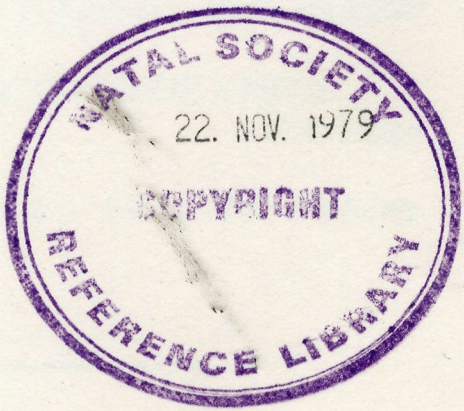
THEORIA

A JOURNAL OF STUDIES
in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Vol. LII



May 1979

52

R2,50 (Plus 10c GST)

THEORIA

Vol. LII
May 1979

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Published twice yearly by the
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL PRESS
PIETERMARITZBURG

CONTRIBUTIONS

Authors should send contributions to:

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

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

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS

These should be sent to:

The Secretary,
University of Natal Press,
P.O. Box 375,
Pietermaritzburg 3200,
South Africa.

The annual subscription for *Theoria* is R5,00.

Readers will find a much-needed guide in this issue, a new Index to *Theoria* covering all volumes from 1947, when it first appeared, until the present day. It is more than an updating of previous Indexes of 1965 and 1971. Miss M.P. Moberly, formerly in the University Library and now Manager of the University of Natal Press, has spent many hours converting it from an author and title index: its main feature is now a subject index. As a volunteer for the task which has been no less demanding but much less stirring than Anglo-Zulu War publications, she deserves full recognition.

To coincide with the Index, it may be appropriate to refer again to the character and purpose of *Theoria.* This has been done at intervals but readers may have overlooked remarks which we offered as informal statements of policy. First of all, this journal 'seeks to promote an outlook of humane criticism in as many fields and as many groups of people as possible' and so tries to show 'where . . . specialisations fit into the general pattern of thought.' If we explain that *Theoria* is not a publication catering for specialists, we must at once affirm that a high standard of material and presentation is the gauge by which articles are measured. It is also important to mention that *Theoria* encourages debate on recent articles: we are ready to include answers to these in our correspondence section or to print letters on any other subject which is controversial.

THE EDITORS

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHIEFDOMS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

by R.L. COPE

Missionary activity amongst the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa started at the beginning of the 19th century. Today, according to census returns, 70% of the African population describe themselves as Christians. There was, however, a good deal of initial resistance to Christianisation on the part of independent African chiefs and their people. It is true that the chiefs generally welcomed missionaries; but this was because of their usefulness in such secular spheres as diplomacy and technology. Their religious and moral teachings necessarily involved an attack on African customs, and so were perceived as subversive of the social order and of chiefly authority. This, together with the missionaries' association with the British colonial authority, made conversion appear an act of disloyalty. A convert was seen as casting off his own people and throwing in his lot with the Whites. Consequently chiefs actively discouraged conversion. The converts the missionaries made tended to be the outcasts and misfits of tribal society. Missionaries, discouraged at the frustration of their work, became more and more inclined to the view that the overthrow of savage customs and of chiefly authority by the imposition of British rule was the necessary precondition for African acceptance of the gospel. And, indeed, as the independent power of chiefs was replaced by that of White magistrates, and as economic as well as political factors caused the disintegration of the traditional social structure, so it became easier for members of African societies to accept the new religion without seeming to be traitors to their own people. But converts found they were not accepted as equals by their White co-religionists. This, together with the continuing cultural distinctiveness of African Christians, has led in many cases to Christianity being embraced not simply as it was proffered but in a form adapted to African needs.

* * * * * * * *

According to the 1970 census[1] just over 70% of the African population of South Africa are Christians. Too much importance should not be attached to this statistic. Many Africans who say that they are Anglicans, Methodists, etc., have, no doubt, only the most nominal allegiance to these churches. And nearly 25% of African Christians are members of one of the African Separatist churches, of which there are over 3 000, some of which have only very tenuous connections with Christianity. Many Whites represented as Christians in the census returns are of course also only nominal Christians. Census returns are poor evidence concerning people's real religious convictions or spiritual life. But they do show that over half – nearly three-quarters – of the African population of South Africa nowadays at the very least regard the profession of Christianity as a norm to which they should conform.

This represents a remarkable change from the situation at the beginning of the 19th century, when missionary activity in South Africa began. It provides a contrast with another sphere of missionary activity, India, where today less than 3% of the population is Christian.[2] Southern Africa has often been contrasted with those parts of the world where the so-called 'higher religions' prevail as a missionary field. In South Africa, it is suggested, indigenous religious beliefs were few and shallow and were relatively easily discredited and replaced by Christianity. 'Compared with such huge problems as moving the immobile East and overcoming the fanaticism of Islam, the missionary in South Africa is faced with an easy task', wrote the author of the standard history of missions in South Africa.[3]

But such statements exaggerate the ease and rapidity with which Africans in South Africa accepted Christianity. In fact there was a great deal of resistance and hostility to Christianity on the part of the traditional African societies. If the history of Christian missions in India and South Africa provides a striking contrast, so does a comparison between the Christian evangelization of South Africa and Mexico. Cortes's rapid conquest of the Aztecs was followed by a 'spiritual conquest' which was equally striking. Franciscan friars were the shock-troops of this 'conquest'. Within 10 years they had baptised 1,000 000 Indians; within 15 years they had baptised 5, 000 000. It was

not unknown for friars to baptise 1 500 a day; one man claimed that he and a colleague had often baptised 14 000 people in a single day. Doubts might well be entertained as to the degree of sincerity or understanding behind these conversions; but they do illustrate the willingness of the Mexican Indian to submit to the religion of the conquerors, or at least to admit Jesus, the Virgin Mary, St. James, etc., into their native pantheons.[4]

This rapid acceptance of the new religion is not to be found in South Africa. In most areas years or even decades passed without the missionaries having made any progress. When progress was made, it was very slow by Mexican standards. There are a number of reasons for this. One is that 19th century Protestants required more stringent qualifications for baptism than 16th century Roman Catholics. Another is that the element of compulsion was absent in South Africa. Most important, in Mexico conversion followed conquest; in South Africa missionaries from their base in the Cape Colony attempted to introduce the new religion into politically independent Bantu-speaking chiefdoms at a time when their traditional economy and society were still intact. The results were similar in almost every case and may be briefly summarised as follows.

In most cases the missionaries were welcomed by the chiefs, not for the gospel which they brought, about which the chiefs knew nothing, but for the material benefits which the missionaries' residence among them would bring. The teaching of the missionaries, however, proved subversive of the social order and of chiefly power. In many cases the initial welcome turned to opposition, tempered only by the continuing usefulness of the missionaries in secular matters. Missionaries, frustrated at the attempt to confine them to a purely secular role, often came to tend more and more to the view that the reduction of chiefly power by the imposition of British rule was the only way to ensure the replacement of savagery and superstition by civilization and Christianity. As the independent power of chiefs was replaced by that of white magistrates, and as the penetration of the whites' capitalist economy caused the disintegration of the traditional social structure, so the old religion became less relevant and it became easier for members of African societies to accept the new religion without seeming to be traitors

to their own people. But the white man's religion was not accepted simply as it was proffered; in various ways it was adapted to and used for African needs. I wish to amplify this scheme, and illustrate it with examples drawn mainly from the Xhosa, Tswana and Zulu fields.[5]

The first missionary society to establish stations beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), which commenced operations in 1799. It was followed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, and missionaries from France, Germany, America, Norway and elsewhere.

I have stated that missionaries were generally welcomed by the chiefs and peoples amongst whom they wished to work. This was the experience, for example, of the pioneer Methodist missionaries beyond the northern border of the Colony, Thomas Hodgson and Samuel Broadbent. One of the difficulties they experienced in travelling to the Seleka branch of the Rolong, where they intended establishing a mission, was in 'tearing ourselves from those who were disposed to contend which of the tribes should possess the missionaries of peace'[6] – a Kora chief having made vehement attempts to persuade them to remain with his people. Though moved and gratified by this, Hodgson recognised that the desire for missionaries arose principally 'from an idea that the residence of missionaries will be an advantage in a temporal sense'.[7]

What were the material advantages that Africans expected from the residence of missionaries amongst them? The main advantage hoped for by the people with whom Hodgson and Broadbent settled was the protection that the residence among them of white men with guns would afford. The interior of South Africa was in a very disturbed state at this time. The creation of the Zulu Kingdom had set off the prolonged and widespread inter-tribal warfare known as the *Mfecane* or *Difiqane*. Firearms were still unfamiliar and much dreaded. The chief of the Seleka-Rolong (with whom Hodgson and Broadbent were) told Hodgson that his enemies 'had resolved to make an attempt on him, but were deterred by our residence with him', as Hodgson recorded.[8] Indeed it was only while the missionaries were temporarily absent that the Seleka-Rolong were attacked by their enemies the Taung. Hodgson was later assured

even in the absence of the white men their firearms proved fearsome. Some of the Taung found a bag of gunpowder in Broadbent's house; they thought it must be some kind of food, and tried to cook it, with disastrous results.[10] Another man contrived to kill himself while examining a pistol.[11]

The most dramatic example of the military usefulness of missionaries is provided by Robert Moffat, the missionary to the Tlhaping at Kuruman. An immense body of marauders was reported to be moving towards Kuruman. Moffat was able to use his influence with the Griquas, with whom the London Missionary Society had been established for many years, to persuade them to come to the aid of the Tlhaping. At the battle of Dithakong, on 26th June, 1823, a force of 80 to 100 armed and mounted Griquas put an enemy estimated at 40 000 strong to flight, and Kuruman was saved.[12]

Beyond the eastern frontier of the Cape it is clear that chiefs sometimes welcomed the residence of missionaries in the hope that this evident connection with the Colony would enhance their prestige amongst their fellow chiefs, and deter them from hostile acts.[13] Similarly the chief of a small tribe to the south of Natal sent a message to Theophilus Shepstone (Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal) in 1856 to say that he had hoped that Shepstone would come and live near them, that he considered his tribe as belonging to Shepstone 'and if he would not come himself, he begs he will send them a missionary to reside with them to be a protection to them and keep them right. . .'[14]

Missionaries were also useful as scribes and diplomatic agents in dealing with white governments. An L.M.S. missionary observed in 1818 that Ngqika, the first Xhosa chief to accept a missionary, saw it as in his interest 'to have one who can write for him to the Governor and read his answers, but he has manifested much hostility to the precepts of the word of God'.[15] In Natal one chief insisted that any missionary who came to

of a missionary quite clear, when they replied to the Anglican bishop of Zululand's request for permission to station one in Swaziland; they said 'they were quite content to be left as they are; that in all their troubles they consult Mr. Shepstone. . . and *he is Missionary enough for them*'.[17] Missionaries were also welcome as trading intermediaries, for their medical skill in some cases, and for the new techniques they brought, such as irrigation, ploughing, well-digging, reading and writing.

But their religious teaching was not welcome. At first, of course, nothing was known about it, and there was a certain curiosity. This might have been heightened by the events of the 19th century. The *Difaqane* and the subsequent white expansion changed the world for Africans in South Africa. The old religion no doubt constituted a satisfactory system of explanation, prediction and control for men and women whose lives were bounded by narrow limits. Now that a wider world impinged upon them this was no longer so; it was necessary to go beyond the spirits who controlled the family and the chiefdom and gain access to the Supreme Being who controlled the whole world.[18] But it soon became clear that the new religion of the missionaries was inimical to African customs and traditions. Those customs were not simply fortuitous or dispensable, but were the social cement of the tribe and the foundation of the chief's authority; and so hostility to Christianity soon became manifest. This did not necessarily mean hostility to the missionary himself. His presence might well still be valued for the reasons I have outlined; but an attempt would be made to extract what was good and useful in what he had to offer, and exclude that which was mischievous, which meant, in effect, Christianity. The interaction between missionaries and African societies was thus frequently one of cross-purposes.

In what ways was Christian teaching mischievous from the point of view of traditional African societies? Many African customs were inconsistent with Christianity, or at least the 19th century Protestant European form of Christianity. Lobola, the marriage payment of cattle by the groom to the bride's father was generally frowned on by missionaries as a procedure whereby 'the matrimonial bond, which, in Christian countries, is held as sacred, is here rendered a mere commercial contract.'[19] Lobola and polygyny were seen by missionaries as a means by

which men could buy as many concubines and servants as they could afford; thus women were reduced to a state of 'most revolting slavery', while men became 'accomplished idlers, the personification of indolence'.[20]

This was not how Africans saw it. Lobola was not a 'mere commercial contract'. An African witness was asked by the Natal Native Commission of 1881 what the difference was 'between buying a wife and buying a wagon'. He replied 'Should I be a relative of you[rs]if I bought a wagon of you?'[21] Marriage was an alliance of kinship groups, not merely of individuals. The payment of cattle signified this, and was only one of a complex group of bonds of mutual obligation that a marriage established. Although there are cases of girls being unhappy with their parents' plans for their marriage, on the whole the evidence shows that women did not feel degraded, or reduced to the level of slaves by the customs of their people. On the contrary it was only decent, respectable and proper to pay lobola. A woman whose father had received nothing for her was not properly married. A chief testified before the Natal Native Commission of 1881 that 'abolishing the ukulobola would make prostitutes of our women'.[22] An additional wife did not mean that the first wife was cast off - rather it meant extra help around the house and in the fields. Men cast off their wives only when they became Christians, and so too much interest in missionaries on the part of a man was often regarded with great fear and hostility by his wives.

Most missionaries formed the impression that Africans were 'without any religion, true or false', as W.J. Shrewsbury, a Methodist among the Xhosa put it.[23] 'They appear to have no religious worship',[24] wrote T.L. Hodgson of the Tswana, and 'appear to have no idea of a spirit'.[25] In fact the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa had a complex set of beliefs centred on communion with ancestors. Ancestors could send good or ill fortune and so had to be propitiated. Those who were soon to become spirits, i.e. the elderly, were guaranteed good treatment by this ancestor cult. Its replacement by a new religion was likely to disrupt the existing social order, quite apart from the disaster it was believed would ensue from the wrath of the neglected ancestors.

One of the more visible, and to the missionaries abhorrent, aspects of the African religious system, was the practice of 'smelling-out' those guilty of witchcraft. This undoubtedly led to much injustice, and the missionaries constantly inveighed against it. But even this had a social function. Monica Wilson has written of the Pondo:

> The danger of being 'smelt out' for witchcraft or sorcery is a sanction for social behaviour. Any who make themselves unpopular are liable to be 'smelt out'. The woman who is lazy and bad tempered will soon be accused of witchcraft by her co-wives. A man who is stingy and quarrelsome is accused by neighbours. Any who diverge widely from the social norm are in danger. In this way belief in witchcraft and sorcery make for stability.[26]

Other visible aspects of African religion were the ceremonies by which the spirits were encouraged or persuaded to send rain. It was in this field that some of the greatest contests between the new and old ideas took place – though the new ideas sometimes bore a strange resemblance to the old. The sort of contest that took place can be illustrated from the journals of Thomas Hodgson. He urged chief Sehunelo of the Seleka-Rolong to abandon his 'vain pretensions' and told him that God would be angered by rainmaking ceremonies. A period of drought in December 1826 aroused hopes in Hodgson that Sehunelo's confidence in rainmaking ceremonies had been shaken. But rain fell in abundance on the 14th and 15th, and Sehunelo's confidence, if ever indeed shaken, revived. He visited Hodgson, and, the latter recorded, 'avows that he has made the rain, and his attendants seemed indignant that we should dispute his power'. Five days later he was still filled with 'presumptuous confidence'. Succeeding rainless days revived Hodgson's hopes.

> But, though the clouds collected, and much rain fell all round us (he wrote on 30th December) and it appeared almost impossible that we should not receive a portion, yet, to my great astonishment, the wind rose, the clouds were dispersed, and the rain driven from us. Surely the Lord's hand is immediately in this. May it convince the natives of the folly and wickedness of their vain pretensions.[27]

But it was bound to rain sooner or later and this was bound to be attributed to the preceding rainmaking ceremonies. Some missionaries went further, and actually organised rival rainmaking ceremonies. The Gqunukhwebe chief, Phato, was having no success with rainmaking in 1829:

> The people were therefore instructed (recorded Rev. William Shaw on 2nd October) that the times and seasons are in the hand of God, and that He can give or withhold rain as seemeth good to him. Many prayers were therefore offered up, in which the pious Natives disclaimed all dependence whatever upon the Rain Makers power and arts.[28]

On 16th October Shaw recorded 'four days of incessant rain'.[29]

Some missionaries, to their considerable embarrassment, acquired great reputations as rainmakers. But the elements were in fact impartial and the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy worked equally well for pagan and Christian. On the whole pagans preferred to trust their own ceremonies.

In many ways the teachings of the missionaries militated against not only the social stability of the tribe, but the power of the chief. The attack on pagan rainmaking ceremonies had this tendency, for the chief was usually the principal rainmaker of the chiefdom, and thus enjoyed a religious reinforcement to his political authority, which, however, would be endangered if his people began to believe the missionaries. Similarly 'smelling-out' was used as a political weapon against over-mighty subjects. The chief was the richest man of the tribe, and should have the greatest number of wives. Marriage was used by chiefs for diplomatic purposes, and for political purposes within the chiefdom – the chief of the Ngwato, for example, married the daughters of his headmen in order to bind the latter more closely to him.[30] All this was threatened by the Christian attack on polygyny.

In a more direct way the missionaries were seen as a threat to the power of the chief and the independence of the chiefdom. This was because of their association with white governments, of which they were seen as agents. This is particularly apparent on the eastern frontier of the Cape where the expansionist Cape Colony posed a real threat to the Xhosa chiefs. Indeed, some

of the missionaries were actually appointed as official Cape government agents. In this capacity, they were obliged to provide the Colony with information about events across the border, and to convey messages to the chiefs from the Colonial authorities – sometimes very unwelcome messages. John Brownlee, for example, was required in 1822 to inform Ngqika that his wish to reoccupy the 'Neutral Territory' could not be countenanced, to reprove him for his conduct, and to accuse him of attempting to form a coalition to attack the Colony.[31]

After only four months Joseph Williams, the pioneer missionary to the Xhosa, was writing as follows to the Deputy-Landdrost of Grahamstown:

> Another report in the land is that Government has given me permission to come here to betray them and give them over to the English. . . and I am inclined to think that if they know that I keep a constant correspondence with you for the sake of informing you and complaining against them they will very soon be weary of me and take means to get me out of the way.[32]

The attempt by the Cape early in the century to use the L.M.S. missionaries as recruiting sergeants amongst the Griquas of what is now known as Griqualand West, led to much hostility towards William Anderson, the missionary chiefly involved – hostility which eventually forced him to retire from Griqualand West.[33] This interference in the government of the Griquas caused the Tlhaping, further north, to be apprehensive of missionaries, and it was only after long delays that they were admitted. This caused the die-hard anti-missionary faction in the chiefdom to hive off.[34]

Cetshwayo, the Zulu King, accused the missionaries in his kingdom of being spies of the Natal Government, in which supposition he was entirely correct. Writing to the Bishop of Maritzburg, Robert Robertson urged him to show his letter to no-one but the Secretary for Native Affairs: 'With him I know I am safe: but it might be bad for me indeed were it known that I carry tales out of Zululand.'[35]

The attitude of independent African chiefs and their peoples, then, was ambivalent. The presence of missionaries had certain

definite advantages; but the effect of their teaching was subversive and disrupting. Relations were generally amicable at first, when the advantages were most apparent; but the first conversions generally produced a crisis and led to a deterioration in the formerly amicable relations. The first conversions at many Natal stations, where the Africans, though in a British colony, remained under the authority of their chiefs, produced the same result – a precipitate drop in attendances at the missionaries' services.[36] Conversion was seen as an act of disloyalty to the convert's chief, and abandonment of his own culture and people, and a transference of allegiance to the missionary, and to the white government that he was seen as representing. This was made quite explicit by the African inhabitants of the Glasgow Missionary Society's station at Chumie beyond the Cape eastern frontier, who requested in 1818 that they should be placed under British protection, by becoming British subjects. The Presbytery of Caffraria, however, rejected this suggestion.[37] The missionaries had no desire simply to cream off certain individuals from African societies and by making them Christians remove them from contact with their fellow countrymen. Rather they should leaven the lump and by their presence and contact with their fellows help to Christianize the nation as a whole. The missionaries in Zululand tried to persuade Mpande and Cetshwayo to allow converts to fulfil their obligations as Zulu subjects, including military service, and service in work parties – or at least that they be allowed to pay cattle in lieu of these traditional services. But the attitude of the Zulu kings was quite simply that Zulu converts were no longer Zulus – they had cut themselves off from both the benefits and obligations of Zulu citizenship. They were not permitted to *khonza*, to make formal allegiance; their services were not wanted; they lost their regimental membership; they were denied royal largesse, and denied participation in feasts and festivals.[38]

Since conversion was regarded as simply an act of treachery, it was actively discouraged by both chiefs and the people. Those who showed an interest in the teachings of the missionaries were ridiculed, ostracised, and forcibly removed. The Gqunukhwebe chief, Phatho, dealt with the problem presented by his brother's showing an interest in Christianity by posting him to

take charge of a distant cattle place.[39] On the Cape eastern frontier there was a prolonged anti-missionary campaign in the late 1830s and early 1840s led by a rain-maker, uNgqatsi. Pagan festivals and ceremonies were held in close proximity to mission stations, which had the effect of disrupting the work of the missions, and luring their inhabitants back to paganism.[40] Whispering campaigns were instituted suggesting that droughts and epidemics were all the fault of the missionaries.[41] Another weapon used, in Colonial Natal at least, against the Christian missionaries was theological disputation. Why, if God loved the world, did he not send rain when it was sorely needed, missionaries were asked. Why, if God was omnipotent did he not destroy Satan? 'It is said of Abraham that he was both a *good* and *rich* man. How and why is it hard for a rich man to enter heaven?'[42]

It is not surprising that – or so Disraeli said – Bishop Colenso was converted by the Zulus; and one can perhaps sympathise with an American missionary in Natal who wrote: 'Native Christians when conversing upon religious topics are I think too apt to let the habit and love of discussion interfere with the simple love to know the truth'.[43]

In Zululand, which had a strong centralized government, anti-Christian measures were not so indirect. By the second half of the 1870s it appears to have been simply illegal for a Zulu to become a Christian. Mnyamana, Cetshwayo's principal adviser, put the Zulu case against missionaries and their work succinctly in a conversation with Frederick Fynney, a British official who visited Zululand in June 1877:

> We will not allow the Zulus to become so-called Christians. It is not the King says so, but every man in Zululand. If a Zulu does anything wrong he at once goes to a mission station and says he wants to become a Christian. If he wants to run away with a girl he becomes a Christian. If he wishes to be exempt from serving the King he puts on clothes, and becomes a Christian. If a man is an Umtakati[44] he becomes a Christian. All these people are the subjects of the King and who will keep a cow for another to milk it? This Christianizing of the Zulus destroys the land and we will not allow it. If the missionaries want Christians

> let them bring them from Natal; they shall not get them here. We do not care if the missionaries go or stay, but they must not interfere with the Zulus, that is all. If they do we will take every Zulu who has become a Christian in Zululand away from the stations. We cannot help it, their fellow soldiers or the young men belonging to the different regiments will bring them back. The missionaries desire to set up another power in the land, and as Zululand has only one King that cannot be allowed.[45]

Shortly before this conversation, two converts had been killed in Zululand, not, however, it seems, because they were converts. Another Zulu who wished to become a Christian was killed at the Norwegian station at Eshowe, and this does seem to have been for religious reasons. These events caused the other converts to flee to Natal. Most of the missionaries stood their ground. Cetshwayo requested the Governor of Natal in January 1878 to advise the missionaires to leave his country; the Governor declined to do so, but nevertheless by the middle of 1878, six months before the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War, the missionaries had all left, and mission work in Zululand had come to a complete stop.[46]

Zululand represents the extreme case. Nowhere else did relations between missionaries and independent chiefs reach such a nadir. In particular, in areas such as Lesotho and Botswana, where the threat to African independence came not from the British but from the Boers, the missionaries and the British Empire that stood behind them continued to be valued as a countervailing force. The fact that missionaries were important seems also to have had the effect of their teachings being treated with more respect. Two Tswana chiefs, Sechele of the Kwena, and Kgama of the Ngwato, were converted while their countries were still independent; and it is probable that it was only the immense political difficulties within his kingdom that such a step would cause that deterred Moshweshwe of Lesotho from baptism.[47] The British annexation of Transorongia in 1848 and the subsequent clashes between the Sotho and the British led to a pagan reaction in Lesotho. Numerous converts relapsed, pagan ceremonies were revived, and there was no more hope (until his death-bed) of Moshweshwe's conversion.[48]

In the case of Zululand too, it is perhaps significant that it was only after the British annexation of the Transvaal in April 1877 had removed the Boer threat and replaced it by a British threat that the relations between the Zulus and the missionaries deteriorated sharply. Relations had never been good; part of the reason for this may be the fact that the Zulus like the Swazis[49] felt they did not need missionaries as diplomats. The Zulu king was in frequent direct communication with the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pietermaritzburg, and as the ruler of a numerous people who had been brought under a single centralised government he was important enough to be taken very seriously. If anything needed to be written, there was always Cetshwayo's white chief, John Dunn, who had no objection to Zulu customs (especially polygyny). In addition, the Zulu king had a very able champion and advocate in the heretic Bishop Colenso, who conveniently lived beyond the Zulu borders, and who also took a tolerant view of polygyny (though not for the same reason as Dunn did).

In independent Zululand missionary endeavour had been a total failure. The missionaries beyond the Cape eastern frontier were not much more successful, as long as the Cape Nguni retained their independence. Dr Philip stated, thirty years after the establishment of the first mission, that 'such has been the want of success in the Kaffirland Mission, that some of our missionary societies have for years been on the point of abandoning it wholly.' 'It must be allowed by all' he added, 'that Kaffirland proper is in a very unpromising state, and that they (the Kaffirs) are at present far from holding out much encouragement to missions to labour among them'.[50]

Since converts in independent African chiefdoms were putting themselves beyond the pale, the sort of people who were attracted to the mission stations tended to be the misfits and outcasts of traditional society. Orphans, the aged and the disabled found a refuge on the stations. So did those accused of witchcraft, girls seeking to escape the husbands their parents had decided upon for them, and widows seeking to avoid the obligation to marry their deceased husband's brother. From the missionary point of view, the missions were havens of refuge for the victims of heathen superstition and oppression.

From the traditional African point of view (as expressed by Mnyamana for example)[51] they were centres of immorality, havens for the dissolute, criminals and ne'er-do-wells. Those who had no apparent material motive for joining a mission – who were motivated by religious conviction alone – seemed to be simply insane.

The inhabitants of the mission stations tended to be ethnically distinct from the surrounding people, or at least drawn from far afield. They were not usually a cross-section of the people amongst whom the mission was situated. On the stations beyond the Cape eastern frontier, in the first half of the 19th century at least, a majority of the inhabitants were ethnically distinct from the Xhosa proper.[52] Many were Gona – people of partially Khoi descent. Some were Khoi who had accompanied the missionaries from the Colony. From the 1830s onwards increasing numbers of Mfengu or 'Fingoes' – scattered refugees from Natal fleeing from Shaka's wars – settled on the stations. They proved much more receptive to missionary teaching than the Xhosa.

> By a distinguished and remarkable readiness (wrote Stephen Kay in August 1830) both to hear and to receive the gospel, they are obviously becoming special objects of missionary attention. Although equally if not more superstitious than the Kaffir, in general they appear to be much less influenced by the sceptic spirit, which he so frequently manifests.[53]

The Mfengu's social structure had already broken down; in the Xhosa country they were of inferior status; they looked to the white man for protection and help; all this smoothed the way to their acceptance of the gospel. Even after British annexation conversion was largely confined to the Mfengu. 'Even up to the present time', writes Pauw, 'the church has in many parts never made a real breakthrough to the Xhosa proper, the Thembu or the Mpondo'.[54]

Elsewhere, we see the same pattern. In Natal, Zululand and Pondoland most station residents came from outside the district the station was in; nearly half came from outside the respective states the stations were in. Most of the converts on the

Zululand stations before the Zulu war were in fact from Natal,[55] which explains Mnyamana's statement 'If the missionaries want Christians, let them bring them from Natal; they shall not get them here'.[56] By 1830 the Tlhaping had left Kuruman, and Robert Moffat was left with a miscellaneous collection of refugees.[57]

Thus mission stations in independent African societies tended to be alien and alienated islands in an otherwise unaffected sea of paganism. They did not leaven the pagan lump; they were not seeds of Christian growth; they were isolated and quarantined by African rulers.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that missionaries came to advocate British rule. As John Mackenzie of Bechuanaland observed in 1876:

> On the whole the old feudal power of the native chiefs is opposed to Christianity; and the people who are living under English law are in a far more advantageous position as to the reception of the Gospel than when they were living in their own heathen towns surrounded by all its thralls and sanctions.[58]

Writing during the War of the Axe (1846-7) on the Cape eastern frontier, John Cumming of the Glasgow Missionary Society stated:

> '[Their] power *must* be broken; and then there is a brighter prospect of the benign influence of the gospel being more generally diffused over those who may be spared from the judgments which are now abroad in the land'.[59]

Particularly interesting in this respect is the conversion of Americans and Norwegians to British imperialism. The American Board missionaries were at first determined to work in areas *not* under any European rule, where they could 'rear up [independent] Christian communities'.[60] This hope proved unrealistic, and on the outbreak of the Zulu war the opinion of the American missionaries was summed up by one of their number thus:

> While I would not advocate the policy of planting the gospel at the point of the bayonet, I fully believe that the supremacy of English rule is necessary to the speedy and

> wholesome development of Christian missions in this half of 'the dark continent'.[61]

Hans Schreuder, the founder of the Norwegian Mission in Zululand, began as an enemy of British imperialism. He attacked schemes or supposed schemes for annexing Zululand, and advised Mpande to exclude all British subjects, including even missionaries. Thirty years of frustration led the Norwegians too to request the British Government to intervene in Zululand.[62]

The most vehement advocate of British intervention in Zululand was the Anglican, Robert Robertson. In 1863 he had stated that whereas the Norwegians had made few, and unimportant, converts,

> I think we may very well hope, that by being much with Cetshwayo, by gaining his confidence, by really showing him that Christianity among his people increases rather than diminishes his strength, a good measure of success may be the result.[63]

By 1877 he was writing:

> At one time I had hope of them as a nation but now that hope is gone. They are as bad as the Turks and cannot reform themselves if they would. It will have to be done by their losing their name among the nations. I hope that you will not think that I am showing the white feather in leaving this country. I mean to volunteer to return with the first forces that are sent into the country if such are sent. I mean of course as chaplain.[64]

And this is what he did, although his religious office did not prevent him from taking a few pot-shots at the ungrateful Zulus.[65]

In the second half of the 19th century, with increasing momentum after 1870, the independent African states and chiefdoms in South Africa were subjected to white rule. Du Plessis, in his *History of Christian Missions in South Africa* sums up the position in 1910 as follows:

> European rule has been firmly established all over the subcontinent . . . The power of the native chiefs has been broken; they wield their authority, such as it is, in strict subordination to the ruling European power . . . National

> customs that are repugnant to the principles of modern civilization have been declared illegal, and their observance can, if necessary, be put down by force. And finally the privilege of being taxed and so contributing to the national revenue – that universal badge of civilized society – has been conferred upon the South African natives. These settled conditions signify that, from a missionary point of view, doors which in 1850 stood closed, or were at best but slightly ajar, have now been flung wide open.[66]

Even before the imposition of white rule, changes were occurring in traditional African society, some of them the result of innovations introduced by the missionaries. Some were quite unexpected, like the effects of the replacement of the hoe by the more efficient plough. Traditionally women had tilled the fields while men tended the livestock. Now the fields were being tilled by an implement which was drawn by oxen; and so the old sexual division of labour broke down. The desire for ploughs, and other European manufactures, led both to some production for the market and to men going out to work for whites in order to gain the wherewithal to buy them. The introduction of European manufactures also led to a decline of indigenous crafts. The introduction of irrigation, as well as the incorporation into a wider money economy, with its possibility of earning money and *buying* food, meant that rain-making was not as vitally necessary as before. This diminished one of the sources of the power and authority of the chief.

All these trends were accelerated by the imposition of direct white rule, especially of course, the decline in the authority of the chiefs.

Formerly, traditional African society had presented a solid, self-sufficient, self-confident phalanx against European civilization, including Christianity. Christian Africans were an anomaly in traditional African society. Every aspect of life – economic, social, political, domestic – was permeated by the pagan religion, and so Christians had to shut themselves off from the life of their community. What Gibbon wrote of the early Christians in the Roman Empire applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the position of Christian Africans in traditional society:

> The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them, without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind, and all the offices and amusements of society.[67]

The decline of the old way of life and its replacement by a more European way of life meant that this was no longer so. The old religion became less relevant and satisfying (especially to urbanised Africans) and left a gap which was increasingly filled by Christianity.

Shula Marks has noted how the suppression of the Bambata rebellion of 1906, the last spasm of traditional resistance to white domination, was followed by a revived interest in Christianity and the education which the missionaries provided.[68] At least one reason for this was the realisation that armed rebellion on traditional lines was hopeless; that if Africans were to hold their own against European domination, it would henceforward have to be on European terms.

Before this, a growing body of Kholwa (converts) had made the same decision; had adopted, along with European religion, education, manners and customs, the profit motive and the spirit of competition (so foreign to tribal *mores*), and had become successful businessmen, as farmers, traders, artisans or transport riders.[69] But though they had turned their back on their pagan fellow-countrymen, they were not accepted as equals amongst their new co-religionists – politically, socially, and, as their numbers increased, economically. Beginning in the late 19th century and intensifying after 1910, Africans were excluded from positions where they might compete effectively with whites. In 1904, for example, Africans were prevented from buying further land in Natal. In 1913 this was extended to the Union as a whole, and other forms of access to land, such as share-cropping and squatting, which had become prevalent in some areas, were banned. Africans were similarly excluded from urban areas and from skilled jobs beyond the point where they began to compete with whites.

The colour-bar was also to be found in the churches. ' "Net vir

Blankes – for Europeans Only" is figuratively, but no less virtually written on many church doors in the Union'.[70] This exclusion, both within the church and in society at large, has led to the development of separatist churches – 'Ethiopian' churches which have broken away from mission churches, and 'Zionist' churches with their mixture of Christian and pagan elements. This separatism represents the desire to seek a Christianity purged of its associations with the oppressor; it also represents a desire for positions of importance and authority on the part of ambitious men denied opportunities elsewhere. This last consideration helps explain the multiplicity of separatist churches – the more churches, the more positions.

Religious belief and affiliation should not be explained entirely in such materialist terms. There are also religious reasons for religious separatism. It is likely that one such reason is a sense of dissatisfaction with 'European' churches which have given up the attempt to compete with science as a means of explaining, predicting and controlling the environment. This was an important function of the old religion, which the new religion eschews; attempts to use it for these purposes are condemned as 'superstition'.[71]

But there was certainly a political or semi-political element in much religious separation. As in other places and in other times religious affiliation served as a mark of national distinction. Separatism may be regarded as a form of nationalism. The response by many to exclusion and injustice was more directly political. While some Kholwa contented themselves with forming churches others formed political associations. The pioneer African Nationalists arose on mission stations. It is understandable that with their relative freedom from narrowly tribal ties,[72] and their Western education, they should have done so; but there is a certain irony in the fact that what traditionalists had resisted as part of white domination should have become the breeding ground for a secondary, modernised resistance movement.

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'MY SAD MUSE': CRABBE'S INDIVIDUALITY IN 'THE FAREWELL AND RETURN'

by BRIAN GREEN

> Never mind
> Asking what poetic kind
> Crabbe's tales belong to; they escape
> Any predetermined shape[1]

Until Arthur Sale's essay highlighted the unwarranted prominence of *The Village*, in relation to Crabbe's later work, and showed that the poem is not representative of his final achievement, Crabbe's literary fame had to stand or fall on that poem.[2] Yet, if the recent trend is to vindicate the mature Crabbe as one of the strengths of early nineteenth-century English poetry, then his most devoted critics have still to do him proud in at least one important respect, in explaining the moral dilemma in *The Village*. For, although few critics side with Renwick's narrow view, adverse criticism of the poem has been far more damaging on moral than on literary grounds.[3]

In *The Village*, Crabbe shows that contemporary pastoral poetry is insincere and shallow because, not finding in English countryfolk the sensibilities they find in classical peasants, contemporary poets invent rustic emotions to please themselves. Crabbe objects to their 'tinsel trappings of poetic pride' (I.48)[4] which do not deal with the real agonies of the poor, but conceal all in external ostentation. Crabbe demands intrinsic genuineness:

> Go! if the peaceful cot your praises share,
> Go look within, and ask if peace be there;
> If peace be his—that drooping weary sire,
> Or theirs, that offspring round their feeble fire;
> Or hers, that matron pale, whose trembling hand
> Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand!
>
> (I.174-79)

Crabbe repudiates sentimentality by penetrating tenaciously and unflinchingly into each branch of the all-too familiar relations created by the 'cot'. This theme, which underlies the

entire poem, is a traditional commonplace of European experience—*Homo sum* etc.—a theme which is renewed by the plainness and vigour of images such as these. And yet *The Village* has been taken as mere cynical protest.[5]

The dilemma in *The Village* is created by Crabbe's spurious tone and pictorial realism. Crabbe overstates his case in one particular way. He constantly resorts to the rugged natural setting to provide authoritative analogues to human experience that will certify his own insights and criticisms. But, in seeking to arouse our sympathy for the poor, he succeeds only in showing how the harsh landscape has brutalised them. The effect of the passage quoted above, as of the entire poem, is to make one wince. That is the unfortunate moral dilemma of Crabbe's early realism. Attempting to assert himself as a poet, he ends up in a false social position, grieving his moral being. Oppressed by an Augustan poetic, Crabbe's tone betrays an underlying sullenness. *The Village* is an outburst of two fused desires, one to write poetry and the other to see justice done.

Does this moral point about *The Village* indicate an approach to Crabbe's later work? I think it does. *The Village* (1783) belies Crabbe the moral and social poet, and most critics nowadays follow Sale's lead and quite rightly set *Tales in Verse* (1812) as the peak of Crabbe's art.[6] One critic has even argued for the supremacy of *Tales of the Hall* (1819).[7] Indeed, this recent shift in critical emphasis, which centralises *Tales in Verse*, has brought the *Posthumous Tales* (1834) firmly into the picture, and several critics have offered convincing, if tentative, appraisals of some of the pieces in this final volume of verse.[8] I am going to propose that Crabbe is most faithful to himself in his last collection of tales, *The Farewell and Return*[9]; that he is passionately preoccupied with the expression of his own poetic vision; and that this individual temper is enacted in a major theme in the poem, authority versus the individual.

I

In a fragment in one of his later notebooks, Crabbe lays himself open to Wordsworth's attack on the passive notion of literary 'taste':

I tell you chearful Tales with all my Heart
Tales meet for Feasts with idle Mirth & Glee
But Woes come in & they will claim a part
A woeful Part with my sad muse and me.[10]

Actually, however, Crabbe is promoting a profoundly passionate involvement with life and society.

The tales described in the first two lines are conducive to simple amusement and pleasure. The setting is a convivial one, the tales are appropriately happy, and told amid the open expression of delight. The pun on 'meet' conveys the playfulness with which the narrator enjoys the company of others, and also that he gladly caters for their various 'tastes'. 'Chearful' tales, then, are not merely entertainment, but vehicles of the teller's warm generosity of spirit. Yet, since the teller of cheerful tales is certainly involved in social activities, he must as certainly restrain his impulses in order to come to terms with any situation which does not invite festive enthusiasm. The word 'claims' implies that the teller of cheerful tales exposes himself to all the demands of society, pleasant and unpleasant, and has to adapt his own interests to suit the rights of others. His imaginative engagement with society creates within him an honest compassion that is incapable of ignoring or refusing the inevitable and insistent 'Woes . . . woeful,' i.e. moral responsibilities.

This individual commitment to society is at the heart of mature Crabbean 'sadness' or seriousness. For Crabbe himself sees that the two functions of his tales–to celebrate and to examine–really overlap and harmonise with each other. In the fragment, the alternating rhyme secures this sense of emotional complexity. There is an intensely strong impulse towards fellow-feeling and an equally intense moral responsibility. Only both together can fully express the individual consciousness of the speaker.

But the underlying structure of the notebook-fragment is Christian, and continuous with the two commandments: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30-31). Poetic authority and moral authority have become one. The authority of poetry creates and disciplines the speaker's social commitment. An abundant life comes to the speaker from external

claims that reshape his energies. This activity makes him responsive and responsible, more self-conscious than before of himself as an artist. And the poet is no longer concerned merely with how people live but with how they *suffer individually in society*.

David Morris, for instance, is a pathetic figure because his environment forces him to suspend his commitment to it, and it deprives him of his self-respect.[11] David is representative of the solitary, melancholy poets of Wordsworthian philosophy, but Crabbe shows that his own interest is in David's relation with his fellow-men rather than with Nature. David is 'A Man of Business' (3), i.e. a professional writer with a market to compete for. His subjective attitude towards the 'Crowds' (471), therefore, is ironical and significant. The institutionalisation of his imagination is degrading, and his helplessness shows us that.

I shall go on to demonstrate in detail the working of this preoccupation with individual suffering through specific extracts from *The Farewell and Return*, and then show how Crabbe's moral outlook gradually becomes more self-reflecting, as he tries to explain not only the ways of man to man, but also his own ways to himself.

II

The Dealer and Clerk, for example, achieves itself not only through the portrayal of individual character, but also through its dramatic criticism of social injustices. In the opening paragraph of the tale, Crabbe does not merely describe the 'wealthy Merchant,'[12] but, with his characteristic force, measures the full social dimensions of the man's 'success':

> BAD men are seldom cheerful; but we see
> That, when successful, they can merry be.
> ONE whom I leave, his darling money lends,
> On terms well known, to his unhappy friends;
> He farms and trades, and in his method treats
> His guests, whom first he comforts, then he cheats.
> HE knows their private griefs, their inward groans,
> And then applies his leeches and his loans,
> To failing, falling families–and gets,
> I know not how, with large increase, their debts.

Crabbe places the Dealer's triumphant duplicity within a rural setting where the emphasis is upon the 'well known' crude practicalities of living, as opposed to the more intimate and tender complexities of spiritual feeling. Interestingly, the most positive force in these lines is the robust expertise with which the Dealer blackmails his victims. His 'method' of manipulation is loathesome precisely because it is so unsubtle and uncouth. It is the flagrancy of his 'merriment' that is obnoxious, so that the horrific depredation and repugnant callousness of his guile is made all the more pointed by the irony of the words 'friends,' 'guests,' and 'families.'

Crabbe brilliantly dramatises this sense of moral outrage with typical verbal zest. He sensitively arranges the second couplet so as to bring maximum point to the word 'unhappy.' He first wrote 'unlucky,' but the new word intensifies the misery of the friends, makes us more sympathetic towards them, while at the same time fully implicating the Dealer in their downfall. We can be sure that his friends are unhappy not simply because they deprive the Dealer of his 'darling,' for the adjectives 'darling' and 'unhappy' strike a contrast that suggests sordid motives lurk behind the 'terms' of the 'loans'. Crabbe focuses this vicious hypocrisy in the end-line word 'treats,' whose resonating ambiguity conveys both the credulity of the 'guests' and the Dealer's contempt for them. The Dealer uses his friends merely as a means to an end. He is attentive to their needs, but only in order to serve better the object of his adoration. This ambiguity in 'treats' is then unfolded until it is resolved in the implied antithesis of the rhyming word 'cheats,' which enacts the brutality of the Dealer's 'method' and enforces his own conception of 'success'.

But the most immediately apparent means by which Crabbe secures in these lines a combination of clarity and impact is alliteration, which not only contributes to the general celebratory-appalling effect but also captures the maximum of our direct attention to each of the words linked first by 'l' and then by 'f'. It is Crabbe's artistic imagination that demands this fine *ambivalent* account of the Dealer's 'badness'. Crabbe is true to his moral self and does not simply condemn the man. Indeed, the subject of these opening lines is rather the aggressiveness of the

Dealer's obsession with money, the moral blindness this entails on him, and the pathetic waste of productive and healthy human impulses.

In fact, we are made to regard the Dealer with a good deal of tolerance by the contrasting character of John, the conscientious Clerk, whose scrupulous moralism is mocked by his employer when he says: ' "To be in hell, thou fool! is to be poor." ' (259). The Dealer is undeniably wicked, but the Clerk's 'virtue' is equally destructive, personally as well as socially.

The Clerk's sententious dogmatism is neither sour nor smug, but what is disturbing is the psychological confusion which undercuts his self-righteousness. His powers of discrimination have been virtually paralysed by rigid moral principles. His indecision represents his inner perplexity. His melodramatic obsession with simplistic and stereotyped notions of evil and sin makes him unable to evaluate the possibilities of a plainly moral choice. An indication of this incapacity is the Clerk's identification of virtue and religion, as the manuscript-draft shows: ' "Then Virtue nothing by my Going gains." '[13] Virtue, for the Clerk, is nothing more than the anxious adherence to a harsh model of behaviour that is theoretical and remote. It is the Clerk's ulterior motives that cause the frustration and misdirection in his life. Consequently, it is not possible for us to sympathise with him to the extent of confirming his values, because his own agony represents their error and failure.

The Clerk acts as a reproach to the Dealer, but the inhuman violence with which the Clerk damages himself makes us suspend any absolute condemnation of the Dealer. The Clerk's 'religion' is exposed as an inadequate guide to right conduct, and, as a principle of virtue, is limited by prejudice and superstition, which deprives him of fellow-feeling for his true 'neighbour', the Dealer. The Clerk has no real understanding of others, least of all of himself, and so he becomes a ridiculous victim of his own imagination and emotions:

Thus John w^{d} boast & could his Texts apply
Bold as a Lion for the Truth am I
Yet some believing he is not without
The agitation of the Scholar's doubt
Who swears that never fleshless Form was seen
Yet never ventures where they're said t'have been.[14]

The control of his subconscious, which he supposes he has, is merely superficial and ludicrous. The tale itself is not a study of cosmic evil, but this supernatural, faery imagery colours the contrast between the two main characters. The Dealer's callous, despotic egotism is celebrated, while the Clerk's irrational fear of anarchic moral forces is made more absurd.

Both men are meant to be gothic parodies of the commercial and religious excesses of Crabbe's time. Yet the contrast also evokes a response in us of compassion. The Dealer's abuse of reason, his blind aggressiveness, and basic fear of other people are more admirable and pitiable than the Clerk's innocent emotionalism, blind submissiveness, and basic fear of himself.

What this tale exposes and displays, then, is the negotiation between two attitudes to human society. One regards friendship, hospitality, and family-life as basic impulses towards social cohesion and stability. The other represents the determined and disguised challenges to social co-operation and the accepted order. The affection between the Dealer and his dog, Fang, for instance, draws its strength from a shared enmity with society: ' "I snarl and bite, because I hate and fear" ' (195). But the image of Fang also suggests the degradation to which the Dealer's victims have been subjected. The Dealer's power depends on the number of people he manipulates, so his love for money makes him want to dominate more people. Those whom he deceives become his 'servants', and his power over them is virtually absolute. In this sense the tale is a criticism of the moral authority of civil laws. In the society which Crabbe is presenting, the laws are ineffectual, as they neither alleviate the suffering of the Dealer's victims nor prevent his 'merry success': 'there are murders, that the human eye/ Cannot detect,– which human laws defy' (102-03). It is the worship of money that causes and perpetuates this state of affairs in society, and, in

The Dealer and Clerk, Crabbe gives a religious index to this setting up of an individual moral authority which rivals the social authority.

In analysing this tale, I was hoping to show two things: that Crabbe still has at least some of his former artistic diligence, and that the tale is organised and animated by the theme of authority versus the individual.

III

Various kinds of conflict between authority and the individual are dramatically realised throughout *The Farewell and Return*. But one form of this theme is of particular importance, since it reflects the personal, inner issues of Crabbe the poet's consciousness.

In the first lyric passage in the poem, the young speaker expresses his spontaneous impulses in purely social terms:

> The whistling Boy that holds the plough,
> Lured by the tale that soldiers tell,
> Resolves to part, yet knows not how
> To leave the land he loves so well.
> He now rejects the thought, and now
> Looks o'er the lea, and sighs 'Farewell!'
>
> 'Farewell!' the pensive Maiden cries,
> Who dreams of London, dreams awake–
> But, when her favourite Lad she spies,
> With whom she loved her way to take:
> Then Doubts within her soul arise,
> And equal Hopes her bosom shake!
>
> Thus, like the Boy, and like the Maid,
> I wish to go, yet tarry here;
> And, now resolved, and now afraid,
> To minds disturb'd old views appear
> In melancholy charms array'd,
> And, once indifferent, now are dear.
> How shall I go, my fate to learn–
> And, oh! how taught shall I return?[15]

The public and private claims on the speaker appear to be inextricable and consequently inhibiting. On the other hand, he feels constrained by a traditional way of life to maintain the security of his environment, to 'hold the plough', to be reliable and steadfast, in recognising his own indispensability in the small community. He feels bound by duty and parochial morality, by social organisation and his own pre-determined role in society. On the other hand, there are the attractions of adventure as well as the promise of personal fulfilment in the world at large.

Much of the meaning of the lyric is in the emotional bursting of the verse-form of the first two stanzas, so that the closing couplet disrupts the rhythm and has an almost epigrammatic point: 'How shall I go, my fate to learn–/ And, oh! how taught shall I return?' The natural apprehension springs from the equally strong determination to live life fully, and not merely to 'whistle' his life away in a nebulous mindlessness or to 'dream awake' in a twilight wasteland of longing.

The city is presented as a kind of wonderland, but the very vagueness of the image confers an ironic atmosphere on the speaker's ruminations, an atmosphere formed by the feelings of being seduced and violated. Not that Crabbe himself intends us to regard the city as a paradise. Crabbe is here working contemporary social experiences, such as child-slavery and male tyranny of women, into the poem's controlling thematic principles.[16] City-life is the forbidden fruit. So the unchanging modes of life in a rural community are actually endorsed at the same time as they are abnegated.[17] A moral ambivalence is thus tellingly conveyed.

The final conviction that is lacking in the lyric we get in the opening lines of the *Farewell*-narrative proper. Leaving his naive boyhood behind him, the speaker steps onto the threshold of conscious life, his natural energies creatively disciplined:

> I AM of age, and now, no more the Boy,
> Am ready Fortune's favours to enjoy,
> Were they, too, ready; but, with grief I speak,
> Mine is the fortune that I yet must seek.
> And let me seek it; there's the world around–

> And if not sought it never can be found.
> It will not come if I the chase decline;
> Wishes and wants will never make it mine.
> Then let me shake these lingering fears away;
> What one day must be, let it be to-day;
> Lest courage fail ere I the search commence,
> And resolution pall upon suspense.

The main imaginative impulse in these lines issues from the autonomous self-correction after the caesura in line 3. Nerved to come to terms with himself, the speaker proceeds towards his destiny. It is a positive and unflinching acceptance of whatever life has to offer him and of the sacrifice that this entails; it is a desire to bring his whole being to life.

We have moved beyond the indecisive contemplation of action in the introductory lyric, beyond the mere, tentative formation of thought, to the event itself. The last line of the passage, of course, deliberately echoes Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' soliloquy, and this lends point to the unambiguousness of the speaker's course of action. His independence and individuality are born of life and vigour, of a courage in the face of a kind of death, and of an anxious compulsion to risk living to his full human potential.

In the two extracts discussed above, we see Crabbe's own earlier 'moral dilemma' for what it has become, a crisis of artistic consciousness. The crisis is clearly still in the process of taking place. Preoccupied with patterns of development, Crabbe must himself be developing. The opening image of *The Farewell and Return* is of a decisive leap or sudden projection from a state of ambivalence. This reaching into the future is the dominant ordering principle in Crabbe's narrative patterns, and it is this sense of *becoming* that certifies that the poem is not simply the culmination of 'a gentle decline' of Crabbe's creative power.[18] Rather, *The Farewell and Return*, like the notebook-fragment, registers his full and active acceptance of daily pain and pathetic hatred as his artistic responsibility. 'Unpleasant' material is a touchstone for any poet's talents.

And what has changed is Crabbe's poetic mode, that management of thought and feeling by which a poet realises his own individual, transforming vision, what John Lucas usefully terms

the 'authoritative basis' of the imagination.[19] This new mode implies that Crabbe has a new concept of himself and of his place in society. It defines his new image of his own individuality, an image which he sets against the background of his earlier work. We see Crabbe's earlier satiric sympathy itself as the material of his art. His acute biographical sense forces him to 'look o'er' his own creative output. A new moral outlook reshapes his emotional history, as, in turn, memories of Aldeburgh infiltrate and perturb the consciousness of the introspective poet of Trowbridge. For better or for worse, our memories remain living parts of ourselves.

The idea of such a transcendent, literary relation is suggested by the following extract from the main *Farewell and Return*-notebook:

> The Acts not only record the Things done in the Time after the Resurrection, but refer to & mention as Facts the Things preceding & probably allmost all the Events related by the Evangelists. If then the Things posterior to the Resurrection be Facts, do they not establish the Truth of Things anterior?—all Parts of an Whole—[20]

Whatever the validity of this piece of theological speculation, it is surely not an isolated experience. *The Farewell and Return* can have its full meaning only in relation to Crabbe's earlier work, and part of that meaning is that the poem brings into focus the suffering of an ordinary mortal in society—indeed, Crabbe's own suffering. Crabbe goes against the contemporary poetic grain, and he shows that he too has been afflicted by the behaviour of others as well as by his own human condition. In writing *The Farewell and Return*, Crabbe was in a sense rewriting *The Village*.

IV

By the time he comes to write *The Farewell and Return*, then, Crabbe has emerged fully from the severe despotism of his assumed Augustan sensibility, and is consciously acknowledging a poetic individuality which demands humane involvement. Or, as he puts it in another late poem:

'The awakened Poet paints the due Distress;
Tells how it came, and presses on the Mind
That we are Men, and of the suffering Kind.
We own the grieving and opprest as Friends;
The Mind enlarges as its Grief extends;
And Grief that's painted true improves the Heart it rends.'[21]

The personal crisis that Crabbe attempts to work through in *The Farewell and Return*--the autobiographical mode suggests there is one--may be quite simply the awareness of his own approaching death. The courage to face death can enhance a man's sense of life, and the poem enacts this kind of heightening or 'renovation of health', to borrow a phrase from the official biography.[22] Whatever its source, the passionate seriousness of Crabbe's later work–its artistic self-consciousness– has yet to be recognised. For it is behind this kind of humane involvement that we should place the stern detachment of his earlier work.

Crabbe's mature realism is not mere external description. He identifies himself with the poor at a common level of deprivation, and the thematic images of *The Farewell and Return*– friendship/alienation, freedom/frustration, generosity/greed– are central in this emotional sympathy. Above all, Crabbe is no proud, remote, and idealised figure in society. He is no longer wholly Augustan nor yet wholly Romantic. He is thoroughly individual, because he has a capacity for both compassion and self-criticism, for taking a disciplined personal stand *with* 'The dull, the proud, the wicked and the mad'[23] – in short, for hearing the vital, sad music of his own humanity.

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NOTES

[1] Donald Davie, 'Trevenen,' in *Collected Poems 1950-1970* (London: Routledge, 1972), p. 286.

[2] 'The Development of Crabbe's Narrative Art,' *CamJ*, 5 (1952), 480-98.

[3] W.L. Renwick, *English Literature 1789-1815*, The Oxford History of English Literature 9 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), pp. 109-10. But see also Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto, 1973), pp. 115-21, tempered by R.B. Hatch, *Crabbe's Arabesque: Social Drama in the Poetry of George Crabbe* (London: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 18, 31, 245. Anyone who has read *The Patron* (Tale V, 1812) cannot but appreciate the extent to which Crabbe's chaplaincy at Belvoir Castle was, as his son puts it, 'attended with many painful circumstances, and productive in his mind of some of the acutest sensations of wounded pride that have ever been traced by any pen' (*Life of the Rev. George Crabbe, LL.B.*, Ch. v, in *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe* (London: J. Murray, 1834), I, 113; hereafter cited as *Life*.

[4] The basic verse-texts used in the present essay are *The Works of George Crabbe*, 5 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1823), and *Posthumous Tales*, in *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe* (London: J. Murray, 1834), VIII.

[5] Arthur Pollard, *Satire*, The Critical Idiom 7 (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 69, and John Clare, *The Letters of John Clare*, ed. J.W. and A. Tibble (London: Routledge, 1951), p. 75. See also Pollard's 'A Study of Crabbe's Thought on Christian Duty and Doctrine; and Its Place in His Poetry,' B. Litt. diss. Oxford 1952, esp. pp. 6, 208: 'satire was replaced by didacticism in one form or another.'

[6] Notably John Lucas, ed., *A Selection from George Crabbe*, Longman English Series 5 (London: Longman, 1967), p. 25; Howard Mills, ed., *George Crabbe: Tales, 1812 and Other Selected Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), p. xxxiv; and G. Newbold, ed., *A Crabbe Selection*, Macmillan English Classics (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. xviii.

[7] R.L. Chamberlain, *George Crabbe*, Twayne's English Authors 18 (New York: Twayne, 1965).

[8] D.N. Gallon, 'Silford Hall or the Happy Day,' *MLR*, 61 (1966), 384-91; C.T. Diffey, 'Journey to Experience: Crabbe's "Silford Hall," ' *DUJ*, 61 (1969), 129-34; and Peter New, *George Crabbe's Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 223-36.

[9] In his *New Poems by George Crabbe* (Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960), Arthur Pollard gives the Summer of 1822 as a likely *terminus a quo* for the composition of *The Farewell and Return* (pp. 174-75). According to Thomas Moore, the poem may already have been completed by the Summer of 1824 (*Life*, Ch. ix, p. 268). My argument in no way attempts to give this poem a higher literary value than the earlier tales. Nevertheless, *The Will* and *The Cousins*, which together with *The Dealer and Clerk* make up the best that *The Farewell and Return* has to offer, dramatise an energetic mind, and examine moral issues with memorable finesse.

[10] In his edition, A.W. Ward includes these lines in a poem he entitles 'Matilda' (*George Crabbe: Poems*, III [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1907] , 516). But the form in which the lines appear on p. 36r in Crabbe's notebook, Cambridge Univ. Lib., MS. Add. 4425, separates them in both content and graphic status from the rest of the page.

[11] As Pollard says, *David Morris* may well have been originally intended for inclusion in *The Farewell and Return* (*New Poems*, p. 8).

[12] The ms-title is: 'The wealthy Merchant & Consciencious [sic] Clerk./Dealer & Clerk.' (C.U.L. Add. 4424, 2v).

[13] Add. 4424, 4r.

[14] Crabbe has made a cross-reference from 4v to 66v. Crabbe's own abbreviations, punctuation, and spelling are given throughout.

[15] The 'whistling Boy'-lyric has a contextual priority usually denied it in the farewell-section of the first tale. Crabbe wrote the lines in a separate notebook (C.U.L. Add. 4423, 36r). On 37v-38r, occur the lines 'First to our men of Wealth there are but few . . . Or the vain Hope that lives upon a Name!' In the main *Farewell and Return*-notebook, the customary first fourteen lines of the tale introduce what is now called *The School-Fellow*, but is there entitled 'The Farewell./School' (Add. 4424, 50v). Cf. Pollard, ed., *New Poems*, pp. 176-77. Clearly, the sequence of ideas in the opening tale of the poem, as it is usually printed, is not certain, and I propose that the lyric should in fact begin the poem.

[16] E.g., in the final tale in the collection, *Preaching and Practice*:

> There, at my desk, in my six feet of room,
> I noted every power of every loom;
> Sounds of all kinds I heard from mortal lungs –
> Eternal battle of unwearied tongues,
> The jar of men and women, girls and boys,
> And the huge Babel's own dull whirring grinding noise. (168–73)

[17] See 'The Prodigal Going,' *Poems*, ed. Ward, III, 517-18.

[18] John Speirs, 'Crabbe: "Tales in Verse," ' in his *Poetry towards Novel* (London: Faber, 1971), p. 199.

[19] 'Politics and the Poet's Role,' in *Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century: Essays*, ed. John Lucas (London: Methuen, 1971), Ch. ii, p. 17. Lucas is describing the Romantic appropriation of universal truth, but in a way that has equal significance for Crabbe.

[20] Add. 4424, 85v.

[21] 'Tragic Tales, Why?,' Ward, III, 475, ll. 33-38.

[22] *Life*, Ch. ix, p. 218.

[23] See Vincent Newey's discussion of the self-consciousness of Augustan poets in his 'Pope, Raymond Williams, and the Man of Ross,' *EIC*, 27 (1977), 368-73.

'THE TRUEST POETRY IS THE MOST FEIGNING': SIDNEY ON THE POET AS MAKER

by B.D. CHEADLE

In her recent book on Sir Philip Sidney, Dorothy Connell focuses as 'a central critical problem about Sidney's conception of poetry' the fact that his *Apology for Poetry* seems to demand 'a moral didacticism which his own work does not supply'.[1] Dr Connell does much to counter this assumption, and she rightly recognises as a 'key element' in Sidney 'his ability to encompass and balance contradictions'.[2] She does not, however, bring out fully the extent to which Sidney's discussion of poetry in itself manages to encompass and balance both moral and what we would now call aesthetic claims.

No passage in the *Apology* is as well known as that on the golden world delivered by the poets. All other forms of learning, Sidney argues, are dependent upon nature,

> Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demigods, cyclops, chimeras, furies, and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand with Nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden. (100:21)[3]

Sidney's words build up to their climax with such rhythmical assurance that the momentary catch in the phrase 'the too-much-loved earth' is hardly noticed, with its almost involuntary moral reminder that the loveliness of pleasant rivers and sweet-smelling flowers is, in the last reckoning, seductive and insubstantial.

Given the moral tenor of Sidney's argument, it is significant

that the moral catch should here figure as intrusive. Nor can the intrusiveness be argued away on the grounds that there is a difference in kind between the pleasure provided by 'the too-much-loved earth' and that provided by the poet's richer tapestry: 'more lovely' implies no suggestion that what was a temptation has been transformed by art into something morally sanctioned.

In a similar way the reader tends to be so swept along by the mounting energies of the passage that he does not pause to consider the dubious relationship within the argument of the furies to the fruitful trees, or of the pleasant rivers to Pylades, who is adduced in the next paragraph as a further example of the poet's power of bringing forth his images with the wonder-inducing 'force of a divine breath'. In his discussion of the artist as surpassing the works of nature Sidney produces quite different kinds of example. He sees the poet as offering moral exemplars – Pylades the constant friend, Aeneas the man excellent in every way, Cyrus the right prince to 'make many Cyruses, if [men] will learn aright why and how that maker made him' (101:11); but in the golden world passage itself his response is at least in part to something other and perhaps more immediate in the effect of art, to the enthralling richness of the poet's tapestry and to the inventiveness which delivers furies, cyclops and chimeras, no less than Cyruses.

Sidney's moral idealism strains against this other element in his response. When he later echoes the verb 'ranging', which he has used so memorably of the poet 'freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit', he hedges it with qualifications:

> [The poets] range, only reined with learned discretion into the divine consideration of what may be and should be. (102:36)

The effect of the argument turning in again on its moral bias is not only to introduce a check, akin to that in 'too-much-loved', but to shift the stress from the heightened quality of the making to the nature of the content. This, Sidney hastens to declare, must be 'substantial' and not 'wholly imaginative' – which puts the sweet-smelling flowers in their place but leaves the cyclops and chimeras completely stranded.

It is quite natural that at times Sidney's persuasive purposes

should have led him to sacrifice consistency to immediate rhetorical effect. He says of Plato, with the *Ion* clearly in mind, 'He attributeth unto Poesy more than myself do, namely, to be a very inspiring of a divine force, far above man's wit' (130:7), a comment that chimes well with the pertly good-humoured disclaimer in his sonnet 'I never dranke of Aganippe well':

> Some do I heare of Poets' furie tell,
> But (God wot) wot not what they meane by it.

Nevertheless, in the peroration of the *Apology* he conjures the reader with an almost mock-heroic flourish to believe with Landino that the poets are so beloved of the gods 'that whatsoever they write proceeds of a divine fury' (142:6). Such inconsistencies are hardly worth mentioning, but the uncertainties in the golden world passage are of a quite different order: they open up subversive questions as to what indeed it is that makes for the wonderful potency of art.

The golden world passage occurs in a preliminary section of the argument based on 'the etymology of [the poet's] names' (101:30) where the immediate concern is with the poet's right to the name of 'maker'. The idea of the poet as maker is, of course, central in the *Apology*. It is crucial, for example, to Sidney's discussion of what constitutes a 'right poet'. Against a background of growing secular trends in literature and in thought, many Northern Christian humanists tried to win status for poetry in the face of its detractors, by giving it a religious sanction. Thus Sidney's contemporary du Bartas graced the didactic element in poetry by placing it under the special aegis of Urania, the same Christian Muse as Milton later invokes at the start of *Paradise Lost*.[4] Sidney, on the other hand, goes out of his way in the *Apology* to distinguish divine poetry as a completely separate kind; and having done so he explicitly excludes it from his considerations, confining himself to a defence of 'right poetry'. In part this represents a gesture of genuine humility. It seems typical of him that, having argued the superiority of the poet to the historian and to the moral philosopher, he should add the firm rider:

> as for the divine, with all reverence it is ever to be excepted, not only for having his scope as far beyond any of these as eternity exceedeth a moment, but even for passing each of these in themselves.
>
> (106:17)

But Sidney has equally important reasons for excluding divine poetry: he wants to defend 'right poetry' upon its own terms and without any *a priori* divine sanction.[5]

Sidney's notion of 'right poetry' is an interesting one. At first, the distinctions which he is making between right poetry and other kinds might seem to relate to subject matter: divine poets 'imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God'; a second kind of poet deals with 'matters philosophical'; right poets imitate 'what may be and should be' (101:38, 102:14 and 37). This distinction in terms of content is comparable to William Webbe's distinction in his *A Discourse of Englishe Poetry* (1586) between *vates*, who are concerned with 'grave and necessary matters', and poets or makers, who sing 'of love matters, or other lighter devises'.[6] But Sidney's further distinction between 'philosophical' poets and right poets is based upon the *manner* in which subject matter is treated (significantly he does not use the term 'imitation' in his discussion of the second kind of poet). Writers who simply present their ideas on any subject, in verse, are not right poets because they remain 'wrapped within the fold of the proposed subject' and do not take 'the course of [their] own invention'. Sidney argues wittily in his next paragraph that,

> it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet – no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who though he pleaded in armour should be an advocate and no soldier. But it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by.
>
> (103:26)

'Feigning', 'making' and 'invention' are clearly overlapping terms. The right poet, defined not so much by his intentions as by the manner of his operations, is in essence a maker, one who feigns. Moreover, it is difficult not to feel that the parenthesis, 'with that delightful teaching', is a concession to Sidney's

overall moral view rather than a point essential to the distinction in hand. At the very least, Sidney wants his readers to be unaware that as far as his moral argument is concerned he has thrown the cat among the pigeons, or the chimera among the Cyruses, with that casual afterthought, 'notable images of virtues, vices, *or what else*'.

The idea that poetry is characterised simply by the act of feigning is made play with right from the opening pages of the *Apology*. Sidney claims Solon as in part a poet because he used 'a notable fable' (97:8); and he argues that even Plato had a good deal of the poet in him because he wrote in feigned dialogues, and provided both poetical describing and interlacing tales such as that of

> Gyges' Ring, and others, which who knoweth not to be flowers of poetry did never walk into Apollo's garden. (97:19)

The classical historians too, 'entered into the gates of popular judgements' only because they had taken ' a great passport of poetry' (97:32), for quite apparently their passionate descriptions of battles they had never seen and of speeches they had never heard are no more than feigning.

In the 'golden world' passage Sidney urges the unique importance of the poet's ability to feign: he alone is not tied to the works of nature for his object, but is free to deliver his own golden world, his own perfected images. The same idea underlines Sidney's central claim that the poet is the most effective teacher of all. Unlike the historian he is free to feign a just outcome to events such that the valiant Miltiades is not left rotting in his fetters; unlike the philosopher he is not limited to bare precepts but can feign 'notable images' of vice and virtue, speaking pictures which have the power to 'strike, pierce [and] possess the sight of the soul' (107:15).

Inevitably Sidney at times thinks of the act of making in terms of the model provided by traditional rhetorical teaching, with its techniques of *inventio, dispositio* and *elocutio*. He at least partly has this in mind when he talks of the poet as beginning with an 'Idea or fore-conceit' which he proceeds to 'figure forth'. Aristotle had provided a neat distinction between poetry

and rhetoric in claiming simply that persuasion characterises rhetoric and imitation poetry, thus making imitation a proper end in its own right. But Sidney had taken over from rhetoric his triple criteria of delighting, teaching and moving, and he was committed to the idea of poetry as morally coercive. In consequence, no more than any other theorist of his age, he never quite manages to think of feigning completely or consistently in its own terms. Moreover, by the sixteenth century poetry had been thought of in relation to rhetoric for so long that many aspects of 'feigning' had been absorbed by rhetoric. There was, for example, the medieval precedent of Matthew of Vendôme, almost half of whose treatise is taken up with a consideration of *descriptio*, an aspect which had received only passing treatment in the classical rhetoricians. By such means the amplification of rich and ornamental details was taken under the wing of rhetoric and descriptions such as that of the *locus amoenus* were given a new status as *topoi*.[7]

But clearly if Sidney was thinking of 'making' only in relation to general rhetorical practice his distinction between the poet on the one hand, and all the species of philosopher on the other would collapse, together with the notion of the right poet. For rhetoric and its tools are equally the property of philosopher and poet. Sidney well knew that the poet's means and those of the rhetorician overlapped to a large extent, but he ended his discussion of the deficiencies of contemporary writers by saying,

> Methinks I deserve to be pounded for straying
> from Poetry to Oratory; [though] both have . . .
> an affinity in this wordish consideration.
>
> (139:35)

Sidney says at the outset of his argument that it is 'high flying liberty of conceit' and 'exquisite observing of number and measure in words' that are 'proper to the poet'. When, however, he subsequently outlines the nature of the enticement which the poet offers he says:

> He cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well enchanting skill of music; and with a tale forsooth he cometh unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner.
>
> (113:27)

It is precisely in versifying and in feigning that poetry goes beyond rhetorical practice in realizing its 'high flying' conceits. Rhetoric will help the poet, but feigning is his proper province. Ben Jonson makes the point more bluntly, though with the customary gesture towards didacticism thrown in for good measure:

> He is called a poet, not he which writeth in measure only, but that feigneth and formeth a fable, and writes things like the truth. For the fable or fiction is, as it were, the form and soul of any poetical work or poem.[8]

Brian Vickers is right to qualify Rosemond Tuve's claims for the importance of logical and rhetorical methods in Elizabethan composition by affirming that as often as not the poet's eye, except in long speeches conceived as arguments, is 'fixed on his characters and their inter-action not on his categories or predicaments'.[9]

For all Sidney's claim that the poet's tale holds 'old men from the chimney corner' (113:29), he clearly does not think of fiction in the sense of a continuous, self-sufficient narrative, with realistic characters and a naturalistic consistency. When, for example, in his discussion of admonitory forms he emphasizes the importance of a realistic mirroring he does so only in relation to the persuasive effect of a convincing immediacy. In pointing to stock comic types, figures such as the 'self-wise-seeming schoolmaster' (137:14) of whom his own Rhombus from *The Lady of May* or Holofernes from *Love's Labour's Lost* are examples, he insists that the roles should be played 'naturally', but his concern is that such figures should not be grossly exaggerated for the sake of winning laughs from the pit, and hence lose their instructive potential. Nature's vain schoolmasters are no more than tedious and boring; the schoolmasters that the poets deliver parade their follies and warn us away from affectation through 'the posterior of [an] afternoon' that is always golden. Again, when Sidney argues that the writer of comedy should figure forth the intricacies of 'Private and domestical' matters, so that the reader or spectator may

> get as it were an experience, what is to be looked for of a niggardly Damea, of a crafty Davus, of a flattering Gnatho,

> of a vainglorious Thraso; and not only to know what effects are to be expected but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the comedian . . .
>
> (117:20)

his comment might seem to call for a form of representation grossly steeped in brazenness. But in saying that the successful comic poet gives his figures a 'signifying badge' he is referring to the way in which a realistic portrayal provides an epitome of a quality such as 'flattery' or 'vainglory'.

Not surprisingly, writers of the age tended to talk of narrative and dramatic immediacy as a means, among others, for achieving a carefully pointed effect: frequently the envisaged effect was a moral one, and clearly signalled. Spenser, for example, unashamedly calls attention to his moral intention in the following comments in the Sixth Book of *The Faerie Queene*:

> For all that hetherto hath long delayd
> This gentle knight, from sewing his first quest,
> Though out of course, yet hath not bene missayd,
> To shew the courtesie by him profest
> Euen vnto the lowest and the least.
> But now I come unto my course againe,
> To his atchieuement of the Blatant beast . . .
>
> (VI. xii. 2)

The story has been long neglected because the didactic necessity of showing Calidore's courtesy to the lowest and the least was more important. Similarly, Sidney, for all his talk of the poet's entrancing tale, tends to think of works as realizing their momentum not through a convincing narrative so much as through an accumulation of vivid vignettes and vigorous tableaux which clearly serve an over-riding didactic purpose. Again and again he instances a scene rather than a sequence: 'Let but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage, killing and whipping sheep and oxen,' he says, 'and tell me if you have not a more familiar insight into anger than finding in the schoolmen his genus and difference' (108:2).

There is no intrinsic necessity, however, that a writer's intention should be didactic, or even moral. At the same time, art can never be merely gratuitous. Even when a work seems to disavow any intention it must necessarily 'discover' some artistic

purpose as its *raison d'être*. Here Elizabethan imitation can provide us with a useful model. The imitator who is worth his salt does not aim at a literal rendering; he attempts to bring out the quality of the original as he understands it. Consider Chapman's translation of the description of the death of Polydorus in Book Twenty of the *Iliad*:

> He flew before the first heate of the field
> Even till he flew out breath and soule – which,
> through the backe, the lance
> Of swift Achilles put in ayre, and did his head advance
> Out at his navill. On his knees the poore Prince
> crying fell,
> And gathered with his tender hands his entrailes,
> that did swell
> Quite through the wide wound, till a cloud as
> black as death concealed
> Their sight and all the world from him . . .[10]

Willaim Carlos Williams remarks of these lines, 'That's straight talking, with a compelling vigour of phrase that has brought Chapman the attention and admiration of the ages'.[11] Williams is captivated by the unflinching realism of the details when he speaks of 'straight talking', but Chapman does not present anything like straight rendering of an incident or object. His apprehension of the awesome and mysterious pathos of the young man's sudden death becomes the focus of the whole incident and he figures forth his apprehension by means of a highly stylized modulation. The zeugma of 'flew out breath and soule' lifts the lines to a heightened level of reality, such that the pathetic immediacy of the image of the dazed prince gathering his spilling entrails with an uncomprehending and almost protective gentleness gives way to the heroic image of the cloud as black as death. Condescension to the foolish impetuosity and bravado of the young adolescent disappears before the immensity of death; and the sudden symbolic heightening of the style achieves an effect of awesome expansiveness. In Coleridge's terms Chapman modifies everything by a 'predominant passion', thus 'discovering' an intention or unifying principle such that

the passage achieves something of the authority of a self-sufficient 'poem'.

This is to argue as though Chapman found in translation a freedom for the exercise of sheer feigning, and it is interesting how very apposite a gloss his own comments on vivid feigning provide:

> That *enargia* or cleernes of representation, requird in absolute Poems is not the perspicuous delivery of a lowe invention; but high, and harty invention exprest in most significant, and unaffected phrase; it serves not a skilfull Painters turne, to draw the figure of a face onely to make knowne who it represents; but he must lymn, give luster, shaddow, and heightening.[12]

It is in a very similar sense that Sidney thinks of the poet's 'high, and harty invention' as realizing itself through the feigning of substantially realized images, examples or fables. It is in this sense too that the poet alone is not bound to nature as his only source, but 'bringeth his own stuff, and doth not learn a conceit out of a matter, but maketh matter for a conceit' (120:21). In Polixenes' terms he is free to marry the 'gentler scion' of his own invention

> . . . to the wildest stock,
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind
> By bud of nobler race.
> (*The Winter's Tale*, IV. iii.93)

It is through his making that the poet utters 'sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind' (140:16), in such a manner that what is finally delivered is an 'enlarged' conceit, a golden world with its own 'apparent shining' (108:9). What is more, there is no inherent necessity why that enlarged conceit should serve any persuasive purpose, or any purpose other than that of achieving its own expressive potential.

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NOTES

[1] *Sir Philip Sidney: The Maker's Mind* (Cambridge, 1977), p.37.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5
[3] All quotations from the *Apology* are identified with page and line numbers relating to Geoffrey Shepherd's edition (London, 1965).
[4] See Lily B. Campbell, 'The Christian Muse', *HLB* 8 (1935)
[5] Jon S. Lowry, *Sidney's Two Arcadias: Pattern and Proceeding* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972) seems totally misguided in ascribing to Sidney a quasi-religious view of poetry.
[6] *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), Vol. I., p.231
[7] See the discussion of this issue by Derek A. Pearsall, 'Rhetorical *Descriptio* in *Sir Gawain and the Green knight*', *MLR* 50 (1955)
[8] 'Timber, Or Discoveries', *Ben Jonson*, edited by C.H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, (Oxford, 1947), Vol. VIII, p. 635
[9] *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry* (London, 1970), p. 64
[10] George Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (New York, 1956), Book 20, 364-370. (Vol. 1, p.417)
[11] 'Chapman Still Heard', *Poetry* 91 (1957-8), p.64
[12] 'Prefatory Letter to *Ovids Banquet of Sence*' (1595), quoted by Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, (Chicago, 1947), p.31

WORDSWORTH'S PERSPECTIVES OF UNITY AND DIVERSITY

by F.J. HUGO

In a letter from Jane Austen to her sister Cassandra one comes across this passage:

> The first view of Bath in fine weather does not answer my expectations; I think I see more distinctly through rain. The sun was got behind everything, and the appearance of the place from the top of Kingsdown was all vapour, shadow, smoke and confusion.[1]

So she reveals, it might be said, an eighteenth-century disposition; a preference for clear, steady shapes, though appearing in the muted colours of rainy weather. However, though she dislikes the atmospheric effect, her account is vivid enough not to exclude possibilities of enjoyment in the scene; and it is not difficult to imagine how a mind of a different cast, like that of Turner for example, would have delighted in the 'confusion'. Indeed, one is inclined to suppose he would have given the sun which 'got behind everything' the role of a central power, acting as a source of both order and confusion.

Turner's appointment as professor of perspective at the Academy schools was especially appropriate (though the actual task of teaching may not have suited him very well) since it reflected a recognition of a chief principle of his work: the broadest conceivable experience of perspective. He paints, characteristically, great aerial perspectives, comprehensive views of manifold open space; not geometrical perspectives of enclosed space such as Piero della Francesca is concerned with. A Turner perspective may be a far-spreading, tranquil view as in *Petworth Park at Sunset* (Tate Gallery, London) or a daring plunge of imagination into swirling natural events as in *Fire at Sea* (National Gallery, London). For the moment the title sufficiently suggests the character of the former picture, but something more needs to be said about *Fire at Sea*. The first impression conveyed is one of tumult and conflict. In the foregorund people cling in a confused heap to make-shift rafts. A burning ship can just be

glimpsed at the edge of the picture. One's eye sweeps rightwards over the raft and up to the summit of a towering wave of foam and smoke. From this point, at the right of the picture, the eye is carried back and across the sky by tumbling fragments of cloud and flying particles of fire. But in being drawn across to the left of the picture, the eye is at the same time drawn downwards towards the horizon; thus completing a powerful spiral movement into the heart of the storm. Sir John Rothenstein speaks of the 'outrageous conspiracy of two destructive but opposed elements'; however, to my mind the picture reveals the affinity as well as the opposition of the fluid elements, fire, water, and air.[2] The picture would not affect us so profoundly, if it merely depicted the accident or aberration that 'outrageous conspiracy' implies. The picture revolves around the axis of a deep aerial perspective, creating the characteristic spiral of fluid elements; as it does so it reveals to us an essential, not accidental, association of order and confusion. Sir John Rothenstein perhaps feels something of this in commenting that 'the orchestration of colour in this picture, of deep blue and leaden sky and incandescent gold sparks, satisfies like a Beethoven late quartet'. But it needs to be emphasised that the 'orchestration' goes far deeper than mere effects of colour.

The use of the device of perspective is not, of course, confined to the painter only: Shakespeare provides us with a memorable poetic example in *King Lear.*

Edgar: Come on sir, here's the place; stand still. How fearful
And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's eyes so low.
The crows and choughs that wing the midway air
Show scarce so gross as beetles. Half way down
Hangs one that gathers samphire–dreadful trade.
Methinks he seems no bigger than his head.
The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,
Appear like mice; and yond tall anchoring bark,
Diminished to her cock; her cock, a buoy
Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge,
That on th' unnumbered idle pebble chafes,
Cannot be heard so high. I'll look no more,
Lest my brain turn, and the deficient sight
Topple down headlong.

Edgar describes a non-existent cliff-face to his father, who would not be able to see the cliff if it did exist. In creating a perspective twice-removed from plain reality Edgar creates a means of entering into the terrible destructive tendency of Gloucester's thought. It is a perspective in which the healthy mind of Edgar and the sick mind of Gloucester meet and interpenetrate, and thus Edgar creates an instrument for restoring order to the chaos of Gloucester's mind. Turner's painting and Edgar's speech demonstrate how a visual perspective can at the same time be a concept; but perhaps Edgar's speech more clearly demonstrates the role of perspective as an exploratory mode of intelligence, since we actually witness a perspective being transferred from a mind in one state to a mind in a contrary state.

It has often been noted that Claude Lorraine and Rubens contributed to Turner's imagination of space; in my view there is reason to suggest that Akenside contributed in a similar way to Wordsworth's development. The link between Akenside and Wordsworth has long been recognised (for example by Leavis in *Revaluation*); but generally it is approached as a matter of tone and texture, whereas my present concern is with a particular fructifying suggestion which Wordsworth owes to Akenside and which, perhaps, he alone could profit by. In the following passage Akenside reveals a good deal of imaginative elasticity in moving swiftly from one aerial vantage point to another. His intention is to present the great spatial aspects of the natural world and at the same time their subordination to a central, regulating principle.

> Who that, from Alpine heights, his labouring eye
> Shoots round the wide horizon, to survey
> Nilus or Ganges rolling his bright wave
> Thro' mountains, plains, thro' empires black with shade,
> And continents of sand; will turn his gaze
> To mark the windings of a scanty rill
> That murmurs at his feet? The high-born soul
> Disdains to rest her heaven-aspiring wing
> Beneath its native quarry. Tir'd of earth
> And this diurnal scene, she springs aloft
> Through fields of air; pursues the flying storm;
> Rides on the vollied lightning through the heavens;

Or, yok'd with whirlwinds and the northern blast,
Sweeps the long tract of day. Then high she soars
The blue profound, and hovering round the sun
Beholds him pouring the redundant stream
Of light; beholds his unrelenting sway
Bend the reluctant planets to absolve
The fated rounds of Time. Thence far effus'd
She darts her swiftness up the long career
Of devious comets; through its burning signs
Exulting measures the perennial wheel
Of Nature. . .[3]

However, the breadth and freedom of Akenside's aerial perspectives suggest rather too obviously the realm of cosmic fantasy that rightfully belongs to *Paradise Lost*. Akenside's ambitious poetic spirit spurns the 'scanty rill' of our everyday and normative contact with nature, and this is symptomatic of the general formality of his method and the remoteness of his subject matter. Wordsworth, I believe, responded to Akenside's aerial display of the 'perennial wheel of nature' as to a native subject, but in making it his own brought about a far more profound integration of form and subject than Akenside had achieved. No longer can the wheel, as one entity, be thought of as being 'displayed' by the imagination, as another entity. Nevertheless, Akenside played a significant role in the early stages of the development of Wordsworth's imagination, and the value of his example should be noted. Two early poems, *A Night-piece* and *Tintern Abbey*, written in the same year, 1798, show this clearly. The method of aerial perspective suggested a beginning to Wordsworth in his lifelong attempt to fulfil the need of the imagination for both unity and diversity of experience at one and the same time.

A Night-Piece begins with a scene that is spatially vague and indeterminate, a negation of aerial imagination.

The sky is overcast
With a continuous cloud of texture close,
Heavy and wan, all whitened by the Moon,
Which through that veil is indistinctly seen,
A dull contracted circle, yielding light

So feebly spread that not a shadow falls,
Chequering the ground—from rock, plant, tree,
or tower.

The sky encloses the scene in a seamless envelope which is more a cause of deprivation than of oppression; the traveller is deprived of the stimulus to his mind that the openness of space should offer. The contrast between light and shade, the means by which we perceive space, is blurred and enfeebled. The source of light, the moon, is reduced to a shrunken outline of itself, and objects on earth are robbed of their distinguishing shadows. We accept as a natural correspondence the vagueness of the outer scene and the dull pensiveness of the traveller's mental state.

A gleam of light gently insinuates itself into the traveller's consciousness, opening both his mind and the landscape which surrounds him.

At length a pleasant instantaneous gleam
Startles the pensive traveller while he treads
His lonesome path, with unobserving eye
Bent earthwards; he looks up—the clouds are split
Asunder,—and above his head he sees
The clear Moon, and the glory of the heavens.

Dramatically the clouds are 'split/Asunder'. The enlarging aerial perspective is a clarification or re-affirmation of the depth of the physical world and of the mind that beholds it. For the moment, it is important to recognise, the 'clear moon' presides and the phrase 'the black-blue vault' assigns to the principle of darkness only a background role; though there is perhaps a hint of the more positive function it later reveals. That is to say, for the moment, the great aerial perspective creates a beautiful and satisfying simplification as the first impression of the process of clarification. Accordingly the pattern of the heavens (Akenside's perennial wheel) is seen as a slow stately procession, the movement of which suggests no complication or tension amongst its participants.

There in a black-blue vault she sails along,
Followed by multitudes of stars, that, small
And sharp, and bright, along the dark abyss
Drive as she drives:

The moon like a queenly flag-ship, followed by a train of smaller ships, floats 'along' or across the perspective, thus curtailing the recession into the darkness beyond.

Even as we are enjoying the spectacle, it changes and begins to take on the quality of complexity; but the effect of natural correspondence between the mind that sees and the world that is seen is preserved. Change appears first in the reduction of the stars to 'small, sharp, bright' points of light. They grow smaller only, it seems, to concentrate their force and perform a more positive role. This concentration of force is the preparation for the remarkable phrase 'Drive as she drives'. The moon and stars are no longer a graceful procession but an embodiment of the multiple energies of light, acting in unison against the undertermined element of darkness. It now seems not enough to say that the correspondence between the mind and the outer world is preserved. The sense of force of mind participating in the play of forces in external nature evokes a fuller recognition of the organic potency of the perspective linking the mind of the traveller and the rhythmic movements of the heavens. It is not, then, simply a matter of Akenside's perennial wheel being made more complicated; Wordsworth's complexity of vision is inseparable from its inwardness.

It is time to take note of the element of illusion in the poem. From the start, our sense of the motion of the moon and stars has carried with it the strange quality of optical illusion – we dimly 'know' the whole time that it must be the clouds that are moving, not the moon. The experience as a whole is not felt as one of deception but rather as an instance of double or amplified vision in which more is seen than is normally possible. In the next stage of the poem the experience of illusion is gloriously fulfilled:

> how fast they wheel away
> Yet vanish not! – the wind is in the tree,
> But they are silent;

As speed increases, the deployed energies of light seem to be sweeping towards extinction in the engulfing darkness, yet they do not actually vanish. Wordsworth creates a great illusionist perspective in which light wheels upon the darkness; yet remains itself, losing nothing by the apparent contact.

It would be helpful at this point to refer back to Turner's achievement in *Fire at Sea*. Both Turner's painting and Wordsworth's poem are based on a wheeling cosmic image. Turner's wheeling image of the natural affinity of the fluid elements reveals order even in violent motion. Wordsworth's wheeling image expresses swift motion on a cosmic scale but not motion that issues in violence or conflict. Light and dark are imagined as extreme opposites but not as antagonists that imply the destruction of one another. Wordsworth's image is essentially one of conservation of diversity. The energies of light wheel into their opposing element of darkness without being lost. Motion heightens the impression of diversity to the point of apparent crisis but at the same time acts as a means of revealing stability and unity as an underlying principle of diversity.

In the last stage of the poem our attention is diverted from the moon and stars to the moon-lit framework of clouds which accentuates the steadily deepening perspective into the dark:

> the vault,
> Built round by those white clouds, enormous clouds,
> Still deepens its unfathomable depth.

We give our imagination now, not to the movement of light, but to the movement or recession of darkness. Once more the image of motion is essentially an expression of the conservation of diversity. The perspective, beginning in light, stretches without pause into the darkness and thus seems to imply that light and dark, so far from tending gradually to neutralise one another, stretch continually away from one another in confirmation of the limitless range of diversity.

A Night-piece is based on the stable point of view of a particular moment in time: the changes that take place in the poem take place within a constant perspective. In a central passage of *Tintern Abbey*, that dealing with the thoughtful vision which is the 'abundant recompense' of maturity, matters are very different. Here variable perspective and the suggestive relativity of scale it reveals, becomes a fresh method of the poet's exploring intelligence. It seems not improbable that the following passage from Dyer's *Grongar Hill* conveyed a hint of these possibilities to Wordsworth which eventually grew into the great lines in *Tintern Abbey*.

About his chequer'd Sides I wind,
And leave his Brooks and Meads behind,
And Groves, and Grottoes where I lay,
And Vistoes shooting Beams of Day:
Wider and wider spreads the Vale;
As Circles on a smooth Canal:
The Mountains round, unhappy Fate,
Sooner or later, of all Height!
Withdraw their Summits from the Skies,
And lessen as the others rise:
Still the Prospect wider spreads,
Adds a thousand Woods and Meads,
Still it widens, widens still,
And sinks the newly-risen Hill.[4]

As you climb upward the landscape broadens, and at the same time the relationships within it undergo a change. Dyer's skilful interweaving of the movements of rising and sinking and spreading creates a very pleasing slow-dance effect. But the relativity of view becomes another means of amplifying vision and deepening imagination.

Stated broadly, Wordsworth's concern in the passage from *Tintern Abbey* is to express a perception of unity by stressing the interrelation of even the far-dispersed and most diverse elements of the universe. But the truth of 'something far more deeply interfused' is received first, not as an aerial perception, but as an immediate influence, felt physically, emotionally and imaginatively, on the human frame. The poet feels a presence, he is disturbed by it; but the disturbance is caused by the joy of elevated thoughts. The experience is felt, we are made to imagine, as a stimulating and harmonising influence which seems to rise through the whole of one's being.

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused . . .

That is the responsive moment of awakening and assent; but the outward-reaching movement of perception, itself, is expressed by means of a perspective of remote, though at the same time clearly-identified, elements.

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:

The imaginatively arresting, distinctive tone of sunset is evoked by the phrase 'the light of setting suns', but the plural form 'suns' ensures that the phrase also suggests to us that the sunset is a recurring cosmic event. The tone or mood of sunset reinforces and is reinforced by a perception of cosmic pattern. From this beginning we move steadily outwards along a great cosmic perspective in a sequence of concentrically-patterned images. The sun sinking below the horizon suggests the curvature of the ocean and so an astronomical image, 'the round ocean'. Then the ocean is enveloped by 'the living air' and is in turn enveloped by 'the blue sky'. As we progress along this perspective we do not lose the sense of immediate, convincing reality; the ocean is given a tactile quality by the word 'round' and in the phrases that follow, 'living' and 'blue' perform a similar function. The whole effect is to bring home to us an image of diverse elements which together create the containing and sustaining medium of life. The image, one should add, has a deep religious significance but is based on perceptions or memories of perceptions of actual things.

At this stage Wordsworth draws on the imaginative power of the relativity brought out by variable perspective. A dramatic reversal of perspective takes place, and we find ourselves returned in imagination from the outer circle of vision to the innermost point, 'in the mind of man'. Dyer's technique of changing vantage point is here used to define the special relationship of the mind to the other elements in the sequence. The mind of the observer is in one sense the inner point but, since the mind encompasses every element of the sequence, it reaches as far as the sequence extends. The sudden return to the mind itself (a return which may also be regarded as an expansion) emphasises that extremes of a perspective can meet, that the outer circle of 'blue sky' and the inner point of the 'mind of man' meet and fuse. The outward and the inward-facing perspectives are reconciled.

Herbert Read has warned that this passage as a whole should not be regarded as 'merely mystical emotionalism'; the need for the warning is perhaps most obvious when we reach the following lines:

> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

First, it is important to recognise that these lines are not a new departure but an attempt to 'generalise' what has already been presented. The primary intuition of 'something far more deeply interfused' is imagined as assimilating the great astronomical perspective: 'All thinking things' thus act in harmony with 'all objects of all thought'. Finally the spirit or quality of harmony is expressed as an all-pervading, majestic rhythm which 'rolls through all things.' The spirit of harmony and unity is mysterious and evokes deep reverence, but there is no hint that it should be interpreted as representing anything other than itself. To put it another way, the passage as a whole has a strength of creative independence which makes it directly accessible to anyone who is willing to respond imaginatively; and it does not need an apologetic 'modern' defence, such as Herbert Read gives.[5]

In the next stage of the passage Wordsworth suggests diversity by comparing the ranging astronomical perspective with a view of local and familiar natural things.

> Therefore am I still
> A lover of the meadows and the woods
> And mountains: and of all that we behold
> From this green earth;

These views are united in sharing a green point of departure. As we respond to these lines we need to bear in mind that earlier in the poem greenness expressed the unity of the pastoral landscape the poet is observing. At this later point the colour green accumulates a yet broader meaning: it is made to suggest a rich oneness of being from which the diversity of experience grows. However, the later meaning is closely derived from the earlier, and so oneness of being is felt to be rooted in formative, youthful experience of local, natural things.

Again Wordsworth reveals the imaginative possibilities of variable perspective. The phrase that completes the half-line just quoted:

'From this green earth; of all the mighty world . . .'

seems to continue to carry our attention upward and outward into the astronomical regions; but a dramatic reversal of perspective takes place as we realise that the 'mighty world' refers not to the heavens, but to the organs of perception. We are made to realise (with the excitement of imaginative shock) that the great diversity of the heavens is united in the mind that perceives it.

The function of the word 'mighty' is especially worth noting. At one moment it signifies the grandeur of the astronomical regions, at the next it signifies the grandeur and power of the faculty of perception. The tendency of the poetry, here, is to trace the grandeur of the astronomical perspective back to the creative power in the human mind. The mind is seen as the green centre, this green earth, in relation to the great pattern of the heavens. The following climactic lines confirm the present tendency of the poem but also attempt to restore balance:

—both what they half create,
And what perceive;

The emphasis has been on the might, the creative power of the mind: these lines restore due emphasis to the might of the external world, reminding us that creative power acts only in collaboration with that external world.

At the close of 1798, some five months after finishing *Tintern Abbey*, Wordsworth wrote the poem, later included in *The Prelude*, called *Influence of Natural Objects*. In this poem, also, we find an imaginative inter-play of dramatically contrasted scales of magnitude.

Not seldom from the uproar I retired
Into a silent bay, or sportively
Glanced sideway, leaving the tumultuous throng,
To cut across the reflex of a star;
Image that, flying still before me, gleamed
Upon the glassy plain:

As he pursues the near-by reflection of a star, the boy seems also to be speeding after the remote star itself. His smooth, swift motion across the ice seems also to be an accelerating flight into receding space. However, the inter-play of scale, here, has a quality of deceptive, even confusing, ambiguity which is not present in *Tintern Abbey*; or for that matter *A Night-piece*, despite the basic function of optical illusion in that poem. At about the same time as he wrote *Influence of Natural Objects*, Wordsworth wrote *Nutting* : a poem which begins in a harmless boyish expedition and ends in the boy's discovery of a disturbing ambiguity of innocent and destructive motives within himself. It seems possible to suggest, then, that as 1798 drew to a close Wordsworth began to give some special attention to the experience of ambiguity and conflict; but that is another (very significant) aspect of his work and demands separate treatment.

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NOTES

[1] To Cassandra Austen. Tuesday 5 May, 1801.
Jane Austen's Letters ed. R.W. Chapman. O.U.P. London, 1964.
[2] Sir John Rothenstein : *Turner.* Beaverbrook Newspapers, London, 1960.
[3] Akenside : *The Pleasures of Imagination* (first version) Book 1, lines 176 - 198. Reprint of the edition of 1845 by A M S Press, New York, 1969.
[4] Dyer : *Grongar Hill*, lines 27 - 40. Printed in *Poetry of the Landscape and the Night* ed. Charles Peake. Edward Arnold, London, 1967.
[5] Herbert Read : Wordsworth. Faber, London, 1965:-

> What shall we say of this philosophy today? Let us recognise in the first place that it is no merely mystical emotionalism. It is objective; it is based on a psychological theory, the most empirical of its day. It is realistic; the still sad music of humanity is often heard, with chastening effect. It is not strictly pantheistic; nature is not worshipped as an entity; the mighty world of eye and ear is without. . .

All Wordsworth quotations are from *Poetical Works of Wordsworth* ed. by E. de Selincourt (Oxford Standard Authors).

INDEX TO *THEORIA* Nos. 1—51

by M.P. MOBERLY

The need for a subject index for *Theoria* has long been felt. The Author and Title lists, compiled by R.M. McConkey in 1965 and updated by this writer in 1971 were of limited value because they provided no help in retrieving articles by subject, in finding articles whose authors and exact titles had been forgotten, or in bringing together all the material on a single theme. As *Theoria* has often published contributions written from widely differing points of view this last point is believed to be a particularly important one that will enhance the interest of the journal and facilitate the return to the many valuable items in earlier numbers.

In the assignment of subject headings the indexer must be on guard that the terms used do not reflect his own views of the topics indexed. In South Africa this is a particular danger, for every possible term for black people carries a great incubus of political and emotional overtones. The term **Black** has been chosen as it is the most widely accepted today although most of the articles in *Theoria* dealing with Black topics were written before it came into general use. There is one important exception to this usage, however, which demands explanation.

Once the term **Black** had been chosen it would have been correct to enter all material dealing with the education of Blacks under **Blacks—Education.** But this would not have suggested the special nature of the whole concept of 'Bantu Education'. Thus the term **Bantu Education** has been used deliberately to reflect the view, so often expressed by contributors to this journal, that between education and 'Bantu Education' there is a great and shameful divide.

Some readers might have preferred the subject list to include full details of title and page reference, instead of only the author's name and the number of the relevant issue. Such an index — *Index to South African Periodicals,* for instance —

is quicker to use but repetition of all titles, dates and page numbers would have made this Index much bulkier and more costly to produce. The Title list has also been omitted for reasons of economy and in the belief that the subject list will be more useful.

The first two issues of *Theoria* carried no numbers but from the third issue a number was assigned to each publication; for convenience those first issues which appeared in 1947 and 1948 have been numbered 1 and 2 in this Index. Since 1957 *Theoria* has appeared twice each year.

Criticism of this Index is welcomed and it is hoped that readers will point out any errors or omissions so that it can be improved in the future. It is possible that before long all this information will be computerised which would make the updating and production of the Index a very quick and easy process.

In *Essays in musical analysis* by D.F. Tovey there is some curious cross-referencing in the Index. The entry under **Agnostic** refers the reader to **Dachshund;** from **Dachshund** he is directed to **Bernard** and from **Bernard** to **Pope.** Quite bewildered by now, **Pope** finally leads him to **Bruckner.** This is, to say the least, devious! It is hoped that this new Index to *Theoria* will prove less puzzling and more useful.

University of Natal Press
Pietermaritzburg.

AUTHOR INDEX

SUBJECT INDEX

Numbers refer to individual issues of *Theoria*. Full details of title, year of publication and page number are given in the Author Index.