a secular tragedy that meets Aristotelian standards—the purging of fear and pity. Goethe incorporates various other classical elements to inform the text—traditional mythology, mysticism, as well as religious imagery—in order to create a sophisticated allegory of the cultural and political European life of the time.

Iliad

The *Iliad* is known as one of the greatest war epics in the history of Western literature. This masterpiece was even read and discussed by important historical figures such as Alexander the Great, who, as a schoolboy, was said to have memorized all of the passages that refer to his hero, Achilles. Its emphasis on humanistic values, those of honor, truth, compassion, loyalty, and devotion to both family and gods, has earned the work the critical reputation as being a guidebook to moralistic behavior.

The Iliad is the story of Achilles' anger and its effects, as expressed in the poet's invocation to the Muse of Poetry at the epic's opening. In Greek classical works, epic poets often invoke the help of the gods to assist them in their objectives. Structurally, the epic is divided into twenty-four books, accounting for the final months of the Trojan War, which lasted approximately ten years. Throughout the poem, references are made to specific past events that would have been familiar to a Greek audience. The work is the unchallenged model for the Classic epic. It established the genre as one incorporating superhuman heroes whose achievements were accomplished for the benefit of society. Achilles, the work's protagonist, is in fact the product of a union between Thetis, a goddess, and Peleus, a mortal. Homer's poem is written in dactylic hexameter. (A line of dactylic hexameter is seventeen syllables long, which are grouped into five sets of three and an ending set of two with the accents always falling at the beginning of each set.) The Iliad begins at the crucial point of the Trojan conflict, utilizing the classical convention "in medias res" in which a work opens in the thick of the plot, often near the climax, and then later recounts the events leading up to it.

The Iliad, in addition to being the Classic, epic model, is looked to as a valuable record of the late Bronze Age, as it depicts tribal organization, burial customs, class distinctions, and warfare. Though it has some value as a historical document of ancient events, often other sources of information are looked to; however, this does not seem to tarnish its literary merit in the eyes of scholars.

Medea

The tragic play Medea (431 B.C.) was one of Euripides' greatest works. Written in the time of ancient Greece, the piece, in some respects, is less conventional than comparable Greek tragedies of the day, particularly in its female protagonist, Medea.

Essentially the play centers on the passions of Medea, who kills her children in an effort to punish her husband for his infidelities. In addition to being criticized for his choice of a heroine, Euripides was accused of being a misogynist, due in part to his violent portrayals of female characters, an issue still discussed by scholars today. Euripides drew on Greek themes for the composition of his work, i.e., passion versus Socratic ideals, such as the belief that knowledge of what is good leads to virtue. However, his depiction of the triumph of passion over reason in Medea were not as well received as those depicting the inverse.

Euripides did not fly in the face of convention entirely, as noted by some critics. The playwright, though innovative in some ways, still resorted to the traditional unrhymed verse and inflexible meter characteristic of the Greek form. In terms of dialogue, however, the play does again stray from Greek tradition. Euripides had a preference for using common, everyday language in favor of the lofty diction so common to Greek plays, whose dialogue was dictated by noble heroes and heroines. Medea, like other works by Euripides, exposed its playwright as an innovator. His breaks with Greek tradition served to inspire modern dramatists.

HUMANISM

Introduction

Humanism is an educational and cultural philosophy that began in the Renaissance when scholars rediscovered Greek and Roman classical philosophy and has as its guiding principle the essential dignity of man. Humanism was the intellectual movement that informed the Renaissance, although the term itself was not used to describe this discovery of man until the early nineteenth century. Humanist thinking came about as a response to the scholasticism of the universities. The Schoolmen, or scholastics, valued Aristotelian logic, which they used in their complicated method of defending the scriptures through disputation of isolated statements. Humanists accused the scholastics of sophistry and of distorting the truth by arguing philosophical phrases taken out of context. By contrast, humanists researched the historical context and lives of classical writers and focused on the moral and ethical content of the texts. Along with this shift came the concept that "Man is the measure of all things" (Pythagoras), which meant that now Man was the center of the universe in place of God. In turn, the study of man and human acts on Earth led humanists to feel justified in entering into the affairs of the world, rather than leading a life of monastic asceticism, as did the scholastics.

The first humanist, Francesco Petrarch coined the term "learned piety" (*docta pietas*) to indicate that a philosopher may love God and learning, too. The common thread between all Renaissance humanists was a love of Latin language and of classical (Roman and Greek) philosophy. The humanist interest in authenticating classical texts would become the field of textual criticism that still thrives today. Humanism, too, thrives today, although it has been transformed to encompass humanitarian concerns such as providing aid to others who are suffering. Today's secular humanists actively reject religion and turn their attention to charitable works and an ethical, meaningful life on Earth.

Themes

Education

Education is an important facet of Humanism. Not only did the humanists revere learning, but they disseminated their ideas through a radical change in educational methods. Humanism was primarily a movement in opposition to the traditional mode of education, called Scholasticism, of the medieval period. Scholasticism had been a new style of learning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which accepted as a maxim that God existed and that God's Truth was a given that did not need to be proved. The Schoolmen (as the scholastics were called) merely had to refute attacks on the Truth, in a sort of legalistic argumentation style that derived from their understanding of Aristotelian logic. It took the form of splitting hairs (that is, arguing over minute details), according to seventeenth-century philosopher Francis Bacon.

The flaw in scholastic thinking was that it relied too much on statements taken out of context and then disputed. Texts were treated as authorities, and each statement was disputed as either false or true, with no consideration for the context of the statement or the circumstances under which it was written. Instead, individual and unrelated statements were gathered into books of wise sayings. For example, a standard text was called the *Book of Sentences* (1472) by Peter Lombard, in which opinions by various writers were arranged by topic. St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* is another compilation of opinions removed from their original context. Because individuals and their complete theories were not as important as their individual statements, scholastic education had devolved into argumentation over minutiae, seriously considering such questions as how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. Scholars wanting to prove such a point would pick through the available statements in works like the *Book of Sentences* to find those that supported their own ideas. Rhetorical skill was disdained by scholastics as inclined to appeal through emotions, rather than the intellect.

Scholasticism came into being because of the recognition in the medieval period that people must be trained to understand and accept Christian theology. The scholastics believed that humans were lost and could only be redeemed through God's grace, not through their own efforts, and that they should revere God. Therefore, monasteries, schools, and itinerant teachers flourished during the so-called Dark Ages, spreading the word of Christianity using the scholastic method of education. This method consisted of the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, along with the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The goal of these studies was to support the study of theology. Of the few classical philosophers whose ideas supported Scholasticism, Aristotle is primary. Aristotle said that theoretical knowledge could be substantiated by beginning with core principles and deriving further truths from them, as one proceeds in mathematical reasoning. His form of syllogistic reasoning (deductive reasoning from established premises or principles) lies at the heart of Scholasticism.

On the other hand, the humanists, or as they were sometimes derogatorily called, the *Umanista* (little grammar teachers), chose the curriculum of the study of humanities, or the liberal arts. The humanists sought to understand a writer's complete theory. They also looked at ancient writings in their historical contexts, in order to discover the nature of the writer as well as the historical import of his words. Humanists, too, studied grammar and rhetoric but did so in order to identify and master eloquence in Latin expression. In addition, they studied history, poetry, and moral philosophy.

Humanists opposed Scholasticism because of its limited scope, since isolated statements taken out of context could be easily misunderstood and misrepresented. They also objected to the Aristotelian method of deductive logic, that is, inference from a general to a specific statement, on the same grounds, that it could easily be distorted. Humanists preferred Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy over scholastic logical disputation.

Revival of Classical Learning

The humanists of the early Renaissance initiated a revival in appreciation for ancient classical Greek writers. While the scholastics included the thoughts of Aristotle in their learning, the humanists leaned toward those of Plato. However, they transformed his ideas to fit with Christian ideology as well as with some of the ideas in Gnosticism and Judaism. In this, the humanists participated in a long tradition of philosophical thought known as Neoplatonism. In the third century A.D., Plotinus, perhaps the most well-known of synthesizer and proponent of Neoplatonic thought, merged Platonic ideas with the goal of personal salvation that came about through Christianity. In other words, Plotinus took an essentially philosophical idea and merges it with religious ideology. Neoplatonism started with Plato's doctrine of innate knowledge, the concept that the human soul has true knowledge that will be awakened through proper questioning. This idea fit well, according to some humanists, with the idea of personal salvation, a tenet of Christianity. Neoplatonism also adopted Plato's distinction between knowledge and opinion, as elucidated in his *Republic*. In Neoplatonic thought, the only way to find God (or the One) in the physical world is to shun worldly life through ascetic privation in order to contemplate pure ideas and thus rise to oneness with the divine mind. Neoplatonists were inclined toward mysticism, and they approached theology through analogy and metaphor rather than logic. The humanists adopted Neoplatonist thinking because it emphasized human intellect and contemplation and because it seemed to provide a spiritual link between the ancients and Christian theology. They believed that classical philosophers were divinely inspired to write their philosophies to pave the way for Christianity.

Style

Love of Language

As the humanists discovered neglected or lost classical manuscripts and distributed them through printing, they developed a discerning taste for those classical writers who expressed their thoughts in the most elegant forms of Latin. They also discovered errors in transcription as they compared different versions of the same text. Philology, the love or study of language, grew out of the humanist desire to perfect their translations of ancient texts and to write textual commentaries on their newly discovered texts. Writing in Latin themselves, they sought to express themselves in the most elegant forms of this language. Thus, ancient Roman writers such as Cicero and Caesar became models of Latin prose, replacing the medieval Latin of scholastic Latin grammar texts. In many ways, philology lies at the heart of the humanist movement, since it engendered a focus on the historical context in which ancient texts were written as well as on textual criticism. In fact, the early humanists invented the concept of textual criticism. Philology is central to historical study because it is a valid means of authenticating records of historical events and thinking.

Oratory

Rhetoric and oratory—in Latin—were important skills to the humanists. They disapproved of the scholastic style of disputation, which they considered a show of superficial knowledge as opposed to true wisdom or virtue. The scholastic method of disputation involved searching through texts to find statements to use as evidence to support a given opinion, even to the point of taking statements out of context. The scholastic method of teaching Latin and rhetoric was through rote memorization, with corporal punishment for poor performance. Students learned how to imitate the classical Latin writers but often had no idea of the meaning of the words they said. In contrast, the humanists wanted their students to follow Cicero's three duties of the orator: to teach, to please, and to move (appeal to emotions). Humanist oration was not a recitation but a speech that considered the audience as well as the choice of material. In addition, humanists wanted their students to learn the subjects so that they would speak with authority. They followed the adage to teach students to "Grasp the subject, the words will follow." To do so would lead students to acquire real understanding of subjects, and this knowledge would help them make good decisions and become better citizens. This method is consistent with another of Cicero's rules, which proposes that students not try to master "absolute truth" but look to their own virtue instead. Thus the teaching of oratory was linked to character education.

Erasmus wrote several works designed to help students acquire a mastery of Latin. His *Adages* contained thousands of worthy sentiments elegantly phrased in Latin. He also wrote a work called *Formulas for Friendly Conversation* (printed in 1518) to help students converse rather than simply repeat Latin sayings. Ultimately, advanced students of Latin would need to master skills of "oratorical abundance" or *copia*. By this was meant the ability to speak at length on a topic, to layer their speech with numerous pertinent sayings, and to choose adages that fit the occasion. The latter skill is referred to by Shakespeare's Hamlet when he tells the troupe of actors visiting his castle to "suit the action to the word, the word to the action." That Shakespeare echoed the humanist program of oratory is testimony to the extent to which their program of oratory and rhetoric had filtered down to public schools such as the one that Shakespeare attended in his small town of Stratford-upon-Avon in the sixteenth century.

Biography

The humanist interest in biography and autobiography stems from the father of Humanism, the Italian poet and scholar Francesco Petrararch. Petrarch deplored his own age and felt that classical Roman times and people were more virtuous than his. He became obsessed with reading works of ancient Roman writers in the original Latin. He also searched for lost manuscripts so that he could piece together a society that he felt was far superior to fourteenth-century Italian society. When he found collections of personal letters written by his favorite classical writer, Cicero, he pored over them, trying to get to know the man and the culture that produced him. Petrarch even wrote fictional letters to some of his best-loved Roman writers, in which he praised the classical period and talked about his dissatisfaction with his own time. Then Petrarch wrote a set of biographies, which he called *Of Illustrious Men* (*De viris illustribus*) (1338). These twenty-four sketches are a model of classical scholarship and insight into human behavior. His friend Boccaccio wrote a parallel work on the lives of over one hundred women, called *Famous Women* (*De mulieribus claris*) (1362). Little did either of these two scholars and literary geniuses know what impact their obsession with classical Rome and Greece would have on posterity in fostering the genre of biography, which would remain popular for centuries.

Historical Context

The Renaissance

The Renaissance constituted a major shift in focus from God to the human. It started in the middle of the fourteenth century, after the Black Death (plague, 1347-1377) killed almost one-third of the population of Europe. Although the economy suffered, the remaining population earned higher wages and quickly filled in the gaps in the market. A renewed interest in classical literature, language, and philosophy fed the intellectual movement of the Renaissance:

Humanism. Humanism was responsible for raising man to a level of dignity and intellectual importance that actually threatened the viability of the Church. As humanists worked to integrate pagan classical philosophy with Christian, Jewish, and gnostic theology and mysticism, they developed the notion that man can achieve redemption through his faith, independent of the grace of God. This change accompanied a growing awareness of and discomfort about the extensive corruption of the clergy. The practice of selling indulgences began to be questioned by an emerging and somewhat educated middle class that did not share the traditional values of the ruling elite. Knowledge and ideas were more widely available due to the invention of the printing press (1457-1458) and a gradual urbanization of society. The Church still maintained its political, social, and economic power, but the Protestant Reformation was questioning its theology, and a new branch of Christianity was in its formative phase. A Counter Reformation helped to refine Church procedures and reduce corruption, but the schism between competing models of individual salvation led to the formation of Protestant denominations. Although the Church sanctioned persecution of witches and instituted the Spanish Inquisition as a backlash against the Protestant Reformation, Europe was divided along religious lines, and nations such as England went back and forth between Catholicism and Protestantism until leaders were able to stabilize society and appoint a national religion or manage to incorporate a policy of religious toleration. In this hotbed of social and philosophical turbulence, a new mode of critical thinking allowed for significant discoveries in science. New respect for individual achievement, the scientific revolution that allowed open scientific inquiry, and an established wealth led to the revolutionary discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton and set the stage for innovations in art such as the application of the golden mean in architecture, the portrayal of visual perspective in drawing and painting, and the realistic modeling of musculature in human sculpture. Niccolo Machiavelli explored human psychology to develop a theory about the role of power in politics that became the basis for modern political realism. In drama, playwrights such as Shakespeare portrayed intimate psychological studies of the human mind as it undergoes a crisis. In these and other ways, the Renaissance surpassed the achievements of classical Greece and Rome that it had rediscovered.

Italian City-States

The birth of Humanism occurred in the Italian “city-states” during the fourteenth century, when Francesco Petrarch decided to devote himself to the study of Latin (and later, Greek) and to search for ancient lost manuscripts of classical Rome and Greece. The Italian city-states were a perfect breeding ground for a new ideology because they were not as committed to Scholasticism as were the urban areas of the rest of Europe. Whereas universities in other parts of Europe taught theology, the universities in the Italian city-states taught law and medicine. In the rest of Europe, society depended upon the clergy at the universities to educate the sons of the elite in established Christian behavior, morality, and doctrine so that they would be able to compete for positions at court. However, the Italian city-states were either self-governing (Florence and Venice) or run by a patriarchal family, like the Medicis, and so needed only to teach young men how to use language and writing to conduct business and city matters. Italy was a locus of trade, which required that merchants be conversant in law and the cultures of the many merchants from other kingdoms who traveled there to trade. In Florence, no university existed until an institution was chartered in 1321. Instead, young men of elite families were trained to their trade in schools that contracted annually with a teacher to present a prearranged curriculum. This fluidity made it easier for the city-states to shift to the new humanist way of thinking, since there was not a philosophically or theologically oriented university faculty devoted to the promotion of a particular philosophy or doctrine. The practicality of a merchant trade culture demanded that students acquire an ethical foundation that would make them good businessmen. Furthermore, the city-state schools taught their students skill in politics and rhetoric, so that they could serve in the republican form of government and also make good heads of their family households.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 brought an influx of expatriate Greek scholars to Italy. These scholars found work teaching the young elite of the wealthy merchants in the city-states, spawning interest in the study of Greek language and literature, so that studies of ancient Greek literature in the original language contributed to humanist thought.

The Reformation

The Reformation was a reaction to the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church, which was raising money by selling “indulgences,” pieces of paper promising that the purchaser would have all of his earthly sins excused in heaven. The Reformation was a theological movement, led by Martin Luther, who in 1517 attached ninety-five theses, criticisms against the Church, to the door of Castle Church in Wittenberg. He was promptly excommunicated. However, his ideal of religious revelation through personal experience of the Bible and God through faith rather than through religious works was an idea that took hold among the growing middle class. Although scholarly humanists eventually withdrew their support from what they could see was an attack on the Church itself and not just on its corruptions, the reformist movement succeeded in creating an alternate branch of Christianity known as Protestantism. The Reformation became a political conflict as nations began to emerge from the fiefdoms of the medieval period and the leaders of these nations, such as King Henry VIII of England, saw in the Reformation potential for making inroads into the formidable power of the Church. The Church’s power to generate revenue exceeded that of the crown through money gained from services related to birth, first communion, marriage, and death. The Church also wielded authority equal to and greater than that of the crown, with its threat of excommunication, which was believed to

guarantee condemnation to hell after death. The Reformation was questioning the validity of that power, in light of extensive corruption among the clergy and even within the Vatican itself. Henry VIII took advantage of the weakening of Church authority and in 1538 dissolved many of the wealthy monasteries, taking their treasuries into his own coffers. He further weakened Papal authority in England when, through his Act of Supremacy (1534), he assumed authority over the Church in England.

Printing

Johannes Gutenberg, German inventor of the printing press using movable type, produced a 1,282-page Latin Bible between 1453-1455. By 1465, two German printers had set up shop in Italy, where they produced a Latin grammar and a work of Cicero, in addition to the more popular fare of devotional books and the lives of the saints. By the middle of the fifteenth century, lost classical texts were being rediscovered by Petrarch and his disciples and Boccaccio and Salutati, among others. With the rapid proliferation of printing presses in major cities, the opportunity for a profitable business arose, and the cost of books dropped so that each student in a school could own his own Latin grammar and one or two important books instead of having to copy texts as the teacher recited them aloud. In addition, the professionalization of printing resulted in a greater reliability of the texts; not only were the texts amended by diligent humanist scholars being published, but large printing jobs reduced the number of text variants. The impact of printing on Renaissance culture was significant. New ideas spread more quickly to a populace whose literacy was increasing exponentially as schools multiplied and, due to the availability of new books, were increasingly effective.

Movement Variations

The Enlightenment Period

Some historians say that the humanist movement that began in the Renaissance did not fully flower until the Enlightenment period of the eighteenth century, also called the Age of Reason. During this period, human faith in science and rational thinking spread beyond the intellectual elite, who included most of those who espoused Humanism during the Renaissance. With a larger literate population and a booming middle class that could afford their books, the intellectual thinkers and philosophers of the eighteenth century influenced their societies with their ideas that human reason was supreme and that religion based on superstition and meaningless ritual should not dictate human behavior. Some Enlightenment thinkers were actually atheists; however, many simply eschewed formal religion in favor of the concept of a supreme being whom man could not prove definitively. A group of French thinkers known as the philosophes, including Denis Diderot (1713-1784), Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and Voltaire (1694-1778), among others, prepared an *Encyclopédie* (1751-1780) to contain all human knowledge, rationally arranged. Religion was notably missing and in fact was treated as superstition. In another of his essays, Voltaire made the scandalous proposition that religious differences should be tolerated: since God could not deny heaven to classical thinkers such as Socrates, Plato, and Solon, how could he deny it to men of other contemporary religions? Many of the contributors to the encyclopedia were imprisoned for their heretical views. Nevertheless, the massive *Encyclopédie* stood as a testimony to the doctrine of man's essential supremacy. The Enlightenment thinkers and philosophers were also fascinated by how humans acquire knowledge and, with religion losing its authority as a moral standard, morality. Many of them wrote treatises on the human mind, including David Hume (1711-1776), who considered human feeling as the source of ethical behavior. Hume also claimed that since God existed only as an idea in the mind, he did not exist. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) proposed that humans make ethical decisions based upon the pleasure principle: that in seeking to avoid pain, each human's ethical decision would contribute to the common good. In Germany, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) proposed that all moral actions be measured against a kind of golden rule that said that an action was moral if it could be applied categorically to all, which was another form of locating morality in the human mind rather than in divine revelation. In America, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) accused religion of inspiring the worst moral behavior, saying that "The most detestable wickedness, the most horrid cruelties, and the greatest miseries that have afflicted the human race, have had their origin in this thing called revelation, or revealed religion."

The role of the Enlightenment period, in regard to Humanism, consists in taking the humanist faith in humanity step further—toward questioning and even rejecting organized religion. It was a period of the triumph of intellectual reasoning over religious belief, and it grounded the idea of virtue on Earth for the sake of pleasure on Earth. In this thinking lay the seeds of the humanist work of the next century, that of social consciousness and reform.

Modern Secular Humanism

The social reformist thinking of the nineteenth century was an outgrowth of Renaissance and then Enlightenment Humanism. Belief in the Great Chain of Being with humankind firmly at the top both legitimized imperialism through the idea of "civilizing" undeveloped nations abroad and contributed to the sense of social responsibility that developed into better living and employment conditions at home, where working-class people led "lives of quiet desperation" (Thoreau, 1854). Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899) wrote "A Humanist Credo," in which he defined this responsibility:

We are satisfied that there can be but little liberty on earth while men worship a tyrant in heaven. We do not expect to accomplish everything in our day; but we want to do what good we can, and to render all the service possible in the holy cause of human progress. We know that doing away with gods and supernatural persons and powers is not an end. It is a means to an end—the real end being the happiness of man.

After the fall of imperialism, humanist ideology evolved from a program that focused on social reform to one that embraced humanitarianism in general, and this form of Humanism dominated the twentieth century. According to humanist Corliss Lamont, Humanism is “A philosophy of joyous service for the greater good of all humanity in this natural world and advocating the methods of reason, science, and democracy.” Several manifestos have been written and signed by leading scholars, scientists, and writers indicating their support of a form of Humanism that eschews organized religion and embraces human responsibility for realizing human potential. This includes such ideas as opposing nuclear war, promoting pro-choice on the abortion question, promoting organ donation after death, and accepting euthanasia under certain circumstances. With such a wide range of issues to support, Humanism of the twentieth century, also called Ethical Humanism, does not advocate any particular combination of them but rather subscribes to the notion of situational ethics, of making moral decisions on a case-by-case basis following the underlying humanist principles of respect for human dignity, faith in science and technology, freedom, and respect for nature. These principles have no regard for religious mythology but instead focus on human life on Earth. Paul Kurtz explains in his *Humanist Manifesto I and II* that “Ethics is autonomous and situational, needing no theological or ideological sanction. Ethics stem from human interest and need . . . we strive for the good life here and now.” Secular humanists are those who are religiously devoted to the principles of Humanism. They are to be distinguished from religious humanists, such as the Quakers, who do not use this term but who are devoted to humanitarian concerns as an integral part of their religion and who eschew rituals, costumes, and dogma in their faith. There have been many notable people who claimed Humanism or Secular Humanism as their personal doctrine. These include the atheist American lawyer Clarence Darrow (1857-1938); the German-born American psychoanalyst Eric Fromm (1900-1980); British biologist and grandson of Aldous Huxley, Julian Sorrell Huxley (1887-1975); pacifist and leading English philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872-1970); scientist and Science Fiction writer Isaac Asimov (1920-1992); French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980); scientist Carl Sagan (1934-1996), German-born scientist Albert Schweitzer (1875- 1965); Spanish-born philosopher George Santayana (1863-1952); Chinese-born writer Lin Yutang (1895-1976); philosopher Corliss Lamont (1902- 1995); among many others. The challenges faced by humanists of the twenty-first century, who include philosopher Paul Kurtz, feminist historian Riane Eisler, social journalist Barbara Ehrenreich, feminist Betty Friedan, feminist writer Alice Walker, science fiction writer Kurt Vonnegut, United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan, just to name a very few, will involve dealing with globalization and ecological concerns.

Representative Authors

Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529)

Baldassare Castiglione was born on December 6, 1478, at Casatico near Mantua, Italy. An Italian diplomat, knight, and courtier, Castiglione served in the court of Urbino for a good part of his life, observing and taking part in its elegance. He recorded a fictional dialogue to represent the best of court life in his *Book of the Courtier* (1528). This book was highly influential, setting the standard for the behavior of the elite, which was to comport oneself with a casual nonchalance, giving the impression that one's learning and grace are natural talents, effortlessly expressed. He explains, “Therefore that may be said to be a very art that appeereth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put more diligence in any thing then in covering it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man litle set by” (as translated by Sir Thomas Hoby, 1561).

Castiglione died at the height of his fortune on February 7, 1529.

Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536)

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam was born in October of 1466 or 1467, an illegitimate child whose parents died of the plague. He was put into a monastery, where he was ordained for priesthood. However, Erasmus became a scholar and one of the first humanists and did not join the priesthood. He initially supported the Reformation but abandoned the movement when it led to religious conflict. Influenced by Valla's *Book of Elegances*, a Latin grammar, Erasmus studied Latin classics of the pagan authors of ancient Greece and Rome. He also became interested in education, partly in reaction to his own brutal treatment at the hands of his early schoolteachers, and he wrote a collection of sayings, *Adages*, for use as a Latin textbook. Erasmus proposed that schools follow the education precepts of classical Roman Quintilian (c. 35-c. 99), to train orators by focusing first on their personal integrity, then on their persuasive skills. To this end, Erasmus suggested that students practice extemporaneous writing to encourage candidness, thus departing from the traditional school model in which the schoolmaster read from a single text while students copied the *lectura* (reading) word for word. With his great faith in the power of words, Erasmus considered religious feeling to stem from a direct reading of the scriptures, which he felt had a nearly magical ability to influence people to follow the example of Christ. Like Luther, whom he at first admired, Erasmus felt that the key to religious feeling was the change of heart that could occur when a person reads the scriptures, not from unthinking obedience to the

rituals of a corrupt church. Erasmus was a humanist in his faith that humans can achieve piety through their own endeavors, as well as in his passion for Latin rhetoric. He combined humanist scholarship with reformist ideology. Erasmus died July 12, 1536, in Basel, Switzerland.

Sir Thomas More (c. 1478-1535)

Sir Thomas More was born around February 7, 1478, in England. He authored the satire *Utopia*, an imaginary state loosely based on ideas from Plato's *Republic*, among other classical sources. This work was written in the beginning of More's life, before he became Lord Chancellor and then became embroiled in the king's "great matter," wherein King Henry VIII granted himself sovereignty over the Church of England so that he could command that the Church condone his divorce of Catherine of Aragon, allowing him to marry Anne Boleyn and try to beget an heir with her. More foresaw that this crisis in English history would inevitably lead to a schism between church and state and so refused to provide the public support that Henry wanted. Henry charged More with treason and ultimately had him beheaded.

More was a strong proponent of humanist ideas, having befriended Erasmus on one of the latter's visits to England. More used his significant skills in Latin oratory to defend the study of classical Greek and other secular literature against Scholasticism. He felt that studying the ancient classics better promoted knowledge and virtue than did the traditional fare of Scholasticism, with its emphasis on disputation of minor points of theology. Nevertheless, More remained very much a medieval thinker and scholar, steeped in scholastic learning, despite his liberal acceptance of the new humanist ideas. Even though, as befits a humanist, More eschewed monastic study and happily entered the world of politics, statesmanship, and law, he was a product of the scholastic form of education, since he relied upon the skills he learned in scholastic disputation. Convicted of treason on false evidence, More was beheaded on July 6, 1535. He was widely admired for his sincere religious piety, especially after his martyrdom.

Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374)

Francesco Petrarch was born July 20, 1304, in Arezzo, Italy. Known as the "Father of Humanism," Petrarch promoted the study of works by Cicero (106-43 B.C.) and Virgil (70-19 B.C.) as models of Latin eloquence. He actively sought new manuscripts of their work, along with those by other classical Roman writers such as Quintilian and Seneca, and his travels across Europe uncovered a number of hitherto lost works by Cicero and others. Petrarch valued Cicero for his ideas about morality, oration, and the purpose of education as a means to train good citizens. It was Petrarch who identified the decline of the Roman Empire as a historical event, and he defined the period of history after its fall as a "dark age," or a "Middle Age" between the golden era of antiquity and the current "rebirth" of antiquity in Petrarch's own time.

By this it was meant that ancient texts were once again valued for their unique contribution to human history. Petrarch is perhaps best known for his sonnets of timeless beauty inspired by a mysterious woman he calls simply "Laura," who did not return his love.

Petrarch died on July 18, 1374, in Arquà, Italy.

Representative Works

Adages

Published in 1500 by Erasmus of Rotterdam, the *Adages* (*Adagia*) initially comprised more than three thousand proverbs from Greek and Roman antiquity. Erasmus added to the collection in the 1508 and 1515 editions. This befits the spirit of the *Adages*, for in it Erasmus speaks of the importance of the richness (*copia*) of using the right number of adages in speaking. The introduction gives specific advice on how to polish these gems and use them to enhance speech. He says, "And so to interweave adages deftly and appropriately is to make the language as a whole glitter with sparkles from Antiquity, please us with the art of rhetoric, gleam with jewel-like words of wisdom, and charm us with titbits of wit and humour." The book became one of the most influential of the Renaissance period, since it both preserved the wisdom of the ancients and served as a how to book on oration.

Book of the Courtier

Published in 1528 by Italian knight, diplomat, and courtier Baldassare Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier* (*Il Cortegiano*) describes the perfect gentleman and lady. It consists of a dialogue among typical courtiers, discussing how to comport oneself with grace. A group of courtiers led by the Duchess of Urbina describes the perfect gentleman and his talents, which range from hunting, swimming, leaping, running, playing tennis, and playing music to avoiding envy. The perfect gentlewoman is also described. For both, looks are important, but the end result of one's toilet should give no hint of effort, such as excessive plucking of hairs or too much makeup. Grace consists of "a certain recklessness," or *sprezzatura*, which involves doing things gracefully without seeming to "mind it." It means that one avoids seeming curious or angry. Talent in speaking and writing is also paramount, and the group goes into a lengthy discussion about the use of oratorical figures of speech and the need to shun antiquated sayings. The final chapter describes courtly love. Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* was soon translated into other languages for use in courts across Europe and Japan.

Familiar Letters

Francesco Petrarch, over a period of many years, wrote a series of letters addressed to writers from classical Greek and Roman antiquity, such as Cicero, admiring his oratorical qualities; Homer or imitators of Homer, including the talented Virgil; and Socrates. He speaks with these figures from the past about his own critics as if he were writing to living men, personal friends. Among the letters, too, is one “To Posterity” in which he describes himself and his life and works in an early version of informal autobiography. Speaking to posterity, he refers to himself in the past tense, as in this example: “I possessed a well-balanced rather than a keen intellect, one prone to all kinds of good and wholesome study, but especially inclined to moral philosophy and the art of poetry.” Other letters were addressed to contemporaries: Giovanni Boccaccio, who was a friend; and Tomasso de Messina, a philosophical enemy and supporter of Scholasticism to whom Petrarch writes of his distaste for Aristotelian logic and preference for the works of Plato.

Utopia

Sir Thomas More wrote *Utopia* while on an extended diplomatic mission to Bruges and published his work in 1516. It is the story of the mythical island called No Place (*Utopia*), where the people get along through their virtue, reason, and charity. The vices of greed and jealousy have been engineered out of the society by ordaining that everyone wear the same clothes and that houses be exchanged every ten years. More based his allegory of England on Plato’s *Republic*, among other classical (and biblical) sources. More’s *Utopia* is a celebration of the potential for human virtue and pleasure on Earth and thus a seminal work of humanist literature.

COLONIALISM

The boundaries of Colonialism, like those of many literary eras, are difficult to draw. The history of Colonialism as a policy or practice goes back for centuries, and arguably the story of Colonialism is not over yet. Thus literature of several ages reflects concerns about Colonialism in depictions of encounters with native peoples and foreign landscapes and in vague allusions to distant plantations. As colonial activity gained momentum in the late nineteenth century, so the reflection of that activity—as a celebration of European might or as fears of what lay in the wilderness—grew in intensity. Thus rough boundaries for the literary movement of Colonialism would begin in 1875, when historians date the start of a “New Imperialism,” through the waning empires of World War I and up to the beginning of World War II, around 1939, although the years after World War I reflect primarily nostalgia for an era that was rapidly coming to a close. Colonialism is primarily a feature of British literature, given that the British dominated the imperial age; even colonial writers of other nationalities often wrote in English or from an English setting. The literature of Colonialism is characterized by a strong sense of ambiguity: uncertainty about the morality of imperialism, about the nature of humanity, and about the continuing viability of European civilization. Perhaps the essential colonial critique is Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, though such works as Olive Schreiner’s *Story of an African Farm* and E. M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* similarly explore the paradoxes of Colonialism. Colonial literature is also full of high adventure, romance, and excitement, as depicted in Rudyard Kipling’s spy thriller *Kim* or the adventure tales of H. Rider Haggard. Isak Dinesen’s memoirs, including *Out of Africa*, similarly romanticize the wildness of the colonial landscape and the heroism of adventurous colonizers.

Themes

Imperialism and Empire

Attention to the aims and ends of imperialism is a repeating theme of colonialist literature. As a political term, imperialism refers to the policy of an outside power acquiring colonies—whether settled or not—for its own political and economic advantage. Though Europeans had participated in imperialist activity for centuries, in the late nineteenth century imperial powers, including England, France, Belgium, and Germany, began competing fiercely to increase their colonies, resulting in a high level of aggressiveness and a greater degree of intrusion into previously independent areas.

In addition to economic motives, imperialism was fueled by a widely held, self-justifying belief that the “superior” white race of Europe should bring civilization to the “less developed” peoples of color living on other continents. Colonialist literature both affirms and critiques this belief, often at the same time, in keeping with the ambivalence of even the most sympathetic Europeans. Dinesen’s *Out of Africa*, for example, has been praised for its positive portrayal of Africans even as it has been condemned as the work of a racist. Such conflicting readings can exist because the book, like many other works of Colonialism, contains both ideas.

National Identity

Colonial practices redefined national boundaries. As the British Empire grew, it came to draw its boundaries over a larger and larger portion of the globe, and at its greatest it controlled one-fourth of the globe. While this control was a source of English pride, it was also a threat to British national identity: if Indians, Africans, and inhabitants of the West and East Indies were British subjects, were they also British? And if not, what constituted British national

identity? Colonial authors sometimes depict British colonists clinging to British mores, as in Mansfield's short fiction or Forster's *A Passage to India*. Others, like Kipling, appear more confident, using exotic portrayals of "primitives" and their customs to suggest an inherent, unbridgeable difference between the colonizers and the colonized. Some authors also explored the possibility of "going native," which was sometimes considered an abasement, sometimes a mark of increased nobility. This theme is hinted at in *Kim*, *Lord Jim*, and *Heart of Darkness*, among other works.

Gender and Sexuality

Ideas of the masculine and feminine underlie much of colonialist literature. The very act of colonization is often seen and described as a form of penetration, and such disparate works as *Heart of Darkness* and *She* portray the white male journeys into a feminized dark landscape. Depicting the colonizer as masculine and the colonized as feminine creates an essential difference between the two and implies the latter needs to be mastered and possessed. Yet for white women authors, Colonialism offered a kind of freedom unavailable to women remaining behind in developed countries, especially in Victorian Britain. Dinesen frequently commented on the freedom afforded her by living in Africa. Single women could travel unaccompanied as missionaries, and many women took the opportunity to advance the cause of women's education through missionary work. The daughter of missionaries, Schreiner takes on some of these issues in *The Story of an African Farm*. As she decries the treatment of native women, she makes the argument that all women have inherent human rights and deserve the same advantages men enjoy.

Race

No white colonial author has escaped the charge of racism, in large part because of the totalizing nature of the imperialist worldview that maintained white European superiority—whether biological or cultural in nature. Even Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which is widely believed to be highly critical of imperialist policies and practices, cannot envision a worldview outside imperialism, and one of the foundations of imperialism is an abiding belief in racial difference. Kipling provided a straightforward articulation of these beliefs in his poem "The White Man's Burden," which suggests that whites were under a moral obligation to educate, civilize, and Christianize the darker races, or even to care for them as their stronger "protectors." By contrast, Forster's *A Passage to India* depicts Indians as professionals and intellectuals, although the novel closes by suggesting that the differences between Indians and Europeans are too great to be bridged even by the most well-meaning individuals in either culture.

Human Nature

Questions about racial difference and national identity reflect narrower aspects of larger concerns about the nature of humanity. The benevolent paternalism of some literature relies on an optimistic view of human nature: progress is the natural course of human evolution, the wealth of the imperial powers is evidence of their progress along this course, and the "backward" societies of tribal peoples reflect their need for assistance toward higher evolution. Here again is the attitude of "The White Man's Burden." At the peak of the colonial movement, however, this view became suspect.

Conrad's novels perhaps reflect the bleakest view of progress, civilization, and human nature, although Forster's work also expresses grave doubts about civilization's advancement.

Adventure

Although works such as *She* and *Kim* are the most straightforward celebrations of Colonialism as an exotic adventure, the romantic ideal of the wanderer appears in colonial writing of several varieties. In *Out of Africa*, Dinesen writes of her affair with the pilot Denys Finch Hatton, who is depicted as an exciting, independent adventurer who bravely faces danger on safari. *Lord Jim* is a darker tale of adventure, which casts its wanderers as morally ambiguous at best, ruthless thieves and murderers at worst. Mansfield's story "The Woman at the Store" deflates the romantic image of adventure travelers by contrasting the wealth and privilege that allows Europeans to travel by choice with the poverty and hopelessness that entrap those who inhabit the tourist destinations.

Style

Setting

Colonialist literature was consistently set in the colonies. From a European point of view, colonial territory was singular: colonized land and people all fell in the category of "other," even for the Europeans living in the colonies. Politically, geographically, and culturally, however, the colonies were widely different. For example, England's relationship with India began with the spice trade in the sixteenth century, but England did not venture into the African interior until the nineteenth century. India built sophisticated cities that would have been unfamiliar to tribal Africans in rural areas, as would the ports of Cape Town. Thus Conrad's view of Colonialism from the Belgian Congo would necessarily be different from that of Kipling or Forster, not only because of their philosophical differences but because of the different geographical backgrounds from which they drew.

Narration

Though there is not a particular narrative style for colonialist literature, the perspective of the narrator and the mode of narration is an important aspect of style in fiction written during the colonialist movement. To some extent, this feature is relevant to the literary movement of Modernism, which broke up seemingly stable functions of literature such as point of view, narrator, and even plot. Thus the narrators of Conrad's novels are not necessarily reliable sources of information, nor are they the central focus of the novel or a center for interpreting the action of the novel. The fragmented narration of characters such as Marlow highlights the political and ethical morass of European colonization. More broadly, however, the narrative perspective of much colonialist literature gives "subject" status only to white colonizers, as if it were impossible to relate to the colonized as anything but "object." Fundamental to imperialism, this perspective reflects the tacit belief that Europe is central and dominant, and the rest of the world is peripheral and dominated.

Autobiography

The colonial experience brought forth a flood of memoirs and autobiographies of colonists eager to share their experiences and observations with friends and family at home. In particular, this was a way that many women were able to publish respectably, and several women produced memoirs, journals, and collections of correspondence from their travels or missionary work. Many of these were widely and eagerly read at the time, though modern readers mostly value them as historical documents. Out of Africa is a notable exception, though it shares several qualities of travel and missionary writing. With such works, the authority given to the writer's observations and opinions, as part of a "true story," was high; Victorian and Edwardian readers admired missionaries and adventuring colonists and formed their opinions about colonized peoples through these texts. Yet as many readers of her works have remarked, Dinesen portrayed the African landscape and people in terms of her memory and nostalgia as well as her necessarily limited European perspective. In writing a book of literature, she crafts a story out of events that may or may not have a direct relation to each other. Though not autobiographical works, the same could be said of Mansfield's New Zealand stories, drawn as they were from distant childhood memories.

Modernism

Literary historians have sometimes maintained that the rise of Modernism as an aesthetic is directly related to a growing European crisis of confidence in imperialist policy. Doubts about the progress of civilization, the benevolent nature of humanity, and even the existence of truth are conveyed artistically not only in the theme and tone of Modernist literature but in some cases in the disjointed, ambiguous style of the language itself. Both Conrad and Forster belong as much to the history of Modernism as to the history of Colonialism. Yet Colonialism is not simply a thematic subset of Modernism, in part because it is also represented by more traditionalist authors, such as Kipling and Haggard.

Historical Context

Early History

The history of European expansionism goes back at least as far as the fifteenth century. Much European exploration was related to trade, particularly in tea, spice, silk, and other goods not readily available in Europe. The long relationship between England and India is a good example: in competition with its long-standing enemies the Dutch, the English began trading with India in 1600 and soon formed the East India Company (EIC). Throughout the seventeenth century, the EIC strengthened its presence in India by acquiring territory, and by the eighteenth century, with little organized resistance from Indians, who lacked a centralized government, England controlled most of India through the EIC. As the power and territory of the English increased, the rights of Indians decreased; by the close of the eighteenth century, Indians were not allowed in high government positions and the English had cut Indian wages. The resentment of Indians, reaching a peak with the Mutiny of 1857, demonstrated to Queen Victoria the need for the English government to relieve the EIC of its rule in India in order to protect its trade interests there. She named herself "Viceroy of India" in 1859. It was in part a public relations move intended to convey England's concern for India, though official and unofficial acts of racial exclusion increased in scope. The domination of Africa did not begin until the mid to late nineteenth century as it moved southward from the full possession of Egypt in 1882 to the military victory in the South African (Boer) War (1899-1902) and the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Global Conflicts

Though England was the dominant colonial power in the era, several other countries were aggressively seeking to add to their land holdings, sometimes leading to violent conflict among European nations in addition to force used against the native peoples. Spain, France, and Russia had long been colonizers, and the New Imperialism countries, including Germany, Japan, Belgium, Italy, and the United States, also sought colonies to protect their economic and military interests. The increasing number of colonizers and the limited amount of territory sparked a virtual feeding frenzy, particularly among the newer colonizers. Between 1875 and 1914, the rate of colonization was three times that of the rest of the nineteenth century. That period also saw a flurry of conflicts between colonial powers, including the

South African (Boer) War (with the Dutch Afrikaners), the Sino-Japanese War, the Spanish-American War, and the Russo-Japanese War. The race for land in Africa produced a number of confrontations among European forces; France and England nearly went to war for control of territories of the Congo, Ethiopia, and the Sudan. Such conflicts were sometimes resolved through diplomatic means, as competing colonial states bargained for control and defined new boundaries for contested territories. The result, especially in the case of the African continent, was national boundaries drawn with no regard to geography, ethnic groups, or economic relationships. Thus, even after the colonial powers withdrew, the native peoples of Africa were left to struggle with the results of colonial deal-making.

British Imperialism

The era during which Colonialism as a literary movement peaked coincides with a period historians sometimes call the second British Empire, or, more generally, the New Imperialism, from 1875 to 1914. England's defeat of France in the Seven Years' War compelled France to give up most of its foreign colonies and granted England free passage throughout the seas. To some extent, the loss of the American colonies also motivated the pursuit of additional territory and the consolidation of power in existing colonies. In England itself, one of the chief crafters of imperialist policy as the second British Empire opened was Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, who was said to be Victoria's favorite prime minister. Disraeli sought to consolidate Britain's colonial holdings, and he was also skilled in swaying public opinion by emphasizing the glory and stature that global expansion brought to the crown, represented by the figure of Queen Victoria. The death of Victoria in 1901, bringing a sixty-four-year reign to an end, thus shook the imperialist enterprise, and soon so did a worsening economy. As the first decade of the twentieth century continued, England found the need to align with its former colonial rivals France and Russia to face an increasing threat from Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. When Germany invaded Belgium on August 4, 1914, England declared war, thus entering the conflict later to be known as World War I. That conflict permanently transformed international politics, marking the decline of the colonial era and England's dominance in international affairs.

Rebellion and Independence

Native people were not unwilling to defend their territory, though for much of the colonial period the lack of an organized leadership in lands previously inhabited by various tribal groups or loosely knit principalities made successful resistance difficult. In some ways, however, defeats could be as powerful as victories. The defeat of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was partly responsible for the growth of Indian nationalism. The arrest of two nationalist leaders in Amritsar in April of 1919 sparked a series of events that culminated in the British army opening fire, without warning, on a public gathering, killing 379 Indians and wounding 1,200. The Amritsar massacre gave new momentum to the nationalist movement in India and inspired protestor Mohandas Gandhi to a career of nonviolent protests, urging "noncooperation" with British policies that eventually led to the withdrawal of Britain from India in 1947.

Colonial Education and Patronage

The role of literature and language in colonial activity was a matter of government regulation. Colonial education systems and colonial literature bureaus sought to increase literacy and develop written communications as part of their "civilizing" process, but in so doing they created a hierarchy of language, making the written European languages and histories superior to the oral languages and histories of many native cultures. Arts such as literature were patronized, while native arts including weaving and carving were devalued and considered evidence of unevolved cultures. In countries where several native languages were spoken, colonial governments often encouraged the dominance of one language, directly or indirectly suppressing languages or verbal traditions that were connected with indigenous religious practices.

The Science of Imperialism

Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) in an effort to describe his theories of evolution by the principle of natural selection. According to this theory, desirable traits for survival dominate in a species while undesirable traits recede, by a natural course of progress. Darwin's ideas were adapted from biology to sociology by Benjamin Kidd, whose *Social Evolution* (1894) was published in the United States and England to immediate popular acceptance. He followed this work with *The Control of the Tropics* (1898), in which he depicted colonization as a moral obligation of the "Anglo-Saxon" empires of Britain and the United States, in part to save the "lower races" from the crueler practices of other European colonizers and in part to "elevate" them to a higher level of social evolution. Such arguments played an important part in maintaining public support for imperialist policy.

Movement Variations

Missionary Writing

The work of Christianizing the "heathens" of the Third World was an important focus of Colonialism; some historians have suggested that the seemingly "compassionate" purpose of "saving" the darker races put a positive face on the aggression of imperialist policy. Some missionaries, however, felt that the blessings of "Christianity and commerce"

were necessarily linked; the famous missionary and researcher David Livingstone was an advocate of this position. Missionary writing was very popular with readers back home, since it gave moral support to the work of colonizing and provided “true-life” adventure stories and in some instances added substance to discussions about the role of women by depicting the exploitation of native women in non-Christian countries. Some missionaries were also among the earliest ethnographers; they depicted the physical and cultural features of native societies with a semi-scientific tone. This too added weight to the authority of missionaries’ tales, and the writings of missionaries helped shape ideas about biological and social relationships among the races. Particularly after the start of the antislavery movement in Europe, missionaries were inclined to conceive of natives as possessing the potential to evolve into civilized individuals resembling Europeans—which they understood as a natural and desirable progression. Thus, while most missionaries clearly thought of the darker races as “other,” they also argued for their common humanity. Publishing a missionary memoir was also a ready way for women to get into print, and the form was generally thought more respectable than fiction.

Travel Writing

Both men and women wrote travelogues, but as with the literature of missionaries, the greater mobility of women in the late nineteenth century meant an increase in the publication of women’s writing, which made women’s colonialist travel writing a significant genre in its own right. Many women writing during the era of high imperialism reflect the paradox of the times: they are simultaneously writing against the oppressive strictures of Victorianism and reinforcing the oppressive policies of the colonial powers. Yet, as Sara Mills argues in *Discourses of Difference* (1991), “women travel writers were unable to adopt the imperialist voice with the ease with which male writers did.” As a result, Mills claims, “their writing exposes the unsteady foundations on which [imperialism] is based.”

Colonial Themes in Nineteenth-Century Literature

Several works of nineteenth-century literature that might not be classified under Colonialism in a strict definition nonetheless exhibit colonialist concerns. Examples often mentioned by scholars of Colonialism and post-Colonialism include Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* (1814) and Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847). In these novels, the colonial themes recede to the background, though some critics suggest that the marginal nature of the colonial elements is itself indicative of the ethos of imperialism, concealing the extent to which the exploitation of other peoples supports the privilege of the English gentry. In *Mansfield Park*, for example, the Bertram family acquires its wealth in part through its plantations in Antigua and the work of its slaves, though most of the Bertrams never set foot in the colony. Many readers have seen in the character of Sir Thomas Bertram Austen’s conservative defense of British plantation owners. In *Jane Eyre*, Rochester’s first wife Bertha is a white Creole from the West Indies, a secret locked in his attic after she goes mad. In Brontë’s novel, Bertha’s final act of madness is burning down Rochester’s family home; however, apart from three violent acts perpetrated at night (in only one of which is she observed), Bertha is seen only once in the novel. As in *Mansfield Park*, the silence of the colonial presence in *Jane Eyre* is thought by some to speak louder than words. In fact, the imprisonment of Bertha has inspired several groundbreaking books, including Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar’s central work of feminist criticism, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979, reissued 2000), and Jean Rhys’s postcolonial novel *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), which tells the West Indies story of Bertha and Rochester preceding the action of *Jane Eyre*.

Representative Authors

Joseph Conrad (1857-1924)

Though considered one of the masters of modern English literature, Conrad was ethnically Polish. He was born in the Ukraine as Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski on December 3, 1857, but he correctly presumed that Conrad would be a surname more easily pronounced by readers of the English language, in which he wrote. He lost his father at the age of four to Russian authorities, who arrested him for nationalist activities on behalf of Poland. His mother died when he was eight, leaving him in the care of his uncle. He joined the British navy in 1880 and became a British citizen in 1886. In 1890 he traveled to the Belgian Congo, a difficult trip that provided the background for Conrad’s novella *Heart of Darkness*, first published in serial form in 1899 and 1900. *Heart of Darkness* is a paradigmatic work not only of colonialist literature but also of modernist literature. Conrad wrote several major novels, including *The Nigger of Narcissus* (1897), *Lord Jim* (1900), *Nostromo* (1904), and *Under Western Eyes* (1911). Conrad’s works are widely believed to be highly critical of the colonizers, especially when they are compared to the works of his contemporary Rudyard Kipling, the only other author who is as representative of colonialist literature as Conrad himself. Scholar William York Tindall, in *Forces in Modern British Literature, 1885-1956*, wrote that Conrad was distinct from Kipling in “producing many novels and stories that without being imperialistic are colonial.” The postcolonial African writer Chinua Achebe, however, contended that Conrad was a racist who depicted Africans as “savages.” Conrad turned down an offer of knighthood in 1924; he died of a heart attack that same year, in England.

Isak Dinesen (1885-1962)

Isak Dinesen is the pen name adopted by Karen Blixen, who was born Karen Christentze Dinesen on April 17, 1885. Dinesen was born in Denmark, fifteen miles north of Copenhagen. Her father, Wilhelm, committed suicide when Dinesen was ten. She nonetheless grew up on her family's comfortable estate as a member of the upper classes. She was schooled in painting and design and began writing stories as a young woman, publishing three ghost stories in Denmark before moving to British East Africa in 1914. That year, she married her cousin Baron Bror von Blixen-Finecke of Sweden and moved with him to a coffee farm in Kenya. She was married only seven years before divorcing her husband, who had infected her with syphilis. She kept the coffee farm, preferring the relative freedom of life in Africa. She stayed for ten more years before returning to Denmark in 1931, where she began writing about her life as an early colonist. Her major works about Africa include *Out of Africa* (1937) and *Shadows on the Grass* (1960), which depict in detail her view of Africa and, in particular, the Africans who worked for her on her coffee farm. One of her short stories on a non-colonial theme, "Babette's Feast" (1958), was made into a major motion picture by Gabriel Axel in 1986 and won an Academy Award for Best Foreign Film. Sydney Pollack directed a film version of *Out of Africa* in 1985, with Meryl Streep portraying Dinesen. The film won an Academy Award for Best Picture that year along with six other Academy Awards. Dinesen died of emaciation on September 7, 1962, in Denmark and is remembered by modern readers as either a white colonizer with a patronizing view of Africans or a sympathetic advocate of the colonized. She was twice nominated for a Nobel Prize in literature.

E. M. Forster (1879-1970)

Edward Morgan Forster was born January 1, 1879, to Edward Forster, a painter and architect, and Alice (Lily) Whichelo Forster. His father died when he turned two years old; afterwards, he was cared for by his mother and his paternal great-aunt Marianne Thornton, who focused almost solely on his health and development. He attended several prep schools, then entered Cambridge in 1897. He was already publishing books while at Cambridge, in addition to studying literature. However, his first real success did not come until 1910, with the publication of *Howard's End*, a critique of both class structure and cultural taste in Edwardian England. Forster first visited India for pleasure in 1912 and began writing about it in 1914. He visited again in 1921, when India was much changed by the rise in nationalism following a 1919 attack by the British military on Indian civilians. There he worked as a personal secretary for a maharajah. *A Passage to India* (1924), Forster's last novel, is often thought to be influenced by the Hindu and nationalist views of India. The novel was such a success that Forster feared he could not live up to it, and though he continued writing for many years, he never again wrote a full-length novel. He was a member of the Bloomsbury Group, an informal collective of writers, artists, and intellectuals, all of whom are associated with Modernism, including Virginia Woolf. He was homosexual but not openly so; his novel *Maurice*, which addressed homosexual themes, was not published until after his death. He died January 7, 1970, in Coventry, England.

H. Rider Haggard (1856-1925)

Henry Rider Haggard was born on June 22, 1856, in Bradenham, Norfolk, England, and moved to South Africa at the age of nineteen. He worked in the colonial service for at least five years before returning to London and pursuing a career in law. Inspired by the success of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Haggard began writing adventure novels of his own, eventually penning over thirty. Among the most well known is *King Solomon's Mines* (1886), which was an immediate commercial success. Its popularity may have been enhanced by the multiple anonymous reviews Haggard wrote with his friend Andrew Lang to promote the book. *King Solomon's Mines* began a series of South African adventures featuring the white hunter Allan Quatermain. Perhaps Haggard's best-known novel is *She* (1887), which features the character She-Who-Must-Be-Obedied, a catch phrase still in use. "She" is a beautiful but deadly Arab goddess who presents an obstacle to a white adventurer sometimes considered a prototype of Indiana Jones of the *Raiders of the Lost Ark* films. Haggard was a friend of Rudyard Kipling and shared many of Kipling's views about native peoples. His books depict white heroes as brave adventurers and black men and women as exotic and mysterious. He died May 14, 1925; his autobiography, *The Days of My Life*, was published in 1926.

Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936)

Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay, India, on December 30, 1865. His father was the curator of the Lahore Museum, the setting for the first scene of his novel *Kim* (1901). Kipling lived with his parents, British natives, for five years until he went to England for schooling. He came back to India in 1882 as a journalist and worked seven years in the northern part of India. He left India to travel throughout the British colonies, including South Africa, Rhodesia, Australia, and New Zealand. He married an American, Caroline Balestier, and lived for a short time in the United States.

During those years, he also began publishing short fiction to great success. Soon he returned to England, where he was already well known as a writer. Two of his major works are generally considered children's literature: *The Jungle Book* (1894-1895) and *Kim*. He also published several collections of stories and an autobiography, *Something of Myself* (1934). Much of his earlier work, including *Kim*, was written during very difficult times in Kipling's life; he nearly died from influenza, and he lost his seven-year-old daughter Josephine to the disease. Kipling coined the phrase "the white man's burden" as a description of Colonialism in the 1899 poem of the same

name. The poem echoes the beliefs about race and imperialism that are reflected in most of Kipling's works, which suggest that it is the obligation of white Westerners to bring the "primitives" of other races into the fold of civilization. Kipling died following an intestinal hemorrhage, January 18, 1936, in London, England, and is buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.

Representative Works

Heart of Darkness

Heart of Darkness, by Conrad, is, in the eyes of many scholars, an essential literary expression of Colonialism. In his important work on Colonialism, Culture and Imperialism, Edward Said wrote that Heart of Darkness "beautifully captured" the "imperial attitude" in its depiction of Europeans dominating Africans and African resources and in its sense that there is no alternative to imperialism and thus to Colonialism. The novella was first published in serial form in 1899-1900 and in book form in 1902, as British imperialism was peaking. The book is generally understood as an important critique of the evil done in the name of empire. The empire challenged in Heart of Darkness is not the British Empire specifically; however, set in the Belgian Congo, the story seems to condemn European oppressors, most notably Leopold II of Belgium. Whether doing so was Conrad's intent, this interpretation seems to resonate with the popular British belief that British colonization was benevolent and morally superior to European colonization. The story of Heart of Darkness is told by Marlow, who is sent into "darkest Africa" to find Kurtz, an exceptional agent and head of the inner station who is reported to have abandoned every pretense of morality or civilization. The "heart of darkness" in the title is thus not strictly Africa, as readers might initially expect, but the heart of a white man, who proves capable of incomparable evil. Heart of Darkness is also considered an example of Modernism, with its sometimes unaware narrator, its departure from chronological order, and its questions about the so-called civilized human nature when it remains beyond the constraints of social and civic order.

Kim

Like Heart of Darkness, Kipling's Kim was published at the height of the British Empire, in 1901, though it is a very different kind of story. Kim is often considered children's literature, a spy thriller and coming-of-age story about a young Irish orphan known as "Little Friend to All the World." Kim, or Kimball O'Hara, meets and travels with a Buddhist holy man on his spiritual quest, unaware that the British government is using him to obtain important information. The book thus explores one aspect of Indian spirituality (Indian Buddhism is a relative of one of the dominant Indian religions, Hinduism) as well as the political struggles of the Indian colony.

Kipling was not particularly critical of imperialism, and Kim reflects the belief, widely held particularly prior to World War I, that the colonization of India was a politically sound act for England as well as a moral obligation for a superior race. If Kim reveals a more optimistic view of the aims of empire than Heart of Darkness, it also belongs to a different type of literature. Though both works are representative of Colonialism, Kipling's Kim looks back to the more traditional form of the late-Victorian era, which Modernist writers vigorously rejected.

Lord Jim

Conrad's Lord Jim was published as a serial novel in 1900. Like Heart of Darkness, Lord Jim is largely told from the perspective of the narrator Marlow, who follows the story of a wandering English sailor named Jim, in part to help him, and in part to determine the truth of his life, especially regarding one important event. Jim stands trial for abandoning his ship and leaving the passengers behind to die, an act of moral cowardice he does not deny but also cannot explain. Eventually, he comes to live in the East Indies among the natives in an attempt to redeem himself, but when the native chief's son is murdered by a British looter, Jim feels responsible and accepts a death sentence from the chief, who shoots him in the chest. In Marlow's eyes, Jim's death is a heroic act that serves as his redemption, but the novel itself offers several other possible interpretations, concluding with a moral ambiguity that is a hallmark both of Conrad's work and of Modernist fiction in general. The style of the novel is also modern, characterized by chronological jumps forwards and backwards, shifts in point of view and narrative style, and a lack of closure. Though it is now considered an exemplary modern novel, early readers did not respond favorably to Conrad's innovations.

Out of Africa

Dinesen's memoir Out of Africa was published in English in 1937. British Colonialism was waning when the book was released, but the stories recalled by Dinesen capture a wide swath of colonial history, from 1914 to 1931, and reflect the ambiguous perspective on British colonial practices that is characteristic of much colonialist literature. Dinesen tells of her failed marriage, her difficulty in making her Kenyan coffee farm economically viable, and her relationships with African natives. As it covers the period that marks the decline of the British Empire, which began with World War I in 1914, the book reflects a sense of nostalgia for a lost time and place that infused much late colonial writing. The book was not an immediate success in England; Dinesen's publisher informed her that the book was popular among intellectuals, if not the general public, though he also stated his belief that Out of Africa would "take its place in the permanent great literature of the world," according to Olga A. Pelensky in Isak Dinesen: The

Life and Imagination of a Seducer. Dinesen cited as one of her inspirations Olive Schreiner, a novelist born in South Africa.

A Passage to India

Published in 1925, *A Passage to India* hints at the end of the colonial era in British India and the rise of Indian nationalism. Its author, E. M. Forster, used his experiences in India to depict the tense relationship between the British and Indians, suggesting that even among friends, a truly friendly relationship is difficult to sustain. The title of the novel comes from a Walt Whitman poem of the same name in which Whitman questions the value of the British presence in India but also hopes for unity between East and West. The novel tells a complex story of two English women visiting India in the 1920s, a volatile time after the galvanizing massacre at Amritsar in 1919 that sparked the steady increase of Indian nationalism and inspired the political career of Mohandas Gandhi. One of the women accuses one of her Indian companions of attacking her, fueling the hostility of both local British and Indians, though she later recants. The book is also a story of friendship between an English professor and his Muslim friend, perhaps inspired by Forster's friendship with his Muslim student Syed Ross Masood, to whom he dedicated *A Passage to India*. The book was well received at its publication and was adapted to film in 1984.

The Story of an African Farm

Olive Schreiner's novel *The Story of an African Farm*, first published in 1883, was among the first major novels of the colonialist era. Schreiner was the daughter of missionaries in South Africa, though after her father was found guilty of violating trading regulations she was largely left to fend for herself. She worked as a governess on African farms, educating herself with the works of Charles Darwin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Thomas Carlyle while working on her novel. She went to England in 1881 and worked two years to find a publisher for *The Story of an African Farm*. The novel was a great success, though it was the last one she published in her lifetime; her later writings were works of political nonfiction. In *The Story of an African Farm*, Schreiner states rather modern views about women's roles in colonial society, a theme that was also common to the writings of women missionaries during the colonial era.

"The White Man's Burden"

Kipling first published his poem "The White Man's Burden" in McClure's Magazine in 1899, and throughout that year the poem was republished in several British and U.S. magazines and newspapers. In it, Kipling encourages white people to go out to their colonies and establish civilization there for the benefit of "sullen" natives living in darkness. Kipling repeatedly emphasizes the lack of gratitude white colonizers must accept as part of their burden, claiming that native "sloth and heathen folly" will often counteract European works of civilization and that colonizers can expect to be hated by those they free from the "bondage" of their "loved Egyptian night." The poem was especially influential in the United States, where it appeared as the country was about to enter its own imperialist period by taking control of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and Cuba. Anti-imperialists also latched onto the poem, publishing immediate parodies suggesting the hypocrisy of the notion of a "white man's burden." The phrase became a slogan for those on each side of the imperialist debate.

MODERNISM

Introduction

“Or about December 1910 human nature changed.” The great modernist writer Virginia Woolf wrote this in her essay “Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown” in 1924. “All human relations shifted,” Woolf continued, “and when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature.” This intentionally provocative statement was hyperbolic in its pinpointing of a date, but almost anyone who looks at the evolution of Western culture must note a distinct change in thought, behavior, and cultural production beginning sometime in the late nineteenth century and coming to full fruition sometime around the Second World War. This change, whether art, technology, philosophy or human behavior, is generally called Modernism.

Modernism designates the broad literary and cultural movement that spanned all of the arts and even spilled into politics and philosophy. Like Romanticism, Modernism was highly varied in its manifestations between the arts and even within each art. The dates when Modernism flourished are in dispute, but few scholars identify its genesis as being before 1860 and World War II is generally considered to mark an end of the movement's height. Modernist art initially began in Europe's capitals, primarily London, Milan, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and especially Paris; it spread to the cities of the United States and South America after World War I; by the 1940s, Modernism had thoroughly taken over the American and European academy, where it was challenged by nascent Postmodernism in the 1960s. Modernism's roots are in the rapidly changing technology of the late nineteenth century and in the theories of such late nineteenth-century thinkers as Freud, Marx, Darwin, and Nietzsche. Modernism influenced painting first

(Impressionism and Cubism are forms of Modernism), but in the decade before World War I such writers as Ezra Pound, Filippo Marinetti, James Joyce, and Guillaume Apollinaire translated the advances of the visual arts into literature. Such characteristically modernist techniques as stream-of-consciousness narration and allusiveness, by the late 1930s, spilled into popular writing and became standard.

The movement's concerns were with the accelerating pace of society toward destruction and meaninglessness. In the late 1800s many of society's certainties were undermined. Marx demonstrated that social class was created, not inherent; Freud boiled down human individuality to an animalistic sex drive; Darwin provided evidence that the Bible might not be literally true; and Nietzsche argued that even the most deeply-held ethical principles were simply constructions. Modernist writers attempted to come to terms with where humanity stood after its cornerstones had been pulverized. The movement sifted through the shards of the past looking for what was valuable and what could inspire construction of a new society.

Themes

Technology

In very real terms, the entire world and the way that humans understood that world changed between 1860 (when the modernist period is generally understood to have begun) and 1940. In 1860 the idea of travelling at a mile a minute was but a dream, as was the notion of human beings flying. The photograph was new; moving pictures, much less moving pictures that talked, were only fantasies. Electrical signals being sent through wires was a possible dream, but the idea that voices could be transmitted was fantastic. The idea that voices could be transmitted without wires, through the air, was utterly preposterous.

In 1940 the world was a different place. Machines allowed people to see moving, talking pictures; to travel at more than one hundred miles an hour; to fly through the air; to transmit both voices and images without wires; to talk, in real time, with someone at the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Humans relied on machines to a much greater extent than they ever had. It is hard today to conceive of a world without powered machines, but in 1860 many people in the United States lived their entire lives without ever encountering a powered machine. By the 1940s machines had made it possible to communicate or travel—or destroy—with much greater speed and efficiency than anyone had ever dreamed in 1860.

The modernist writers, almost as a rule, feared the new technology and left it out of their writing. Joyce set his masterpiece *Ulysses* in 1904, before motorcars had become widespread. Eliot and Pound move easily between historical periods but rarely mention the technological advances that had permeated all aspects of urban life by 1920. Rather, they look back to the classical or medieval or Renaissance periods, fearing that dependence upon machines will cloud their minds, make them less able to understand what is truly important about being human. The only modernist writer who really engaged with technology, in fact, is the Italian futurist writer Filippo Marinetti.

Marinetti was a Milanese who came to London to perform spoken-word pieces that celebrated machines. The glory of airplanes, cars, factories, and machine guns was always the subject of Marinetti's verse. Blinded by his fascination with the clean efficiency of machines, Marinetti ended up advocating the horrific violence of World War I and, in the mid-1920s, became an apologist for Mussolini.

Freud

Modernist novelists had no more important influence than the Viennese psychiatrist Sigmund Freud. Although he did not actually invent the discipline, Freud is considered the father of psychoanalysis. His writings propose a three-part model of the psyche consisting of the id (or the primitive drives), the ego (the sense of the self), and the superego (or the moral lessons and codes of behavior we are taught). Freud believed that human behavior and "neuroses" have causes of which people are unaware, causes that stem from childhood experiences or from the thwarting of certain basic urges. Psychoanalysis was predicated on the idea that an analyst could pick out certain ideas and reactions in a patient that would indicate the real problem. Such writers as Woolf and Joyce took this idea and turned it into the basis for fiction. They were reacting against "realist" writers, who sought to simply record the unadorned facts of the world around. This is impossible, the modernists said; the psyche of the narrator will always be affected by unknown forces and thus is never able to capture reality without any kind of bias or alteration. Rather, people should attempt simply to record thoughts, for by this the reader can understand things about the narrator that the narrator himself or herself does not. Joyce's first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, records the thoughts of Stephen Dedalus from the time he is a "nicens little boy" to the time he is a college student. In her short story "The Mark on the Wall," Virginia Woolf captures a moment in time as a woman looks at a mark on the wall. The narration follows her mind as she extrapolates all of the possibilities of what the mark could be and follows all of the subconscious connections her mind makes with seemingly unrelated topics. Modernist writers felt that the "interior monologue" or the stream-of-consciousness technique gave readers access to the character's subconscious.

The "Unreal City"

In "The Waste Land" Eliot describes London as an "Unreal City," a city through which shades of the dead troop over the bridges. Modernism was the first literary movement to take urban life as a given, as a form of experience that was categorically different from any other kind of life. The French symbolist poet Charles Baudelaire was fascinated

by the “flaneur,” the man who strolls the city aimlessly as a way of life. The anonymity of the city, its darkness, its mechanization, its vast power, all inspired the modernists; it attracted and repelled them in equal measure. Modernist writers (most of them, interestingly enough, from suburbs or small cities) gravitated to London and Paris, St. Petersburg and New York, where they found each other, formed movements, drank and fought together, and broke apart. London was the first home of Anglo-American Modernism, but the city’s essentially commercial character eventually sent most of the writers elsewhere. By the 1920s, Paris was the home of one of the greatest concentrations of artists in history. In the 1930s, with war looming in Europe, the artistic energy moved west to New York. But no matter what city, the city was almost always the subject of modernist literature. Although he could not stay there and moved between Paris, Trieste, and Zurich during his “exile,” everything James Joyce ever wrote was about the vibrant urban life of Dublin. The poet Hart Crane composed his epic poem “The Bridge” about the Brooklyn Bridge, the monument of engineering and architectural beauty that made New York City the center of American urban life. Eliot’s melancholy poems point out the loneliness and lack of meaning city-dwellers often feel. The city, where technology and masses of people and anonymity come together, became the master trope of Modernism itself.

Alienation

Alienation is defined as the sensation of being alien, or of not belonging, to one’s own milieu. It can also mean separation from something. If the city is the master trope (or image) of Modernism, alienation is its master theme. Almost all modernist writing deals with alienation in some form.

The primary kind of alienation that Modernism depicts is the alienation of one sensitive person from the world. The stream-of-consciousness technique of narration is particularly well suited for this, because readers can see the inner feelings of a person and witness his or her essential self along with the actions of the world outside.

Stephen Dedalus, Joyce’s protagonist and stand-in, is alienated from his family, his friends, his religion, and his country because of devotion to art and his certainty that nobody can understand and accept him. Woolf’s heroines are doubly alienated from the world because of their status as women; because of their sex, they are not allowed to participate in the world of politics, education, or economics. Eliot’s narrators (most notably Prufrock in “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock”) are confronted by a world that is just broken shards of a discarded whole; everyone else seems to walk through the world calmly but they cannot. And for Ezra Pound, it is the world itself that has been alienated, by the forces of greed, from what should truly be historical heritage.

The Presence of the Past

Surrounded by the debris of all of the smashed certainties of the past, modernist writers looked at the contemporary world as a directionless place, without center or certainty. These past certainties, although oppressive and constructed on specious values, were at least some kind of foundation for the world. The modernist age set out to break apart these certainties; World War I then finished the job and horrified the world by demonstrating what humanity was capable of. Writers in the modernist age often felt that they were at the end of history. Because of this, modernist poems and novels often incorporate and mix together huge swaths of history. Allusion—brief references to people, places, things, or even languages and literatures—was the characteristic modernist technique for including history. Partly because of their profound uneasiness in the modern world, modernist writers alluded constantly to the past.

This is not to say that the modernists were uncritical admirers of the past. In his poem “Hugh Selwyn Mauberley,” Ezra Pound wrote that World War I’s vast slaughter was ultimately for the purpose of defending “an old [b—] gone in the teeth . . . a botched civilization . . . two gross of broken statues . . . [and] a few thousand battered books.” Joyce’s Stephen Dedalus says that “history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake” and the Irishmen who live in past glories are portrayed as buffoons and fools. But both of these writers’ works are filled with allusions to the past. And almost all of the important modernist writers, as well, structure their work around the presence of the past.

Pound, for instance, called his *The Cantos* “a poem including history” and the list of allusions in that poem has over ten thousand entries.

Style

Narration

Modernism sought to accurately portray the world not as it is but as humans actually experience it. Modernist literature, then, relied especially heavily on advances in narrative technique, for narration (a voice speaking) is the essential building block of all literature. Interestingly, the narrative techniques in modernist poetry and modernist fiction illustrate the same ideas about experience, but they do so in very different ways.

Modernist fiction tends to rely on the stream-of-consciousness or “interior monologue” techniques. This kind of narration purports to record the thoughts as they pass through a narrator’s head. The unpredictable connections that people make between ideas demonstrate something about them, as do the things they try to avoid thinking about. In *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom attempts not to dwell on his knowledge that his wife will cheat on him as he wanders the city, so thoughts of his wife, of Blazes Boylan (her lover), or of sex make him veer quickly in another mental direction. Also, a number of small ideas and images recur throughout the book: an advertisement for Plumtree’s Potted Meat, for instance, and the Greek word *metempsychosis*. These ideas crop up without any apparent pattern and get stuck in Bloom’s head, just as a song or a phrase might resonate through people’s minds for

hours and then just disappear. This narrative technique attempts to record how scattered and jumbled the experience of the world really is, and at the same time how deeper patterns in thoughts can be discerned by those (such as readers) with some distance from them. That humans are alienated from true knowledge of themselves is the implicit contention of the stream-of-consciousness form of narration.

Modernist poets such as Ezra Pound or T. S. Eliot, on the other hand, did not delve deeply into the individual consciousness. Rather, they attempted to model the fragmented nature of minds and civilization in their narratives. Eliot's "The Waste Land" has dozens of speakers that succeed each other without warning: the poem opens with the voice of the dead speaking from underground, then shifts quickly to the unattributed voice of Countess Marie Larisch of Bavaria, then shifts just as quickly to a stentorian, priestly voice. The effect is a cacophony of voices, a mass of talking devoid of connection.

In Ezra Pound's *The Cantos* or William Carlos Williams's *Paterson*, this array of voices is taken to its logical conclusion. The poet speaks in many different voices, but historical figures speak, artworks speak, ordinary people speak. In both of these long poems, the poets transcribed letters (Pound used letters of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, while Williams used the letters of his friends and admirers) and included them in the poem. The poet, in this case, is less a writer than a compiler of voices; it is the arrangement of pieces, not the content of each individual piece that is important. The effect is to "decenter" the reader. Readers are no longer sure where the poet (with his or her implicit authority over the text) exists in the poem.

Allusion

An allusion is a brief reference to a person, place, thing, idea, or language that is not actually present. Because of modernist theories about the omnipresence of the past, allusions are difficult to avoid in modernist literature. Joyce, Eliot, and Pound—the three authors generally acknowledged as the leaders of the modernist movement in English—included allusion as perhaps the central formal device in their writing. The past is everywhere in the writing of these three, and indeed this is the case with most of the other modernist writers.

But it is in Joyce, Eliot, and Pound that the allusion is particularly important. Indeed, it is essentially impossible to understand their work without tracking down their more important allusions, and scholars have compiled long volumes explaining each reference in *Ulysses* and *The Cantos*. Some of their allusions are quite clear: for instance, in "Canto IV," Pound includes the lines "Palace in smoky light, / Troy but a heap of smouldering boundary stones." Most readers would be able to identify those lines as a reference to Homer's *Iliad*, which tells the story of the end of the Trojan War. But not all of Pound's allusions are so clear: "Canto VIII" begins "These fragments you have shelved (shored)"; the allusion is to Eliot's famous line "These fragments I have shored against my ruins" at the end of "The Waste Land." Eliot's line is wellknown, but only those who have studied poetry would know it. And many of Pound's allusions, indeed most of them, are frankly inaccessible. Pound spends a number of cantos alluding to Sigismondo Malatesta, an obscure Italian warrior-prince from the Renaissance. Only because Pound made him famous does anyone recognize his name.

Joyce structured *Ulysses* to work on numerous levels. All of the mundane events in Bloom's day correspond to episodes in Homer's epic *Odyssey*, for instance, but the book also works as a retelling of Irish history, of the growth and development of the human fetus, and of the history of the Catholic Church. Eliot's "The Waste Land" can be read simply as a collection of allusions or "fragments" as he calls them in the last section: appearing in the poem are the Greek seer Tiresias, a pair of working-class women in East London, a number of Hindu deities, Dante, and an American ragtime singer. None of these references are explained; they just appear and the reader must make what sense of it he or she can. In the critical reevaluation of Modernism that has been taking place over the last decade, one of the central questions has been whether one must understand all of the allusions in order genuinely to appreciate the work.

Historical Context

World War I

Modernism took place over many decades, and almost no facet of life in the West was not profoundly transformed by the changes that took place between 1860 and 1939. But if Modernism centered around one historical event, it was the unthinkable catastrophe that became known later as World War I. In the years leading up to World War I, the modernist writers thought of themselves as rebels, ruthlessly breaking apart all of the societal certainties of the Victorian age. The American modernists sneered at American middle-class acquisitiveness, while the British modernists chafed at the smug, self-assured conservatism of the Victorian and Edwardian age. Modernist writers broke convention by writing frankly about sex, by insulting religion, and by arguing passionately that the poor were not poor simply because of a moral failing. By breaking these societal taboos, modernist writers found themselves cast in the role of rebels, pariahs, even dangerous men and women. And such writers as Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis began to believe their own hype about being dangerous to society.

The coming of World War I fulfilled the modernist predictions of a coming fragmentation and destruction beyond anything they could have imagined. The war itself came upon an unsuspecting Europe almost in a way that the modernists might have envisioned, for it was society's faith in its own structures that ended up destroying it. Specifically, the complicated network of alliances dividing Europe into two moderately hostile camps (one consisting

largely of democracies such as Great Britain and France, the other consisting of monarchies or dictatorships such as Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but even these categories had exceptions—Czarist Russia fought on the democracies' side) became not a means of stability but the mechanism of Europe's destruction. The war began when the Serbian rebel Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914. Austro-Hungary sought reprisals against Serbia, the Russians came to the Serbian defense, the Germans came to the assistance of the Austro-Hungarians, and Eastern Europe was at war. At the same time, the Germans took this opportunity to try out a plan they had been developing for years. The German strategic command had worked out a way to march across Belgium and northeastern France and take Paris in six weeks, and in 1914 they attempted to do just this. The plan bogged down and soon the English came to the assistance of the French and Belgians. Pushing the Germans back from the very suburbs of Paris, the Allied forces managed to save the French nation but the armies soon found themselves waging trench warfare in the forests and fens of northern France, Alsace, and Belgium. Millions died in futile attempts to move the line forward a few yards. Among these were a number of modernist artists and writers, including the French sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Ezra Pound's friend.

The tone of excitement about violence that characterized earlier modernist writing disappeared after the war, for the writers who exalted in the promise of destruction were utterly numbed by the effects of real destruction. Although the soldierwriters like Rupert Brooke and Siegfried Sassoon have left readers with vivid, horrifying pictures of combat, perhaps the enduring modernist imagery of the war is contained in two poems: Eliot's "The Waste Land" and Pound's "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley." Pound's poem addresses the war directly, saying that "There died a myriad, / And of the best, among them, / For an old [b—] gone in the teeth, / For a botched civilization."

Eliot's poem is more evocative of the psychological effects of the war, for it is a collection of fragments, of pieces of culture and society broken apart and without meaning. The poem is perhaps the best verbal portrait ever created of civilized man confronting the possibility that everything has been destroyed.

Movement Variations

Imagism

Imagism is the best-known of the dozens of small movements in modernist poetry in the years leading up to World War I. Ezra Pound formulated the "rules" of Imagism, which were essentially a rejection of Victorian poetry. Imagist poets were encouraged to "simply present" an image; the poet "does not comment." Excessive adjectives and the voice of the poet were anathema. Finally, Pound urged imagists to use the rhythm of the metronome. From his base in London, Pound published the anthology *Des Imagistes* in 1914.

Other poets in the movement included H. D., William Carlos Williams, Richard Aldington, and Amy Lowell; H. D.'s poem "Oread" embodies the imagist project. Pound soon moved on from Imagism but Lowell, from Boston, continued to publish imagist anthologies for years after the movement had become irrelevant.

Vorticism

After Imagism, Pound moved on to Vorticism. This movement (which consisted primarily of Pound, the writer T. E. Hulme, and the painter/novelist Wyndham Lewis) was published in their magazine *Blast: A Review of the Great English Vortex*. It took the basic tenets of imagism, combined them with the painting style of Cubism, and injected an aggressive anger. At this time Pound had discovered the Chinese written character and had decided that its unique combination of sound, text, and image created a luminous "vortex" of energy. The movement fell apart as World War I began, for its anger and violence seemed very small and ineffective when compared to the real destruction of the war.

The Objectivists

The objectivists were a group of modernist poets who formed relatively late during the modernist period. In a way, they can be considered the descendants of the imagists, but their poems tend to be even starker and flatter. The objectivists drew their inspiration from William Carlos Williams but most of the members of the movement were of the younger (born after 1900) generation. George Oppen, Louis Zukofsky, Charles Reznikoff, and a few others are the best-known poets of the objectivist movement.

The Lost Generation

The Lost Generation was a name given by Gertrude Stein to the group of young Americans who migrated to Paris in the 1920s. Ernest Hemingway is the most famous of these Americans (in fact, it was to him that Stein said, "you are all a lost generation"), but there were dozens. Many of these Americans were artists and writers, but just as many were not and were attracted to Paris because of the strong dollar and the bohemian lifestyle. Hemingway's first novel, *The Sun Also Rises*, is the enduring portrait of this group as they wander from Paris to Spain and back, looking for thrills and occasionally working.

The Lost Generation's members constantly crossed paths with the European artists who were already living there. Pablo Picasso, Ezra Pound, James Joyce, Stein, Constantin Brancusi, and many others had made Paris their home and had made it into one of the great centers of artistic activity. When the "Lost Generation" arrived, many of

the established artists befriended these Americans, took advantage of them, or even worked with them. By the end of the 1920s, though, most of these Americans returned home.

Representative Authors

T. S. Eliot (1888-1965)

Thomas Stearns Eliot was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 26, 1888. He attended Harvard, the Sorbonne and Oxford, studying philosophy and writing a dissertation on the logician F. H. Bradley. While in college, Eliot began writing poetry, but in 1908 he discovered French Symbolist poetry and his whole attitude toward literature changed. Ezra Pound read some of Eliot's poetry in the 1910s and immediately decided that Eliot would be a member of his own literary circle. Pound advocated for Eliot with Harriet Monroe of Poetry magazine and got Eliot's poem "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" published in that journal in 1915. Eliot had settled in London at the same time, and married the emotionally unstable Vivian Haigh-Wood. Eliot struggled to make a living, working as a teacher and later at Lloyd's Bank until 1925.

In 1922 Eliot broke through with his brilliant and successful poem "The Waste Land," although the manuscript of the poem demonstrates that Ezra Pound played a large role in the editing of the poem. "The Waste Land" brought Eliot fame and a place at the center of the burgeoning modernist movement. For the rest of the 1920s and 1930s, Eliot used his fame and his position as editor of a prominent literary journal (The Criterion) and as managing editor of the publishing house Faber & Faber to argue for a new standard of evaluating literature. In critical essays and his own poetry, he denigrated the romantics and neoclassicists and celebrated Dante and the Elizabethan "metaphysical" poets. He argued for the central role of "Tradition" in literature and downplayed the cult of individual genius created by the romantics.

For the remainder of his life, Eliot occupied the role of literary elder statesman. He continued to produce poems such as the Four Quartets but was never prolific. He became the very model of the conservative, royalist, High Church English gentleman. He died January 4, 1965, the very embodiment of the literary establishment.

William Faulkner (1897-1962)

William Faulkner was born in New Albany, Mississippi, on September 25, 1897, to a family with deep Mississippi and Confederate roots. He grew up in Oxford, Mississippi, and briefly attended the University of Mississippi before leaving the state to seek his fortune as a writer. Settling briefly in New Orleans, Faulkner came under the tutelage of Sherwood Anderson and published his first book, The Marble Faun, a collection of short stories, in 1924. In 1929 he published the novel Sartoris, his first work set in the fictional Mississippi county of Yoknapatawpha. Others followed, including his masterpieces The Sound and the Fury and As I Lay Dying. In the 1930s and 1940s, Faulkner received a great deal of critical attention for his works, but he never obtained the kind of financial success that he sought. Attempting to remedy this, he wrote two sensationalistic books (Sanctuary and Requiem for a Nun) and briefly moved to Los Angeles to work as a screenwriter in Hollywood. Faulkner died on July 6, 1962, in Byhalia, Mississippi.

James Joyce (1882-1941)

James Joyce is the most important writer of the modernist movement. He produced relatively few works, but these books ranged from poetry to drama, to short stories to the novel that the Modern Library publishing imprint named the most important novel of the twentieth century. His life, too, became the embodiment of many of Modernism's most central themes: exile, the presence of the past in one's life, familiarity with a broad range of cultures and historical periods, and self-destruction.

Joyce was born in Dublin, Ireland, on February 2, 1882, to a lower middle-class Catholic family. His father died when Joyce was young. Joyce attended Catholic schools in Ireland and matriculated at University College, Dublin. During his youth and college years, he struggled with the rigid structures of Catholic school and Irish nationalism. In 1902 Joyce left Dublin for Paris, but was called back to Ireland when his mother fell ill. He left Dublin again in 1904, bringing with him his companion Nora Barnacle, an uneducated but vivacious young woman (whom he did not marry until 1931). For many years Joyce struggled to make a living and to provide for his growing family. Settling first in Trieste and then in Zurich, he taught literature and enjoyed an occasional monetary grant.

During this time Joyce wrote and published stories, poems, and a novel, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Dubliners, his collection of stories, was published in 1914 and immediately obtained the notice of the Anglo-American avant-garde and the disapproval of the Irish literary establishment. A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1916) was just that, a stream-of-consciousness narrative of Joyce's own life (barely fictionalized as "Stephen Dedalus") up to the point that he left Ireland. In 1922 Joyce published his masterpiece and the single greatest work of Modernism, Ulysses. This retelling of the Odysseus myth through the persona of a Jewish advertising salesman in Dublin is a triumph on every level. The book was immediately banned in England and America for blasphemy and obscenity; it was not until 1934 that it became legal in the United States.

After Ulysses, Joyce began work on another long novel, which was simply called Work in Progress during its composition. Joyce, by now the leading modernist writer, was living in Paris and had the worshipful admiration of the Lost Generation Americans as well as the more established writers of the city. Celebrations of Work in Progress appeared even before any of the work appeared in print. When it finally was published as Finnegans Wake in 1939, it

shocked readers with its incessant wordplay. It is a very difficult novel, barely recognizable as English in many places, but its intricate structure and brilliant use of all of the English language's possibilities ensure that readers will attempt to decipher it for decades to come. After finishing *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce and Nora moved back to Zurich to avoid being caught in the Nazi occupation of Paris. Joyce died in Zurich on January 13, 1941, following surgery for a perforated ulcer.

Ezra Pound (1885-1972)

In many ways, Ezra Pound was the father of literary Modernism. If nothing else, he almost single-handedly brought the techniques of Modernism to American poets, while at the same time bringing the talents of American modernist poets to the notice of the avant-garde establishment. Pound was born in Hailey, Idaho, on October 30, 1885, but soon after his birth his family moved to the suburbs of Philadelphia. He grew up in that area and attended the University of Pennsylvania (where he met William Carlos Williams and another important American modernist poet, Hilda Doolittle) and Hamilton College. After a short stint teaching at a small college in Indiana, Pound grew tired of what he saw to be American small-mindedness and moved to Venice, Italy.

In Venice, Pound resolved to become a poet. He published a book there, but soon relocated to London. In the decade he spent in London, Pound, through the strength of his own will, created movements and forced himself into the center of those movements. Probably the most important of those movements was Imagism, a school of poetry that explicitly rejected Victorian models of verse by simply presenting images without authorial commentary. In 1920 Pound left London for Paris, where he spent a few years before becoming frustrated by the dominance of Gertrude Stein in the avant-garde scene there. In 1925 he moved to Rapallo, Italy, where he developed a strong affinity for Mussolini and Italian fascism. At this time he also began working in earnest on *The Cantos*, the epic poem that would become his life's work. Pound stayed in Italy for more than twenty years. During World War II he spoke on Italian state radio broadcasts aimed at American soldiers; in 1943 he was indicted for treason as a result of these activities and in 1945, returned to the United States to face trial. Found mentally unfit to defend himself, Pound was incarcerated in St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the Criminally Insane in Washington, D.C. for thirteen years. Because of the intercession of such luminaries as T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, and Ernest Hemingway, in 1958 Pound was released from his incarceration and allowed to return to Italy. Settling in Venice, he published a few more books but by the mid-1960s he fell into a silence. He died in Venice, Italy, on November 1, 1972.

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941)

Born January 25, 1882, Woolf met many eminent Victorians during her childhood. In 1904 she moved to the Bloomsbury district of London, a neighborhood that gave its name to Woolf's literary and intellectual circle. She married the journalist Leonard Woolf and in 1917 she and her husband founded the Hogarth Press, an important literary and cultural publishing firm that published the first English-language editions of Freud's work and T. S. Eliot's early collection *Poems* (1919).

Beginning in the late 1910s, Woolf began to write. She quickly internalized the discoveries of Freud and the literary advances of the modernists and produced a number of novels striking in their sophistication: *Jacob's Room* (1922), *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), and *To the Lighthouse* (1927). Her novels brought the "stream-of-consciousness" style a new depth and possibility. In addition to her activity in the literary world, she brought her feminist orientation and bisexual lifestyle to the forefront of her writing. In such works as *Three Guineas* (1938), *A Room of One's Own* (1929), and *Orlando* (1928) she expressed opinions revolutionary for her time. However, her own life was not entirely happy. During the 1930s she grew increasingly fearful that she was suffering from a mental illness and would become a burden on her husband and friends. Spurred on by this fear and by her dread of World War II, she committed suicide by drowning on March 28, 1941.

Representative Works

Call It Sleep

Perhaps the most notable example of Joycean prose in American literature is this novel, written in 1934 by Henry Roth, the son of Jewish immigrants to New York. The novel tells the story of David Schearl, an immigrant boy in New York. Using the stream-of-consciousness technique perfected by Joyce in his *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, readers hear the interior voice of this boy as he grows up poor, watches his parents fight, and struggles with persecution from neighborhood bullies.

The novel gained critical acclaim upon publication but was quickly forgotten until its paperback republication in 1964. By this time Roth had given up writing and moved to New Mexico. In the early 1990s, near the end of his long life, Roth returned to writing, producing four sequels to his masterwork.

The Cantos

If *Ulysses* is the most successful and greatest work of the modernist movement, Ezra Pound's long poem *The Cantos* is perhaps its most characteristic. Its composition and contents mirror the ideas of the modernists. It is composed of fragments, of different voices from different times and places. It attempts to diagnose the ills of the modern world, comes up with an ultimately failed solution, and imagines a better world that existed once and could exist in

fragmentary form again. Pound began writing his “poem including history,” as he called it, in 1917, when he published early versions of three of the cantos in a literary magazine. He began working in earnest on the poem in the 1920s after he moved to Italy, and continued working on it, eventually publishing eight installments, until the late 1960s. The poem is an epic, attempting to tell “the tale of the tribe” (civilized humanity) from ancient times to today.

Structured to mirror and include characters from two of history’s great epics (Homer’s *Odyssey* and Dante’s *Divine Comedy*), the poem was originally planned to include 120 “cantos,” or shorter chapters. There is no plot to speak of, but the poem broadly moves from hell (literally but also in the sense of an utterly fallen civilization) to purgatory, where historical figures such as Confucius, Sigismondo Malatesta, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Mussolini are introduced. Pound wanted to highlight moments in history where a just and aesthetically appreciative society existed or could have existed. The poem veered sharply back to Pound’s own life during the 1940s, when Pound found himself working for the Fascists and ultimately was incarcerated in a mental hospital in the United States. As Pound neared the end of his life and of the poem, he discovered and recorded glimpses of paradise on earth. Public opinion of the work varies dramatically. Many readers can make no sense of the poem; others find that it contains some of the most remarkable passages in English-language poetry. Critics have been similarly divided. Although the poem is solidly in the canon of American literature and is considered one of the central works of modernist literature, many scholars and academics dismiss it as a failed, obscure, and ultimately fascist poem.

A Farewell to Arms

Ernest Hemingway published *A Farewell to Arms* in 1929. He was already famous for his portrait of dissolute youth in Paris, *The Sun Also Rises*, but this novel was a great step forward in terms of sophistication and importance. It tells of Hemingway’s own experiences as an ambulance driver during the last days of World War I; his wounding and convalescence and affair with a nurse. More important, though, was Hemingway’s revolutionary technique. His prose was journalistic, stripped of adjectives and any construction that might call attention to itself. Such narration achieved a numbness that reflected the mental brutalization the war visited upon the hero—and the author.

Hemingway eschews abstract concepts such as glory, duty, and honor because, like his hero’s, his own experience during the war showed him that these were weapons used by people in power to manipulate ordinary people.

After the popular and critical success of this novel, Hemingway became an international celebrity with literary credibility. He continued to write for much of the rest of his life and produced at least two great novels (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *The Old Man and the Sea*) before committing suicide in 1961.

Harmonium

The popularity of the work of poet and insurance lawyer Wallace Stevens has continued to grow even as the work of other modernists has fallen in favor. Stevens’s first book of poetry was *Harmonium*, published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1923. While modernist poetry written by Pound and Eliot was allusive, drenched in the fragments of previous cultures and other languages, and overwhelmed by an almost angry melancholy, Stevens’s work was light and lyrical. In *Harmonium*, Stevens exhibited a verbal dandyism, delighting in the sounds of words and in Elizabethan definitions. He was a direct descendant of Keats and Marvell, whereas other modernists saw Browning, Shakespeare, and Dante as their ancestors.

But Stevens cannot be dismissed as a writer of light verse. His poems exhibit the characteristic modernist fear of nihilism while entertaining the fear that the entire world is simply a projection of his mind. In “The Snow Man,” for instance, Stevens listens to “nothing that is not there and the nothing that is,” and in “Tea at the Palaz of Hoon” the narrator questions whether “I was the world in which I walked.” In his later books, Stevens produced longer, philosophical poems that questioned art’s place in human cognition, and by the 1970s and 1980s, Stevens, not Eliot or Pound, was cited as an influence by hundreds of practicing American poets.

The Sound and the Fury

William Faulkner, a Mississippian, began his career as a writer heavily influenced by the regionalist Sherwood Anderson, with whom he worked in New Orleans (in the 1920s, the home of American Bohemianism). But Faulkner quickly outdid his teacher.

He created an entire fictional world in which almost all of his fiction was set: Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. In this world the past always impinges upon the present, and Faulkner’s fiction is full of narrative devices intended to outflank language’s need to be based in time. His 1929 *The Sound and the Fury* contains Faulkner’s most successful experiments with time.

The novel is the story of the fall of the Compson family that culminates in the suicide of son Quentin. Told by a series of narrators, the stories in the book provide different perspectives on the same events and the reader must compare all of the different versions in order to understand what “really” happened. Most difficult is the narration of Benjy, a retarded boy who has no conception of time. In his narration there is no differentiation between what happened years ago, what happened yesterday, and what is happening now. Faulkner’s experiments did not gain him a large audience in the United States (in search of income, he moved to Hollywood in a failed attempt to be a

screenwriter) but his influence was vast among Latin American writers, especially such “magical realists” as Gabriel García Márquez.

To the Lighthouse

Virginia Woolf perfected the stream-of-consciousness or interior monologue style in her novels of the 1920s. Her 1927 novel *To the Lighthouse* depicts the Ramsay family, who is spending the summer in a vacation house on the Isle of Skye. Assorted guests, including the painter Lily Briscoe (a character many readers feel is a stand-in for Woolf herself), also come and go. The novel moves from a focus solely on the personal level of the family to a wider focus; the impending world war appears as a dark cloud on the horizon. The novel then shifts time to ten years later as the family deals with the death of one of its members.

Woolf’s novel delicately and insightfully pulls apart memory, family relationships, and the effects of death. In a movement such as Modernism, generally so focused on the big picture often to the exclusion of the personal, *To the Lighthouse* stands out as an example of how modernist technique can be applied to the examination of emotion.

Ulysses

James Joyce’s novel *Ulysses*, first published in 1922, is the single greatest work of modernist literature and is considered by many to be the finest novel ever written. Joyce spent ten years writing this book, a meticulously detailed day in the life of three Dubliners. The main characters are Leopold Bloom, a Jewish advertising salesman; Molly Bloom, Leopold’s wife, a singer who is planning to cheat on her husband; and Stephen Dedalus, a dissipated young intellectual. The story parallels Homer’s *Odyssey* but translates that epic journey of ten years to eighteen hours and one city.

Upon its publication—and even before, when fragments were published in magazines—the book was immediately hailed as a work of genius. Joyce’s endless erudition, his command of languages and literature and history, his love and intimate knowledge of one small place at one specific time, are all on display in this book. More than just an intellectual enterprise and a small gem of engineering, though, *Ulysses* is a genuinely moving story of conjugal and parental love. Because of its frank treatment of sex and its, at times, insulting portraits of religion and Irish nationalism, the book was banned in Ireland and America. In the United States, it took twelve years for the book to be allowed in the country; until then, travelers to Paris would have to hide the book in their luggage from customs inspectors (who were warned to look for its characteristic blue-green binding).

“The Waste Land”

T. S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land,” published in 1922, is the single most important modernist poem. Essentially plotless, the poem instead attempts to capture historical development to the present day by use of allusion. Characters such as Tiresias, the Smyrna merchant, and an East London housewife, wander through the poem. London, the “Unreal City” in the fog, becomes the synecdoche for the fallen world as a whole. The poem moves from Elizabethan times to the ancient world to the present and ends, finally, with a small failing voice speaking Sanskrit. Interestingly, in its original version the poem was six times as long and titled “He Do The Police in Different Voices.” When he was still a struggling poet, T. S. Eliot showed the poem to Ezra Pound, asking for his advice. Pound performed what he called a “Caesarean operation” on Eliot’s manuscript, telling him to cut the links between the vignettes so that the poem appeared as a series of fragments. Eliot never called attention to Pound’s central role in creating “The Waste Land” and it was not until the 1960s, when the original manuscript was found, that Pound’s true role became publicly known.

Most critics have seen the poem as expressing a fundamental despair at the sense that, with the loss of all certainties, the world was nothing but “fragments” that are “shored against [our] ruin.” It continues to vex students with its difficulty, but even the most basic reading evokes a sense of desperation and loss.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Although the intellectual movement called “The Enlightenment” is usually associated with the 18th century, its roots in fact go back much further. But before we explore those roots, we need to define the term. This is one of those rare historical movements which in fact named itself. Certain thinkers and writers, primarily in London and Paris, believed that they were more enlightened than their compatriots and set out to enlighten them.

They believed that human reason could be used to combat ignorance, superstition, and tyranny and to build a better world. Their principal targets were religion (embodied in France in the Catholic Church) and the domination of society by a hereditary aristocracy.

Background in Antiquity

To understand why this movement became so influential in the 18th century, it is important to go back in time. We could choose almost any starting point, but let us begin with the recovery of Aristotelian logic by Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century. In his hands the logical procedures so carefully laid out by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle

were used to defend the dogmas of Christianity; and for the next couple of centuries, other thinkers pursued these goals to shore up every aspect of faith with logic. These thinkers were sometimes called “schoolmen” (more formally, “scholastics,”) and Voltaire frequently refers to them as “doctors,” by which he means “doctors of theology.”

Unfortunately for the Catholic Church, the tools of logic could not be confined to the uses it preferred. After all, they had been developed in Athens, in a pagan culture which had turned them on its own traditional beliefs. It was only a matter of time before later Europeans would do the same.

The Renaissance Humanists

In the 14th and 15th century there emerged in Italy and France a group of thinkers known as the “humanists.” The term did not then have the anti-religious associations it has in contemporary political debate. Almost all of them were practicing Catholics. They argued that the proper worship of God involved admiration of his creation, and in particular of that crown of creation: humanity. By celebrating the human race and its capacities they argued they were worshipping God more appropriately than gloomy priests and monks who harped on original sin and continuously called upon people to confess and humble themselves before the Almighty. Indeed, some of them claimed that humans were like God, created not only in his image, but with a share of his creative power. The painter, the architect, the musician, and the scholar, by exercising their intellectual powers, were fulfilling divine purposes.

This celebration of human capacity, though it was mixed in the Renaissance with elements of gloom and superstition (witchcraft trials flourished in this period as they never had during the Middle Ages), was to bestow a powerful legacy on Europeans. The goal of Renaissance humanists was to recapture some of the pride, breadth of spirit, and creativity of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to replicate their successes and go beyond them. Europeans developed the belief that tradition could and should be used to promote change. By cleaning and sharpening the tools of antiquity, they could reshape their own time.

Galileo Galilei, for instance, was to use the same sort of logic the schoolmen had used—reinforced with observation—to argue in 1632 for the Copernican notion that the earth rotates on its axis beneath the unmoving sun. The Church, and most particularly the Holy Inquisition, objected that the Bible clearly stated that the sun moved through the sky and denounced Galileo’s teachings, forcing him to recant (take back) what he had written and preventing him from teaching further. The Church’s triumph was a pyrrhic victory, for though it could silence Galileo, it could not prevent the advance of science (though most of those advances would take place in Protestant northern Europe, out of the reach of the pope and his Inquisition).

But before Galileo’s time, in the 16th century, various humanists had begun to ask dangerous questions. François Rabelais, a French monk and physician influenced by Protestantism, but spurred on by his own rebelliousness, challenged the Church’s authority in his *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, ridiculing many religious doctrines as absurd.

Michel de Montaigne

Michel de Montaigne, in a much more quiet and modest but ultimately more subversive way, asked a single question over and over again in his *Essays*: “What do I know?” By this he meant that we have no right to impose on others dogmas which rest on cultural habit rather than absolute truth. Powerfully influenced by the discovery of thriving non-Christian cultures in places as far off as Brazil, he argued that morals may be to some degree relative. Who are Europeans to insist that Brazilian cannibals who merely consume dead human flesh instead of wasting it are morally inferior to Europeans who persecute and oppress those of whom they disapprove?

This shift toward cultural relativism, though it was based on scant understanding of the newly discovered peoples, was to continue to have a profound effect on European thought to the present day. Indeed, it is one of the hallmarks of the Enlightenment. Just as their predecessors had used the tools of antiquity to gain unprecedented freedom of inquiry, the Enlightenment thinkers used the examples of other cultures to gain the freedom to reshape not only their philosophies, but their societies. It was becoming clear that there was nothing inevitable about the European patterns of thought and living: there were many possible ways of being human, and doubtless new ones could be invented.

The other contribution of Montaigne to the Enlightenment stemmed from another aspect of his famous question: “What do I know?” If we cannot be certain that our values are God-given, then we have no right to impose them by force on others. Inquisitors, popes, and kings alike had no business enforcing adherence to particular religious or philosophical beliefs.

It is one of the great paradoxes of history that radical doubt was necessary for the new sort of certainty called “scientific.” The good scientist is the one who is willing to test all assumptions, to challenge all traditional opinion, to get closer to the truth. If ultimate truth, such as was claimed by religious thinkers, was unattainable by scientists, so much the better. In a sense, the strength of science at its best is that it is always aware of its limits, aware that knowledge is always growing, always subject to change, never absolute. Because knowledge depends on evidence and reason, arbitrary authority can only be its enemy.

The 17th Century

René Descartes, in the 17th century, attempted to use reason as the schoolmen had, to shore up his faith; but much more rigorously than had been attempted before. He tried to begin with a blank slate, with the bare minimum of knowledge: the knowledge of his own existence (“I think, therefore I am”). From there he attempted to reason his way to a complete defense of Christianity, but to do so he committed so many logical faults that his successors over the centuries were to slowly disintegrate his gains, even finally challenging the notion of selfhood with which he had begun. The history of philosophy from his time to the early 20th century is partly the story of more and more ingenious logic proving less and less, until Ludwig Wittgenstein succeeded in undermining the very bases of philosophy itself.

But that is a story for a different course. Here we are concerned with early stages in the process in which it seemed that logic could be a powerful avenue to truth. To be sure, logic alone could be used to defend all sorts of absurd notions; and Enlightenment thinkers insisted on combining it with something they called “reason” which consisted of common sense, observation, and their own unacknowledged prejudices in favor of skepticism and freedom.

We have been focusing closely on a thin trickle of thought which traveled through an era otherwise dominated by dogma and fanaticism. The 17th century was torn by witch-hunts and wars of religion and imperial conquest. Protestants and Catholics denounced each other as followers of Satan, and people could be imprisoned for attending the wrong church, or for not attending any. All publications, whether pamphlets or scholarly volumes, were subject to prior censorship by both church and state, often working hand in hand. Slavery was widely practiced, especially in the colonial plantations of the Western Hemisphere, and its cruelties frequently defended by leading religious figures. The despotism of monarchs exercising far greater powers than any medieval king was supported by the doctrine of the “divine right of kings,” and scripture quoted to show that revolution was detested by God. Speakers of sedition or blasphemy quickly found themselves imprisoned, or even executed. Organizations which tried to challenge the twin authorities of church and state were banned. There had been plenty of intolerance and dogma to go around in the Middle Ages, but the emergence of the modern state made its tyranny much more efficient and powerful.

It was inevitable that sooner or later many Europeans would begin to weary of the repression and warfare carried out in the name of absolute truth. In addition, though Protestants had begun by making powerful critiques of Catholicism, they quickly turned their guns on each other, producing a bewildering array of churches each claiming the exclusive path to salvation. It was natural for people tossed from one demanding faith to another to wonder whether any of the churches deserved the authority they claimed, and to begin to prize the skepticism of Montaigne over the certainty of Luther or Calvin.

Meanwhile, there were other powerful forces at work in Europe: economic ones which were to interact profoundly with these intellectual trends.

The Political and Economic Background

During the late Middle Ages, peasants had begun to move from rural estates to the towns in search of increased freedom and prosperity. As trade and communication improved during the Renaissance, the ordinary town-dweller began to realize that things need not always go on as they had for centuries. New charters could be written, new governments formed, new laws passed, new businesses begun. Although each changed institution quickly tried to stabilize its power by claiming the support of tradition, the pressure for change continued to mount. It was not only contact with alien cultural patterns which influenced Europeans, it was the wealth brought back from Asia and the Americas which catapulted a new class of merchants into prominence, partially displacing the old aristocracy whose power had been rooted in the ownership of land. These merchants had their own ideas about the sort of world they wanted to inhabit, and they became major agents of change, in the arts, in government, and in the economy.

They were naturally convinced that their earnings were the result of their individual merit and hard work, unlike the inherited wealth of traditional aristocrats. Whereas individualism had been chiefly emphasized in the Renaissance by artists, especially visual artists, it now became a core value. The ability of individual effort to transform the world became a European dogma, lasting to this day.

But the chief obstacles to the reshaping of Europe by the merchant class were the same as those faced by the rationalist philosophers: absolutist kings and dogmatic churches. The struggle was complex and many-sided, with each participant absorbing many of the others’ values; but the general trend is clear: individualism, freedom and change replaced community, authority, and tradition as core European values. Religion survived, but weakened and often transformed almost beyond recognition; the monarchy was to dwindle over the course of the hundred years beginning in the mid-18th century to a pale shadow of its former self.

This is the background of the 18th-century Enlightenment. Europeans were changing, but Europe’s institutions were not keeping pace with that change. The Church insisted that it was the only source of truth, that all who lived outside its bounds were damned, while it was apparent to any reasonably sophisticated person that most human beings on earth were not and had never been Christians--yet they had built great and inspiring civilizations. Writers and speakers grew restive at the omnipresent censorship and sought whatever means they could to evade or even denounce it.

Most important, the middle classes--the bourgeoisie--were painfully aware that they were paying taxes to support a fabulously expensive aristocracy which contributed nothing of value to society (beyond, perhaps, its patronage of the arts, which the burghers of Holland had shown could be equally well exercised by themselves), and that those useless aristocrats were unwilling to share power with those who actually managed and--to their way of thinking, created the national wealth. They were to find ready allies in France among the impoverished masses who may have lived and thought much like their ancestors, but who were all too aware that with each passing year they were paying higher and higher taxes to support a few thousand at Versailles in idle dissipation.

The Role of the Aristocrats

Interestingly, it was among those very idle aristocrats that the French Enlightenment philosophers were to find some of their earliest and most enthusiastic followers. Despite the fact that the Church and State were more often than not allied with each other, they were keenly aware of their differences. Even kings could on occasion be attracted by arguments which seemed to undermine the authority of the Church. The fact that the aristocrats were utterly unaware of the precariousness of their position also made them overconfident, interested in dabbling in the new ideas partly simply because they were new and exciting.

Voltaire moved easily in these aristocratic circles, dining at their tables, taking a titled mistress, corresponding with monarchs. He opposed tyranny and dogma, but he had no notion of reinventing that discredited Athenian folly, democracy. He had far too little faith in the ordinary person for that. What he did think was that educated and sophisticated persons could be brought to see through the exercise of their reason that the world could and should be greatly improved.

Rousseau vs. Voltaire

Not all Enlightenment thinkers were like Voltaire in this. His chief adversary was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who distrusted the aristocrats not out of a thirst for change but because he believed they were betraying decent traditional values. He opposed the theater which was Voltaire's lifeblood, shunned the aristocracy which Voltaire courted, and argued for something dangerously like democratic revolution. Whereas Voltaire argued that equality was impossible, Rousseau argued that inequality was not only unnatural, but that--when taken too far--it made decent government impossible. Whereas Voltaire charmed with his wit, Rousseau ponderously insisted on his correctness, even while contradicting himself. Whereas Voltaire insisted on the supremacy of the intellect, Rousseau emphasized the emotions, becoming a contributor to both the Enlightenment and its successor, romanticism. And whereas Voltaire endlessly repeated the same handful of core Enlightenment notions, Rousseau sparked off original thoughts in all directions: ideas about education, the family, government, the arts, and whatever else attracted his attention.

For all their personal differences, the two shared more values than they liked to acknowledge. They viewed absolute monarchy as dangerous and evil and rejected orthodox Christianity. Though Rousseau often struggled to seem more devout, he was almost as much a skeptic as Voltaire: the minimalist faith both shared was called "deism," and it was eventually to transform European religion and have powerful influences on other aspects of society as well.

Across the border in Holland, the merchants, who exercised most political power, there made a successful industry out of publishing books that could not be printed in countries like France. Dissenting religious groups mounted radical attacks on Christian orthodoxy.

The Enlightenment in England

Meanwhile Great Britain had developed its own Enlightenment, fostered by thinkers like the English thinker John Locke, the Scot David Hume, and many others. England had anticipated the rest of Europe by deposing and decapitating its king back in the 17th century. Although the monarchy had eventually been restored, this experience created a certain openness toward change in many places that could not be entirely extinguished. English Protestantism struggled to express itself in ways that widened the limits of freedom of speech and press. Radical Quakers and Unitarians broke open old dogmas in ways that Voltaire was to find highly congenial when he found himself there in exile. The English and French Enlightenments exchanged influences through many channels, Voltaire not least among them.

Because England had gotten its revolution out of the way early, it was able to proceed more smoothly and gradually down the road to democracy; but English liberty was dynamite when transported to France, where resistance by church and state was fierce to the last possible moment. The result was ironically that while Britain remained saturated with class privilege and relatively pious, France was to become after its own revolution the most egalitarian and anticlerical state in Europe--at least in its ideals. The power of religion and the aristocracy diminished gradually in England; in France they were violently uprooted.

The Enlightenment in America

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, many of the intellectual leaders of the American colonies were drawn to the Enlightenment. The colonies may have been founded by leaders of various dogmatic religious persuasions, but when it became necessary to unite against England, it was apparent that no one of them could prevail over the others, and that the most desirable course was to agree to disagree. Nothing more powerfully impelled the movement toward the separation of church and state than the realization that no one church could dominate this new state.

Many of the most distinguished leaders of the American revolution--Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Paine--were powerfully influenced by English and--to a lesser extent--French Enlightenment thought. The God who underwrites the concept of equality in the Declaration of Independence is the same deist God Rousseau worshipped, not that venerated in the traditional churches which still supported and defended monarchies all over Europe. Jefferson and Franklin both spent time in France--a natural ally because it was a traditional enemy of England--absorbing the influence of the French Enlightenment. The language of natural law, of inherent freedoms, of self-determination which seeped so deeply into the American grain was the language of the Enlightenment, though often coated with a light glaze of traditional religion, what has been called our "civil religion."

This is one reason that Americans should study the Enlightenment. It is in their bones. It has defined part of what they have dreamed of, what they aim to become. Separated geographically from most of the aristocrats against whom they were rebelling, their revolution was to be far less corrosive--and at first less influential--than that in France.

The Struggle in Europe

But we need to return to the beginning of the story, to Voltaire and his allies in France, struggling to assert the values of freedom and tolerance in a culture where the twin fortresses of monarchy and Church opposed almost everything they stood for. To oppose the monarchy openly would be fatal; the Church was an easier target. Protestantism had made religious controversy familiar. Voltaire could skillfully cite one Christian against another to make his arguments. One way to undermine the power of the Church was to undermine its credibility, and thus Voltaire devoted a great deal of his time to attacking the fundamentals of Christian belief: the inspiration of the Bible, the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, the damnation of unbelievers. No doubt he relished this battle partly for its own sake, but he never lost sight of his central goal: the toppling of Church power to increase the freedom available to Europeans.

Voltaire was joined by a band of rebellious thinkers known as the philosophes: Charles de Montesquieu, Pierre Bayle, Jean d'Alembert, and many lesser lights. Although "philosophe" literally means "philosopher" we use the French word in English to designate this particular group of French 18th-century thinkers. Because Denis Diderot commissioned many of them to write for his influential Encyclopedia, they are also known as "the Encyclopedists."

The Heritage of the Enlightenment

Today the Enlightenment is often viewed as a historical anomaly, a brief moment when a number of thinkers infatuated with reason vainly supposed that the perfect society could be built on common sense and tolerance, a fantasy which collapsed amid the Terror of the French Revolution and the triumphal sweep of Romanticism. Religious thinkers repeatedly proclaim the Enlightenment dead, Marxists denounce it for promoting the ideals and power of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the working classes, postcolonial critics reject its idealization of specifically European notions as universal truths, and poststructuralists reject its entire concept of rational thought.

Yet in many ways, the Enlightenment has never been more alive. The notions of human rights it developed are powerfully attractive to oppressed peoples everywhere, who appeal to the same notion of natural law that so inspired Voltaire and Jefferson. Wherever religious conflicts erupt, mutual religious tolerance is counseled as a solution. Rousseau's notions of self-rule are ideals so universal that the worst tyrant has to disguise his tyrannies by claiming to be acting on their behalf. European these ideas may be, but they have also become global. Whatever their limits, they have formed the consensus of international ideals by which modern states are judged.

If our world seems little closer to perfection than that of 18th-century France, that is partly due to our failure to appreciate gains we take for granted. But it is also the case that many of the enemies of the Enlightenment are demolishing a straw man: it was never as simple-mindedly optimistic as it has often been portrayed. Certainly Voltaire was no facile optimist. He distrusted utopianism, instead trying to cajole Europeans out of their more harmful stupidities. Whether we acknowledge his influence or not, we still think today more like him than like his enemies.

As we go through his most influential work, *The Philosophical Dictionary*, look for passages which helped lay the groundwork for modern patterns of thought. Look also for passages which still seem challenging, pieces of arguments that continue today.

ROMANTICISM

If the Enlightenment was a movement which started among a tiny elite and slowly spread to make its influence felt throughout society, Romanticism was more widespread both in its origins and influence. No other intellectual/artistic movement has had comparable variety, reach, and staying power since the end of the Middle Ages.

Beginning in Germany and England in the 1770s, by the 1820s it had swept through Europe, conquering at last even its most stubborn foe, the French. It traveled quickly to the Western Hemisphere, and in its musical form has triumphed around the globe, so that from London to Boston to Mexico City to Tokyo to Vladivostok to Oslo, the most popular orchestral music in the world is that of the romantic era. After almost a century of being attacked by the academic and professional world of Western formal concert music, the style has reasserted itself as neoromanticism in the concert halls. When John Williams created the sound of the future in *Star Wars*, it was the sound of 19th-century Romanticism--still the most popular style for epic film soundtracks.

Beginning in the last decades of the 18th century, it transformed poetry, the novel, drama, painting, sculpture, all forms of concert music (especially opera), and ballet. It was deeply connected with the politics of the time, echoing people's fears, hopes, and aspirations. It was the voice of revolution at the beginning of the 19th century and the voice of the Establishment at the end of it.

This last shift was the result of the triumph of the class which invented, fostered, and adopted as its own the Romantic Movement: the bourgeoisie. To understand why this should have been so, we need to look more closely at the nature of the style and its origins.

Origins

Folklore and Popular Art

Some of the earliest stirrings of the Romantic movement are conventionally traced back to the mid-18th-century interest in folklore which arose in Germany--with Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm collecting popular fairy tales and other scholars like Johann Gottfried von Herder studying folk songs--and in England with Joseph Addison and Richard Steele treating old ballads as if they were high poetry. These activities set the tone for one aspect of Romanticism: the belief that products of the uncultivated popular imagination could equal or even surpass those of the educated court poets and composers who had previously monopolized the attentions of scholars and connoisseurs.

Whereas during much of the 17th and 18th centuries learned allusions, complexity and grandiosity were prized, the new romantic taste favored simplicity and naturalness; and these were thought to flow most clearly and abundantly from the "spontaneous" outpourings of the untutored common people. In Germany in particular, the idea of a collective Volk (people) dominated a good deal of thinking about the arts. Rather than paying attention to the individual authors of popular works, these scholars celebrated the anonymous masses who invented and transmuted these works as if from their very souls. All of this fantasizing about the creative folk process reflected precious little knowledge about the actual processes by which songs and stories are created and passed on and created as well an ideology of the essence of the German soul which was to be used to dire effect by the Nazis in the 20th century.

Nationalism

The natural consequence of dwelling on creative folk genius was a good deal of nationalism. French Romantic painting is full of themes relating to the tumultuous political events of the period and later Romantic music often draws its inspiration from national folk musics. Goethe deliberately places German folkloric themes and images on a par with Classical ones in *Faust*.

Shakespeare

But one of the early effects of this interest in the folk arts seems particularly strange to us moderns: the rise and spread of the reputation of William Shakespeare. Although he is regarded today as the epitome of the great writer, his reputation was at first very different. Shakespeare was a popular playwright who wrote for the commercial theater in London. He was not college-educated, and although his company had the sponsorship of King James, his work was not entirely "respectable."

Academic critics at first scorned his indiscipline, his rejection of their concepts of drama which were derived in part from ancient Roman and Greek patterns. A good play should not mix comedy with tragedy, not proliferate plots and subplots, not ramble through a wide variety of settings or drag out its story over months or years of dramatic time; but Shakespeare's plays did all these things. A proper serious drama should always be divided neatly into five acts, but Shakespeare's plays simply flowed from one scene to the next, with no attention paid to the academic rules of dramatic architecture (the act divisions we are familiar with today were imposed on his plays by editors after his death).

If the English romantics exalted Shakespeare's works as the greatest of their classics, his effect on the Germans was positively explosive. French classical theater had been the preeminent model for drama in much of Europe; but when the German Romantics began to explore and translate his works, they were overwhelmed. His disregard for the classical rules which they found so confining inspired them. Writers like Friedrich von Schiller and Goethe created

their own dramas inspired by Shakespeare. Faust contains many Shakespearian allusions as well as imitating all of the nonclassical qualities enumerated above.

Because Shakespeare was a popular rather than a courtly writer, the Romantics exaggerated his simple origins. In fact he had received an excellent education which, although it fell short of what a university could offer, went far beyond what the typical college student learns today about the classics. In an age drunk on the printing and reading of books he had access to the Greek myths, Roman and English history, tales by Italian humanists and a wide variety of other materials. True, he used translations, digests, and popularizations; but he was no ignoramus. To the Romantics, however, he was the essence of folk poetry, the ultimate vindication of their faith in spontaneous creativity. Much of the drama of the European 19th century is influenced by him, painters illustrated scenes from his plays, and composers based orchestral tone poems and operas on his narratives.

The Gothic Romance

Another quite distinct contribution to the Romantic Movement was the Gothic romance. The first was Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1765), set in a haunted castle and containing various mysterious apparitions such as a gigantic mailed fist. This sort of thing was popularized by writers like Ann Radcliffe and M. L. Lewis (*The Monk*) and eventually spread abroad to influence writers like Eugène Sue (France) and Edgar Allan Poe (the U.S.). Rejecting the Enlightenment ideal of balance and rationalism, readers eagerly sought out the hysterical, mystical, passionate adventures of terrified heroes and heroines in the clutches of frightening, mysterious forces. The modern horror novel and woman's romance are both descendants of the Gothic romance, as transmuted through such masterworks as Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and her sister Emily's *Wuthering Heights*. Another classic Gothic work, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, is often cited as a forerunner of modern science fiction.

Medievalism

The Gothic novel embraced the Medieval ("Gothic") culture so disdained by the early 18th century. Whereas classical art looked back constantly to the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Romantics celebrated for the first time since the Renaissance the wilder aspects of the creativity of Western Europeans from the 12th through the 14th centuries: stained glass in soaring cathedrals, tales of Robin Hood and his merry men, and--above all--the old tales of King Arthur and the knights of the round table. This influence was to spread far beyond the Gothic romance to all artistic forms in Europe, and lives on in the popular fantasy novels of today. Fairies, witches, angels--all the fantastic creatures of the Medieval popular imagination came flooding back into the European arts in the Romantic period (and all are present in *Faust*).

The longing for "simpler" eras not freighted with the weight of the Classical world gave rise to a new form: the historical novel. Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was by far its most successful practitioner. Although credit for writing the first historical novel should probably go to Madame de Lafayette for her *La Princess de Clèves* (1678), Scott is generally considered to have developed the form as we know it today. Almost forgotten now, his novels like *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Ivanhoe* nevertheless inspired writers, painters, and composers in Germany, France, Italy, Russia and many other lands.

Emotion

The other influential characteristic of the Gothic romance was its evocation of strong, irrational emotions--particularly horror. Whereas Voltaire and his comrades had abhorred "enthusiasm" and strove to dispel the mists of superstition; the Gothic writers evoked all manner of irrational scenes designed to horrify and amaze. Romantic writers generally also prized the more tender sentiments of affection, sorrow, and romantic longing. In this they were inspired by certain currents contemporaneous with the Enlightenment, in particular the writings of Voltaire's arch-rival, Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Rousseau

Rousseau was a moody, over-sensitive, even paranoid sort of fellow, much given to musing on his own feelings. Like the Englishman Samuel Richardson, he explored in his fiction the agonies of frustrated love--particularly in his sensationally successful novel *The New Heloise*--and celebrated the peculiar refinement of feeling the English called "sensibility" which we call "sensitivity." Of all aspects of Romantic fiction, the penchant for tearful sentimental wallowing in the longings and disappointments of frustrated protagonists is most alien to modern audiences. Only in opera and film where the power of music is summoned to reinforce the emotions being evoked can most modern audiences let themselves go entirely, and then only within limits.

The great minds of the 20th century have generally rejected sentimentalism, even defining its essence as false, exaggerated emotion; and we tend to find mawkish or even comical much that the Romantic age prized as moving and beautiful. Yet there was more than cheap self-indulgence and escapism in this fevered emotionalism. Its proponents argued that one could be morally and spiritually uplifted by cultivating a greater sensitivity to feelings. The cultivation of empathy for the sufferings of others could even be a vehicle for social change, as in the works of Charles Dickens. That this emotionalism was sometimes exaggerated or artificial should not obscure the fact that it also contained much that was genuine and inspiring. It is not clear that we have gained so much by prizing in our modern literature attitudes of cynicism, detachment, and ruthlessness.

Of all the emotions celebrated by the Romantics, the most popular was love. Although the great Romantic works often center on terror or rage, the motive force behind these passions is most often a relationship between a pair of lovers. In the classical world love had been more or less identical with sex, the Romans treating it in a particularly cynical manner. The Medieval troubadours had celebrated courtly adultery according to a highly artificial code that little reflected the lives of real men and women while agreeing with physicians that romantic passion was a potentially fatal disease. It was the romantics who first celebrated romantic love as the natural birthright of every human being, the most exalted of human sentiments, and the necessary foundation of a successful marriage. Whether or not one agrees that this change of attitude was a wise one, it must be admitted to have been one of the most influential in the history of the world.

This is not the place to trace the long and complex history of how the transcendent, irrational, self-destructive passion of a Romeo and Juliet came to be considered the birthright of every European citizen; but this conviction which continues to shape much of our thinking about relationships, marriage, and the family found its mature form during the Romantic age. So thoroughly has love become identified with romance that the two are now generally taken as synonyms, disregarding the earlier associations of "romance" with adventure, terror, and mysticism.

Exoticism

Another important aspect of Romanticism is the exotic. Just as Romantics responded to the longing of people for a distant past, so they provided images of distant places. The distances need not be terribly great: Spain was a favorite "exotic" setting for French Romantics, for instance. North Africa and the Middle East provided images of "Asia" to Europeans. Generally anywhere south of the country where one was resided was considered more relaxed, more colorful, more sensual.

Such exoticism consisted largely of simple stereotypes endlessly repeated, but the Romantic age was also a period in which Europeans traveled more than ever to examine at first hand the far-off lands of which they had read. Much of this tourism was heavily freighted with the attitudes fostered by European colonialism, which flourished during this period. Most "natives" were depicted as inevitably lazy, unable to govern themselves while those who aspired to European sophistication were often derided as "spoiled." Many male travelers viewed the women of almost any foreign land one could name as more sexually desirable and available than the women at home, and so they are depicted in fiction, drama, art, and opera.

Just as Scott was the most influential force in popularizing the romantic historical novel, exoticism in literature was inspired more by Lord Byron--especially his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812-1818)--than by any other single writer. Whereas the Romantic lyric poetry of Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and Wordsworth had a negligible influence outside of their native tongue, the sweep of Byron's longer poems translated well into other languages and other artistic media.

Romantic exoticism is not always in tension with Romantic nationalism, for often the latter focussed on obscure folk traditions which were in themselves exotic to the audiences newly exposed to them. Goethe's witches were not more familiar to his audience because they were Germanic, unlike, say, the Scottish witches in *Macbeth*.

Religion

One of the most complex developments during this period is the transformation of religion into a subject for artistic treatment far removed from traditional religious art. The Enlightenment had weakened, but hardly uprooted, established religion in Europe. As time passed, sophisticated writers and artists were less and less likely to be conventionally pious; but during the Romantic era many of them were drawn to religious imagery in the same way they were drawn to Arthurian or other ancient traditions in which they no longer believed. Religion was estheticized, and writers felt free to draw on Biblical themes with the same freedom as their predecessors had drawn on classical mythology, and with as little reverence.

Faust begins and ends in Heaven, has God and the devil as major characters, angels and demons as supporting players, and draws on wide variety of Christian materials, but it is not a Christian play. The Enlightenment had weakened the hold of Christianity over society to the extent that some at least, like Goethe, no longer felt the need to engage in the sort of fierce battles with it Voltaire had fought, but felt instead free to play with it. A comparable attitude can be seen in much of the work of the English Pre-Raphaelite painters who began in mid-century to treat Christian subjects in the context of charmingly "naive" Medievalism.

The mixture of disbelief in and fascination with religion evident in such works illustrates a general principal of intellectual history: artistic and social movements almost never behave like rigid clock pendulums, swinging all the way from one direction to another. A better metaphor for social change is the movement of waves on a beach, in which an early wave is receding while another advances over it, and elements of both become mixed together. For all that many of its features were reactions against the rationalist Enlightenment, Romanticism also incorporated much from the earlier movement, or coexisted with the changes it had brought about.

Individualism

One of the most important developments of this period is the rise in the importance of individualism. Before the 18th Century, few Europeans concerned themselves with discovering their own individual identities. They were what they

had been born: nobles, peasants, or merchants. As mercantalism and capitalism gradually transformed Europe, however, it destabilized the old patterns. The new industrialists naturally liked to credit themselves for having built their large fortunes and rejected the right of society to regulate and tax their enterprises. Sometimes they tried to fit into the traditional patterns by buying noble titles; but more and more often they developed their own tastes in the arts and created new social and artistic movements alien to the old aristocracy. This process can be seen operating as early as the Renaissance in the Netherlands.

The changing economy not only made individualism attractive to the newly rich, it made possible a free market in the arts in which entrepreneurial painters, composers, and writers could seek out sympathetic audiences to a pay them for their works, no longer confined to handful of Church and aristocratic patrons who largely shared the same values. They could now afford to pursue their individual tastes in a way not possible even in the Renaissance.

It was in the Romantic period--not coincidentally also the period of the industrial revolution--that such concern with individualism became much more widespread. Byron in literature and Beethoven in music are both examples of romantic individualism taken to extremes. But the most influential exemplar of individualism for the 19th century was not a creative artist at all, but a military man: Napoleon Bonaparte. The dramatic way in which he rose to the head of France in the chaotic wake of its bloody revolution, led his army to a series of triumphs in Europe to build a brief but influential Empire, and created new styles, tastes, and even laws with disregard for public opinion fascinated the people of the time. He was both loved and hated; and even fifty years after his death he was still stimulating authors like Dostoyevsky, who saw in him the ultimate corrosive force which celebrated individual striving and freedom at the expense of responsibility and tradition. We call the reckless character who seeks to remold the world to his own desires with little regard for morality or tradition "Faustian," after Goethe's character, but he might as well be called "Napoleonic."

The modern fascination with self-definition and self-invention, the notion that adolescence is naturally a time of rebellion in which one "finds oneself," the idea that the best path to faith is through individual choice, the idea that government exists to serve the individuals who have created it: all of these are products of the romantic celebration of the individual at the expense of society and tradition.

Nature

The subject of the relationship of Romanticism to nature is a vast one which can only be touched on here. There has hardly been a time since the earliest antiquity that Europeans did not celebrate nature in some form or other, but the attitudes toward nature common in the Western world today emerged mostly during the Romantic period. The Enlightenment had talked of "natural law" as the source of truth, but such law was manifest in human society and related principally to civic behavior. Unlike the Chinese and Japanese, Europeans had traditionally had little interest in natural landscapes for their own sake. Paintings of rural settings were usually extremely idealized: either well-tended gardens or tidy versions of the Arcadian myth of ancient Greece and Rome.

Here again, Rousseau is an important figure. He loved to go for long walks, climb mountains, and generally "commune with nature." His last work is called *Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (Reveries of a Solitary Walker). Europe had become more civilized, safer, and its citizens now felt freer to travel for the simple pleasure of it. Mountain passes and deep woods were no longer merely perilous hazards to be traversed, but awesome views to be enjoyed and pondered. The violence of ocean storms came to be appreciated as an esthetic object in any number of paintings, musical tone poems, and written descriptions, as in the opening of Goethe's *Faust*.

None of this had been true of earlier generations, who had tended to view the human and the natural as opposite poles, with the natural sometimes exercising an evil power to degrade and dehumanize those who were to drawn to it. The Romantics, just as they cultivated sensitivity to emotion generally, especially cultivated sensitivity to nature. It came to be felt that to muse by a stream; to view a thundering waterfall or even confront a rolling desert could be morally improving. Much of the nature writing of the 19th century has a religious quality to it absent in any other period. This shift in attitude was to prove extremely powerful and long-lasting, as we see today in the love of Germans, Britons and Americans for wilderness.

It may seem paradoxical that it was just at the moment when the industrial revolution was destroying large tracts of woods and fields and creating an unprecedentedly artificial environment in Europe that this taste arose; but in fact it could probably have arisen in no other time. It is precisely people in urban environments aware of the stark contrast between their daily lives and the existence of the inhabitants of the wild who romanticise nature. They are attracted to it precisely because they are no longer unselfconsciously part of it. *Faust*, for instance, is powerfully drawn to the moonlit landscape outside his study at the beginning of Goethe's play largely because he is so discontented with the artificial world of learning in which he has so far lived.

Victorianism

Scholars of English literature are prone to make much of the distinction between the Romantic and Victorian Ages, but for our purposes the latter is best viewed as merely a later stage of the former. The prudish attitudes popularly associated with Queen Victoria's reign are manifest in Germany and--to a lesser extent--in France as well. Victoria did not create Victorianism, she merely exemplified the temper of the time. But throughout the Victorian period the wild, passionate, erotic, even destructive aspects of Romanticism continue in evidence in all the arts.

Reactions

Like the Enlightenment, Romanticism calls forth numerous counter-movements, like Realism, Impressionism, Neo-classicism, etc.; but like the Enlightenment, it also keeps on going. None of these were entirely to replace the Romantic impulse. Hard-bitten naturalism in fiction and film coexists today with sweeping romanticism; there are large audiences for both. The contemporary vogue for “Victorian” designs is just one of many examples of the frequent revivals of Romantic tastes and styles that have recurred throughout the twentieth century.

Looking back over the list of characteristics discussed above one can readily see that despite the fact that Romanticism was not nearly as coherent a movement as the Enlightenment, and lacked the sort of programmatic aims the latter professed, it was even more successful in changing history--changing the definition of what it means to be human.

Writers working in the time period from 1785 to 1830 did not think of themselves as “Romantics,” but were seen to belong to a number of distinct movements or schools. For much of the twentieth century scholars singled out five poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Percy Shelley, and Keats—and constructed a unified concept of Romanticism on the basis of their works. Some of the best regarded poets of the time were in fact women, including Anna Barbauld, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson. Yet educated women were targets of masculine scorn, and the radical feminism of a figure like Mary Wollstonecraft remained exceptional.

The Romantic period was shaped by a multitude of political, social, and economic changes. Many writers of the period were aware of a pervasive intellectual and imaginative climate, which some called “the spirit of the age.” This spirit was linked to both the politics of the French Revolution and religious apocalypticism. The early period of the French Revolution evoked enthusiastic support from English liberals and radicals alike. But support dropped off as the Revolution took an increasingly grim course. The final defeat of the French emperor Napoleon in 1815 ushered in a period of harsh, repressive measures in England. The nation’s growing population was increasingly polarized into two classes of capital and labor, rich and poor. In 1819, an assembly of workers demanding parliamentary reform was attacked by sabre-wielding troops in what became known as the “Peterloo Massacre.” A Reform Bill was passed in 1832, extending the franchise, though most men and all women remained without the vote.

Wordsworth and Coleridge’s sense of the emancipatory opportunities brought in by the new historical moment was expressed in their *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), which revolutionized the theory and practice of poetry.

Wordsworth influentially located the source of a poem not in outer nature but in the psychology and emotions of the individual poet. In keeping with the view that poetry emphasizes the poet’s feelings, the lyric became a major Romantic form. It was held that the immediate act of composition must be spontaneous—arising from impulse and free from rules. For Shelley, poetry was not the product of “labor and study” but unconscious creativity. In a related tendency, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and later Shelley would all assume the persona of the poet-prophet.

Romantic poetry for present-day readers has become almost synonymous with “nature poetry.” Romantic poems habitually endow the landscape with human life, passion, and expressiveness. Wordsworth’s aim was to shatter the lethargy of custom to renew our sense of wonder in the everyday. Coleridge, by contrast, achieved wonder by the frank violation of natural laws, impressing upon readers a sense of occult powers and unknown modes of being. The pervasiveness of nature poetry in the period can be linked to the idealization of the natural scene as a site where the individual could find freedom from social laws.

Books became big business, thanks to an expanded audience and innovations in retailing. A few writers became celebrities. Although we now know the Romantic period as an age of poetry, the prose essay, the drama and the novel flourished during this epoch. This period saw the emergence of the literary critic, with accompanying anxieties over the status of criticism as literature. There was a vibrant theatrical culture, though burdened by many restrictions; Shelley’s powerful tragedy *The Cenci* was deemed unstageable on political grounds. The novel began to rival poetry for literary prestige. Gothic novelists delved into a premodern, prerational past as a means of exploring the nature of power. Jane Austen, committed like Wordsworth to finding the extraordinary in the everyday, developed a new novelistic language for the mind in flux.

Revision Topics

LONG ESSAYS: SOME RANDOM OBSERVATIONS

ORIENT AS TEXT

- Concepts of textuality—everything is a text / discourse—constructedness—ideological underpinnings
- Identity as text
- Edward Said—Orientalism—Postcolonialism
- Illustrate ideas of Orient as exotic, evil, primitive, impulsive...
- Progress—a modernist project—bringing progress to the Orient as white man's burden—Its extension in globalization—Globalization as affirming the primacy of material progress, of the Occident
- Identity of the Occident constructed by the definitions of the Orient—Occident as what is non-Orient—deconstruct underlying presumptions of homogeneity
- Does postcolonialism propagate this fiction?

TECHNOLOGY AND CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF CULTURE

- Technology—coincident with modernity and its project of progress—Modernity and “Technopoly” (monopoly of technology) as colonial devices
- Industrial Revolution—a paradigm shift in Western civilization—Globalization has extended it to the East—Japan the technocentre of the East
- Modernity—tangible technology Postmodernity—intangible technology (subtle infiltration into society; cannot be physically, easily obliterated)
- Illustrate with examples from Communication, Economy, International Relations, Biotechnology, Lifestyles
- Technology is Knowledge/Power—Obliteration of the non-Technological (the Native, the Orient, even Woman and Child), i.e., the non-Technological is denied existence. [In order to ‘exist’, Oriental women have to computer literate, Indian farmers should have ‘modern’ agricultural equipment, our children should play video games] The Orient becomes the Occident, or rather, American.
- Technology brings Western, elite, urban, upper class culture. It effects cultural hybridity, which is exalted as a postmodern virtue. But is it absolutely necessary to repudiate cultural purity?
- Gradual rise of anti-techno movements in the West and elsewhere (ethnic tourism, biofertilizers, lull in Computer education)—Is this deliberate regression, return?
- But then, culture by definition is regressive.

ENSLAVEMENT AND LIBERATION OF THE MIND THROUGH ENGLISH LITERATURE

- Language/ literature not innocuous—tainted by ideology
- Literature has traditionally been believed to reflect—now it is believed to construct
- Great literature, in the classicist perception, teaches eternal, enduring values of humanity; propagates culture. Illustrate. Debate dates back to Plato, Aristotle. Mention Pope, Arnold...This was considered liberation from narrow, constricted mental aesthetic spaces.
- 20th century literary theory views this as “conditioning,” enslavement. Illustrate how patriarchal, colonial, upper class... ideologies work through literature. How history is distorted and simulated through literature. How literature constructs identity, how it teaches people to fit into social roles tailored for them (How should a wife or husband or mother-in-law... be. How it defines upper class and lower class lifestyles...). Illustrate with contemporary versions of popular literature such as TV serials and films.
- Recent literary/theoretical studies have also explored the liberatory potential of literature. How the Empire writes back through literature. How new modes of language, new modes of writing are adopted. How the past is rewritten, reclaimed through literature (African writers, Amitav Ghosh...). How heterogeneity, freedom is celebrated. A new genre called resistance literature. Illustrate with feminism (Mahasweta Devi), postcolonialism (Rushdie)...

DECANONIZING ENGLISH SYLLABI IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

- English in India—dual tradition:

Britain	\ disparity	US
(Historical/Cultural relations with India		English as necessity, imperative
Macaulay's tradition—Grammar/Literature		Requirements—Functional, Communicative
Writing/Reading, Textual		Spoken, Situational
- English part of every Indian's language competence. Yet a hurdle in education. This is because English is seen as an alien, elite language that comes with a cultural baggage (an Indian good at English will have to be part of upper class/caste domain—exposure to foreign media, other cultures, best schools, extra tuitions...) English departments in Indian universities vestiges of the arrogance of the colonial empire.
- The dichotomy between student good at English and student poor in English is marked. The English-wielding student is definitely considered superior

- We need to nativise English. Deconstruct the authority of the native speaker. Situate English education in the local, regional, commonplace. Give primacy to Indian English, Indian English writing.

SOME MATERIAL THAT WILL ENLIGHTEN TRANSLATION THEORY

- The importance of translation data and translation theory for investigations of the colonization and decolonization of a particular culture.
- The value of particular examples of translation for interrogating current positions in translation theory.
- All literary texts evoke metonymically the larger literary and cultural contexts from which they emerge. Issues raised by the translation of texts from postcolonial cultures challenge theoretical approaches to translation based on binary classifications (e.g. literal/free; domesticating/foreignizing; formal-equivalence/dynamic-equivalence; adequate/acceptable; fluent/resistant). Because dominant-culture audiences are unfamiliar with the culture, literary traditions, and language of texts of colonized peoples, translators of such texts are in the paradoxical position of “telling a new story”, even as they rewrite a source text. Constructing texts that metonymically stand for the literature and culture of such marginalized peoples, inevitably privileging certain metonymies over others, translators create images of their source cultures in a sensitive process having important ideological implications.
- Translation cannot be judged from purely an aesthetic point of view. There is a power play in who gets to be translated (without translation Tagore would never have got his Nobel Prize); globalisation means that there is an increasing market for writers from everywhere, but only those who find a translator will get increased sales and international attention. And it may be that only the works closest to dominant cultural taste will be selected for translation, and genuine regional voices remain marginalised. This is why it is increasingly desirable for the postcolonial scholar to be multilingual, and for the regional writer (like Ngugi Wa Thiango of Kenya) to persist in local production but push for national and global reach via translation.
- Amitav Gosh explained that his grandfather’s library contained Bengali translations of European canonical authors. This collection, a sign of good breeding, was no doubt similar to the one belonging to many other ‘gentlemen’ in colonized nations. Gosh spoke as well, however, of the enormous contribution made by Indian stories and storytelling to world literature. While the library may well be seen as a sign of oppression, an example of ‘translation as violence,’ the migration of the stories and the storytelling tradition situates translation practice in a ‘process of exchange.’ The difference, and delicate balance, between the two concepts illustrate the way in which cultures relate to each other from historical, economic, and political perspectives.
- the perspective of national cultures in which ‘translation is our condition’
- The notions of hybridity as a key element in postcolonial practices
- The impact of intercultural contact on ‘national’ literatures
- The link between history, politics, and translation in a particular cultural context.
- How much political culture is carried by a language? Is it a neutral tool that can be a vehicle for any end? This is one theory. The other argument is that language carries an inherent epistemology in its vocabulary and structure - the more you find yourself using it, the less and less you find you are able to think within the concepts and values of your own cultural tradition. (An example would be the emphasis in English on the individual subject, as opposed to a ‘tribal’ collectivity - every time you say ‘I’ you lose the habit of thinking ‘we’.) Ngugi is right in this case, that it is important to preserve your own tongue in order to resist being imprisoned in the language of the coloniser. But reconstructing your own language in modern times will not automatically restore the original culture it once evolved with. It will have to work with new ideas and in new social contexts. In this sense, a hybridity theory is unavoidable. You do need to give language use an activist’s edge because there is a link between language and identity, but it is not a simple and pure connection; language and culture are always dynamic constructs and our identities are always formed out of multiple interactions.
- Bible translations
- Translation and the demise of a language / culture—Sanskrit
- Translation is the essential premise of post-coloniality. Translation understood as a secondary activity, a derivative discourse dependent on an original text resonates with the dilemmas of post-coloniality. We are all ‘translated’ men or women irrespective of our disciplinary locations as we translate ideas, institutions, and ideologies originating in settings alien to our own, which doom us to unoriginal ity. As we discourse in borrowed languages, we are compelled to answer the question: Is there anything outside colonialism?
- Definitely, there is. But the self that is outside colonialism lies hidden from the outsider’s gaze in our languages to which we must return if we are to recover this self. Unfortunately, these indigenous languages of self-recovery are untranslatable into familiar euro-american categories. This brings us to the incommensurability thesis in Translation.
- Post-colonialism as ‘resistance’—translation as representation
- Rushdie’s extension of the idea of translation or ‘carrying across’ to migrancy
- a dislocated community’s refusal to be translated into the national language by preserving pre-colonial dialectal difference through its deconstruction of the national language.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO LITERATURE

The sociological approach to literature has become important in recent years. Sociology studies the structure of a society and the cultural norms resulting from that structure. It is a humanistic discipline that has direct connections with literature. That is, a sociological study of a literary text would throw light on many thematic, cultural and ideological aspects of the text. By studying the structure of early 18th century England, for instance, we can understand more about the social nature and purpose of the periodical essay, the reasons for the rise of the genre at that time, its choice of subject matter, etc. This would mean that a sociological study of literature would relate to the historical situation of a particular time.

T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, or any of the modernist texts of James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, William Faulkner, or of artists like Picasso, are best studied in the sociological context of the disorientation, fragmentation and destabilization ushered in by the two World Wars, the advent of industrialization and technological innovations, intellectual revolutions such as those pioneered by Darwin, Marx, Freud, Nietzsche and so on. Indeed, modernist and postmodernist art reflect the angst and disconcerting experiences of twentieth century Western world. This approach to literature can be related to the Structuralist idea that a literary text should be studied from the perspective of larger structures which contain the text, an approach antithetical to New Critical close reading, which advocated the study of a literary text in isolation, without preconceptions about its context. The sociological theory of literature thus forms part of the central pattern of modern critical theory.

True to the Structural / Poststructural paradigms, sociological critics treat literature as invariably conditioned by the dominant social, political and economic perspectives of the age. In this light, the author's class, gender, political and ideological preferences and the ways of thinking as well as the dominant socio-cultural conditions of his age become significant in the reading of a literary text. By extension, it can also be argued that the socio-cultural conditions of the reader might also influence the reading of the text. In this sense, the sociological approach has a major bearing on feminist, Marxist, New Historicist and postcolonial theories.

Feminism emphasizes the male interests, values and assumptions characteristic of an era as the determinants of literary content, forms and interpretation. Deconstruction of patriarchal texts would expose and subvert the underlying disunity and power equations of the work, which are characteristic of its era. Postcolonial criticism also takes up a sociological approach in its belief that texts are tainted by the colonial ideology. Colonization is a process that works internally, in the mind, and which finds expression in literature and art. Decolonization would therefore involve decolonizing the mind as well as communicative and aesthetic apparatuses. From this perspective, a text like Shakespeare's *The Tempest* could be regarded as part of the colonial, imperialist design of representing the Native as the inferior Other by virtue of his non-possession of the colonizer's language and racial features. This reading of *The Tempest* adopts a sociological approach in that it draws from the intellectual and cultural attitudes and preferences of the Elizabethan age to analyze and deconstruct the subtext of the narrative.

The sociological approach to literature owes most to the theory of Karl Marx. The Marxian views that social organization is based on economic distribution and that the structure of a society draws from class struggle have influenced a wide range of critics. Georg Lukacs, for instance, has written extensively on Walter Scott and Balzac because he considers the works of these writers to render a profound insight into the socio-political reality of their times. Even texts that are not overtly political and sociological will give in to a Marxist reading of the sociological context because in this school of criticism, every literary expression is seen as a cultural phenomenon embedded in the sociological context.

This view is shared by New Historicism, which considers disciplines like history and sociology to be textual and each literary text to be an expression of the socio-historical moment. In the words of Louis Montrose, New Historicism deals with the textuality of history and the historicity of texts. Stephen Greenblatt has analyzed Renaissance plays extensively as documents of imperialist Britain, which are as authentic as political tracts or legal records. To the New Historicist, the socio-historical period is not just a "context" but a "co-text" which should be read on parallel terms with the literary text.

The approaches delineated here all draw from the central thesis of Postmodernism—textuality or constructedness. Postmodernism interrogates the textuality of metanarratives such as history, nationhood, culture, gender and so on. Postmodernism posits that the discourses of history, sociology, education as the well as the media simulate an alternative reality or "hyperreality" characteristic of the Postmodern world. In the words of the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, the contemporary world is a simulacrum where reality has been replaced by its representations, where there are no territories, only maps, where there are no originals, only copies. He argued that a major political event like the Gulf War did not exist, because the "Real" war has been irrecoverably replaced by its media representations, which very often have nothing to do with the real. Thus, in the Postmodern context, one no longer talks about literature as reflective of socio-political conditions, but about aesthetic discourses and the media as constructive of social reality.

Apart from all these positions, it remains that the sociological approach plays a predominant role in the English academy. We tirelessly talk about how Chaucer's Prologue functions as a "portrait gallery" of 14th century England, how Elizabethan poetry throws light on the courtly conventions of Elizabethan England and so on. It is perhaps in Romantic criticism that this approach plays the greatest part. Romantic criticism draws heavily from the author's biography, social conditions and dominant ideology of the period. One cannot read Wordsworth's poetry divorced from his life, the influence of the French and industrial revolutions, and the increasing importance of the common

man in the early 19th century. Neither can Dickens or Tennyson or Arnold be read without taking into consideration the “fret and fever” of the Victorian period. Thus, despite Postmodern deconstructive attacks on the validity of a “reality,” the practical implications of the sociological approach remain uncontested.

DECONSTRUCTION

A binary opposition is a pair of opposites, thought by the Structuralists to powerfully form and organize human thought and culture. Some are commonsense, such as raw vs cooked; however, many such oppositions imply or are used in such a way that privileges one of the terms of the opposition, creating a hierarchy. This can be seen in English with white and black, where black is used as a sign of darkness, danger, evil, etc., and white as purity, goodness, and so on. Another example of a contested binary opposition is rational vs emotional, in which the rational term is usually privileged and associated with men, while emotional is inferior and associated with women. The list goes on. Deconstruction sometimes involves identifying the oppositions working in a text and then demonstrating how the text itself undermines the hierarchy implied or asserted by the opposition.

Imagine two categories placed in opposition, situated as poles, turned against each other by their very definition, yet wedged in a necessary coexistence. For ages, Western thought has implicitly set up this type of conceptual relation in constructing its theories of metaphysics, continually scavenging for terms to fit either side of the dichotomy. This categorization process manifests itself in the dispersal of widely accepted oppositions such as presence/absence, good/evil, truth/error, man/woman, positive/negative, identity/difference, and so on. One opposition in particular strikes the interest of Jacques Derrida: the opposition between speech and writing. Using the critical procedures of deconstruction, Derrida shows how the terms in this and other such oppositions are never equivalent, but hierarchical. Derrida noticed that one term in the system, usually the first, is privileged over the other term. In the case of speech and writing, speech is attributed the positive qualities of originality, center, and presence, while writing is given secondary, derivative status. Plato, one of the first to propose such a hierarchy, believed that speech offered direct access to true meaning, while meaning in writing was opaque, mediated, and open to perversion. The written word was considered merely a representation of the spoken word, a material object to stand in its place. Derrida calls this bias in the Western tradition “logocentrism,” which attempts to associate philosophical discourse with universal logic and reason. Taken in a Saussurian light, the speech/writing opposition can be translated into an opposition between signified and signifier. Philosophical writing therefore claims to have the most intimate ties with absolute, centered, denoted meaning. By validating speech over writing, Plato intends to subordinate the signifier to the signified. However Derrida collapses this presumptuous opposition using deconstructive techniques, most notably in illustrating how the two categories are not autonomous, but mutually dependent, not to mention how the qualities of writing (/the signifier) and speech (/the signified) are not distinct, but actually permeate into one another. Ultimately, Derrida intends to prove that the order of the signified in fact depends on cuts, difference, and references on the side of the signifier to be meaningful in the first place.

Deconstruction involves the close reading of texts in order to demonstrate that any given text has irreconcilably contradictory meanings, rather than being a unified, logical whole. As J. Hillis Miller, the preeminent American deconstructor, has explained in an essay entitled “Stevens’ Rock and Criticism as Cure” (1976), “Deconstruction is not a dismantling of the structure of a text, but a demonstration that it has already dismantled itself. Its apparently solid ground is no rock but thin air.”

Deconstruction was both created and has been profoundly influenced by the French philosopher on language Jacques Derrida. Derrida, who coined the term deconstruction, argues that in Western culture, people tend to think and express their thoughts in terms of binary oppositions. Something is white but not black, masculine and therefore not feminine, a cause rather than an effect. Other common and mutually exclusive pairs include beginning/end, conscious/unconscious, presence/absence, and speech/writing. Derrida suggests these oppositions are hierarchies in miniature, containing one term that Western culture views as positive or superior and another considered negative or inferior, even if only slightly so. Through deconstruction, Derrida aims to erase the boundary between binary oppositions—and to do so in such a way that the hierarchy implied by the oppositions is thrown into question.

Although its ultimate aim may be to criticize Western logic, deconstruction arose as a response to structuralism and formalism. Structuralists believed that all elements of human culture, including literature, may be understood as parts of a system of signs. Derrida did not believe that structuralists could explain the laws governing human signification and thus provide the key to understanding the form and meaning of everything from an African village to Greek myth to a literary text. He also rejected the structuralist belief that texts have identifiable “centers” of meaning—a belief structuralists shared with formalists.

Formalist critics, such as the New Critics, assume that a work of literature is a freestanding, self-contained object whose meaning can be found in the complex network of relations between its parts (allusions, images, rhythms, sounds, etc.). Deconstructors, by contrast, see works in terms of their undecidability. They reject the formalist view that a work of literary art is demonstrably unified from beginning to end, in one certain way, or that it is organized around a single center that ultimately can be identified. As a result, deconstructors see texts as more radically heterogeneous than do formalists. Formalists ultimately make sense of the ambiguities they find in a given text, arguing that every ambiguity serves a definite, meaningful, and demonstrable literary function. Undecidability,

by contrast, is never reduced, let alone mastered. Though a deconstructive reading can reveal the incompatible possibilities generated by the text, it is impossible for the reader to decide among them.

Deconstruction is a poststructuralist theory, based largely but not exclusively on the writings of the Paris-based Jacques Derrida. It is in the first instance a philosophical theory and a theory directed towards the (re)reading of philosophical writings. Its impact on literature, mediated in North America largely through the influences of theorists at Yale University, is based in part on the fact that deconstruction sees all writing as a complex historical, cultural process rooted in the relations of texts to each other and in the institutions and conventions of writing, in part on the sophistication and intensity of its sense that human knowledge is not as controllable or as cogent as Western thought would have it and that language operates in subtle and often contradictory ways, so that certainty will always elude us.

Structuralist Groundworks

- Reality as we understand it is constructed of certain deep structural principles or organizations which may be configured differently on the level of experienced life, as we both operate and interpret them differently. Language, for instance, is composed of basic resources (langue) from which individual instances of its use are drawn (parole); cultures are formed through basic relations of economic production (the Marxist conception of the 'base'), but these may appear differently as cultures (economies, in the economic and more general sense) configure their ideas and arrangements (the 'superstructure'). The idea is that there are basic structures which are operationalized according to certain transformative rules in relation to the particulars of specific situations.
- There is no unmediated knowledge of 'reality': knowledge is symbolic; what we 'know' are signs; signs gain their meaning from their distinction from other signs. Therefore there is no knowledge of 'reality', but only of symbolized, constructed experience. Our 'knowing of our experience' is itself then mediated knowing, which is the only thing knowing can be. There is no 'pure' knowledge of reality except, as the early theorist of semiotics Charles Sanders Pierce suggests, at an instantaneous and inarticulate level: one can, Pierce says, experience, but not know, reality-in-itself. This is not to say that this experience of the real is not real; it is: we live in a real world. But we live particularly in our codification, our system of signs. If we cannot translate any experience into symbolic form then we cannot 'know' it in a way that is useful to us; if we do know, then our knowledge is only knowledge through our codes and our signifying systems--that is, mediated knowledge. (as when we might experience an earthquake without immediately knowing what it is, and so for a moment experience only something like disoriented panic).
- All texts are mediated (are only the process of mediation), in many ways: they are mediated by language, they are mediated by cultural systems, including ideologies and symbols, they are mediated by the conventions of genres, they are mediated by the world of intertextuality which is textuality's only true home, they are mediated by the structure of ideas and practices which we call reading (there is no 'pure reading', there is only reading according to some tradition, for some purpose). Texts are mediated in their construction, in their communication, and in their reception. Texts cannot, by definition, simply transfer an author's ideas.
- Our mediated knowledge works as all signs systems work, not by identification but by differences and through codes.

Deconstruction assumptions

- In deconstruction the basic structuralist principle of difference is located ontologically as well as semiotically: at the very point of beingness of every thing there is difference -- or *différance* -- because only through *différance* is one thing not another thing instead. *Différance* comes before being; similarly, a trace comes before the presence of a thing (as anything which is itself by virtue of not being something else, by differing, and that which it differs from remains as a trace, that whose absence is necessary for it to be); so too writing precedes speech -- a system of differences precedes any location of meaning in articulation.
- Deconstruction, as do other poststructural theories, declines the structuralist assumption that structural principles are essences -- that there are universal structural principles of language which exist 'before' the incidence of language. (The emphasis on the concrete, historical and contingent in opposition to the eternalities of essence reveals one of deconstruction's filiations with existentialism.) All 'principles' of existence (i.e., of experience) are historically situated and are structured by the interplay of individual experience and institutional force, through the language, symbols, environment, exclusions and oppositions of the moment (and of the previous moments through which this one is constructed). Structures are historical, temporary, contingent, operating through differentiation and displacement.
- There is no outside of the text; everything that we can know is text, that is, is constructed of signs in

relationship. This claim does not mean that there is nothing outside of language: the claim refers to the realm of human knowledge, not to the realm of concrete existence (elusive as that might be). Deconstruction does not deny the existence of an independent, physical world.

- All texts are constituted by difference from other texts (therefore similarity to them). Any text includes that which it excludes, and exists in its differences from/filiations with other texts.
- Opposites are already united; they cannot be opposites otherwise. Nor can they be a unity, and be themselves. They are the alternating imprint of one another. There is no nihilism without logocentrism, no logocentrism without nihilism, no presence without absence, no absence without presence, and so forth.
- Inherent in language itself is difference and deferral; it is impossible for language to be identical with its referents. A word or any other sign can only mobilize the play of the fields of signs from which it is distinguished, and from which it is of necessity removed.
- Inherent in language also is the contest between grammar and rhetoric. Grammar is the syntagmatic protocol, meaning as created by placement; rhetoric is the intertextual system of signs which makes what the grammar means, mean something else (irony and metaphor are principal examples). Grammatical and rhetorical meaning cannot be identical, and one may well not be able to assign a priority of 'meaning'.
- In a sense deconstruction is profoundly historical: it sees temporality as intrinsic to meaning, in that meaning can only be structured against that which is before it, which is structured against that which is before that. Meaning is that which differs, and which defers. The claim is not that there is no meaning -- that is a misunderstanding of deconstruction: the claim is that what we take to be meaning is a shifting field of relations in which there is no stable point, in which dynamic opposing meanings may be present simultaneously, in which the meaning is textually modulated in a interweaving play of texts. Meaning circulates, it is always meaning by difference, by being other. The meaning-through-difference creates/draws on 'traces' or 'filiations', themselves in some senses historical.

Deconstruction is also historical insofar and it functions etymologically, turning to the root, often metaphorical, meanings of words for an understanding of how they function within the web of differentiation which spans the chasm of the non-human over which we constantly live.

- as deconstruction works on (in both senses of 'works on') the web of differentiation which spans the chasm of the non-human over which we constantly live, it is intrinsically and deeply human and humane. It is affirmative of the multiplicity, the paradoxes, the richness and vibrancy, of our life as signifying beings. If it seems to deny affirmation, it is because it knows that affirmation is always, intimately and compellingly, itself, only in the presence of and by virtue of negation. To fully live we must embrace our deaths.
- if deconstruction seems to oppose Humanism, it is because Humanism operates by substituting the concept 'man' for the concept 'God' (or 'order', 'nature', 'Truth', 'logos', etc.) and so placing 'man' as the unproblematic ground of meaningfulness for human life. It should be clear, however, that 'man' is then a hypothesized center, substituting for another hypothesized center, in the history of metaphysics. Deconstruction wants to clarify the instability upon which such a concept is grounded.
- one can and indeed must work with ideas such as 'center', 'man', 'truth', but must work with them knowing their instability; to do so is, in deconstructive terms, to place them "under erasure." To signify this graphically, use the strikethrough option on your computer. That's the truth.
- deconstructive reading can be applied to any text. It is a theory of reading, not a theory of literature. Derrida generally deconstructs philosophical writing, showing the metaphysical contradictions and the historicity of writing which lays claim to the absolute.
- 'literature' is a writing clearly open to deconstructive reading, as it relies so heavily on the multiple meanings of words, on exclusions, on substitutions, on intertextuality, on filiations among meanings and signs, on the play of meaning, on repetition (hence significant difference). In Jakobson's phrasing, literature attends to (or, reading as literature attends to), the poetic function of the text. This, in (one guesses) a Derridean understanding would mean that the naive, thetic, transcendental reading of a text is complicated (folded-with) by a counter-reading which de-constructs the thetic impetus and claims.
- the more 'metaphysical' or universal and 'meaningful' a text the more powerfully it can provoke deconstructive reading; similarly as 'reading as literature' implies a raising of meaning to the highest level of universality, 'reading as literature' also calls forth the potential for a strong counter-reading. As Derrida says, "the more it is written, the more it shakes up its own limits or lets them be thought."

Some attributes of 'literature' in the deconstructive view are:

1. that literature is an institution, brought into being by legal, social and political processes;
2. that literature is that which at the same time speaks the heart of the individual and which shows how the individual is made possible only by otherness, exteriority, institution, law, structures and meanings outside oneself;
3. that literature is both (simultaneously) a singular, unrepeatable event and a generalizable experience,

and demonstrates the tension/ antithesis between these -- as something which is original is also of necessity not original, or it could not have been thought.

It is possible that texts which 'confess' the highly mediated nature of our experience, texts which themselves throw the reader into the realm of complex, contested, symbolized, intertextual, interactive mediated experience, texts which therefore move closer than usual to deconstructing themselves, are in a sense closer to reality (that is, the truth of our real experience) than any other texts. This kind of text conforms to the kind of text known as 'literature' -- most clearly, to modernist literature, but to all texts which participate in one or more of the ironic, the playful, the explicitly intertextual, the explicitly symbolizing -- from Renaissance love poetry to Milton to Swift to Fielding to Tennyson to Ondaatje.

Reading these texts in the deconstructive mode is, however, not a matter of 'decoding the message'; it is a matter of entering into the thoughtful play of contradiction, multiple reference, and the ceaseless questioning of conclusions and responses. The less a text deconstructs itself, the more we can and must deconstruct it, that is, show the structures of thought and assumption which ground it and the exclusions which make its meaning possible. If, as Roman Jakobson suggests, a mark of literature is that it draws attention to its textuality, its constructedness, then literature may be said to be inherently closer to 'reality' than other forms of writing or discourse are, just when it seems to be furthest away, as our 'reality' is symbolic, signified, constructed.

The particular strategy of deconstructive reading is based on fissures in what we take to be the common-sense experience of texts and reality, and on reversals, oppositions and exclusions that are lying in wait in, or implicit in, signification and textuality. Take, for example, the sorts of conflict Jonathan Culler suggests in *On Deconstruction* that the critic is on the lookout for:

1. the asymmetrical opposition or value-laden hierarchy (e.g. host and parasite, logocentrism and nihilism) in which one term is promoted at the expense of the other. The second term can be shown to constitute or signal the condition for the first, and the hierarchy up-turned (this is not a simple reversal, as the reversal is then in the condition of reversibility, and so forth).
2. points of condensation, where a single term brings together different lines of argument or sets of values (and hostilities to hosts hosting the Host).
3. The text will be examined for ways in which it suggests a difference from itself, interpretations which undermine the apparently primary interpretation.
4. figures of self-reference, when a text applies to something else a description, figure or image which can be read as a self-description, an image of its own operations. This opens up an examination of the stability and cogency of the text itself. An example of self-reference is in the vines and parasites in place of the erased (, i.e. under erasure) antique and learned imagery of Shelley's "Epipsychidion" in Miller's "The Critic as Host," the natural images themselves an image for and replacement for (every image of is also a replacement for) the tracing of writing, which is itself the writing that constitutes the poem; the images of the poem themselves attempt to naturalize what cannot be naturalized, writing itself, in a recuperation in which the act of naturalizing reveals itself as an ancient strategy of meaning, so the imagery is an image of itself.
5. conflicting readings of a texts can be seen as reenactments of conflicts within a text, so that readings can be read as partializing moves simplifying the complex interplay of potential meaning within the text.
6. Attention to the marginal, and that which supplements -- as with hierarchized oppositions, the margin in fact encompasses or enables the rest, so that a marginalized figure, idea, etc. can be re-read as the 'centre', or controlling element; similarly the supplement re-centres and re-orientates that which it supplements, as the fact of supplementing reveals the inadequacy, the partiality/incompleteness of the supplemented item.

The deconstructive activity is ceaseless. It can never be resolved in a dialectic (that is, there is no synthesis), 1) but is always reaching back to a pattern of operations, antitheses, displacements and so forth, each 'behind', or 'before', or logically, ontologically, referentially, hierarchically, temporally or semantically or etymologically, etc, 'prior to' the other, and 2) alternating between the poles of antitheses or opposite.

Like the form of mathematics called topography, deconstruction studies surfaces, as there are no depths, however firmly we may think we see them: there are only twists, (con)figurations, (re)visions.

GLOBALIZATION

Progress in communication and transport technology during the 20th century has enabled us to overcome geographical boundaries and revolutionize our way of living. The world is now linked to such an extent that a local happening cannot take place without impacting on the international community and vice versa.

Globalization is not just about increasing the worldwide circulation of information and ideas. Economically speaking, it entails an increase in capital flow, transnational investment and international trade, thereby integrating all countries into a single giant world market. In terms of politics, the social, economic or environmental orientation of States is being increasingly determined by regional and international structures.

In terms of Culture, is Globalization an opportunity or a threat?

Globalization itself is neither positive nor negative: it may be either of them depending on our viewpoint. Nonetheless, Culture in general, and cultural diversity in particular, is facing 3 challenges:

- a) Globalization, in its powerful extension of market principles, by highlighting the culture of economically powerful nations, has created new forms of inequality, thereby fostering cultural conflict rather than cultural pluralism.
- b) States are increasingly unable to handle on their own the cross-border flow of ideas, images and resources that affect cultural development.
- c) The growing divide in literacy (digital and conventional) have made the cultural debates and resources an increasingly elitist monopoly, divorced from the capabilities and interests of more than half the world's population who are now in danger of cultural and economical exclusion.

Economic Globalization is at present remapping the world at high speed, with its disillusion of national boundaries and its re-definition of relations in world trade, foreign investment and capital markets, abetted by technological advancement on an incredible level. Free movement of finance capital, goods and services, foreign direct investment, technology, management and enterprise have all ushered in a new era. New actors like the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank have now gained a predominant place in the global scene. This situation poses formidable challenges for the countries of the Third World, particularly because, coming as it does from the West, Globalization has all the potential of a new colonialism and can raise a serious threat to the sovereignty of nations. Moreover, the very dynamic of Globalization, with its laws of the market economy, tends to undermine the genuine interests of the developing / underdeveloped nations and also accelerates the marginalization of the global poor. It is no surprise that a global mass movement has taken place in recent time that speaks in terms of a viable alternative to globalisations, envisaging the possibility of "another world." In view of all this, developing nations like India have got to devise their policies and programmes in such a way as to make use of the immense possibilities thrown up by Globalization even while opposing the tendencies of neo-colonialism and negation of equity characteristic of the process.

Cultural Globalization, at the same time, has raised issues of serious concern for the countries of the Third World. The global culture which moves with tremendous speed, traversing national boundaries, is a "media-driven construct." Propelled by the formidable growth of information technology, it is essentially consumerist in character and rests on the commodification of culture, aiming at maximum profits in the market. It is also a source for the experience of postmodernity, with its glossy spectacles and electronic simulations; it leads us to a make-believe world where we live 'fictional lives.' Predominantly US-centric, this process has triggered off the fear that it leads to electronic imperialism and that its main thrust is towards cultural homogenisation and eradication of local cultures. Hence the global versus the local has become a major issue in the Globalization discourse. However, there are those who believe that Cultural Globalization opens up unprecedented opportunities for local cultures to flourish and tends to provide them with global visibility and added value. In a country like India, it is argued, Cultural Globalization has opened up "a new channel of hope for the historically suppressed masses" by making possible cultural integration of the productive mass culture with the global culture. This criss-cross of conflicting views, in the ultimate analysis, points to the very complexity of the issues involved in Cultural Globalization.

MIKHAIL BAKHTIN

Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975), a Russian literary scholar, through a life-long study of the novel came to the realization that novel is that exceptionally unique genre in which the author cannot give privilege to one specific idea. These ideas emerge from a set of philosophical theories such as those of Kant, Hegel and Marx, which were widespread in the early twentieth-century Anglo-American academies. Bakhtin's primary commitment in the 1920s was to philosophy; it was only subsequently that he concentrated on the novel, as the form which gave substance to some of his characteristic philosophical concerns.

Toward a Philosophy of the Act is one of Bakhtin's early works concerning ethics and aesthetics. During his time in Leningrad Bakhtin shifted his focus away from the philosophy characteristic of his early works and towards the notion of dialogue. It is at this time that he began his engagement with the work of Dostoevsky. *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Art* is considered to be Bakhtin's seminal work.

In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Art*, Bakhtin pointed out that individual people cannot be finalized, completely understood, or known. Bakhtin's conception of 'unfinalizability' acknowledges that a person can change, and that a person is never fully revealed or fully known in the world. These ideas are strongly influenced by Christianity and in the Neo-Kantian school led by Hermann Cohen, both of which emphasized the importance of an individual's potentially infinite capability, worth, and the hidden soul. The idea of the relationship between the self and others, or other groups emerges from this concept of the unfinalizability of the individual. According to Bakhtin, every person is influenced by others in an inescapably intertwined way, and consequently no voice can be said to be isolated. This theory laid the foundations of Bakhtin's path-breaking concept, polyphony. Bakhtin found in Dostoevsky's work a true representation of polyphony, that is, many voices. Each character in Dostoevsky's work represents a voice that represents an individual self, distinct from others. This idea of polyphony is related to the concepts of unfinalizability and Self and Other, since it is the unfinalizability of individuals that creates true polyphony.

Bakhtin later added to this book a chapter on the concept of 'carnival' and the work was published as *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. 'Carnival' is the concept in which distinct individual voices are heard, flourish, and interact together. The carnival was Bakhtin's way of describing Dostoevsky's polyphonic style: each individual character is strongly defined, and there is a critical influence of each character upon another. That is, the voices of others are heard by each individual, and each inescapably shapes the character of the other.

Bakhtin's doctoral thesis on the French renaissance poet François Rabelais initially invited harsh criticism, and Bakhtin was even denied his doctorate. The dissertation was subsequently published in 1965, as *Rabelais and His World*. *Rabelais and His World* is now considered one of Bakhtin's most important texts, and it is here that Bakhtin explores Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel. Throughout the text, Bakhtin attempts two things: he seeks to recover sections of Gargantua and Pantagruel that, in the past, were either ignored or suppressed, and conducts an analysis of the Renaissance social system in order to discover the balance between language that was permitted and language which was not. By means of this analysis Bakhtin illustrates two concepts—carnival (a social institution), and grotesque realism (a literary mode). Thus, in *Rabelais and His World* Bakhtin studies the interaction between the social and the literary, as well as the meaning of the body.

For Bakhtin, carnival is associated with the collectivity; for those attending a carnival do not merely constitute a crowd; rather the people are seen as a whole, organized in a way that defies socioeconomic and political organization. According to Bakhtin, all were considered equal during carnival. In the town square, a special form of free and familiar contact existed among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, and age. At carnival time, the unique sense of time and space causes the individual to feel he is a part of the collectivity, at which point he ceases to be himself. It is at this point that, through costume and mask, an individual exchanges bodies and is renewed. At the same time there arises a heightened awareness of one's sensual, material, bodily unity and community.

Bakhtin's notion of 'carnival' is connected with that of the 'grotesque'. The collectivity partaking in the carnival is aware of its unity in time as well as its historic immortality associated with its continual death and renewal. According to Bakhtin, the body is in need of a type of clock if it to be aware of its timelessness. The 'grotesque' is the term used by Bakhtin to describe the emphasis of bodily changes through eating, evacuation, and sex: it is used as a measuring device.

The *Dialogic Imagination* is a compilation of four essays concerning language and the novel: "Epic and Novel", "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse", "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel", and "Discourse in the Novel". In the nineteenth century the novel as a literary genre became increasingly popular, but for most of its history it has been an area of study often disregarded. It is through the essays contained within *The Dialogic Imagination* that Bakhtin introduces the concepts of 'heteroglossia' and 'chronotope'.

In *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin demonstrates the novel's distinct nature by contrasting it with the epic. Here, Bakhtin shows that the novel is well suited to the post-industrial civilization in which we live because it flourishes on diversity. It is this same diversity that the epic attempts to eliminate from the world. According to Bakhtin, the novel as a genre is unique in that it is able to embrace, imbibe, and devour other genres while still maintaining its status as a novel. Other genres, however, cannot imitate the novel without damaging their own distinct identity.

A major concept introduced in *The Dialogic Imagination* is 'chronotope.' 'Chronotope' means "time space" and, in the essay, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," Bakhtin defines it as "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (*Dialogic Imagination* 84). For the purpose of his writing, an author must create entire worlds and, in doing so, is forced to make use of the organizing categories of the real world in which he lives. 'Chronotope' is a concept that engages reality.

The essay, "Discourse in the Novel," introduces the concept of heteroglossia. The term heteroglossia describes the many-voicedness of language. Although languages present themselves as unified and homogeneous (monoglossic), Bakhtin shows that they are actually always fractured and stratified (heteroglossic). According to Bakhtin, earliest societies were characterized by "monoglossia," or a stable, unified language. "Polyglossia" refers to the simultaneity of two or more national languages in the same society, a phenomenon which developed, as Bakhtin points out, in ancient Rome and during the Renaissance. 'Heteroglossia' ('different-speech-ness'), refers to the conflict between 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal,' 'official' and 'unofficial' discourses within the same national language. It also means that every utterance contains within it the trace of other utterances, both in the past and in

the future. The situation within one natural language is comparable to and can be represented by the fight between the various 'dialects' or languages in a polylingual society. This heterogeneity of natural language is heteroglossia. Heteroglossia accounts for both the common social nature of language as a shared code and for the individual appropriation of language in use. The conflict between different voices is most evident in the modern novel. 'Heteroglossia' is different from 'polyphony.' The latter term is used by Bakhtin primarily to describe Dostoevsky's 'multi-voiced' novels, whereby author's and heroes' discourses interact on equal terms. 'Heteroglossia,' on the other hand, foregrounds the clash of antagonistic social forces. The notion of speech genre as a further development of the concept of heteroglossia introduces the idea of stability in language. Here Bakhtin moves away from the novel and concerns himself with the problems of method and the nature of culture.

MICHEL FOUCAULT

Foucault is known for his critical studies of various social institutions, most notably psychiatry, medicine, and the prison system, and also for his work on the history of sexuality. His work concerning power and the relation between power and knowledge, as well as his ideas concerning "discourse" in relation to the history of Western thought, have been widely discussed and applied.

His work is often described as postmodernist or post-structuralist by commentators and critics. During the 1960s, however, he was more often associated with the structuralist movement. Although he was initially happy with this description, he later emphasised his distance from the structuralist approach. By contrast, he completely shirked the post-structuralist and postmodernist labels, rather identifying himself as part of modernity.

Works

Madness and Civilization

The English edition of *Madness and Civilization* is an abridged version of *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, originally published in 1961. This was Foucault's first major book, written while he was the Director of the Maison de France in Sweden. It examines ideas, practices, institutions, art and literature relating to madness in Western history.

Foucault begins his history in the Middle Ages, noting the social and physical exclusion of lepers. He argues that with the gradual disappearance of leprosy, madness came to occupy this excluded position. The ship of fools in the 15th century is a literary version of one such exclusionary practice, the practice of sending mad people away in ships. In 17th century Europe, in a movement which Foucault famously describes as the Great Confinement, "unreasonable" members of the population were locked away and institutionalised. In the eighteenth century, madness came to be seen as the obverse of Reason, and, finally, in the nineteenth century as mental illness.

Foucault also argues that madness lost its power to signify the limits of social order and to point to the truth and was silenced by Reason. He examines the rise of scientific and "humanitarian" treatments of the insane, notably at the hands of Philippe Pinel and Samuel Tuke. He claims that these new treatments were in fact no less controlling than previous methods. Tuke's country retreat for the mad consisted of punishing the madmen until they learned to act "reasonably". Similarly, Pinel's treatment of the mad amounted to an extended aversion therapy, including such treatments as freezing showers and use of a straitjacket. In Foucault's view, this treatment amounted to repeated brutality until the pattern of judgment and punishment was internalized by the patient.

The Birth of the Clinic

Foucault's second major book, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (*Naissance de la clinique: une archéologie du regard médical* in French) was published in 1963 in France, and translated to English in 1973. Picking up from *Madness and Civilization*, *The Birth of the Clinic* traces the development of the medical profession, and specifically the institution of the clinique (translated as "clinic", but here largely referring to teaching hospitals). Its motif is the concept of the medical regard (a concept which has garnered a lot of attention from English-language readers, due to Alan Sheridan's unusual translation, "medical gaze").

The Order of Things

Foucault's *Les Mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines* was published in 1966. It was translated into English in 1970 under the title *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Foucault had preferred *L'Ordre des Choses* for the original French title, but changed the title to suit the wishes of his editor).

The book opened with an extended discussion of Diego Velázquez's painting *Las Meninas* and its complex arrangement of sight-lines, hiddenness and appearance. Then it developed its central claim: that all periods of history possessed certain underlying conditions of truth that constituted what was acceptable as, for example, scientific discourse. Foucault argued that these conditions of discourse changed over time, in major and relatively sudden shifts, from one period's episteme to another.

The Order of Things brought Foucault to prominence as an intellectual figure in France. A review by Jean-Paul Sartre attacked Foucault as 'the last rampart of the bourgeoisie'.

The Archaeology of Knowledge

Published in 1969, this volume was Foucault's main excursion into methodology. He wrote it in order to deal with the reception that *Les Mots et les choses* had received. It makes references to Anglo-American analytical philosophy, particularly speech act theory.

Foucault directs his analysis toward the "statement", the basic unit of discourse that he believes has been ignored up to this point. "Statement" is the English translation from French *énoncé* (that which is enunciated or expressed), which has a peculiar meaning for Foucault. "Énoncé" for Foucault means that which makes propositions, utterances, or speech acts meaningful. In this understanding, statements themselves are not propositions, utterances, or speech acts. Rather, statements create a network of rules establishing what is meaningful, and it is these rules that are the preconditions for propositions, utterances, or speech acts to have meaning. Depending on whether or not they comply with the rules of meaning, a grammatically correct sentence may still lack meaning and inversely, an incorrect sentence may still be meaningful. Statements depend on the conditions in which they emerge and exist within a field of discourse. It is huge entities of statements, called discursive formations, toward which Foucault aims his analysis. It is important to note that Foucault reiterates that the analysis he is outlining is only one possible tactic, and that he is not seeking to displace other ways of analysing discourse or render them as invalid.

Foucault's posture toward the statements is radical. Not only does he bracket out issues of truth; he also brackets out issues of meaning. Rather than looking for a deeper meaning underneath discourse or looking for the source of meaning in some transcendental subject, Foucault analyzes the conditions of existence for meaning. In order to show the principles of meaning production in various discursive formations he details how truth claims emerge during various epochs on the basis of what was actually said and written during these periods of time. He particularly describes the Renaissance, the Age of Enlightenment, and the 20th Century. He strives to avoid all interpretation and to depart from the goals of hermeneutics. This posture allows Foucault to move away from an anthropological standpoint and focus on the role of discursive practices.

Dispensing with finding a deeper meaning behind discourse would appear to lead Foucault toward structuralism. However, whereas structuralists search for homogeneity in a discursive entity, Foucault focuses on differences. Instead of asking what constitutes the specificity of European thought he asks what differences develop within it over time. Therefore, he refuses to examine statements outside of their role in the discursive formation, and he never examines possible statements that could have emerged from such a formation. His identity as a historian emerges here, as he is only interested in analysing actual statements in history. The whole of the system and its discursive rules determine the identity of the statement. But, a discursive formation continually generates new statements, and some of these usher in changes in the discursive formation that may or may not be realized. Therefore, to describe a discursive formation, Foucault also focuses on expelled and forgotten discourses that never happen to change the discursive formation. Their difference to the dominant discourse also describes it. In this way one can describe specific systems that determine which types of statements emerge.

Discipline and Punish

The book opens with a graphic description of the brutal public execution in 1757 of Robert-François Damiens, who attempted to kill Louis XV. Against this it juxtaposes a colourless prison timetable from just over 80 years later. Foucault then inquires how such a change in French society's punishment of convicts could have developed in such a short time. These are snapshots of two contrasting types of Foucault's "Technologies of Punishment". The first type, "Monarchical Punishment", involves the repression of the populace through brutal public displays of executions and torture. The second, "Disciplinary Punishment," is what Foucault says is practiced in the modern era. Disciplinary punishment gives "professionals" (psychologists, programme facilitators, parole officers, etc.) power over the prisoner, most notably in that the prisoner's length of stay depends on the professionals' opinion.

Foucault also compares modern society with Jeremy Bentham's "Panopticon" design for prisons (which was unrealized in its original form, but nonetheless influential): in the Panopticon, a single guard can watch over many prisoners while the guard remains unseen. The dark dungeon of pre-modernity has been replaced with the bright modern prison, but Foucault cautions that "visibility is a trap". It is through this visibility, Foucault writes, that modern society exercises its controlling systems of power and knowledge (terms which Foucault believed to be so fundamentally connected that he often combined them in a single hyphenated concept, "power-knowledge"). Increasing visibility leads to power located on an increasingly individualized level, shown by the possibility for institutions to track individuals throughout their lives. Foucault suggests that a "carceral continuum" runs through modern society, from the maximum security prison, through secure accommodation, probation, social workers, police, and teachers, to our everyday working and domestic lives. All are connected by the (witting or unwitting) supervision (surveillance, application of norms of acceptable behaviour) of some humans by others.

The History of Sexuality

Three volumes of *The History of Sexuality* were published before Foucault's death in 1984. The first and most referenced volume, *The Will to Knowledge* (previously known as *An Introduction* in English – *Histoire de la sexualité*, I: *la volonté de savoir* in French) was published in France in 1976, and translated in 1977, focusing primarily on the last two centuries, and the functioning of sexuality as an analytics of power related to the emergence of a science of sexuality (*scientia sexualis*) and the emergence of biopower in the West. In this volume he attacks the "repressive hypothesis," the very widespread belief that we have, particularly since the nineteenth century, "repressed" our natural sexual drives. He shows that what we think of as "repression" of sexuality actually constituted sexuality as a core feature of our identities, and produced a proliferation of discourse on the subject.

The second two volumes, *The Use of Pleasure* (*Histoire de la sexualité*, II: *l'usage des plaisirs*) and *The Care of the Self* (*Histoire de la sexualité*, III: *le souci de soi*) dealt with the role of sex in Greek and Roman antiquity. Both were published in 1984, the year of Foucault's death, with the second volume being translated in 1985, and the third in 1986. Some believe that a fourth volume, dealing with the Christian era, was almost complete at the time of Foucault's death. Foucault scholar and friend, Arnold Davidson, has denied that an intended fourth and fifth volume in the series had ever been written.

What is an 'event'?

According to Foucault, an event is not a decision, a treaty, reign, or a battle, but the reversal of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it, a feeble domination that poisons itself as it grows lax, the entry of a masked 'Other'. In short, haphazard conflicts make events. As per Foucault, 'Effective' history deals with such events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations.

ECOCRITICISM

Ecocriticism began in the mid 1990s as a study of the relationship between literature and the natural environment. It was heralded by the publication of two works, both published in 1966—*The Ecocriticism Reader* edited by Glotfelty and Fromm and *The Environmental Imagination* by Buell. Though what exactly constitutes ecocriticism is a point of contention it can be considered a revision of the undervalued genre of nature writing and constitutes an ethical stand in this exploration of the subjectivity of nature rather than taking nature as the objective thematic study. Rather than simply a study of nature and natural processes ecocritical theory is committed to the representation of thematic, artistic, social, historical and ideological functions of nature in literature and other documents and its relation to the material world. Like Feminism at its best, ecocriticism investigates the connections among selves, society, nature and text, imbibing ecologically oriented poststructural perspectives. Ecocriticism, in its decanonizing endeavours compliments the feminist and multicultural approaches. Ecocritics raise questions like the following: What role does setting play in a work of art? In addition to race, class and gender, should place become a new critical category? Do men write about nature differently than women do? How has the concept of wilderness changed over time? How is environmental crisis creeping into contemporary literature and culture? What effect might the science of ecology have on literary studies? How is science itself open up to literary analysis?

Literary theory examines the relationships between the writer texts and the world, where the world is synonymous with the social sphere. Ecocritics expand the notion of the world to include the entire ecosphere. Ecocriticism also involves eclectic associations with feminism and indigenous studies. Ecofeminists argue that a relationship exists between the oppression of women and the degradation of nature and the intersectionality between sexism, racism, domination of nature and other characteristics of social inequality. The term ecofeminism was coined by Francoise d'Eauvonne. In postcolonial studies of native or indigenous communities ecocriticism takes up a lead role. The imperialist domination of indigenous people has invariably worked through the domination and usurpation of the land. In the postcolonial context reclaiming the land is as pertinent an issue as reclaiming voice or history. Thus a critique of imperialist expansion involves an ecocritical understanding of land rights and issues of belonging to one's land.

INDIAN ENGLISH NOVEL: A QUICK VIEW

A powerful national struggle against British imperialism developed in India during the second half of the nineteenth century. Though Indian English novel came to the forefront only in the late twenties, it was in the formative stages much before 1920. The awakening of Indian nationalism gave rise to the historical romance, a trend noticeable in a number of novels which appeared in the early part of the twentieth century in India. The themes and motifs mobilized by writers of this period show a strong preponderance of patriotic fervour.

The national upsurge, fast moving towards a heroic struggle for freedom motivated by the shattering impact of World War I and the tightening stranglehold of the British imperialism provided an immediate impetus for the Indo-Anglian novel. The initial vogue of the historical romances, obviously associated with the awakening of Indian nationalism, soon started co-existing with the more recent social and political awareness which swept over other Indian literatures of the time. As nationalist feeling came to the forefront of Indian life, even purely social reform

novels were inflamed by politics, since any desire to improve the lot of people was bound to link with political independence. The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene, after the end of the First World War, influenced the educated and uneducated, the intelligentsia as well as the geniuses. Indians belonging to all religions, castes, classes, age-groups and language-groups were influenced by him. Many novels written or published between 1930 and 1947 deal with the freedom struggle, Gandhian ideology, political unrest and Gandhian reforms with regard to socio-economic problems. Such novels include K. S. Ventakaramani's *Murugan the Tiller and Kundan, the Patriot*, Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938), K. A. Abbas' *Tomorrow is Ours* (1943), Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935), *Coolie* (1936), and *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937), and Bhabani Bhattacharya's *So Many Hungers* (1947). These novels are thematically national and show that major Indian fiction in English written before the attainment of independence in 1947 was sociologically and politically oriented.

Peace and independence came to India in 1947, but the partition brought bloodshed, massacres and disillusionment in the hour of national jubilation. The partition and its horrendous consequences constitute the main focus in a group of novels which provide gripping accounts of the horrors of partition. Among such novels are Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* (1956) and Chaman Nahal's *Azadi* (1975).

The most remarkable trend noticeable in post-independence fiction is the shift in emphasis from a concern with society to a concern with private life and individual consciousness. After independence, some new themes also emerged, some of them being the search for modernity, the issues of hunger and poverty, the search for identity, the East-West encounter, rootlessness and alienation, and the plight of Indian immigrants abroad.

Post-independence novelists like Anita Desai and Arun Joshi have dealt with the theme of alienation and rootlessness with sensitivity. The psychological and existential concerns of Anita Desai find expression in her *Cry, the Peacock* (1963), *Voices in the City* (1965), *Where Shall We Go This Summer?* (1975) and *Fire on the Mountain* (1977). Arun Joshi, in his novels like *The Foreigner* (1968) and *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* (1971), has drawn soul-searching imaginative portraits of the alienated individual in independent India.

The theme of hunger and poverty finds a touching expression in such novels as Kamala Markandaya's *Nectar in a Sieve* (1954) and *A Handful of Rice* (1966), and Bhabani Bhattacharya's *So Many Hungers* (1947) and *He Who Rides a Tiger* (1954). These novels portray hunger and poverty, pathos and peasantry, with a naturalistic candour.

Some of the novels dealing with the theme of the Indian immigrants abroad are Anita Desai's *Bye-Bye Blackbird* (1971), Kamala Markandaya's *The Nowhere Man* (1972), and Bharati Mukherjee's *Wife* (1976). The theme of East-West encounter is artistically explored in many novels. Notable among them are Raja Rao's *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960), Kamala Markandaya's *Possession* (1963), Ruth Praver Jhabvala's *Esmond in India* (1958) and *A Backward Place* (1965), and Nayantara Sahgal's *Rich Like Us* (1985). These novels also touch upon the theme of search for identity.

After the 1980s, Indian English fiction has had a very luxuriant growth, with many novels written by Indian English novelists and by writers of the Indian diaspora. Bijay Kumar Das, in his book *Postmodern Indian English Literature*, comments that post-1980 Indian English fiction is "postmodern and post-colonial fiction with a new exuberance of language resulting in the creation of an Indian English idiom, and its emphasis on history and myths of the land, and above all, sexual frankness" (93).

Love, sex and marriage, or the failure of it, are some of the leading themes of the novels published after 1980. Manju Kapur in *Difficult Daughters* (1998), Shiv K. Kumar in *A River with Three Banks* (1998) and Arundhati Roy in *The God of Small Things* (1997) have described love and sex in bold and unconventional terms. In her novels, Shobha De depicts the breaking up of the institution of marriage, the new concept of sexual freedom with no notion of fidelity, love, sex and quarrels within the ambit of fictional framework. Shashi Deshpande, in almost all her novels, depicts the plight of women in our society. Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* (1993) is about match-making and it deals with the quest for a suitable boy for Lata.

Contemporary reality and political scenario continue to attract the novelists without end. Shashi Tharoor's *The Great Indian Novel* (1989) is a satirical portrayal of the political history of modern India, modelled on the Mahabharata. The socio-political reality of independent India during the troubled years, when India fought two wars with Pakistan and one with China, is aptly represented in Rohinton Mistry's *Such a Long Journey* (1991). The dark days of the Emergency in which the fundamental freedom guaranteed by the Indian Constitution was suspended, are showcased in Nayantara Sahgal's *Rich Like Us* (1985), Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1980) and Rohinton Mistry's *A Fine Balance* (1996).

Upamanyu Chatterjee is also a notable person for his *English, August*, which was a great success. The *Last Burden*, his second novel, gives us a fascinating portrait of an Indian middle-class family at the end of the twentieth century. The novelist adopts the technique of flashback and flash-forward to project his materials. He presents a funny, bitterly accurate and vivid portrait of the awesome burden of family ties. It takes a close look at an Indian family—the complexity of relationships and how they change as a cataclysmic event occurs.

Amitav Ghosh is a writer of the shifting ongoing migrations and transnational cultural flows, a writer who questions the validities of boundaries and borders. Colonisation, recolonisation, neo-colonisation and decolonisation are recurring thoughts in Ghosh's works. His writings portray the confrontations in the postcolonial society: offering potential resistance to the dominant ideology, and at the same time collaborating with it. Ghosh seems to be very meticulous in portraying the colonial experiences and memories of a time gone by. Ghosh's works include *The Circle*

of Reason, The Shadow Lines, In An Antique Land, Dancing in Cambodia, The Calcutta Chromosome, The Glass Palace and most recently, The Hungry Tide.

Distinguished writers of the Indian diaspora include V. S. Naipaul, Bharati Mukherjee, Gita Mehta, Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Amitav Ghosh, Anita Desai and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni. In their works these writers map the entire immigrant experience and concentrate on such aspects as migration, multi-culturalism, dislocation and relocation. Nostalgia is a major preoccupation of these writers who seek to locate themselves in new cultures. Amitav Ghosh and Salman Rushdie are two South Asian writers who discuss diaspora through the representation of history.

Diasporic writers of Indian origin reflect in their works the influences of “Desi Literature”. The word “Desi” is a cultural self-identifying term that means “of our land”, referring to the South Asian diaspora. Among people from the Indian sub-continent, especially in the English-speaking First World countries, this term refers to the post-colonial blend of culture and identity of the South Asian communities of the west, crossing national and cultural boundaries. Noted “Desi” writers of Indian origin include Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Arundhati Roy, Anita Desai, Monica Ali, and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni.

Contemporary diasporic women writers of Indian origin include Bharati Mukherjee, Meera Nair, Anita Desai, Radhika Jha, Jaishree Misra, Anita Desai, Amulya Malladi and Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni. In their works, characters grapple with issues of identity and the notions and reality of a distant homeland. Literature produced by the diasporic South Asian women writers clearly demonstrate that the notions of self and identity as conceived of by the women characters, change over time, depending on their location and environment. In the West, especially in North America, which offers a different culture and different set of norms that facilitate liberation for women from patriarchy, immigrant women attempt to transcend societal bonds and re-create their sense of self and re-define their identity.

Bharati Mukherjee is counted as one of the earliest and most successful diasporic writers of Indian origin, who offers assimilation as the perfect solution for immigrants facing identity crisis in her novels, short stories and essays. In her novel *Jasmine* published in 1991, she presents the protagonist as leaving the constrictions of orthodoxy in India to embrace the freedom and opportunity of America. In spite of facing bitter experiences in America *Jasmine* moves to California as an attempt to re-invent her ‘American’ identity. In her later works *The Holder of the World* (1993) and *Leave It to Me* (1997), Mukherjee tries to find if the idea of an American identity can exist in the modern world of hybridity.

Among the works of the second generation of Diasporic women writers, Meera Nair, the Brooklyn based writer, deserves special mention. Her collection of ten stories: *Video: Stories* was selected for the 2003 Asian American Literary Award. With nine of the stories set in India, the work masterfully evokes the Indian immigrant experience by faithfully reflecting how the traditional Indian culture confronts the onrush of change.

Delhi-based writer Radhika Jha’s debut novel, *Smell*, focuses on the life of a Gujarati Indian girl with an uncanny sense of smell who is sent to Paris to live with her relatives following the murder of her father living in Nairobi and the migration of her mother and two siblings to England. The novel explores the protagonist’s struggle for existence in an alien land and search for identity, which finally leaves her life unmoored and uncertain amidst a confusing medley of unsatisfactory relationships.

The London-based author Jaishree Misra, the author of the best-selling novels *Ancient Promises* and *Accidents Like Love and Marriage* works out the theme of rootlessness. Her recent book, *Afterwards*, picks up from where *Ancient Promises* ends. It tells of love, loss and reconciliation from the perspective of a man. Misra explains that *Ancient Promises* is about a woman liberating herself, while *Afterwards* deals with loss and reconciliation. All of Misra’s works set in the domestic sphere deal with love, marriage and loss and faithfully reflect the dilemma faced by Indian women who experience the sense of dislocation while living as Indians who divide their lives between the multi-cultural spheres in North India, South India and finally in London, their current abode.

Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni is an important South Asian woman poet and writer who focuses on diasporic themes in her works. The life of the South Asian immigrant community is a recurring theme in Divakaruni’s works. Divakaruni’s plots set in India or America, feature Indian-born-women torn between old and new-world values. Whether in California, Chicago or Calcutta, women learn to adapt to their new and changing culture, and as a result discover their own sense of self amidst joy and heartbreak. Family and female bonding are the other recurring themes in Divakaruni’s works. Existence of strong relations of friendship among women, spiritual and emotional bonds between sisters and the complex psychological relationship between mothers and sisters are featured prominently in her novels and short stories.

Objective Questions

Based on past question papers

1. Theatres were closed down in the year _____. (1642)
2. Dryden's All for Love shares the theme of Shakespeare's _____. (Antony and Cleopatra)
3. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding was written by _____. (John Locke)
4. The Vanity of Dogmatizing was written by _____. (Joseph Glanvill)
5. Who said, "True wit is nature to advantage dressed, / What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed"? (Pope in "An Essay on Criticism")
6. Dr. Primrose is a character in _____. (The Vicar of Wakefield)
7. Neo-classical satire has been influenced by the classical Roman satirists _____ and _____. (Horace and Juvenal)
8. Moral Essays were written by _____. (Alexander Pope)
9. Swift's The Battle of Books was written as a result of the publication of an essay on ancient and modern learning by _____. (William Temple)
10. Johnson's Dictionary was published in the year _____. (1755)
11. Johnson's Dictionary was dedicated to _____. (Chesterfield)
12. The heroic couplet was introduced in English poetry by _____. (Chaucer)
13. Who said that Dryden and Pope are classics of prose, not poetry? (Matthew Arnold)
14. Pope's Dunciad is dedicated to _____. (Jonathan Swift)
15. Who said, "Willing to wound but afraid to strike"? (Pope, in his caricature of Addison as Atticus in Prologue to Satires)
16. The name assumed by Arnold in Thyrsis is _____. (Corydon)
17. Becky Sharp is a character in _____. (Vanity Fair)
18. Egdon Heath figures in the novel _____. (The Return of the Native)
19. The character Lilith appears in _____. (Shaw's Back to Methuselah)
20. The line "To purify the dialect of the tribe" occurs in the poem _____. ("Little Gidding" in Four Quartets. This is borrowed from the French critic Mallarmé.)
21. Savage John is a character in _____. (Brave New World by Huxley)
22. The Moon and Six Pence is written by _____. (Somerset Maugham)
23. The year of the Peasants' Revolt. (1381)
24. Caxton's printing press was established in _____. (1476)
25. Sir Thomas More's execution took place on _____. (6 July 1535)
26. The year in which the plague or Black Death hit London. (1563)
27. Which of Shakespeare's romances has a masque within a play? (The Tempest)
28. Who was the first to use the term "Metaphysical" for a particular kind of poetry? (Dryden)
29. Who wrote the essay "Of Myself"? (Abraham Cowley)
30. Lady Booby is a character in the novel _____. (Joseph Andrews)
31. Who is the author of The Lady's Last Stake? (Colly Cibber)
32. Dryden's The Conquest of Granada is a _____. (heroic tragedy)
33. Milton's Comus is a _____. (masque)
34. The Authorized Version of the Bible was made in the year _____. (1611)
35. Byron's _____ is an epic satire. (Don Juan)
36. "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen." This line occurs in _____. (Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard)
37. Asia figures in Shelley's _____. (Prometheus Unbound)
38. Diana of the Crossways was written by _____. (Meredith)
39. The Idea of a University was written by _____. (Newman)
40. Pinter's The Birthday Party is an example of _____ play. (absurd)
41. Who called Kyd "sporting Kyd"? (Ben Jonson)
42. The _____ Tale in The Canterbury Tales is in prose. (Parson's)
43. Who said that Shakespeare's Lear is unactable? (Charles Lamb)
44. Milton is a symbolic play by _____. (Blake)

45. "Autobiography of a Steam Engine" is a description of _____. (Dickens's *Dombey and Son*)
46. Wordsworth's poems are said to have proved a medicine for _____. (Arnold)
47. "And he never lifted up a single stone." This line appears in _____. (Wordsworth's *Michael*)
48. Who wrote *The Cloister and the Hearth*? (Charles Reade)
49. *Look Back in Anger* was first performed in _____. (1956)
50. *A Room with a View* is a novel by _____. (E.M. Forster)
51. "Esemplastic" in Coleridge's theory means _____. (shaping power)
52. "Light breaks where no sun shines" is a line by _____. (Dylan Thomas)
53. The author of the novel *The Bell* is _____. (Iris Murdoch)
54. _____ published the poetry of Hopkins. (Robert Bridges)
55. Blake's earliest published volume of poetry is _____. (*Poetical Sketches*)
56. The last completed novel of Conrad was _____. (*The Rover*)
57. *Revaluations* was written by _____. (F.R. Leavis)
58. Who said, "I've measured out my life with coffee spoons"? (Alfred Prufrock—in Eliot's *Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*)
59. Who introduced blank verse in English drama? (Thomas Norton)
60. At what time was the Commonwealth established in England? (mid-17th century)
61. The author of *Uses of Literacy*. (Richard Hoggart)
62. How long does Robinson Crusoe live on the deserted island? (21 years and 2 months)
63. The Great Exhibition of London took place in _____. (1851)
64. The term "sweetness and light" was first used by _____. (Swift. Arnold borrowed this)
65. "Cover her face, mine eyes dazzle, she died young." These words are spoken by _____. (Ferdinand in *"The Duchess of Malfi"*)
66. Dryden's essay *Of Dramatick Poesy* is in the form of _____. (a dialogue)
67. The original version of *The Prelude* was completed in _____. (1805)
68. Who is afraid of Virginia Woolf is an absurdist play by _____. (Edward Albee)
69. Who famously suggested that Satan is the real hero of *Paradise Lost*? (Dryden)
70. Who said that Milton is "the Devil's party without knowing it"? (William Blake)
71. The character Pygmalion is a _____. (Greek sculptor)
72. Which is the Yeatsian character which makes a direct reference to Shakespeare's tragic characters? (Lapis Lazuli)
73. Which is the Biblical character synonymous with patience? (Job)
74. The story of Sohrab and Rustum is taken from the Middle Eastern poet _____. (Firdausi)
75. In which metre is heroic verse is written? (iambic pentameter)
76. The terms 'flat' and 'round' characters were coined by _____. (E.M. Forster)
77. *The Novel and the Modern World* is written by _____. (David Daiches)
78. Dylan Thomas belonged to the _____ Movement. (*New Apocalypse*)
79. Who wrote *The Way of the World*? (Congreve)
80. To which literary genre does Chevy Chase belong? (Ballad)
81. Who called Spenser "the poets' poet"? (Charles Lamb)
82. Who was Scott's biographer? (Lockhart)
83. Who wrote the play *The Lady's Not for Burning*? (Christopher Fry)
84. What was Charlotte Brontë's pen name? (Currer Bell)
85. Who is the author of the critical treatise "On Knocking on the Gate in *Macbeth*"? (Thomas de Quincey)
86. _____ was Elizabeth I's tutor who wrote *The School Master*. (Roger Ascham)
87. The Caroline poets in England lived during the time of _____. (King Charles I)
88. *Paradise Lost* initially had _____ books. (10)
89. Tennyson's *In Memoriam* mourns the death of _____. (Arthur Hallam)
90. Who is the author of *Arcadia*? (Philip Sidney)
91. _____ was the first English comedy. (Ralph Roister Doister)

92. Who developed the Irregular Ode? (Abraham Cowley)
93. _____ is the author of Prometheus Bound. (Aeschylus)
94. Who developed the concept of “negative capability”? (John Keats)
95. Mrs. Malaprop is a character in _____. (Sheridan’s The Rivals)
96. _____ was a Jesuit periodical during the time of Hopkins. (The Month)
97. The periodical The Review was published by _____. (Daniel Defoe)
98. The First Folio of Shakespeare’s works was published in the year _____. (1623)
99. _____ was the heroine of Sidney’s sonnets. (Lady Penelope Devereaux)
100. The Shepheardes Calendar was written by _____. (Edmund Spenser)
101. Who was the first practitioner of sonnets? (Dante)
102. _____ was the first publisher of Shakespeare’s sonnets. (Thomas Thorpe)
103. “How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?” was written by _____. (L.C. Knights)
104. Which was Shakespeare’s swansong? (The Tempest)
105. Who coined the term “University Wits”? (Saintsbury)
106. Who coined the term “Art for Art’s Sake”? (Oscar Wilde)
107. Who coined the term “stream-of-consciousness”? (William James, in Principles of Psychology)
108. Samuel Langhorne Clemens was the pen name of _____. (Mark Twain)
109. To whom is The Faerie Queene dedicated? (Walter Raleigh)
110. Wordsworth’s The Prelude is subtitled _____. (“Growth of a Poet’s Mind”)
111. The New Testament has _____ books. (27)
112. The spiritual autobiography of Bunyan is _____. (Grace Abounding)
113. Who developed the literary style called Euphuism? (John Lyly)
114. The carpe diem philosophy is associated with the classical writer _____. (Catullus)
115. _____ is a poem by Tennyson which dwells on the theme of women’s education. (The Princess)
116. Keats’s Endymion is dedicated to _____. (Chatterton)
117. The play _____ is subtitled “A Trivial Comedy for Serious People”. (The Importance of Being Earnest)
118. Shakespeare’s Twelfth Night is subtitled _____. (What You Will)
119. Milton’s Grand Style is closest to _____. (baroque)
120. Milton’s epitaph on his friend Diodati was _____. (Epitaphium Demonis)
121. The title of the Shakespearean play Measure for Measure is taken from _____. (the Bible)
122. Apologie for Poetrie was written by _____. (Philip Sidney)
123. _____ and _____ are Pindaric odes written by Thomas Gray. (The Bard and Progress of Poesy)
124. Shakespearean Tragedy was written by _____. (A.C. Bradley)
125. Vathek is a Gothic novel written by _____. (William Beckford)
126. The Temple is a famous metaphysical poem by _____. (George Herbert)
127. The Collar is a metaphysical poem by _____. (George Herbert)
128. _____ was a major classical influence on neo-classical tragedy. (Racine)
129. Bodabill is a character in _____. (Jonson’s Everyman in His Humour)
130. The pioneer of the historical novel in English, who was nicknamed “The Great Unknown” was _____. (Sir Walter Scott)
131. _____ advised fellow poets to “follow (human) nature”. (Alexander Pope)
132. Dryden’s _____ is an allegorical poem on the Church. (The Hind and the Panther)
133. _____ was a poet laureate who is satirised in Pope’s Dunciad. (Colley Cibber)
134. _____ led the Protestants against the Puritans in Milton’s time. (Jeremy Taylor)
135. In Dryden’s Of Dramatick Poesy, Eugenius stands for _____ (Sackville), Crites stands for _____ (Robert Howard), Lisideius for _____ (sedley), and Neander for _____ (Dryden).
136. Who said, “Burns is the God of my idolatry”? (Charles Lamb)
137. _____ was a radical Christian journal that Coleridge edited. (The Watchman)
138. “Poem to Coleridge” was renamed as _____. (The Prelude)
139. Shelley’s “Defence of Poetry” is a reply to Peacock’s _____. (The Four Ages of Poetry)

140. _____ is a verse tragedy by Shelley. (The Cenci)
141. The Christ-like figure in Shelley's Adonais is _____. (Keats)
142. Lady Catherine de Bourgh is a character in _____. (Pride and Prejudice)
143. "Death in life and life is death" is a quotation from _____. (The Rime of the Ancient Mariner)
144. Who said, "I describe not men but manners, not the individual but the species"? (Fielding, in the Introduction to Tom Jones)
145. "The Eve of St. Agnes" is written in the _____ stanza. (Spenserian)
146. Who described Romanticism as "the addition of strangeness to beauty"? (Walter Pater)
147. Coleridge described _____ as "a psychological curiosity". ("Kubla Khan")
148. Who described Romanticism as "the Renaissance of Wonder"? (Theodore Watts Dunton)
149. _____ is the author of May Odes. (William Blake)
150. Who said about Wordsworth's works, "The vulgar do not read them / The learned despise them"? (Hazlitt)
151. _____ praised Jane Austen's "exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting". (Walter Scott)
152. Geraldine is a character in _____. (Coleridge's "Christabel")
153. Keats's "Isabella" is a story adapted from _____. (Boccaccio's Decameron)
154. Keats's poems were first published by _____. (Leigh Hunt)
155. The social concept of Pantisocracy was first developed by _____. (Coleridge and Southey)
156. Who said, "Return to Nature"? (Rousseau)
157. What was Coleridge's swan song? ("Dejection: an Ode")
158. Who called Coleridge "an archangel slightly damaged"? (Charles Lamb)
159. The first novel to establish Charles Dickens as a novelist was _____. (The Pickwick Papers)
160. Thomas Hardy's epic drama of the Napoleonic Wars was _____. (The Dynasts)
161. Hardy's first published novel was _____. (Desperate Remedies)
162. Aeschylus's Prometheus Bound was translated by _____. (Elizabeth Barrett Browning)
163. 'Bridget' in Lamb's Essays of Elia was _____. (Charles's sister Mary Lamb)
164. Elia revealed his identity as Charles Lamb in the essay _____. ("Oxford in the Vacation")
165. The Spirit of the Age was written by _____. (Hazlitt)
166. Dickens caricatured Leigh Hunt in _____. (The Bleak House)
167. _____ was the journal jointly started by Leigh Hunt and Thomas Hardy. (The Liberal)
168. Anatomy of Criticism was written by _____. (Northrop Frye)
169. Robert Greene's Pandosto supplied the framework of Shakespeare's _____. (The Winter's Tale)
170. Who is considered the father of the Picaresque novel? (Thomas Nash)
171. _____ introduced the concept of 'Defamiliarization'. (Viktor Shklovsky)
172. Discipline and Punish was written by _____. (Michel Foucault)
173. The gaps in a text filled by the reader are referred to by Derrida as _____. (aporia)
174. _____ is a term used by Bakhtin which refers to multiple voices in a novel. (polyphony)
175. The term "Empire writes back" was first used by _____. (Salman Rushdie)
176. In Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, Absalom refers to _____ (Monmouth) and Achitophel refers to _____ (Shaftesbury).
177. In Absalom and Achitophel, Zimri is a portrait of _____ (Buckingham) and David of _____ (Charles II).
178. "She dwelt among the untrodden ways" is a line written by _____. (Wordsworth on Lucy Gray)
179. _____ is Fletcher's tragic-comedy. (Philaster)
180. The Catcher in the Rye is written by _____. (J.D. Salinger)
181. The Tin Drum was written by _____. (Gunter Grass)
182. Robinson Crusoe is the story of the real-life adventures of _____. (Alexander Selkirk)
183. Who coined the term "Victorian compromise"? (G.K. Chesterton)
184. Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida was dedicated to _____. (John Gower)
185. The alternate title of Sidney's Arcadia was _____. ("The Day Dreams of a Courtier")

186. _____ in The Winter's Tale poses as a statue. (Hermione)
187. _____ is called the "poet of nine o' clock in the morning". (Robert Bridges)
188. The book that initiated Movement poetry was _____. (New Lines by Robert Conquest)
189. The term "Augustan age" was first used by _____. (Dr. Johnson)
190. The Royal Scientific Society was founded in _____. (1662)
191. Who called Comedy of Manners "French baggage"? (Thackeray)
192. Miscellanies was a book jointly written by _____ and _____. (Swift and Pope)
193. _____ and _____ were renowned 17th century diarists. (Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn)
194. The Rambler was a periodical started by _____. (Dr. Johnson)
195. _____ wrote the Gothic novel The Mysteries of Udolpho. (Ann Radcliffe)
196. Who wrote the poem "The Lost Leader"? (Robert Browning)
197. Who called Wordsworth "the lost leader"? (Hazlitt)
198. Wordsworth's Immortality Ode is an example of the _____ Ode. (Irregular)
199. Who opined, "If poetry instructs, it does so through pleasure"? (Coleridge)
200. _____ founded the periodical The Criterion. (T.S. Eliot)
201. _____ is Hopkins's sonnet of 10½ lines. (The Pied Beauty)
202. Shaw's _____ is a paradoxical version of the Don Juan story. (Man and Superman)
203. The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Dog was written by _____. (Dylan Thomas)
204. The periodical The Scrutiny was started by _____. (F.R. Leavis)
205. The term "Movement" was coined by _____. (J.D. Scott)
206. Who said of Dryden, "He found it brick, but left it marble"? (Dr. Samuel Johnson)
207. Who said, "I admire him (Ben Jonson), but I love Shakespeare"? (Dryden)
208. _____ is Pope's justification of his satiric art. (An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot)
209. The term "objective correlative" was first coined by _____. (American painter Washington Allston)
210. "He is, he is, with Shakespeare." Who said about whom? (Arnold about Keats)
211. T.S. Eliot used the term "objective correlative" in his essay _____. (Hamlet and His Problems)
212. T.S. Eliot used the term "dissociation of sensibility" in his essay _____. (The Metaphysical Poets)
213. The Great Tradition was written by _____. (F.R. Leavis)
214. "Thy soul was like a star that dwelt apart." Who said about whom? (Wordsworth about Milton)
215. Milton's _____ was addressed to Dowager Countess of Derby. (Arcades)
216. Lycidas was published in _____. (1637)
217. The theme of Paradise Regained was taken from _____. (The Gospel of St. Luke)
218. Milton's Areopagitica was modelled on a work by _____. (Isocrates)
219. Ars Poetica was written by _____. (Horace)
220. Who said of Homer's works, "Read by day and meditate by night"? (Horace)
221. Who said, "Great wits are sure to madness sure allied"? (Dryden)
222. _____ was the last incomplete novel by Dickens. (The Mystery of Edwin Drood)
223. The character Monstrous Dwarf Quelp appears in Dickens's _____. (The Old Curiosity Shop)
224. Who founded and popularised the term "Poetic Justice"? (Thomas Rymer)
225. Who said about Boswell, "He licked the boots that kicked him"? (Macaulay)
226. Hypochondriac Essays were written by _____. (Boswell)
227. Anatomy of Melancholy was written by _____. (Robert Burton)
228. "Intrigue was plot, obscenity was wit, vice always found a sympathetic friend. They pleased their age and did not aim to mend" was a remark on Restoration Comedy by _____. (Dr. Johnson)
229. The Medal was a satire against sedition by _____. (Dryden)
230. _____ was written by Shadwell satirising Dryden. (The Medal of John Bayes)
231. Dryden responded to Shadwell's satire with _____. (MacFlecknoe)
232. Who called 18th century, "The Age of Prose and Reason"? (Arnold)
233. The Decline and Fall of the Romantic Ideal was written by _____. (F.L. Lucas)
234. Lady Booby, the character in Joseph Andrews, is a caricature of _____. (Pamela)

235. Who wrote The Blessed Damozel? (D.G. Rossetti)
236. The “sad heart of Ruth” in Keats’s Ode to a Nightingale is an allusion to _____. (The Old Testament)
237. The Essay on the Subjection of Women was written by _____. (J.S. Mill)
238. Who said, “The function of a critic is the elucidation of works of art and the correction of taste”? (T.S. Eliot)
239. According to Longinus, the most important source of the Sublime is _____. (a certain lofty cast of mind)
240. The Gunny Sack was written by _____. (M.G. Vassanji)
241. My Son’s Father is the autobiography of _____. (Dom Moraes)
242. The writer who deplores “my tongue in English chains” is _____. (R. Parthasarathy)
243. ‘Structure’ and ‘texture’ are critical terms first used by _____. (John Crowe Ransome)
244. ‘Connotation’ and ‘denotation’ are critical terms founded by _____. (Cleanth Brooks)
245. Crazy Jane is a character created by _____. (W.B. Yeats)
246. _____ was Somerset Maugham’s disguised autobiography. (Of Human Bondage)
247. The Chaucerian stanza is called Rime Royal because it was used by _____. (King James I of Scotland)
248. Rough Passage is a book of poetry by _____. (R. Parthasarathy)
249. Six Characters in Search of an Author was written by _____. (Pirandello)
250. _____ wrote the Dark Sonnets. (Hopkins)
251. _____ wrote the Holy Sonnets. (Donne)
252. The term “pathetic fallacy” was coined by _____. (Ruskin)
253. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was formed in _____. (1848)
254. Which is Isaac Walton’s book on fishing? (The Compleat Angler)
255. _____ is the sub-title of Bacon’s Essays. (Counsels, Civil and Moral)
256. Who called Donne “the monarch of wit”? (Carew)
257. To whom is the term “The Great Instauration” related? (Francis Bacon)
258. Aurangzeb is a tragedy by _____. (Dryden)
259. The first English daily started in 1702 was _____. (The Daily Courant)
260. Colin Clout represents _____ in Spenser’s sonnets. (Spenser)
261. _____ is a picaresque novel by Defoe. (Moll Flanders)
262. The Gentleman’s Magazine was run by _____. (Dr. Johnson)
263. Rasellas, the Prince of Abyssinia is a didactic romance by _____. (Dr. Johnson)
264. Cato is a neo-classical tragedy by _____. (Addison)
265. Colley Cibber is enthroned as the King of the Dunces in _____. (The Dunciad by Pope)
266. The Autobiography of a Super Tramp was written by _____. (W.H. Davies)
267. _____ is Pope’s philosophical poem in heroic couplets. (Essay on Man)
268. _____ is a pastoral by Pope. (Windsor Forest)
269. _____ is a collection of poems by the Bronte sisters.
270. Odysseus is represented in Joyce’s Ulysses by the character _____. (Leopold Bloom)
271. Arnold put forward his “touchstone method” in _____. (The Study of Poetry)
272. Who called whom “a mere quack in the Cockney School of Poetry”? (Lockhart called Hazlitt)
273. Who called Tennyson “the great master of metric as well as melancholia”? (T.S. Eliot)
274. _____ is Browning’s poem on old age. (Rabbi Ben Ezra)
275. “Fagin’s School” appears in the novel _____. (Oliver Twist)
276. Vindication of the Rights of Women was written by _____. (Mary Wollstonecraft)
277. Donald Farfray is a character in _____. (The Mayor of Casterbridge)
278. ‘Theatre of the Absurd’ was a term first used by _____. (Martin Esslin)
279. Bathsheba Everdene is a character in _____. (Far From the Madding Crowd)
280. Who is regarded as the father of essays? (Montaigne)
281. What is the rhyme scheme of a Spensarian stanza? (ababbcbcc)
282. In which book does the character Corbaccio appear? (Volpone)
283. Who rewrote King Lear in the 18th century, omitting the Fool and giving the play a comic ending? (Nahum Tate)

284. What kind of plays did John Heywood write? (Interludes)
285. Who speaks the following lines: "The barge she sat in like a burnished throne / Burned on the water . . ."? (Enobarbus in Antony and Cleopatra)
286. Which Shakespearean play was not included in the First Folio? (Pericles)
287. Songs and Sonnets was published in the year _____. (1557)
288. Dante addressed his sonnets to _____. (Beatrice)
289. Who said of the Prologue to The Canterbury Tales: "Here's God's plenty"? (Dryden)
290. Who introduced "tersa rima" into English poetry? (Wyatt)
291. In which dialect did Chaucer write? (East Midland)
292. Who wrote Ralph Roister Doister? (Nicholas Udall)
293. A Game of Chess was written by _____. (Middleton)
294. Shakespeare's British historical plays were based on _____. (Holinshed's Chronicles)
295. Millamant was the heroine of _____. (The Way of the World)
296. In which decade did the Spanish civil war take place? (1930s)
297. William Sydney Porter wrote under the pen name _____. (O. Henry)
298. The line "what's in a name" occurs in _____. (Romeo and Juliet)
299. The Dark Lady of the Sonnets is a one-act play by _____. (G.B. Shaw)
300. Ruskin's Unto This Last is a series of lectures on _____. (Political Economy)
301. The autobiography Angry Young Man is by _____. (Leslie Paul)
302. In which play does this passage occur: "As flies to wanton boys are we to gods / They kill us for sport"? (King Lear)
303. Morose and Cutbeard are characters in _____. (Epicene or the Silent Woman)
304. The Road to Xanadu was written by _____. (J.L. Lowes)
305. The epithet "Marlowe's mighty line" was coined by _____. (Ben Jonson)
306. Who said, "They also serve who stand and wait"? (Milton)
307. Who said, "They also serve who stand and stare"? (W.H. Davies)
308. _____ is the author of The Strange Case of Billy Biswas? (Arun Joshi)
309. The New Criticism was written by _____. (J.C. Ransom)
310. Shakespeare's First Folio was published by _____. (Heminge and Condell)
311. _____ called Hamlet a "problem play"? (E.M.W. Tillyard)
312. The sonnet was introduced in England by _____. (Wyatt)
313. _____ introduced blank verse in English Literature. (Surrey)
314. In which Shakespearean play does this line occur: "We are such as dreams are made of"? (The Tempest)
315. The Way of All Flesh is a semi-autobiographical novel by _____. (Samuel Butler)
316. Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-four was written in the year _____. (1949)
317. Arrow of God was written by _____. (Achebe)
318. "Blue Stocking" is a term associated with _____. (18th Century women writers)
319. Which African writer portrays Kikuyuland in his novels? (Ngugi wa Thiongo)
320. Wide Sargasso Sea was written by _____. (Jean Rhys)
321. Naipaul's A House for Mr. Biswas is set in _____. (Trinidad)
322. The Essay "Civil Disobedience" was by _____. (Thoreau)
323. Wordsworth's poem "The Relcuse" was later renamed _____. ("The Excursion")
324. Casabianca was written by _____. (Felicia Hemans)
325. _____ was the founder editor of the periodical The Examiner. (Leigh Hunt)
326. Michael Henchard is a character in the novel _____. (The Mayor of Casterbridge)
327. Who defined Romanticism as "the addition of strangeness to beauty"? (Walter Pater)
328. Who insisted on "action" as the proper theme of poetry? (Arnold)
329. The Rubaiyats of Omar Khayyam was first translated into English by _____. (Fitzgerald)
330. The first edition of Whitman's Leaves of Grass appeared in _____. (July 1855)

Question Bank

These are questions for Brainstorming—the most important section of these notes. You should be able to answer quickly 75% of these questions in 4-5 points and it will help you tackle most of the descriptive questions in any English Literature competitive exam—short answer, short essay or long essay.

Finding these answers from the earlier sections of these notes is sufficient preparation for any descriptive exam.

Also make sure you write out the answers for at least 25% of these questions at random.

1. Write a note on:
 - a) Ballad
 - b) Sonnet
 - c) Ode
 - d) Dramatic monologue
 - e) Blank Verse
 - f) Lyric
 - g) Dramatic poetry
 - h) Poetic drama
2. Can Chaucer be rightfully called 'the father of English literature'?
3. Write an illustrative note on humour in the works of Chaucer.
4. Comment on Chaucer's powers of characterization with reference to The Prologue.
5. How far is 14th century England reflected in Chaucer's works?
6. Give an account of the character of Wife of Bath in The Canterbury Tales.
7. Chaucer's Knight in The Canterbury Tales is an epitome of chivalry. Illustrate.
8. Attempt a study of Chaucer's portrayal of ecclesiastical characters.
9. What was the influence of Chaucer on later writers?
10. How did the invention of printing influence the literature of 15th century England?
11. Write a note on the origins of drama in England.
12. How far did religion influence early English drama?
13. Write a note on Mystery, Miracle and Morality plays.
14. What are the general features of English prose written during the Renaissance?
15. Elaborate upon French and Latin influence on early Tudor poetry.
16. Write a note on the Elizabethan poetic convention of courtly romance.
17. Describe Sidney's style of prose in Arcadia.
18. Discuss Spenser's use of allegory.
19. Discuss the themes, time, locale and form of the Faerie Queene.
20. Would you agree to the view that Shakespeare wrote primarily for the Elizabethan audience?
21. "Shakespeare has no heroes, only heroines." What is your reaction to this statement? Elucidate.
22. Comment on the use of poetry in Elizabethan drama.
23. What philosophy does Shakespeare expand on in his comedies?
24. Write an explanatory note on Shakespeare's tragic vision.
25. Write a note on the sources of Shakespearean plays.
26. Discuss Marlowe's use of blank verse.
27. How far is it justified to argue that the Marlovian hero is a projection of the author himself?
28. Explain Marlowe's tragic vision with reference to any one of his plays.
29. Elaborate on Ben Jonson's theory of comedy with reference to any one of his plays.
30. Write a note on the University Wits.
31. How did Bacon give a new impetus to Elizabethan Prose?
32. Write a brief note on the translations of the Bible during Reformation.
33. Analyse the main features of post-Shakespearean drama.
34. Give an analysis of Shakespeare's problem plays.
35. What are the features of Shakespeare's romances?

36. Comment on Shakespeare's treatment of history.
37. Discuss the role of the Fool in Shakespearean plays.
38. Attempt a comparative analysis of Shakespeare's women characters.
39. How did Shakespeare represent race in his plays?
40. Examine the concept of evil as portrayed in Shakespearean tragedies.
41. What is the image of the perfect king as emergent in Shakespeare's history plays?
42. Give an account of Shakespeare's use of the supernatural.
43. Write a note on the sonnets of Shakespeare.
44. Discuss the Graveyard scene in Hamlet.
45. Discuss the Storm scene in King Lear.
46. Write a note on the character of Lady Macbeth.
47. Write a note on the character of Iago.
48. Describe Shakespeare's device of play within a play in Hamlet.
49. Discuss Prospero as Shakespeare's superman.
50. What is Shakespeare's concept of the tragic hero as illustrated in his tragedies?
51. What are the features of Milton's Grand Style?
52. Write an illustrative note of the Miltonic simile.
53. Can Paradise Lost be rightfully called an epic?
54. Justify the argument that Satan is the protagonist of Paradise Lost.
55. What are the Hellenic and Hebraic elements of Milton's poetry?
56. How does Milton's work reflect the socio-political and religious circumstances of his time?
57. Write a note on Milton's Areopagitica.
58. Write a note on English prose in the time of Milton.
59. Was Jacobean poetry a reaction against the Elizabethan? Substantiate.
60. On what grounds can Dryden be considered the first neo-classical?
61. Discuss Dryden's use of the heroic couplet.
62. Write an illustrative note on Dryden's satire.
63. What are the features of Euphuism?
64. Comment on the general characteristics of Restoration Comedy.
65. Why is Restoration Comedy called the high-point of the Comedy of Manners?
66. What are the features of Metaphysical poetry?
67. What is the Metaphysical conceit?
68. Write a note on Cavalier poets.
69. Write a note on Caroline poets.
70. Discuss Johnson's use of the satiric mode.
71. How did the 17th century diarists contribute to the development of English prose?
72. What was the contribution of 17th century philosophers to English prose?
73. What religious views are reflected in the works of John Bunyan?
74. Write a note on Pope's use of the satiric mode.
75. Discuss The Rape of the Lock as a mock heroic epic.
76. Discuss the main features of the language of Augustan Poetry.
77. Analyse the use of tragedy in the 18th century.
78. What are the socio-political factors that led to the development of journalism in England?
79. Comment on the prose style of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele.
80. How did Jonathan Swift make use of satire in his writings?
81. Give an analysis of the social and literary conditions that led to the rise of the novel.
82. How was the novel perfected in the hands of Richardson and Fielding?
83. Discuss the use of realism by the 18th century novelists.
84. Write a note on Johnson's prose style.
85. Was the Gothic Romance a harbinger of the Romantic tradition in fiction?
86. What denoted the beginnings of revolt against the neo-classical tradition in poetry?
87. The classical and the romantic meet in the poetry of the graveyard poets. Elucidate.
88. In what sense can Tristram Shandy be called modern?

89. Write a note on the features of Jonathan Swift's prose.
90. Comment on the epistolary mode used by 18th century novelists.
91. Discuss Wordsworth's theory of poetry with reference to his poems.
92. How is the English countryside portrayed in Wordsworth's poems?
93. Elaborate on Coleridge's use of the supernatural.
94. What are the characteristics of the Byronic hero? Explain with illustrations.
95. How far is Shelley's revolutionary spirit reflected in his poetry?
96. Write a note on medievalisation in Romantic poetry.
97. What Romantic sentiments are reflected in the odes of Shelley and Keats?
98. Subjectivity is an essential element of Romantic poetry. Substantiate.
99. Comment on the imagery in Keats's poetry.
100. To what extent are the early 19th century novelists didactic?
101. Elaborate on the use of realism by early 19th century novelists.
102. How does Scott make use of history in his novels?
103. Write a note on the journalistic essay in the Romantic period.
104. What are the features of Charles Lamb's prose style?
105. To what extent do Dickens's novels employ social realism?
106. Discuss Jane Austen's critique of sensibility in her novels.
107. What makes Thackeray an anti-romantic?
108. Comment on the use of autobiography by Victorian novelists.
109. Expand upon Spiritualism in the novels of the Brontes.
110. Elaborate upon George Eliot's use of philosophy in her novels.
111. To what extent is the Victorian compromise reflected in the poetry of late 19th century?
112. Write a note on Hardy's prose style.
113. In what respect can Hardy be considered a modern writer?
114. Discuss the changing concept of social class as a major theme in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.
115. Comment on the philosophic element in Victorian prose.
116. Discuss the Art for Art's Sake doctrine as reflected in late 19th century literature.
117. Elaborate on Symbolism in the poetry of WB Yeats.
118. What religious vision is reflected in the poetry of Hopkins?
119. Write an illustrative note on narrative poetry in the Victorian Age.
120. In What respect can Yeats be called a modern poet?
121. What are Hopkins's innovative perceptions of poetry?
122. How did poetry and painting merge in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites?
123. Explain the title of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*.
124. Modernism in fiction was a reaction to the hegemony of realism" Substantiate.
125. To what extent did modernism represent the socio-political upheavals of early 20th century?
126. Comment on the mythical method of Modernist poets.
127. Elaborate on Modernism's use of fragmentary narratives.
128. Discuss the concept of 'metropolis' in Modernist fiction.
129. Describe the stream of consciousness technique as used by James Joyce or Virginia Woolf.
130. How far is 'Self-reflexivity' a feature of modernism?
131. Is it true that Modernism moved away from objectivizing reality? Justify your answer.
132. Write a note on the Modernist fiction writer's innovations in form.
133. Can T.S. Eliot be rightfully called the father of Modernism in England?
134. Discuss Bernard Shaw's use of humour and irony.
135. Why are Shawian plays called "Plays of ideas"?
136. How far is Shaw's socialistic spirit revealed in his plays?
137. What are the features of the poets of the 1930s?
138. In what respect is the New Apocalypse Movement romantic?
139. In what ways are the Movement poets anti-romantic?
140. Discuss the violence and vitality of Ted Hughes's poetry.
141. How did the 'Angry Young Men' reflect the socio-political unrest of the age?

142. What is the concept of evil that is projected in William Golding's novelists?
143. Elaborate on the picture of a totalitarian Society as seen in George Orwell's fiction,
144. Write a note on 'kitchen-sink' drama
145. How far was The Theatre of the Absurd a reaction against drawing-room naturalism?
146. What is the impact of the visual media on contemporary literature?
147. In what ways do contemporary literatures relate culture studies?
148. What is Aristotle's theory of tragedy?
149. On what grounds does Aristotle's theory of art differ from that of Plato?
150. Discuss Longinus's theory of the Sublime.
151. Why does Sidney consider poetry the most superior art form?
152. What is Ben Jonson's theory of comedy?
153. Why is Dryden considered a liberal neo-classical critic?
154. In what way does Johnson defend the violation of unities of time and place in Shakespeare?
155. Write a note on Wordsworth's theory of poetry.
156. What are Coleridge's views on fancy and imagination?
157. In what respect does Coleridge disagree with Wordsworth on his theory of poetry?
158. What did Keats mean by "negative capability"?
159. Elaborate on Arnold's touchstone method of criticism.
160. What is the basis of Arnold's assertion about Keats, "he is, he is, with Shakespeare"?
161. What is Eliot's theory of impersonality in art?
162. What does T.S. Eliot mean by "dissociation of sensibility" in art?
163. What are Eliot's views on tradition and the individual talent?
164. Write a note on F.R. Leavis's views as presented in The Great Tradition.
165. What according to William Empson are the Seven Types of Ambiguity?
166. What are the theoretical postulates of Saussure that form the backdrop of Structuralism?
167. What fundamental theory of language does Structuralism put forward?
168. How far is structuralist thought 'logo-centric'?
169. What was the impact of Structuralism on literary theory?
170. What are the differences similarities between structuralism and Poststructuralism?
171. What is deconstruction?
172. Explain the concept of difference.
173. What influences has Poststructuralism exerted on feminism?
174. How far is Postcolonialism Poststructuralist?
175. In what way is Poststructuralism related to Postmodernism?
176. What relationship does the Postcolonialist have with the past?
177. Attempt a brief account of the development of feminism.
178. Do the feminists need to develop a new language of their own? Substantiate.
179. What are the basic precepts of Marxism?
180. On what grounds did Lacan differ from Freud?
181. To what extent is New Historicism a dialogue with the past?
182. To what extent does Postmodernism rely on subjectivity?
183. Discuss Postmodernism preoccupation with fragmentary forms.
184. How does Postmodernism make use of parody and pastiche?
185. Explain Postmodernism's advocacy of depthlessness.
186. Postmodernism is "incredulity towards metanarratives." Elucidate.
187. Elaborate on the Postmodernist concept of 'hyperreal'.
188. Comment on the idea of Orientalism as used by post-colonialists.
189. What do you mean by Canon-formation in Literature?
190. What is the concept of Intertextuality?
191. On what grounds do modernism and post-modernism differ?
192. Write a note on Russian Formalism.
193. What were the main characteristics of New Criticism?
194. What do you mean by the phrase, "The death of the Author"?

195. Describe “Reading” in the context of Reader Response theory.
196. To what extent is Poststructuralism preoccupied with ‘decentering’?
197. What are the major theoretical postulates put forward by Derrida that laid the foundation stones of Poststructuralism?
198. What is the influence of Althusser on Marxist theory?
199. What are the major concerns of diasporic criticism?
200. Analyze the concept of ‘home’ in the diasporic context.
201. Analyze the concept of ‘nation’ in the diasporic context.
202. Elaborate on contemporary literary theory’s preoccupation with power.
203. Explain the feminist dictum, “personal is political.”
204. Discuss the need of feminisms.
205. Examine the psychoanalytic groundings of feminism.
206. How does feminism relate to ecological conservation?
207. What do you mean by the textuality of history and the historicity of texts?
208. What is the Bakhtinian theory of ‘carnivalization’?
209. Explain the concepts of plurality and hybridity in contemporary cultural theory.
210. Examine the centrality of language in contemporary literary theory.
211. Examine the concept of subjectivity in contemporary literary theory.
212. Examine the changing conceptions of the Author and Reader in contemporary literary theory.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

[For further help on these questions, contact us]

1. Orient as text
2. Language as ideological apparatus
3. Technology and changing conceptions of culture
4. The future of English Studies
5. Decanonizing English Syllabi in Indian Universities
6. Postcolonialism—whose agenda?
7. Literature of Power and Power of Literature
8. Media and cultural signification
9. The death of literature in the electronic age
10. The politics of Feminisms
11. Need for a feminist language
12. Need to retain English as a Literary Language
13. Globalization and cultural transformation
14. History as Metanarrative
15. Nature of Literary Meaning
16. Multiculturalism: a Global Perspective
17. The end of Literary Theory
18. Decanonizing the Literary Canon
19. Translation as Interpretation
20. Interrogating Borders: Diasporic movements and changing conceptions of the nation
21. Land as metaphor
22. Sociological theory of literature
23. Oral traditions in literature: a retrospective on culture
24. Problematizing democracy in the context of new global realities
25. Deconstructing Terrorism, Deconstructing Democracy