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ANARCHY AND THE VIOLET HOUR:

EVE, ADAM, AND THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN *THE WASTE LAND*

Research MA

Submitted to

The Department of English

Durham University

By

William Brannigan

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The Reredos of the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr

The ground stage represents the Exodus, the Tabernacle in the desert, and the Temple of Solomon. The decalogue sits in a figurative Holy of Holies in the centre, accessed through the inner Corinthian pillars. Aaron, wearing the carbuncle gem (Appendix 1A) represents the tradition of the Aaronic Priesthood as the progenitor of all Christian priests central to Tractarian, Oxford Movement and resultant Anglo-Catholic ritualism and thought. The second stage, in which the round 'Glory' depicts the flooding of the world with the Holy Spirit, represents the Second Temple, and the coming of the Christ. On the top level stands a mediaeval rood, the Calvary scene with Mary and St. John. All such roods, stone altars and imagery were judged idolatrous and destroyed during the Reformation by order of Elizabeth I. The carved foliage represents the sacred woods from which worship arose. The progression from such sacred groves to the final truth of the New Testament represents the doctrine of progressive revelation, a form of religious evolution assisted by the divine. [*High Resolution photograph. See attached DVD*].

Kritan women once danced supplely | around a beautiful altar with light feet | crushing
the soft flowers of grass. Sappho, *Dancers at a Kritan Altar*

Singing and dancing, man expresses himself as a member of a higher community [...] and is about to fly dancing into the heavens. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*

Animism [...] ascends, deeply modified in its transmission, but from first to last preserving an unbroken continuity, into the midst of high modern culture. [...] Animism is, in fact, the groundwork of the Philosophy of Religion [...] although it may at first sight seem to afford but a bare and meagre definition of a minimum of religion, it will be found practically sufficient; for where the root is, the branches will generally be produced. Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture*

I found, not only the final link that completed the chain of evolution from Pagan Mystery to Christian Ceremonial [...] The problem involved was not one of Folk-lore, not even one of Literature, but of comparative religion in its widest sense. Jessie L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*

Anyone who is acquainted with these works will immediately recognise in the poem certain references to vegetation ceremonies. T.S. Eliot, *Notes on the Waste Land*

8 And he made the breastplate of cunning work [...] 10 And they set in it four rows of stones: the first row was a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: *Exodus 39* (the Breastplate of Judgement of the first high priest Aaron).

CONTENTS

1. SUMMARY
2. INTRODUCTION: The Carbuncle Gem, the Inner Voice, Anarchy, the Eternal Feminine and the Evening Star.
 - 2.1 The Carbuncle Gem and Complexity in *The Waste Land*
 - 2.2 Anarchy
 - 2.3 The Eternal Feminine, Imagery, Ritualism and Anthropology
 - 2.4 Unity, Order and Guidance
 - 2.5 The Personal
3. ORDONNANCE: *Engeschachtelt*, Poetic Compression, Modernism and Order.
 - 3.1 Techniques of radical compression
 - 3.2 Classicism, Tradition, Fragmentation, Egoism, Modernisms
4. ANTHROPOLOGY: Evolution, Progressive Revelation and Ritualism.
 - 4.1 Darwin, Anthropology and Comparative Religion
 - 4.2 The Architectural Language of the Magnus Martyr Reredos & Progressive Revelation
 - 4.3 The Continuum of Ritual
 - 4.4 Broken Images: The Battle of Creeds in the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr
5. ROME: Mr. Eugenides, St. Paul's Mission to the Unshaven, London Bridge and Londinium.

The Journey of St. Paul to the uncircumcised, and the bridge to the past and the future
6. EVE: Sappho, the Evening Star, Vespers, the Typist and Lilith.
 - 6.1 The Eternal Feminine, Sappho's Evening Star and Vespers
 - 6.2 Guidance, Ritualism, Prayer Hours and *Paradise Lost*
 - 6.3 The Music of Sappho: from Sacred Wood to Vespers and First Wave Feminism
 - 6.4 *The Birth of Tragedy*: Ritual, Vegetation Ceremonies, Sappho and Dionysian Hymn
 - 6.5 'Food in tins': Spiritual Nourishment and Milton's *Lycidas*

- 6.6 The Eve of *The Waste Land*
 - 6.7 Troublesome Women: Dora Marsden, Nietzsche and Lil
 - 6.8 Ritualism and the Senses
 - 6.9 Bisexuality and Gender Dissolution
- 7. ADAM: The Inner Voice and the Cult of the Individual from Coverdale to Milton, Emerson and Nietzsche.
 - 7.1 The Clerk's Assault: *Paradise Lost* and Nietzsche
 - 7.2 The Adam of Coverdale and Milton
 - 7.3 Emerson's post-Christian Superior Man, American Individualism and Adam
 - 7.4 Fragmentation: Emerson's Oversoul, Bradley's Absolute and the Nietzschean Bell-Jar
 - 7.5 The *Übermensch* about Town: H. L. Mencken's Violet Hour Rendezvous
- 8. ERROR: Philosophical, Biblical, Miltonic and Deliberate Poetic Error.
- 9. ATTENTAT: Anarchy, Empress Elizabeth, Alienation and the fall of the European Order.
- 10. CONCLUSION: 'As good in its way as Ulysses in its way' & 'Thus speaks the inner voice'.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1:

A: Aaron wearing the carbuncle gem on the Breastplate of Judgement in the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr

B: Violet Coverings over imagery in Magnus Martyr during Easter

C: The reredos in St. Stephan's Church Gloucester Road London

Appendix 2A-G: The Times 1921-1924 detailing the battle of creeds in Magnus Martyr

Appendix 3: Anglo-Catholic effeminacy cartoons from the 1800's

Appendix 4: New York time article on Lithuanian and proto-Indo-European 1919

Appendix 5: Magnus Martyr Petition on City Churches ‘sentence of death’

ABRIEVIATIONS

- BGE *Beyond Good and Evil* Fredrich Nietzsche ed. Rolf Peter Horstmann and Judith Norman, Trans. Judith Norman (Cambridge University Press 2002)
- BT *The Birth of Tragedy* Friedrich Nietzsche trans. Shaun Whiteside (Penguin 1993)
- CCE *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2017)
- CCT *The New Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* ed. Gabrielle McIntire (Cambridge University Press 2015)
- CH *The Critical Heritage* vol. 1. Ed. Michael Grant (Routledge London and New York 1997)
- CP1 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Apprentice Years, 1905-1918*
- CP2 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: The Perfect Critic, 1919-1926* ed. Anthony Cuda & Ron Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Faber & Faber Ltd 2014)
- CP3 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Literature, Politics, Belief, 1927-1929* ed. Frances Dickey, Jennifer Formichelli, Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015)
- CP5 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Tradition and Orthodoxy 1934-1939* ed. Iman Javadi, Ronald Schuchard & Jayme Stayer (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press 2017)
- CP7 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: A European Society, 1947-1953* ed. Iman Javadi & Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018)
- DM *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism* (Bruce Clarke University of Michigan Press 1996)
- EH *Ecce Homo* Fredrich Nietzsche trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Penguin Books 2004)
- FT *The Waste Land: A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts* Valerie Eliot (London: Faber & Faber 1971)
- GM *On the Genealogy of Morals* Fredrich Nietzsche trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press 1996)
- GS *The Gay Science* Friedrich Nietzsche ed. Bernard Williams, Trans. Josefine Nauckoff (Cambridge University Press 2001)
- HWP *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster New York 1945)
- L1 *The Letters of T.S. Eliot* Vol. 1, ed. Valerie Eliot and Hugh Haughton (Faber and Faber 2009)

- PE *The Poems of T.S. Eliot*, vol. 1. Ed. Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (Faber and Faber 2015)
- PL *Paradise Lost*
- SC *The Savage and the City in the work of T.S. Eliot* Robert Crawford (Clarendon Press 1990)
- Spurr *'Anglo-Catholic in Religion': T.S. Eliot and Christianity*. Barry Spurr (Lutterworth Press 2010) (Spurr is also quoted from CCE and CCT).
- U *Ulysses* James Joyce ed. Hans Walter Gabler (The Bodley Head London 1993)
- UA *Ulysses Annotated* Don Gifford with Robert Seidman (University of California Press 2008)
- WP *The Will to Power* Friedrich Nietzsche, trans. R. Kevin Hill and Michael A. Scarpitti. Ed. R. Kevin Hill (Penguin Classics 2017)
- YE *Young Eliot. From St. Louis to The Waste Land* Robert Crawford (Vintage 2016)
- Z *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* Friedrich Nietzsche trans. Graham Parkes (Oxford University Press 2005)

1. SUMMARY

This dissertation explores complexity in the typist scene of *The Waste Land* through such images as the carbuncle gem, Sappho's evening star Hesperus (220-1), the 'typist' (222) and the 'young man carbuncular' (231).¹ An ancient heritage of communal ritual seems evoked through Sappho and the first high priest Aaron, who in a Magnus Martyr portrait wears the carbuncle gem on his Breastplate of Judgement. In contrast, in this reading the clerk represents the misogynistic, alienated world of the 'inner voice', the multivocal cult of the individual represented by poetic anarchy. Juxtaposed to the fragmentary and anarchic, a mythic ritualist continuum creates a poetic unity linking primitive 'vegetation ceremonies' (PE.72) to vespers in 'Magnus Martyr' (264). It is anthropological, ritualist, scholarly, and aligned with the classical through the sacred music of the poet-songstress Sappho.

Techniques of extreme poetic compression are examined in 'Ordonnance', with tradition, classicism, order, and modernisms. 'Anthropology' addresses the architectural narrative of progressive revelation on the Magnus Martyr altarpiece surrounding the portrait of Aaron and his carbuncle gem. Evolution is ennobled by progressive revelation, the divinely guided evolution of the soul of humankind, and this is examined in the contexts of Darwin; the newly charged sciences of anthropology and comparative religion; and Eliot's ritualism and nascent Anglo-Catholicism. Primitive, ritualist Christianity reached Britannia through the Roman empire, and 'Rome' maps Londinium as a substratum of both London and the poem, following the missionary journey of St. Paul to the 'unshaven' (210), the uncircumcised gentile.

'Eve' examines the typist as the traduced 'Eternal Feminine', contrasted to venerated archetypes evoked by the planet Venus, Sappho's evening star Hesperus as sailor's guide. He is the Roman Vesper, among other allusions to vespers. Among divine females, the Virgin Mary of Eliot and Dante is linked through Frazer's *The Golden Bough* to Isis as *Stella Maris*, guiding star of the sea. Other New Testament figures join Aaron in the theme of guidance.

In contrast, 'Adam' traces the extreme, fragmented individualism of the Reformation's 'inner voice' in the Adamic line from Coverdale to Milton, Emerson and Nietzsche, engendering ever more errant Adams. Which scribe's version of Adam shapes the future? 'Error' looks at the theme of error in Eliot's dissertation, and deliberate error as a poetic device. 'Attentat' examines a broken Europe, and the potential poetic representation of anarchy in the poem.

¹ T.S. Eliot *The Waste Land* in *The Poems of T.S. Eliot, vol. 1*. Ed. Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (Faber & Faber 2015) p.63. Hereafter, PE. All line references to Eliot's poetry refer to this volume unless otherwise stated.

Unreal City

Under the brown fog of a winter noon

Mr Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant

Unshaven, with a pocket full of currants 210

C. i. f. London: documents at sight,

Asked me in demotic French

To luncheon at the Cannon Street Hotel

Followed by a week-end at the Metropole.

At the violet hour, when the eyes and back 215

Turn upward from the desk, when the human engine waits

Like a taxi throbbing waiting,

I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two lives,

Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see

At the violet hour, the evening hour that strives 220

Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea,

The typist home at tea-time, clears her breakfast, lights

Her stove, and lays out food in tins.

Out of the window perilously spread

Her drying combinations touched by the sun's last rays, 225

On the divan are piled (at night her bed)

Stockings, slippers, camisoles, and stays.

I Tiresias, old man with wrinkled dugs

Perceived the scene, and foretold the rest—

I too awaited the expected guest. 230
 He, the young man carbuncular, arrives,
 A small house-agent's clerk, with one bold stare,
 One of the low on whom assurance sits
 As a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire.
 The time is now propitious, as he guesses, 235
 The meal is ended, she is bored and tired,
 Endeavours to engage her in caresses
 Which still are unreproved, if undesired.
 Flushed and decided, he assaults at once;
 Exploring hands encounter no defence; 240
 His vanity requires no response,
 And makes a welcome of indifference.
 (And I Tiresias have foresuffered all
 Enacted on this same divan or bed;
 I who have sat by Thebes below the wall 245
 And walked among the lowest of the dead.)
 Bestows one final patronizing kiss,
 And gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit...

 She turns and looks a moment in the glass,
 Hardly aware of her departed lover; 250
 Her brain allows one half-formed thought to pass:
 "Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over."

When lovely woman stoops to folly and
Paces about her room again, alone,
She smooths her hair with automatic hand, 255
And puts a record on the gramophone.

“This music crept by me upon the waters”
And along the Strand, up Queen Victoria Street.
O City City, I can sometimes hear
Beside a public bar in Lower Thames Street, 260
The pleasant whining of a mandoline
And a clatter and a chatter from within
Where fishmen lounge at noon: where the walls
Of Magnus Martyr hold
Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold. 265

2. INTRODUCTION: The Carbuncle Gem, the Inner Voice, Anarchy, The Eternal Feminine and the Evening Star.

2.1 The Carbuncle Gem and Complexity in *The Waste Land*

So spake the Enemy of Mankind, enclos'd | In Serpent [...] and Carbuncle his Eyes;
(*Paradise Lost* 9:500)

The connection between the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr and *The Waste Land* is deepened through the 'splendour' (265) of the sacred wood of the carved altarpiece at the holy east wall. There are two large portraits on that reredos, one being of Moses, the other being the first high priest Aaron, wearing the Breastplate of Judgement in which sits a carbuncle gem (Appendix 1A).

15 And thou shalt make the breastplate of judgment with cunning work [...] 17 And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, even four rows of stones: the first row shall be a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this shall be the first row [...] 29 And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually.
(*Exodus* 38).

Nicoletta Ascuito addresses additional complexity associated with the carbuncle gem in Shakespeare, noting that he was aware of its 'common designation for both a precious stone and a boil'; the 'carbuncle, when mentioned in Shakespeare, is often preferred over ruby or other stones precisely for its double connotation.'² She writes on the resultant complexity of both the image and the character to which it is figuratively attached in *The Waste Land*:

This encrusted and scintillating set of carbuncular allusions and connotations makes our 'young man carbuncular' a little more complex a figure than has hitherto been understood. It would be difficult to think that Eliot, an attentive reader of Shakespeare, should not have had this web of allusions in mind, when picking the adjective 'carbuncular' to describe the 'small house-agent's clerk' (l. 232) assaulting the typist.³

² Nicoletta Ascuito 'T.S. Eliot's 'Young Man Carbuncular': Precious Gemstone or Infected sore?' *Notes and Queries* Sept. 2017 (Oxford University Press) p.2-3.

³ *Ibid.* p.4

Eliot was aware of the carbuncle gem in literature, since it commences a quote from *Volpone* in *The Sacred Wood*: ‘See, a carbuncle’.⁴ There are sacred versions of the gem in Milton. ‘The place he found beyond expression bright [...] If stone, Carbuncle most or Chrysolite’ (PL.III.591). Ricks and McCue cite Johnson: ‘carbuncular: Johnson’s Dictionary, “carbuncle”’: “A jewel shining in the dark, like a lighted coal or candle” (PE.665). Other scholars point to such complexity, and to Eliot’s stated intention to link the clerk to Milton:

l.231: not just spotty but ‘red like a carbuncle’ too, according to Dr. Johnson’s *Dictionary* (1755). Odd as the word sounds, it carries a distinguished literary heritage; and Eliot told an enquirer that he intended the phrasing of the ‘young man carbuncular’ to echo ‘that old man eloquent’ in Milton’s sonnet to lady Margaret Ley.⁵

The carbuncle gem is, then, an important implicit motif, creating a compelling link between the ‘young man carbuncular’ (231) and Aaron. This poses a question; to what extent is Eliot in *The Waste Land* ‘manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity’?⁶ Are the clerk and typist only that; ordinary protagonists in an ordinary if somewhat sordid encounter in 1920’s London, or are there levels of complexity which elevate them, embodying modernist, universal intentions on Eliot’s part?

The ‘violence of contrast’⁷ between the clerk, the guiding Aaron of ‘Magnus Martyr’ (264) and the previously noted carbuncle eyes of Milton’s Satan suggests a deep engagement with and interrogation of Milton’s Reformation Adam and the Eden myth itself. Eliot writes on *Paradise Lost*:

So far as I perceive anything, it is a glimpse of a theology that I find in large part repellent, expressed through a mythology that would have better been left in the Book of *Genesis*, upon which Milton has not improved.⁸

⁴ T. S. Eliot ‘Ben Jonson’ *The Sacred Wood* 1920 (Faber & Faber 1997) p.96.

⁵ B. C. Southam *a Guide to The Selected poems of T.S. Eliot* 6th Ed. (Harvest 1994) P.173. ‘Old man eloquent’ refers to Milton’s Sonnet X, addressing the period during which Charles I and parliament continued the Reformation battle of creeds, central to which was the issue of changes to the *Book of Common Prayer*.

⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘Ulysses, Order, and Myth: A review of *Ulysses*, by James Joyce’ *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: The Perfect Critic, 1919–1926* ed. Anthony Cuda & Ron Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Faber & Faber Ltd 2014) p.478. Hereafter CP2.

⁷ See ‘Ordonnance’.

⁸ T. S. Eliot ‘Milton 1’ *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Tradition and Orthodoxy 1934–1939* ed. Iman Javadi, Ronald Schuchard & Jayme Stayer (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press 2017) p. 376. Hereafter CP5.

2.2 Anarchy

The theme of genesis arising from the link with *Paradise Lost* and the primal couple will be explored through the numerous potential worlds suggested, including the godless new world of Nietzsche.

Eliot considered that ‘Mr. James Huneker alone represents modernity in criticism.’⁹ Robert Crawford remarks of Huneker that ‘Over half of Huneker’s *Egoists: A Book of Supermen* was given over to French culture, and some of the rest to Nietzsche.’¹⁰ Further, ‘Tom’s extra-curricular student reading was remarkably resilient in shaping his subsequent work’ (YE.133). Nietzsche writes ‘Let woman be a plaything, pure and fine, like a precious stone illumined by the virtues of a world that is not yet here [...] Let your hope be: “May I give birth to the Overhuman.”’¹¹ This desire to create a new world is a rejection of tradition and based on a new version of man, a new Adam.

In his 1956 lecture *The Frontiers of Criticism* Eliot characterised his ‘wrangle with Mr. Middleton Murry’ from 1923 - ‘a public controversy between Murry and TSE on the nature of romanticism and classicism that continued through May 1927’¹² - as ‘about “the inner voice” - a dispute in which I recognize the old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment’.¹³ That *aporia* is central to this reading of the poem. Barry Spurr writes:

It would have been uncharacteristic, indeed, for Eliot to have celebrated the romantic conception of the ‘individual’s private light’, considering his strident repudiation of such idiosyncratic revelation – the antithesis of Classicism and Catholicism [...] The ‘Inner Light’ as he judged it, was ‘the most untrustworthy and deceitful guide that ever offered itself to wandering humanity.’¹⁴

In this reading of *The Waste Land*, extreme individualism is embodied in the clerk, arising from the ‘inner voice’ of the misogynistic, aniconic new order engendered by the puritans of the Reformation; the Reformation being regarded by Eliot, according to Spurr, as ‘an unmitigated

⁹ T.S. Eliot ‘A review of *Egoists, A Book of Supermen*, by James Huneker’ in *The Harvard Advocate* Oct 1909 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Apprentice Years, 1905 -1918* ed. Jewel Spears Brooker, Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Faber & Faber Ltd 2014) p.24. Hereafter CP1.

¹⁰ Robert Crawford *Young Eliot. From St. Louis to The Waste Land* (Vintage 2016) p. 133. Hereafter YE.

¹¹ Friedrich Nietzsche *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* trans. Graham Parkes (Oxford University Press 2005) §18 p.57. Hereafter Z. Nietzsche’s *übermensch* is variously translated as the superman, the overman, the Overhuman and others.

¹² Eliot ‘The Function of Criticism’ CP2.467 fn.7.

¹³ T. S. Eliot ‘The Frontiers of Criticism’ *The Sewanee Review* Vol. 64, No. 4 Dec 1956 (The Johns Hopkins University Press) p.525; ‘a public controversy’:

¹⁴ Barry Spurr, *Anglo-Catholic in Religion’: T.S. Eliot and Christianity*. (Lutterworth Press 2010) p. 29. Hereafter Spurr.

disaster.¹⁵ A lineage is implied – an Adamic evolution which is a spiritual and cultural devolution - from Milton’s Adam, informed in part by the Adam of the proto-puritan Miles Coverdale who is buried in Magnus Martyr, to the New World extreme individualism of the post-Christian, Transcendentalist, ‘disanglicanized’ new American Adam of Ralph Waldo Emerson for whom Milton and his Adam are paragons. Emerson’s new Adam as the ‘superior man’ in turn informs Nietzsche’s *übermensch* as the attempted genesis of the godless new world of the superman, expounded in hard, social Darwinian form by his early disciple and translator H.L. Mencken, Eliot’s transatlantic contemporary. All are linked by the primacy of the inner voice, save for a key difference. The Reformation versions of Adam of Coverdale and Milton, although sectarian, are of the Church. Emerson’s ‘superior man’, although post-Christian, retains a spirituality. The final Nietzschean manifestation is godless and vicious, turning to destroy Christianity itself.

The clerk becomes the modern manifestation of that line of increasingly errant, extreme individualism, unmoored from moral guidance, eventuating in a street level, distorted *übermensch*.¹⁶ He resembles a member of Eliot’s ‘British Massenmensch’, one of the ‘possessors of the inner voice [who] ride ten in a compartment to a football match in Swansea, listening to the inner voice, which breathes the eternal message of vanity, fear, and lust’.¹⁷ Eliot links his Massenmensch to ‘what Matthew Arnold illustrated by “bawling, hustling and smashing” and breaking the Hyde Park railings’, and it is notable that Arnold conflates the ‘individual reason’ and anarchic potential of the ‘fanatical Protestant’ with that of the rioter: ‘it being admitted that the conformity of the individual reason of the fanatical Protestant or the popular rioter with right reason is our true object’.¹⁸

This passage is marked in TSE’s copy of *Culture and Anarchy* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1909), which he later inscribed: “I can’t remember when I got this copy – I don’t recognize the period of the autograph – but this is the copy from which I almost learnt the book by heart. My livre de chevet [bedside book] of long ago.”¹⁹

¹⁵ Barry Spurr ‘“Anglo-Catholic in Religion”: T.S. Eliot and Christianity’ in *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* (Hereafter CCE) ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2017) p.190.

¹⁶ ‘Nietzsche did not coin the term *übermensch*. The hyperanthropos is to be found in the writings of Lucian in the second century AD.’ Walter Kaufmann *Nietzsche* (Princeton University Press 2013) p.307. Hereafter ‘Kaufmann’. However, Eliot’s perspective seems to map the evolution of the modern superman from a specific sect of the Protestant creed, puritanism.

¹⁷ T. S. Eliot (a) ‘A Commentary’ 1927 *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: Literature, Politics, Belief, 1927–1929* ed. Frances Dickey, Jennifer Formichelli, Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015) p.102. Hereafter CP3. (b) ‘The Function of Criticism’ Oct. 1923 CP2.461

¹⁸ Mathew Arnold *Culture and Anarchy* Ch. 3 ‘Barbarians, Philistines, Populace’, in *Selected Prose* (Penguin Books 1970) p.271.

¹⁹ T.S. Eliot ‘A Commentary’ 1927 CP3 p.102; 104 fn.18.

Bertrand Russell later made explicit the potential anarchy inherent in the Protestant reliance on the inner voice as guide. The genesis of the ‘cult of the hero’, and the ‘Byronic cult of violent passion of no matter what kind’ seem realised in sordid form in the clerk.

Subjectivity, once let loose, could not be confined within limits until it had run its course. In morals, the Protestant emphasis on the individual conscience was essentially anarchic [...] The eighteenth-century cult of "sensibility" began to break it down: an act was admired, not for its good consequences, or for its conformity to a moral code, but for the emotion that inspired it. Out of this attitude developed the cult of the hero, as it is expressed by Carlyle and Nietzsche, and the Byronic cult of violent passion of no matter what kind.²⁰

In the previous century, Mathew Arnold wrote *Culture and Anarchy* as an examination of cultural anxieties in an industrialising, rapidly evolving, increasingly secular and democratising modernity. Nietzsche wrote ‘For the sake of such a prize [a Napoleon] we should be willing to see our entire civilisation collapse into anarchy.’²¹ The Hapsburg Empress Elizabeth (see ‘Attentat’), a noted insomniac who ‘read, much of the night’ (18), was assassinated in an act of anarchist *attentat*, representing the destabilising collapse of that Catholic empire, and echoing Nietzsche’s ‘attentat on two millennia of [Christian] anti-nature.’²² Central to Huneker’s *Egoists: A Book of Supermen* is anarchy created by individualists such as the ‘philosophical anarch’, and the potential influence of the anarch Dora Marsden is examined in ‘Ordonnance’. Of the tension in society, Huneker writes ‘He [Ernest Hello] could have, phrase for phrase, book for book, retorted with tenfold interest to Nietzsche’s vilification of Christianity. Society will again become a theocracy, else pay the penalty in anarchy.’²³ Among his other comments on anarchy, Eliot in praising *Ulysses* wrote of ‘the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history’, which seems a concise description of the fragmented aspect of *The Waste Land*.²⁴ This study explores to what degree the fragmentation of the poem is a deliberate, structural representation of that anarchy.

²⁰ Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Simon and Schuster New York 1945) Book 1 p.18. Hereafter HWP.

²¹ Friedrich Nietzsche *The Will to Power*. Trans. R. Kevin Hill and Michael A. Scarpitti. Ed. R. Kevin Hill (Penguin Classics 2017). §877, p. 501. Hereafter WP.

²² Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*. Ed. Rolf Peter Horstmann and Judith Norman, Trans. Judith Norman (Cambridge University Press 2002) p. 49. Hereafter abbreviated BGE. ‘Attentat’: Serbo-Croatian for assassination, particularly associated with the anarchist ‘propaganda of the deed’.

²³ James Huneker, *Egoists, A Book of Supermen / Stendhal, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Anatole France, Huysmans, Barrès, Nietzsche, Blake, Ibsen, Stirner, and Ernest Hello* (New York Charles Scribener & Sons 1909) Ch. VIII, I.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/47454/47454-h/47454-h.htm>.

²⁴ ‘Ulysses, Order and Myth’ CP2.478.

2.3 The Eternal Feminine, Imagery, Ritualism and Anthropology

In juxtaposition to the male cult of the individual stands the traduced female. In this reading, the subordinate aspect of the Eternal Feminine created and enforced through the Judeo-Christian origin myth is interrogated in the poem as grave scribal error, reiterated in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's misogynistic, puritan, male centred 'muscular' Christianity contrasts to the more feminine Marian aspect of communal, hierarchal worship in Dante and Eliot. The Miltonic link between the previously noted 'Enemie of Mankind [...] and Carbuncle his Eyes' and the 'young man carbuncular' suggests a facet of his character, in a reversal of Milton's reiteration of the Eden myth, is as a dark, errant Adam assaulting Eve. The responsibility for millennia of misogyny is then located in the grave Old Testament error of imposed female subordination through the scribal creation of the seditious Eve archetype. In that light, the clerk also represents Old Testament scribes and the scribes Milton and Nietzsche assaulting the feminine. Mary Wollstonecraft views the creation of that myth as an assertion of power over the female.

Probably the prevailing opinion, that woman was created for man, may have taken its rise from Moses's poetical story [...] it proves that man, from the remotest antiquity, found it convenient to exert his strength to subjugate his companion, and his invention to shew that she ought to have her neck bent under the yoke, because the whole creation was only created for his convenience or pleasure.²⁵

Against the heresy of the theological challenge to female subordination in the Eve myth there is a fierce iconodule defence of imagery, and a corresponding attack on iconoclasts – central being Milton and Nietzsche. It was still illegal in 1922 to engage in the ritualist practices of Anglo-Catholicism.²⁶ Aniconic Low Church puritan clerks launched relentless court attacks from 1921 to remove 'idolatrous' imagery from the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr, presumably to become 'broken images' (22). Central was portraiture of the Madonna and Child, Eliot's 'Queen of Heaven' in *The Dry Salvages* (PE.199.IV.10) and a lifelong subject of veneration. It is argued in 'Eve' that Mary is brought to the typist scene through Sappho's evening star as a positive representation of the Eternal Feminine, including as the 'New Eve' and *Stella Maris*.

²⁵ Mary Wollstonecraft *A vindication of the Rights of Woman* ed. Deidre Shauna Lynch (Norton Critical Edition 3rd ed. 2009) p.29.

²⁶ See Appendix 2 for references in Newspaper articles to the battle of creeds in Magnus Martyr over illegal ritualism and imagery.

The spiritual perspective of the creedless Eliot at this time, as much as it can be delineated, is discussed in ‘Anthropology’. ‘He had become a ‘ritualist’ long before he officially became an Anglo-Catholic’ (Spurr 41). Jewel Spears Brooker notes that the ‘about-face associated with his midlife religious conversion’ engendered in some critics a ‘suspicion of schizophrenia’.²⁷ However, this study argues that Eliot, although creedless, was spiritual, and deeply engaged in religious enquiry, albeit temporarily spiritually homeless in that.

The idea of a sudden ‘conversion’ in 1927 is variously belied. Lyndall Gordon writes that ‘he scribbled on the back of an envelope in about 1923 or 1924: ‘there are only 2 things – Puritanism and Catholicism. You are one or the other.’’²⁸ Spurr consistently deplors the term ‘conversion’, warning that in ‘relation to the reading of Eliot’s poetry and plays, ‘conversion’ is a term best avoided, having practically no relevance at all’ (Spurr 113). He quotes from Eliot’s letter to Paul Elmer of 27th March 1936 in support:

What appears to another person to be a change of attitude and even a recantation of former views must often appear to the author himself rather as part of a continuous and more or less consistent development. (Spurr 114)

Spurr further comments that not only ‘did Eliot not undergo a conversion experience, but he firmly deprecated the idea’ (Spurr CCE187). ‘Eliot [...] did not suddenly appropriate Anglicanism five years later at his baptism in 1927, but for many years before had been taking an interest in its theology, its architecture, and its rich tradition of liturgical and homiletic language.’²⁹ He writes that Eliot’s Anglo-Catholicism ‘was the result of a logical progression. It was not a ‘leap of faith’, and he agrees with David Moody that Eliot’s ‘conversion’ years started with *The Waste Land* (Spurr 114).

In this reading, *The Waste Land* is a ritualist repository of Eliot’s deep scholarship. The ritualism of *The Waste Land* is of universal form, as much cultural as spiritual, anthropological and classical as Judeo-Christian. It encompasses humankind’s culturally ennobling spiritual drive throughout history since the putative genesis of sacred ritual in animist ‘vegetation ceremonies’ (PE.72). Anthropology and the primitive were a constant focus of enquiry in

²⁷ Jewel Spears Brooker ‘Writing the self: dialectic and impersonality in T.S. Eliot’ *T.S. Eliot and the concept of Tradition* ed. Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2007) p.41.

²⁸ Lyndall Gordon *Eliot’s Early Years* (Oxford University Press 1977) p.126. Hereafter ‘Gordon’.

²⁹ Barry Spurr ‘Religions East and West in *The Waste Land* in *The Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* ed. Gabrielle McIntire (Cambridge University Press 2015) p.56. Hereafter CCT.

Eliot's scholarly life. Mara de Gennero writes that 'Crawford suggests that from early on Eliot had "a viewpoint which should be described as anthropological".'³⁰

In this reading, *The Waste Land* is in significant part a response to the sciences of evolution, anthropology and comparative religion through the doctrine of progressive revelation, the divinely assisted religious progression, visually narrated on the Magnus Martyr reredos, which parallels evolution. It counters the spiritual deficiencies of evolution as a theory in that, as a base physical process, evolution is not ennobling: it engenders the brute ape Sweeney, explicitly linked by Eliot with Emerson, who was much admired by Nietzsche (see 'Adam'). Culture, tradition and heritage, for Eliot the product of European Christendom, raise mankind above the brute. Further, evolution and anthropology are deficient in accounting for the metaphysical human; they give no account of the evolution of the soul aided by the divine.

2.4 Unity, Order and Guidance

The contemplation of the horrid or sordid or disgusting, by an artist, is the necessary and negative aspect of the impulse towards the pursuit of beauty.³¹

In contrast to the potential anarchy of the cult of the individual, this study argues that the potential for a cultural and spiritual unity appears to underlie *The Waste Land* through the theme of guidance expressed in a number of allusions, central to which is Sappho's evening star (221). Nietzsche writes:

A world which we are able to admire, one which accords with our instinctive need to worship – one which, by providing guidance to both the individual and the collective, is continually *proving* itself – this [is] the Christian world view from which all our thinking originates. (WP§253 p.159)

The theme of guidance is introduced through a fusion of classical, Old Testament and New Testament figures including the guides Moses and Aaron of the reredos portraits. Further, through the extraordinary complexity of Sappho's evening star, a host of ancient venerated female divine figures are brought to the scene, complimenting the Virgin Mary and the goddess of love Aphrodite – the Roman Venus – suggested as the poem opens in 'April' (1). This

³⁰ Mara de Gennaro 'Man is Man Because ...: Humanism Wars, "Sweeney Erect" and the Making of Modernist Imagination' *Paideuma: Modern and Contemporary Poetry and Poetics* Vol. 41 (2014) p.174.

³¹ Eliot 'Dante' *The Sacred Wood* (Faber and Faber 1997) p.143.

complex of imagery evokes a ritualist communal continuum throughout history which, through sacred music including that of the classical world of Sappho, acts as a communal salve for the isolation of the typist and all individuals who are trapped in what Nietzsche terms the ‘wretched bell-jar of human individuality’, examined in detail in ‘Eve’ and ‘Adam’.³²

This study proposes that *The Waste Land* does not express authorial misogyny but challenges universal misogyny. Among other aspects it argues that Eliot engages misogyny to question the thoroughness of Nietzschean writings, undermining the philosophy of a man who claims to be free of his Judeo-Christian background yet continues to deploy a range of misogynistic puritan tropes which echo Lutheran biblical readings such as the Whore of Babylon. Huneker writes:

He discerned the Puritan in Pascal, though failing to recognise the Puritan in himself. Despite his praise of the Dionysian element in art and life, a puritan was buried in the nerves of Nietzsche. He never could tolerate the common bourgeois joys. Wine, Woman, Song, and their poets, were his detestations. Yet he hated Puritanism in Protestant Christianity.³³

Kaufmann writes that ‘in England and the United States [...] Nietzsche began to be considered the apostle of German ruthlessness and barbarism’ (Kaufmann 8). This was the ‘hard’, early twentieth century Nietzsche as an advocate of aristocratic rule, war, misogyny, and the destruction of Christianity. It is clear that Eliot had read Nietzsche significantly. His letter to Russell shows that he took reviewing work on Nietzsche seriously, having a ‘month for Wolf’s *Nietzsche*. I think it is worth my while to put in all my time on this reviewing’ (L1.130). He wrote to his mother in a letter of 18th November 1915:

As for the book on Nietzsche, I have finished it, and now am reading some of Nietzsche’s works which I had not read before, and which I ought to read anyhow before my examinations. The book I am to review is rather sight and unsatisfactory – it is neither a guide to Nietzsche’s works for beginners, nor a commentary for advanced students. (L1.132)

Nietzsche was a heresiarch and iconoclast who relished his anti-Christ position, writing that the ‘*unmasking* of Christian morality is an event without equal, a real catastrophe. He who

³² Friedrich Nietzsche *The Birth of Tragedy* trans. Shaun Whiteside (Penguin 1993) §21 p.101. Hereafter BT.

³³ James Huneker. *Egoists, A Book of Supermen* Ch. 7, ‘Phases of Nietzsche’, I.

exposes it is a *force majeure*, a destiny – he breaks the history of mankind into two parts.³⁴ However, in this schema he is not merely a godless anarchist as Straw Man, and any such impression is a deficiency of this study. While in the main in this reading Eliot is antagonistic to ‘the most vicious intellectualist’³⁵ Nietzsche in response to his willing the destruction of Christianity, there seems a certain sympathy of perspective between Eliot and Nietzsche in the realm of art, discussed in ‘Eve’. Of all those in the post-Darwin period who addressed the ancient past and ritual – including Frazer, Tylor and Weston, but possibly somewhat excepting Harrison (see ‘Anthropology’) – it is, strikingly, Nietzsche who most insightfully addresses the transportive and transcendent effect of music and its relation to myth and the ‘pastoral metaphysical dance’ (BT101).

Other than the reference to Bradley in the notes, there seems to be no philosophy per se in the poem, engagement being achieved through allusion and image. Eliot writes of philosophy in poetry:

A poet who is also a metaphysician, and unites the two activities, is conceivable as an unicorn or a wyvern is conceivable [...] but such a poet would be a monster [...] Such a poet would be two men. It is more convenient to use, if necessary, the philosophy of other men, than to burden oneself with the philosophy of a monstrous brother in one’s own bosom. Dante and Lucretius used other men’s philosophies cheerfully.³⁶

2.5 The Personal

Michael Levenson summarizes the ‘critical argument over *The Waste Land* – whether to take it as a work of political and social engagement or as the confession of a traumatised émigré.’³⁷ The latter critical commentary points to the stresses of Eliot’s personal life, Vivienne Eliot’s mental illness and his own nervous breakdown as evidence for readings of the poem as personal and despairing. That both suffered deeply is well documented. However, an illness that is personally debilitating need not be so artistically, nor need it dictate the focus of the art. Illness can be linked with exceptional insight, and through his note to lines 366-376 (PE.76) Eliot guides the reader to Hermann Hesse’s sick man as empowered prophet:

³⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Penguin Books 2004) p. 82. Hereafter EH.

³⁵ T.S. Eliot ‘The Relationship between Politics and Metaphysics’ CP1.90.

³⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘A Brief Introduction to the Method of Paul Valéry’ CP2.562.

³⁷ Michael Levenson ‘Form, Voice, and the Avant-Garde’ CCT.90.

This kind of sick man [...] has that strange, occult, godlike faculty [...] He is a seer and an oracle [...] the sick man of this sort interprets the movement of his own soul in terms of the universal and of mankind. The nightmare of visions which oppresses him does not warn him of a personal illness, of a personal death, but of the illness, the death of that corpus whose sensory organ he is. This corpus can be a family, a clan, a people, or it can be all mankind [...] Other men, thanks to their happiness and health, can never be troubled with this endowment.³⁸

It is a theory shared with Nietzsche:

Nietzsche's theory fits at least some empirical data very well, especially the close relationship between artistic genius and physical or mental disease. Keats and Schiller, Kleist and Hölderlin, Byron and Baudelaire, Homer and Beethoven, and Dostoevsky and Nietzsche himself all possessed that health which responds even to the severest penalisation and to nameless suffering with defiant creativity. The premature death of the consumptive poets, the suicide of Kleist and the eventual madness of Hölderlin and Nietzsche bear witness to the final triumph of disease: yet they do not disprove the claim that in the previous struggle the prospective victim showed a strength far beyond that of normal men. (Kaufmann 132)

In this reading, Eliot as Hesse's seer and oracle sees the inner voice of the Reformation as such an illness of 'all mankind', a carbuncle on the collective body. That cult of the individual assumes progressively more errant expression in Milton, Emerson and Nietzsche, each scribe creating a more errant version of Adam, a dark evolution embodied in the clerk. Unmoored from tradition, communal guidance and the spiritual, he is not the elevated *übermensch* imagined by Nietzsche. He is more a member of Eliot's British Massenmensch, the aberrant, street-level, misogynistic manifestation of the heresiarch Nietzsche's godless philosophy; a pustular, lustful, amoral clerk who 'gropes his way' (248) through an 'unlit' (248) world, guided only by the anarchic, errant inner voice.

³⁸ Herman Hesse, 'The Downfall of Europe' *The Waste Land* Ed. Michael North (Norton Critical Edition 2001) p.61

3. ORDONNANCE: *Engeschachtelt*, Poetic Compression, Modernism and Order

We can only say that it appears likely that poets in our civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult [...] The poet must become more and more comprehensive, more allusive, more indirect, in order to force, to dislocate if necessary, language [...] a method curiously similar to that of the “metaphysical poets,” similar also in its use of obscure words and of simple phrasing.³⁹

The complexity attributed to the poem in this reading is a poetic ordonnance requiring radical compression, intense depth of reference and allusion, and extreme economy. This chapter attempts a brief examination of some of the techniques - juxtaposition, fusion, the violence of contrast, the compression of Imagism, the Joycean lightest touch, the infinitesimal touch, and *engeschtelt* - within the extraordinary compass of Eliot’s poetics which might achieve that fusion of compression and scope; the ‘epic in a walnut shell’ of Conrad Aiken.⁴⁰

Eliot’s perspective on order, tradition and the classical will also be examined, within the context of the evolution of Pound and Eliot’s paleo-modernism from an earlier, experimental, individualist modernism.

3.1 Techniques of radical compression

The sacred and profane aspects of the carbuncle gem, a contrast also evident in venerated and fallen representations of the Eternal Feminine, creates Eliot’s ‘violence of contrast’, a use of juxtaposition central to the poem.⁴¹

I think that from Baudelaire I learned first, a precedent for the poetic possibilities, never developed by any poet writing in my own language, of the more sordid aspects of the modern metropolis, of the possibility of fusion between the sordidly realistic and the phantasmagoric, the possibility of the juxtaposition of the matter-of-fact and the fantastic.⁴²

³⁹ T.S. Eliot ‘The Metaphysical Poets’ CP2.381

⁴⁰ Conrad Aiken ‘An Anatomy of Melancholy’ *New Republic* 7 February 1923, in *The Critical Heritage* vol. 1. Ed. Michael Grant (Routledge London and New York) p.151.

⁴¹ T.S. Eliot ‘The Countess of Pembroke’ *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* (Harvard University Press 1933) p.36.

⁴² T.S. Eliot ‘What Dante means to me’ *To Criticize the Critic and Other Writings* (Faber and Faber 1978) p.126.

Where juxtaposition holds elements apart, ‘fusion’ melds such contrasts to produce a new image or complex of images, examined in the ‘Eve’ chapter through the degraded Eden metaphor in *Eeldrop and Appleplex*. There is also the compression of Imagism:

The *point de repère* usually and conveniently taken, as the starting-point of modern poetry, is the group denominated “imagists” in London about 1910. I was not there. It was an Anglo-American group: [...] a movement which, on the whole, is chiefly important because of the stimulus it gave to later developments.⁴³

This is not to claim significant adherence on Eliot’s part; Pound commented that Eliot ‘has actually trained himself AND modernized himself ON HIS OWN. The rest of the *promising* young have done one or the other, but never both.’⁴⁴ However, the precepts of Imagism - ‘as proof of the vitality of the English race’ (Pound L1.111) - did contribute to the honing of poetic literary modernism. Langdon Hammer comments that ‘Imagist aesthetics in general [...] depend on the radical compression of language and the conversion of, well, the prosaic and everyday to the essential.’⁴⁵

That Eliot appreciated deft condensation is apparent from his unreserved admiration for the Joycean ‘lightest touch’ in *Ulysses*: ‘James Joyce, another very learned literary artist, uses allusions suddenly and with great speed, part of the effect being the extent of the vista opened to the imagination with the lightest touch’ (YE309). He admired the same precision in Dante, an ‘astonishing economy and directness of language’, and the same in Sappho ‘for having fixed a particular emotion in the right and the minimum number of words, once and for all.’⁴⁶ In religious writings, he admired Andrewes:

The most conspicuous qualities of the style are three: ordonnance, or arrangement and structure, precision in the use of words, and relevant intensity [...] Andrewes takes a word and derives the world from it: squeezing and squeezing the word until it yields a full juice of meaning which we should never have supposed any word to possess. In

⁴³ T.S. Eliot ‘American Literature and the American Language’ *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: A European Society, 1947-1953* ed. Iman Javadi & Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018) p:805. Hereafter CP7.

⁴⁴ Richard Mertens ‘Letter by Letter’ *The University of Chicago Magazine* (August 2001).

⁴⁵ Transcript Yale Courses Modern Poetry ENGL 310 Lecture 8 Imagism Langdon Hammer Chapter 1. <https://oyc.yale.edu/english/engl-310/lecture-8>

⁴⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘To Criticise the Critic’ & ‘What Dante Means to Me’ *To Criticise the Critic and Other Writings* (Faber and Faber 1978) p.23; 127.

this process the qualities which we have mentioned, of ordonnance and precision, are exercised.’⁴⁷

A key question in this study is whether the apparent abandonment of poetic ordonnance to apparent anarchy within *The Waste Land* is a deliberate structural cultural allegory of chaos arising from the ‘multivocal, multilingual’ inner voice, juxtaposed to the possibility of a deeper cultural and spiritual ordonnance.⁴⁸ On meeting Eliot, Virginia Woolf wrote:

I became more or less conscious of a very intricate and highly organised framework of poetic belief [...] I think he believes in ‘living phrases’ & their difference from dead ones; in writing with extreme care, in observing all syntax and grammar; & so making this new poetry flower on the stem of the oldest. (YE307)

Woolf’s comment suggests that Eliot controls meaning with microscopic attention and to great depth. She also comments on Eliot’s reading of *Ulysses* which highlights a potential key difference in intent, indicating room for a similar masterpiece with the additional quality of a ‘great conception’. That being, in this reading, utilising the mythic method for potentially redemptive purposes.

It showed up the futility of all the English styles. He thought some of the writing beautiful. But there was no ‘great conception’; that was not Joyce’s intention. He thought that Joyce did completely what he meant to do. But he did not think that he gave a new insight into human nature – said nothing new like Tolstoy. Bloom told one nothing.⁴⁹

Eliot’s poetics include the ‘infinitesimal touch’, an example of which is examined later in the seemingly deliberate error of the ‘sylvan scene’ (98):

Of some great poetry one has difficulty in pronouncing just what it is, what infinitesimal touch, that has made all the difference from a plain statement which anyone could make; the slight transformation which, while it leaves a plain statement a plain statement, has always the maximal, never the minimal, alteration of ordinary language.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ T. S. Eliot ‘Lancelot Andrewes’ CP2 p.819/822.

⁴⁸ Jason Harding ‘Unravelling Eliot’ *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2017) p.13. Hereafter CCE.

⁴⁹ Virginia Woolf *A Writers Diary* (Hawthorn 1953) Ed. Leonard Woolf. p49. Diary entry Sept 26th 1922.

⁵⁰ T.S. Eliot ‘Milton II’ CP7.29. See ‘Error’.

The infinitesimal touch works in conjunction with what in this reading is an important element of his technique; *engesachtelt*, a Schopenhauerian term translating as ‘nested’ or ‘encased’, pointing to compacted multi-layered references and allusions of great depth and scope.

These lines of Tourneur and Middleton exhibit that perpetual slight alteration of language, words perpetually juxtaposed in new and sudden combinations, meanings perpetually *engesachtelt* into meanings, which evidences a very high development of the senses, a development of the English language which we have perhaps never equalled.⁵¹

Later in that essay he writes: ‘It was from these minor dramatists [of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama] that I, in my own poetic formation, had learned my lessons.’⁵² In this reading, Eliot uses *engesachtelt* to extraordinary effect in *The Waste Land* so that he is in control of meaning within words, phrases and images, and their interplay within and between multiple strata, with pointillist accuracy.

3.2 Classicism, Tradition, Fragmentation, Egoism, Modernisms

Poetic anarchy in *The Waste Land* may have worked too well, according to Gordon. ‘He decided he could reach his audience only by indirection [...] but that gambit proved so catchy that readers ignored the would-be saint. Eliot’s strategy failed by its success, for the strategy took over the poem’ (Gordon 117/119). In the same spirit, Cleanth Brooks comments that the “‘Christian” material is at the center, but the poet never deals with it directly [...] the statement of beliefs emerges *through* confusion and cynicism – not in spite of them.’⁵³

Eliot argued for his poem as unique, in a unique situation, and not void of belief.

When Mr. Richards asserts that *The Waste Land* effects a “complete severance between poetry and *all* beliefs” [...] either Mr. Richards is wrong, or I do not understand his meaning. The statement might mean that it was the first poetry to do what all poetry in the past would have been the better for doing [...] It might also mean that the present situation is radically different from any in which poetry has been produced in the past: namely, that now there is nothing in which to believe, that Belief is dead; and that

⁵¹ T. S. Eliot ‘Philip Massinger’ *The Sacred Wood* (Faber and Faber 1997) p. 109.

⁵² T. S. Eliot ‘To Criticise the Critic’ *To Criticise the Critic and Other Writings* (Faber and Faber 1978) p. 18.

⁵³ Cleanth Brooks, Jr. ‘*The Waste Land: An Analysis*’ *The Waste Land* Ed. Michael North (Norton Critical Edition) p.209.

therefore my poem is the first to respond properly to the modern situation and not call upon Make-Believe.⁵⁴

Belief, particularly in some form of a greater spiritual reality even if creedless, imposes order on the random. It should represent a coherent perspective, the anarchy of the world being an unfortunate dark moment playing out within a larger, cosmic scheme. Eliot wrote in 1925 to Middleton Murry: 'If one discards dogma, it should be for a more celestial garment, not for nakedness.'⁵⁵

Allen Tate, in his staunch defence of Eliot and *The Waste Land*, writes of a 'philosophy of discontinuity'.⁵⁶ However, no advocacy of such a critical, poetic or philosophical approach exists in Eliot's writing. Nowhere does Eliot commend artistic work without a central coherence, however obtuse. Rather, he is Middleton Murry's 'apostle of authority' (CH.223) engaged in a "classical" revival in modern literature' (CH.217). It is a particular reconstruction of the term classical. Hannah Sullivan terms Eliot an 'unclassical classicist' (p.170), writing that:

T.S. Eliot made repeated, polemical and idiosyncratic use of the word 'classic' and its cognates 'classical' and 'classicism' in his prose writings. In the earlier part of his career he tended to use the term not to refer to writings in Latin and Greek (the classics) or even to canonical texts in a wider range of languages, but as a call to arms. In his critical lexicon of the 1910s and 1920s, 'classicism' meant writing that was intelligently organised, mature, well proportioned and impersonal rather than gushingly emotional, personal or vague; and the opposite of classicism was 'romanticism'. Both terms are to be understood primarily as formal and stylistic rather than temporal distinctions.⁵⁷

It was not unique to Eliot or modernism. Nietzsche in seeking the '*origin of Greek Tragedy*' writes of the 'many times the tattered rags of the classical tradition have been sewn together in their various combinations, and ripped apart again.' (BT36). In this reading, the 'call to arms' Sullivan sees in Eliot's work extends beyond 'formal and stylistic' literary considerations to also encompass the struggle inherent in the 'old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment';

⁵⁴ T.S. Eliot 'The Modern Mind' *The Use of Poetry & The Use of Criticism* (Harvard University Press 1933) p.114.

⁵⁵ L1.733. Middleton Murry in 'Christ or Christianity?' had written 'I now hold that the finer conscience of mankind has now passed definitely outside the Church.' (L1.733.fn1).

⁵⁶ Allen Tate 'A Reply to Ransom' *The Critical Heritage* vol. 1. Ed. Michael Grant (Routledge London and New York) p.173. Hereafter CH.

⁵⁷ Hannah Sullivan 'Classics' *T.S. Eliot in Context* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2011) p.169.

the guidance of his version of classicism against the inner voice of romanticism unleashed by the Reformation.

In a similar approach to his unclassical-classicist reconfiguration, Eliot reshaped the concept of tradition, in what Jason Harding terms the ‘programmatically revaluation of the English literary tradition.’⁵⁸ It was an ‘adversarial yet reconstructive doctrine of tradition’ which championed a ‘palaeo-modernism saturated in the literature of the past’, a palaeo-modernism that stood in contrast to ‘extremist modernism [which] was deficient in tradition’; ‘several avant-garde movements – notably, Italian and Russian Futurism, and Dadaism – advocated a clean break with the past’ (*Egoist* 96-7). Eliot noted the death of one aspect of experimental modernism, prose fragmentation in literature, when he wrote of Frederick Manning’s ‘out of date’ *Scenes and Portraits* as ‘an early example of that quality of modernist realistic prose, agitated and dismembered, which culminates and disappears, I believe in the work of James Joyce’; begging the question, if prose modernism had dispensed with disconnected fragmentation, why would Eliot resurrect it in poetry?⁵⁹

At the same time, the rigour introduced through his unclassical-classicist, reconstructive-traditionalist approach ‘rescued the Georgians from [the] insipid pastoralism’ (*Egoist* 95) of what Pound described as a ‘sentimentalistic, mannerish sort of period.’⁶⁰ As Eliot wrote, ‘the previous literary mode had been wholly corrupted by simplicity’,⁶¹ echoed from an earlier, continental perspective by Nietzsche:

I have grown weary of the poets, the old ones and the new ones: superficial are they all to me, and shallow seas. They have never taken their thought deep enough: therefore their feeling never sank down to the grounds. A little lust and a little boredom: that has so far been their best reflection. (Z.111)

The position for which Eliot fought represents a literary *via media*, injecting rigour through reshaping the concepts of classicism and tradition while resisting the extreme modernism of the cult of the individual. Harding writes that ‘early modernism [...] was founded on a belief in radical individualism – ‘egoism’’, and when Pound joined the journal *The Egoist* the ‘editorial manifesto proclaimed the ‘individualist principle’ with Nietzschean vitality’ (*Egoist*

⁵⁸ Jason Harding ‘T.S. Eliot and The Egoist’ *T.S. Eliot and the Concept of Tradition* Ed. Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2007) p.94. Hereafter ‘Egoist’.

⁵⁹ T.S. Eliot ‘Contemporary English Prose’ CP2.450.

⁶⁰ Ezra Pound ‘A Retrospect’ *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound* (New Directions 1968) p.11.

⁶¹ T.S. Eliot ‘The Post-Georgians’ CP2.17.

92). A prime driver in the world of such little journals was the fearless ‘supreme controversialist’ and anarchist Dora Marsden,⁶² and when Eliot joined there was a tension between his ‘modernising tradition’ and her ‘radical individualism promoted elsewhere in its pages’ (Harding *Unravelling Eliot* CCE10). Anne Fernihough terms these journals ‘creative hothouses’ and writes that ‘Marsden’s *Freewoman/New Freewoman* was equally important [as *The Egoist* and *BLAST*] for the emergence of various literary modernisms. It was one of Pound’s main outlets right from its inception’.⁶³ Pound wrote to Marsden stating ‘I said [to ‘Ms. West’] I thought sufficiently well of the *Freewoman* to be willing to give it my verse free, which I would not do for any other periodical’ (DM106). It is beyond the remit of this study to examine in detail Marsden’s effect on modernism. Some see it as substantial – Clark calls her ‘the fugitive midwife to the miraculous birth of a literary tradition out of the ‘individual talents’ of Pound, Joyce, Eliot, Lawrence, and Williams’ (DM4) – but subsequently obscured not least by Pound, who made ‘several unsuccessful attempts to wrest *The Egoist* away from Marsden and Weaver’ (DM117).

The Egoist had Nietzschean roots in Marsden’s previous journal *The New Freewoman*, subtitled, as was the later *The Egoist*, ‘An Individualist Review’. Clarke writes that the ‘type of the freewoman – Dora Marsden’s projected ideal of genius as a superhuman female, a feminist retort to Nietzsche’s Übermensch as egoistic superman - is perhaps her greatest single creation’ (DM63). Notably, Marsden’s was an admirer of male ‘vitality’, with echoes of the *Nietzscheanerin* examined later in this study in connection with ‘Lil’ and ‘Albert’ (139/142) (see ‘Eve’). Marsden refused the limitations of gender essentialism by championing an androgynous egoism she termed ‘the man-woman or woman-man who had evolved beyond the separatist dualities of patriarchal engendering’ (DM78), calling to mind ‘Tiresias’ (218) (see ‘Eve’ 6.9, on gender dissolution). Fernihough writes that Marsden took a ‘belligerently anti-suffragist stance’, labelling the suffragists as ‘bondwomen’:

for ‘the Freewoman’, on the other hand, the vote is an irrelevance, a chimera; ‘Bondswomen are distinguished from Freewomen by a spiritual distinction,’ Marsden explains; ‘Bondswomen are the woken who are not separate spiritual entities – who are not individuals. They are compliments [to men], merely.’ It is a feminised version of

⁶² Bruce Clarke *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism* (University of Michigan Press 1996) p.107. Hereafter DM.

⁶³ Anne Fernihough *Freewoman and Supermen* (Oxford University Press 2013) p.42.

the common herd [...] Marsden apocalyptically assures her readers that the freewoman [...] will ‘push open the door of the superworld.’’ (*Freewomen and Supermen* p.11)

That this was a wider cultural struggle is evident from John Zilcosky: ‘Nietzsche's impact upon the zeitgeist was unrivalled—as evidenced in the works of Kafka, Pound, Mann, Proust, Joyce—and Eliot was well aware of this.’⁶⁴ When Eliot joined *The Egoist*, he became involved in a battle within the journal itself to change what Fernihough terms the ‘hyper-individualistic, anarchic strand within pre-war radicalism’, represented by the journal’s founder, into post-war palaeo-modernism.⁶⁵ Harding writes that ‘it proved to be a decisive intervention in the wartime ferment in the arts’ (*Egoist* 97). It represents a struggle between extreme individualist anarchists such as Marsden, substantially underwritten by Nietzschean thought as they understood it, and Eliot’s evolving unclassical-classicism comingled with Harding’s ‘reconstructive doctrine of tradition’ which, while remaining personally creedless, was culturally aligned with Catholicism.

“Catholicism,” he says, “stands for the principle of unquestioned spiritual authority outside the individual; that is also the principle of Classicism in literature.” Within the orbit within which Mr. Murry’s discussion moves, this seems to me an unimpeachable definition, though it is of course not all that there is to be said about either Catholicism or Classicism. (*The Function of Criticism* CP2.460)

This quote, part of the long running literary argument with Middleton Murry regarding the previously noted ‘old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment’, aligns Classicism with Catholicism in subscribing to tradition and authority, and does so in 1923. As with classicism and tradition, Eliot’s proto-Anglo-Catholicism at that time is constructed on a scaffolding of deep scholastic enquiry, a developing individual blend comprised of such perspectives as anthropology, poetic sensibility to the image, the classical, and ritualistic, primitive Christianity. It is superior to Romanticism, as previously noted aligned by Russell with the anarchic inner voice and extreme individualism which arose from the aniconic Reformation. Classicism represents mature orderly completeness, while Romanticism is immature, fragmentary and chaotic.

With Mr. Murry’s formulation of Classicism and Romanticism I cannot agree; the difference seems to me rather the difference between the complete and the fragmentary,

⁶⁴ John Zilcosky ‘Modern Monuments: T. S. Eliot, Nietzsche, and the Problem of History’, *Journal of Modern Literature*, Volume 29, Number 1, Fall 2005. pp. 21-33.

⁶⁵ *Freewoman and Supermen* p.42.

the adult and the immature, the orderly and the chaotic. But what Mr. Murry does show is that there are at least two attitudes toward literature and toward everything, and that you cannot hold both. (*The Function of Criticism* CP2.460)

That you ‘cannot hold both’, read in conjunction with the previously noted observation that ‘he scribbled on the back of an envelope in about 1923 or 1924: ‘there are only 2 things – Puritanism and Catholicism. You are one or the other’ (Gordon 126) shows this literary schism both with Middleton Murry and within *The Egoist* to mirror the schism of the Reformation as expressed in contemporary society; that being the rejection of heritage, tradition and authority in favour of the inner voice. The same consideration of immaturity and chaos is levelled at advocates of extreme individualism such as Emerson and Nietzsche.⁶⁶

This Savonarola is a disciple of Schleiermacher, Emerson, Channing and Herbert Spencer; this St. Joan is a disciple of Nietzsche, Butler and every chaotic and immature intellectual enthusiasm of the later nineteenth century.⁶⁷

A work that is solely fragmentary, discontinuous and disordered should be anathema to Eliot. The best metaphysical poetry according to Eliot values ‘disinterestedness’, ‘immense technical skill’, ‘architectonic ability, [the] power of organisation and structure’ and ‘fusing sense with thought’; and according to Santayana is by a ‘philosophical poet [...] with a scheme of the universe.’⁶⁸

[Poetry] creates a unity of feeling out of various parts: a unity of action, which is epic or dramatic; a union (the simplest form) of sound and sense, the pure lyric; and in various forms, the union of things hitherto unconnected in experience.

(*Clark Lecture 1: Introduction*, CP2.614)

In the same essay, he writes that ‘genius tends towards unity’ (p.615). Would Eliot the poet have so pointedly disappointed Eliot the critic, who in a 1921 essay writes: ‘One of the surest tests is the way in which a poet borrows [...] The bad poet throws it into something which has no cohesion’?⁶⁹ Did he immediately thereafter decide to become a ‘bad poet’ who ‘throws’ what he ‘borrows’ into a ‘pompous parade of erudition [...] the poem as window dressing’ in which ‘the bright-coloured pieces fail to atone for the absence of an integrated design’?⁷⁰ Or

⁶⁶ Although Nietzsche was also anti-Romantic: ‘the “romantic” was precisely what he opposed’ (Kaufmann 15).

⁶⁷ Eliot ‘Savonarola: A Dramatic Poem, by Charlotte Eliot’ CP2.772.

⁶⁸ Eliot ‘Clark Lecture 1: Introduction’ CP2.611/616/618/613.

⁶⁹ Eliot, ‘Phillip Massinger’ *The Sacred Wood* (Faber and Faber 1997) p. 105.

⁷⁰ Tim Armstrong ‘Eliot’s Waste Paper’ *The Waste Land* Ed. Michael North (Norton Critical Edition 2001) p.277.

did he try to create a cohesive, universalist poem, only to fail? Is he a discordant misogynist or a modernist producing ‘continuous reasoning’ in a ‘panorama of human history’ which he lauded in the attempt by Shaw – ‘the fact which makes Methuselah impressive is the nature of the subject, the attempt to expose a panorama of human history “as far as thought can reach”’⁷¹ – and saw Joyce achieve so extraordinarily in *Ulysses*?

His link between unity and genius in poetry was continuous throughout his writing life, noted again in his 1956 essay ‘The Frontiers of Criticism’:

Lowes showed, once and for all, that poetic originality is largely an original way of assembling the most disparate and unlikely material to make a new whole. The demonstration is quite convincing, as evidence of how material is digested and transformed by the poetic genius.⁷²

Eliot unreservedly admired Joyce’s work as ‘making the modern world possible in art, toward that order and form which Mr. Aldington so earnestly desires.’⁷³ Pound wrote that “‘Eliot’s *Waste Land* is I think the justification of the ‘movement’, of our modern experiment, since 1900.”⁷⁴ He told Eliot that “even if the thing [*Ulysses*] has been done in prose, it is necessary to do it in poetry as well.” This cheered him [Eliot] up and he decided to go on.⁷⁵ Did Eliot then immediately abandon that advice, and that modernist effort and challenge to match *Ulysses* in poetry, in favour of a ‘lunatic profusion of tongues’ (Spurr 67), a despairing, fragmented epic of misogynistic indulgence? He wrote in 1924:

There are two considerations about *order*. One is the amount of material organised, and the degree of difficulty of that material; the other is the completeness of the organisation.⁷⁶

Even the fragmentary, aphoristic “style of decadence” of the most disruptive of philosophers, Nietzsche, has a core coherence: ‘all the [stylistic] experiments cohere because they are not capricious. Their unity one might call “existential”’ (Kaufmann 85/93). Conversely *Ulysses*,

⁷¹ Eliot ‘London Letter’ *The Dial* 71 (Oct 1921) CP1:371.

⁷² T. S. Eliot ‘The Frontiers of Criticism’ *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1956), p.531. ‘John Livingston Lowes’s *The Road to Xanadu* - a book which I recommend to every student of poetry who has not yet read it [...] Livingston Lowes was a fine scholar, a good teacher, a lovable man and a man to whom I for one have private reasons to feel very grateful’ (P.531).

⁷³ Eliot ‘*Ulysses*, Order and Myth’ CP2:479.

⁷⁴ Laurence Rainey, ‘The Price of Modernism’, *Revisiting The Waste Land*, 74.

⁷⁵ A. Walton Litz ‘*Ulysses* and its Audience’ (*James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*. International James Joyce Symposium, August 1982, Dublin). p.223.

⁷⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘A Brief Introduction to the Method of Paul Valéry’ CP2.560

if read without the comingled mythic and Judeo-Christian layers, would be a novel of experiential fragments; whereas Pound saw there the same ‘order and form’ that Eliot perceived: ‘a triumph in form, in balance, a main schema, with continuous inweaving and arabesque.’⁷⁷

Fragmentation theories of the poem appear to reject the sense of post-war modernism as an effort to return to order. Picasso turned to neoclassical work in the early 1920’s, and Braque’s cubism became muted in simple still life and figure painting. Massimo Bacigalupo writes that Eliot’s 1929 *Dante* ‘should be read in the context of the general movement known as the Call to Order or *Rappel a l’ordre*.’⁷⁸ A footnote (6) notes that Eliot ‘published an English translation of Jean Cocteau’s *Le rappel a l’ordre* in Faber’s spring 1926 list as *A Call to Order*.’ Bacigalupo further notes that Eliot’s *Dante* bore a ‘dedication to the reactionary political activist and thinker Charles Maurras.’ John Xiros Cooper writes:

We cannot understand Eliot’s own social criticism without understanding the influence Maurras exerted on his thinking [...] The sweeping away of the old hierarchies – “of throne, altar, and Pre-Romantic literary decorum” – gave free reign to new regimes of desire, materialism, and individualism [...] What was needed, Maurras argued, was a “*rappel a l’ordre*.”⁷⁹

Bacigalupo further notes that the dedication in Eliot’s *Dante* to Maurras is accompanied by an epigraph which is a quote from Maurras: ‘Sensibility, saved from itself and submitted to order, has become a principle of perfection.’ Sensibility submitted to order again reflects the previously noted ‘old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment.’ Read with Eliot’s constant writings on the need for order - including the previously noted ‘difference between the complete and the fragmentary, the adult and the immature, the orderly and the chaotic’⁸⁰ - it suggests either that the seeming disorder of the poem in some way serves the purpose of order, or a poetic abnegation of his critical thinking on the adult necessity of order in favour of a fragmentary, chaotic poem; in his own word, immature.

Some read indications of cohesion. Brooker, remarking that as ‘part of the Frazerian monomyth that Eliot drew on for structure and themes, the Sibyl, a figure of caged and desiccated divinity,

⁷⁷ Ezra Pound, ‘Ulysses’ *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. T.S. Eliot (New Directions 1968, 1st ed. 1918) p.406.

⁷⁸ Massimo Bacigalupo ‘Dante’ *T.S. Eliot in Context* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2011) p.186.

⁷⁹ Cooper ‘T.S. Eliot’s Social Criticism’ *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* p.151. Notably, he relates such individualism to Emerson. See ‘Adam’.

⁸⁰ Eliot ‘The Function of Criticism’ 1923. CP2.460

is relevant to such motifs as the marginalisation of God in the post-Nietzschean world’, notes the influence of ‘Pound’s “technical mastery”’ and that aspects of the death of Phlebas suggest that ‘Pound viewed the poem as unified by an unfolding narrative.’⁸¹ Rachel Potter writes that Eliot implies ‘structural as well as visionary cohesion’ through Tiresias, adding that ‘Eliot insists that femaleness produces a significant unity of being in the poem.’⁸² Mark Ford writes:

His [Eliot’s] note, on the other hand, on Tiresias [...] implied a coherent overall plan and a way of understanding the various characters the poem presents [...] This seems to encourage us to view *The Waste Land* not as a ‘heap of broken images’ or a series of sprawling, disconnected ‘fragments’ shored against the poet’s ruins, but as a skilfully orchestrated jeremiad by a prophet-like creator who, rather than a pulpit, uses collage and allusion and other avant-garde (as well as traditional) poetic techniques to alert his followers to their perilous spiritual state.⁸³

The question posed by this study is whether, underneath the structural and vocal anarchies of the poem, there is a potential connectivity unearthed through the ‘broken fingernails of dirty hands’ (300); an archaeological digging, a search for meaning and order which is only rewarded through diligent struggle.⁸⁴ Launcelot Andrewes suggests a spiritual form of those dirty hands:

And I know not the man so squeamish but if, in his stable and under his manger, there were a treasure his and he were sure of it, but thither he would, and pluck up the planks, and dig and rake for it, and never be a whit offended with the homeliness of the place.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Jewel Spears Brooker ‘Dialectical Collaboration: Editing *the Waste Land*’ *The Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* p.113/111/110.

⁸² Rachel Potter ‘Gender and Obscenity in *The Waste Land*’ *the Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* p.133.

⁸³ Mark Ford, review of *The Poems of T.S. Eliot: Volume I*, by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue. *London Review of Books* Vol. 38 No. 16 · 11 August 2016, pages 9-12.

⁸⁴ For Eliot’s use of the finger as figurative representation of spiritual work: ‘Dwellings for all | Churches for all | Shall the fruit fall, then | By the waste wall? [...] Shall arms be useless | Fingers unbent’. *The Builders* PE:287-8.

⁸⁵ Launcelot Andrewes ‘Sermons on the Nativity’, Sermon XII Christmas Day 1618 before King James. An argument that the lowly birth of Jesus had to be, since the return of a messiah in full glory and power would present no challenge to overawed man in terms of veneration and obedience, rendering such obsequiousness meaningless. So, finding God must be difficult. From the same sermon: ‘Signs are taken for wonders’ – *Gerontion* (PE31:17).
<http://anglicanhistory.org/lact/andrewes/v1/sermon12.html>

4. ANTHROPOLOGY: Evolution, Progressive Revelation and Ritualism

The title of my paper might well have been ‘The Creation by Darwinism of the Scientific Study of Religions’ but that I feared to mar my tribute to a great name by any shadow of exaggeration.⁸⁶

This chapter will examine *The Waste Land* in relation to Darwin’s theory of evolution and its effect on culture and religion, in conjunction with anthropology and comparative religion as they investigated alternatives to the biblical origin myth. It will then look at the complex visual representation of the doctrine of progressive revelation, the divinely assisted evolution of the soul of mankind throughout history, on the Magnus Martyr altarpiece; what the ritualist rector of the church described as ‘the whole scheme of redemption.’⁸⁷ In this reading, that spiritual missing link compliments Darwin’s theory, driving an accompanying spiritual and cultural evolution which ennobles mankind over the brute ape of evolution.

Within revelation there is interpretive error which, following the Reformation schism, was an accusation of idolatry levelled by aniconic puritans against iconodule Rome and, later, the ritualism of emerging Anglo-Catholicism, most often through the Whore of Babylon trope and other fallen woman archetypes such as Salome. This was a struggle which manifested in relentless court battles over the illegal imagery of the ‘interior of St. Magnus Martyr’ (*Notes on the Waste Land* PE.75.264), centred around ‘idolatrous’ imagery of the Madonna and Child, examined in the Battle of Creeds section.

This is not to say that the reredos in Magnus Martyr is the centrepiece of the poem. There are many striking images and complexes of imagery of similar depth and intensity. Rather, as the inner Corinthian pillars of the ground stage of that reredos present a figurative entrance into the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Solomon, so the reredos provides one doorway into the poem.

⁸⁶ Jane Harrison ‘The Influence of Darwinism on the Study of Religions’ *Darwin and Modern Science: Essays in Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of Charles Darwin and the Fiftieth anniversary of the Publication of the Origin of the Species*. (Cambridge University Press 2009) p. 494. First published 1909.

⁸⁷ Appendix 2.5 Article in *The Times* (London, England), Monday, Mar 31, 1924 reporting Father Fynes-Clinton’s ongoing court struggle to protect and add to imagery in Magnus Martyr. See 4.4 ‘Broken Images: The Battle of Creeds in Magnus Martyr.’

4.1 Darwin, Anthropology and Comparative Religion

Since the tectonic cultural shock of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* Christianity had been under siege from what Brooker terms the scientific 'quest for origins':

The emphasis on change over time was liberating for scientists, including Charles Lyell, author of *Principle of Geology* (1830-3) and Charles Darwin, author of *On the Origin of Species* (1859), who argued that the earth and its inhabitants are immeasurably old and still changing. In subsequent generations, the quest for origins begun in geology and biology led to an explosion of activity in the social sciences, including anthropology, sociology, psychology and religion.⁸⁸

In addition to the scientific contradiction of religious certitudes and the relatively gentle Joycean mockery in *Ulysses* there were polemical attacks from Nietzsche's disciples such as Eliot's contemporary H. L. Mencken: 'the philosophers and scientists who culminated in Darwin had rescued reason for all time from the transcendental nonsense of the cobweb-spinners and metaphysicians [...] Today a literal faith in the gospel narrative is confined to ecclesiastical reactionaries, pious old ladies and men about to be hanged.'⁸⁹ In that context, John Xiros Cooper sees Eliot as Christianity's great defender:

Game, set, and match to "culture." But the corpse of religion had not quite expired. It had one important twentieth-century champion and that was T.S. Eliot. We sometimes overlook the fact that when studying philosophy at Harvard, Eliot was also very much aware of new developments in the new social sciences, that is, sociology, anthropology and psychology [...] there was only a very small place for religion [...] a good deal of his thinking and writing about society was in large part enacted as acts of resistance to the pervasive secularism of his time and especially the secularist bent in the nature and practices of the social sciences.⁹⁰

Proponents of the new science of anthropology and particularly comparative religion such as Professor Jane Harrison, of whom Eliot wrote of this 'Archaeology of the Act Miss Harrison is one of our most proficient exponents', exemplified the new focus on origins.⁹¹ Like Darwin,

⁸⁸ Jewel Spears Brooker 'Eliot's Philosophical Studies: Bergson, Frazer, Bradley' *The New Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot* Ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2015) p. 176.

⁸⁹ H. L. Mencken. *The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche* 3rd Edition (Boston Luce & Company 1913) p.128.

⁹⁰ John Xiros Cooper 'T.S. Eliot's Social Criticism' *The New Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot* Ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2015) p. 146.

⁹¹ T. S. Eliot 'The interpretation of Primitive Ritual' CP1 p.113.

Joyce, Harrison, Frazer and Weston, Nietzsche is also concerned with origins, offering: ‘My thoughts on the *origin* of our moral prejudices – for such is the subject of this polemic –’.⁹²

Eliot’s relationship to the focus on origins is complex: a mix of scholarly interest, spiritual concern and literary possibility. ‘Eliot was scientifically interested in religion’ and ‘continued to relate primitive to civilised man in the period leading up to 1920’ (YE 73/98). Sarah Kennedy, writing of *Ash Wednesday*, notes the ‘intensity of association between the literary and the spiritual in Eliot’s oeuvre’, and that is no less present in this reading of *The Waste Land*, expressed in a more archaeological, creedless, ritualist, embryonic Anglo-Catholic form; Kennedy acknowledges a ‘ritualized, shamanistic’ aspect of *Ash Wednesday*.⁹³

Eliot wrote in 1916 of the tendency of comparative religion ‘to regard religion as essentially a feature of primitive society, destined to disappear in a world of positive science’, representing ‘a new heresy in religion’ resistance against which was an ‘important struggle.’⁹⁴ The scholars of comparative religion were relatively genteel participants in a more widespread existential struggle, the most lethal and effective heresiarch of which was Nietzsche because of his genius and writerly bravura, and against whom, although abhorred by orthodox religious dogmatists, religion needed modern intellectual weight. The New Testament filled Nietzsche with an ‘inexpressible revulsion’ at the ‘sordid and unbridled insolence with which rank amateurs express the desire to participate in a discussion of the great problems [which] is nothing less than outrageous’ and is ‘the most disastrous form of megalomania that has ever existed on earth’, perpetrated by ‘misbegotten, lying little hypocrites’; ‘there is no alternative here but war’ (WP§201/202/200 p.127/126).

Through the concept of progressive revelation, religious worship in its widest ritualist sense could respond to Darwinism and the new sciences, avoiding set dogmas such as a literalist interpretation of Genesis by positing a religious continuum which compliments the theory of evolution because it is itself a form of evolution aided by the divine. There is here an answer to a key question of critics such as Robert Crawford: ‘Eliot attacks the expression ‘evolution of religion’ [...] but he fails to explain what he means by an expression such as ‘religious progress.’⁹⁵ Whereas evolution is a scientifically explained, purely organic process over time

⁹² Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford University Press 1996) Preface, 2. [Nietzsche’s italics]. Hereafter GM.

⁹³ Sarah Kennedy ‘*Ash Wednesday* and the Ariel Poems’ CCE p.98.

⁹⁴ T. S. Eliot, ‘An unsigned first review of *Group Theories of Religion and the Individual*, by Clement C. J. Webb’ 1916 CP1 p. 417-9.

⁹⁵ Robert Crawford *The Savage and the City in the work of T.S. Eliot* (Clarendon Press 1990) p.90. Hereafter SC.

– defined by Eliot as ‘a continuous relation between organic tendency and environment [which] can be expressed more or less quantitatively, according to a standard of value’⁹⁶ – progressive revelation is metaphysical, a parallel spiritual evolution through divine assistance over time. One suggests an evolution of superstitious imaginings, the other divinely guided revelation.

In *The Waste Land*, a ritualist continuum or progression can be mapped from the primitive ‘vegetation ceremonies’ (PE.72) of the opening through to Sappho (see ‘Eve’) and on to ritualist worship in ‘Magnus Martyr’ (264), a progression from pagan to Christian worship. Eliot’s preamble to his *Notes on the Waste Land* states that ‘the title [...] the plan and a good deal of the incidental symbolism of the poem were suggested by Miss Jessie L. Weston’s book *From Ritual to Romance*’ (PE72), and that anthropological plan is explicitly set out in Weston’s ‘chain of evolution’:

I found, not only the final link that completed the chain of evolution from Pagan Mystery to Christian Ceremonial, but also proof of that wider significance I was beginning to comprehend. The problem involved was not one of Folk-lore, not even one of Literature, but of comparative religion in its widest sense.⁹⁷

Eliot later set out that ‘chain of evolution’ in strikingly direct and didactic form in *The Rock*:

And when there were men, in their various ways, they struggled in
torment towards GOD

[...]

Worshipping snakes or trees, worshipping devils rather than
nothing: Crying for life beyond life, for ecstasy not of the
flesh

[...]

Invented the Higher Religions; and the Higher Religions were
good

And lead man from light to light, to knowledge of Good and Evil.

[...]

affirmation of rites with forgotten meanings

[...]

⁹⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘The Interpretation of Primitive Religion’ CP1.106.

⁹⁷ Jessie L. Weston *From Ritual to Romance* (Dover Publications 1997) Preface vi. This study does not argue for or against the continued validity of Weston’s book.

Bestial as always before, carnal, self-seeking as always before,
selfish and purblind as ever before,
Yet always struggling, always reaffirming, always resuming their march.⁹⁸

These works of Eliot are separated by form, time and formal religious commitment. However, his anthropological understanding of religion from his early scholarship up to the time of *The Waste Land* continues to form a central scaffolding of his later Christianity as expressed in *The Rock*. *The Rock* lacks Eliot's usual poetic opacity, so offering useful clarity. As such, it is a manual, in some detail, of what might be described, to paraphrase Hannah Sullivan's unclassical-classicalism, as his unorthodox-orthodox Christianity. Crawford writes:

Though lacking its crackling intensity, *The Rock* looks back towards *Sweeney Agonistes* and Eliot's early work [...] *The Rock* opens with the seasonal fertility cycle [...] We move as in *The Waste Land* into the financial heart of the 'timekept city' [...] a city to be worked for and redeemed by a Christianity sometimes remarkably primitive [...] Eliot's creation story, in thin verse, presents the movement from savage religions to the proper religion of his City. Beginning with the making of the world, he guides his audience through the pageant of primitive man ('worshipping snakes or trees') with an urgency that for flickering moments recalls *The Waste Land* [...] Religious development is counterpointed with the development of London [...] Primitive worlds of pagan savage and Old Testament prophet must not be forgotten: they are essential to the struggle between good and evil [...] Eliot continued to see the danger of London reduced to a waste land. (SC204-5)

Weston's progression from animism to the 'higher religions' is also reflected in Darwin's praise of Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture: Researches Into The Development Of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion Language, Art, And Custom*. Harrison writes:

Writing in 1871 to Dr Tylor, on the publication of his "Primitive Culture", he [Darwin] says ("Life and Letters", Vol. III. page 151.), "It is wonderful how you trace animism from the lower races up to the religious belief of the highest races. It will make me for the future look at religion—a belief in the soul, etc.—from a new point of view."⁹⁹

⁹⁸ T.S. Eliot *Choruses from 'The Rock'* PE168:VII:4-25.

⁹⁹ Harrison 'The Influence of Darwin on the Study of Religion' p.497.

Tylor writes:

Animism characterizes tribes very low in the scale of humanity, and thence ascends, deeply modified in its transmission, but from first to last preserving an unbroken continuity, into the midst of high modern culture. [...] Animism is, in fact, the groundwork of the Philosophy of Religion, from that of savages up to that of civilized men. And although it may at first sight seem to afford but a bare and meagre definition of a minimum of religion, it will be found practically sufficient; for where the root is, the branches will generally be produced.¹⁰⁰

The 'roots' and 'branches' (19) metaphor is universal. In the bible, 'if the root is holy, the branches are too' (Romans 11.17) contrasts to the apocalyptic 'and the day that cometh shall burn them up [...] that it shall leave them neither root nor branch' (Malachi 4:1). It arises from the sacred woods of vegetation ceremonies and informs the Edenic trees of Life and Knowledge of Good and Evil. The metaphor is embodied in such figurative representations as the menorah, suggested by the 'sevenbranched candelabra' (82), and the miraculous staffs of Moses and Aaron, and has links to the sacred wood of the Cross. The same tree metaphor exists in the *Upanishads*: 'If with its roots they should pull up / The tree, it would not come into being again. A mortal, when cut down by death / From what root does he grow up?'¹⁰¹

Nietzsche's use of the metaphor is anti-religious: 'We can know no peace until the following has been destroyed root and branch: the ideal of man which Christianity has invented' (WP§252 p.157). As a metaphor encompassing all life, it was adopted by Darwin for his tree of life. As noted in *Primitive Culture* above, Tylor uses it to describe a 'fundamental religious condition of mankind', which resonates with Weston's 'chain of evolution from Pagan Mystery to Christian Ceremonial', and the continuum of ritualist worship from 'vegetation ceremonies' (PE.72) to Sappho (see 'Eve') and Magnus Martyr posited in this reading of *The Waste Land*.

Crawford notes that Eliot 'critiques' Taylor's book (YE.187) but this is only insofar as he critiques all such anthropological works which stray from the descriptive facts of ancient culture and ritual to interpretation and the metaphysical; such interpretation often diminished the prospect of real spiritual communion with the divine to the status of mere primitive

¹⁰⁰ Edward Tylor *Primitive Culture: Researches Into The Development Of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion Language, Art, And Custom* (London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1920) p.425

¹⁰¹ Robert Hume *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* (Oxford University Press 1921) p. 126.

superstition. Later, Eliot named Tylor's book as essential reading in his 1923 essay *The Beating of a Drum*, commenting:

If literary critics, instead of perpetually perusing the writings of other critics, would study the content and criticize the methods of such books as *The Origin of Species* itself, and *Ancient Law*, and *Primitive Culture*, they might learn the difference between a history and a chronicle, and the difference between an interpretation and a fact. They might learn also that literature cannot be understood without going to the sources: sources which are often remote, difficult, and unintelligible unless one transcends the prejudices of ordinary literary taste.¹⁰²

In 'Adam', the root and branch metaphors of Emerson and Nietzsche will be discussed. Resonating with Eliot on the need for the classical to inform the present – 'a lasting alliance between German and Greek culture' (BT96) - Nietzsche has his own version of a waste land, the 'weary desert of our culture':

In the weary exhaustion of contemporary culture, what else could we name that might lead us to expect consolation from the future? We seek in vain for a single vigorously branching root, a patch of fertile and healthy soil: nowhere is there anything but dust, sand, petrification, drought. (BT98).

Another form of sacred wood, the carved altarpiece in Magnus Martyr, also traces this spiritual progression from primitive sacred grove to modernity in a ritualist Judeo-Christian context, from the sacred woods of early-Semitic ritual to the Temple of Solomon and on to the ritualist Christianity of the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr.

¹⁰² T.S. Eliot 'The Beating of a Drum' CP2.471.

4.2 The Architectural Language of the Magnus Martyr Reredos & Progressive Revelation

... where the walls
Of Magnus Martyr hold
Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold. (PE 64:265).

Eliot spent significant time in Magnus Martyr over a period of time up to the writing of *The Waste Land*. ‘The initial appearance of Eliot’s interest in identifiably Anglo-Catholic matters is to be found in a letter of 1911’ (Spurr 34). In an indication of interest in the ritual prior to commitment to the creed, Spurr recounts that ‘George Every [...] told me that Eliot frequented the High Mass at the City church of St. Magnus the Martyr after the First World War’, and Every commented that ‘the influence of the liturgy on the drama was indeed apparent to him before he became a believer’ (Spurr 19).

To Eliot, for whom there was ‘no method but to be very intelligent’, little was inexplicable, and that should include the interior of Magnus Martyr.¹⁰³ This disjunct between an extraordinary intellect and the apparent impenetrability of the architectural meaning of that church is evident in the critical analysis of Barry Spurr. On the one hand, he finds that Eliot presents the church ‘so positively (if somewhat uncomprehendingly) in terms of the exquisite beauty of its interior’; on the other, the ‘original aesthetic stimulus was combined, in the case of the City churches, for example, with an appreciation of their historical significance [...] Once this multi-layered degree of comprehension (aesthetic, historical, moral, theological and spiritual) had been attained, he would have recognised that the churches’ beauty was not merely artistically satisfying’ (Spurr 38/40).

At the sacred east wall of the Church the reredos holds a portrait of Aaron wearing the breastplate of Judgement with the carbuncle gem.¹⁰⁴

8. And he made the breastplate of cunning work [...] 10. And they set in it four rows of stones: the first row was a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle: this was the first row
(*Exodus 39*)

¹⁰³ T.S. Eliot, ‘The Perfect Critic’, 1921. CP2.267.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 1A.

Aaron was the first high priest of the Israelites around whom the Old Testament ritualist components such as sacrifice, prayer hours, vestments, incense and the menorah, suggested by the 'sevenbranched candelabra' (82), were biblically established.

And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Behold, I also have given thee the charge of mine heave offerings of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel; unto thee have I given them by reason of the anointing, and to thy sons, by an ordinance for ever.
(*Numbers* 18.8)

These biblical stipulations are among the sources of Judeo-Christian ritual and tradition fundamental to Tractarian and later Oxford Movement arguments for Anglo-Catholicism, and the reredos is a visual representation of that heritage. In schismatic contrast, the proto-puritan Miles Coverdale is buried in the church, representing aniconic Reformation antagonism to that heritage as 'idolatrous' ritualism.¹⁰⁵ Through these figures, the Anglo-Catholic and Puritan creeds are figuratively opposed within Magnus Martyr; an opposition of tradition, authority and heritage to the Reformation's anarchic 'inner voice' of the cult of the individual, the same opposition as the 'old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment' central to Eliot's public literary argument with Middleton Murry throughout the early 1920's.¹⁰⁶

It is to this 'interior' that Eliot in his *Notes on the Waste Land* directs the reader's eye, twice: 'The interior of St. Magnus Martyr is to my mind one of the finest of Wren's interiors' (PE.75.264). Aside from Joycean deliberate literary difficulty, one reason for naming Wren as the architect of the stone fabric of the building - rather than directing to the image rich, ritualist interior - is that the latter was illegal in 1922, and for some time afterwards. A press report of May 1925 notes that one of 'the best illustrations of the defiant lawlessness of the Anglo-Catholic party was seen in the case of St. Magnus-the-Martyr, London Bridge.'¹⁰⁷

An explanation of the First and Second Temple representations on the reredos accompanies the Magnus Martyr photograph on page one. The foliage of the reredos is also important, signifying the earliest forms of primitive ritual in sacred woods and groves. The complex of imagery evokes Eden and the promised land. The theme of guidance evident in the portraits of Moses and Aaron is a central theme in this reading of the typist scene, supported by allusions to

¹⁰⁵ It is a deep irony that he is buried almost under Aaron's portrait, looking up in perpetuity to the vestments he refused to wear.

¹⁰⁶ T. S. Eliot 'The Frontiers of Criticism' *The Sewanee Review* Vol. 64, No. 4 Dec 1956 (The Johns Hopkins University Press) p.525.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 2.4 – 'Protestant Truth Society' *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday, May 19, 1925; pg. 18; Issue 43965. (229 words) Category: News © Times Newspapers Limited.

Sappho's evening star Hesperus, New Testament figures, and vespers, as will be examined in 'Eve.' David H. Chaundy-Smart writes:

It was widely believed that the orders of architecture derived not only from the development of Greek and Roman architecture, but also from the instructions dictated to Moses by God regarding the decoration of the Ark of the Covenant. The character of classical decoration was also related to the decoration of Solomon's Temple, also divinely inspired, and to primitive 'groves,' in which it was supposed that the ancients had worshipped. Given the symbolic value of the Corinthian order, it is not surprising that evidence suggests that the majority of altarpieces in late seventeenth-century London utilized it in the chancel decorations.¹⁰⁸

The figurative Temple of Solomon is, then, suggested by the architectural narrative of the reredos as a ritualist ancient correlative of the temple of Magnus Martyr. This is reflected in *The Waste Land* through the descriptions of Josephus of the 'splendour' of the 'white and gold' (265) of the First Temple:

Now the outward face of the temple [...] was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendor, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white.¹⁰⁹

In *Choruses from 'The Rock'*, gratitude is expressed for the 'gilded carven wood' of the church (PE.176.X.31), and it is notable that the Magnus Martyr reredos was 'gilded carven wood' in an earlier incarnation, being substantially of 'white and gold':

The greater portion of the wall is occupied by a magnificent altar screen in two stories; [...] the two side intercolumniations have full length portraits of Moses and Aaron [...] All the spaces on the screen are filled with carvings in relief, by Gibbons, of fruit, flowers, and entwined tendrils, the beauty of which are seen to advantage by the splendid and elaborate gilding and colouring, which have been bestowed upon them. The substantial parts of the screen are coloured in imitation of verd antique and other

¹⁰⁸ David H. Chaundy-Smart, 'The Moral Shecinah: The Social Theology of Chancel Decoration in Seventeenth Century London.' *Anglican and Episcopal History*, June 2000 Vol. 69, no. 2. pp. 193-210. P. 207. Hereafter 'Moral Shecinah'.

¹⁰⁹ Titus Flavius Josephus *Jewish War* 5.222.

marbles, the mouldings and dressings white and gold, the foliage white, touched and heightened with gold, forming, on the whole, a resplendent design, in which the utmost profusion of ornament is introduced without gaudiness.¹¹⁰

With its representation of a divinely inspired progression of worship from sacred groves to the New Testament, the Magnus Martyr reredos is, then, narrating a visual, Judeo-Christian version of a core intellectual preoccupation of Eliot's time initiated by Darwin, first origins. The reference noted by Chaundy-Smart to 'primitive 'groves'' includes in the language of the Magnus Martyr reredos an architectural reference to the rise of early-Semitic worship in primitive sacred woods prior to temple building, a progression detailed in more universal form in the previously noted Tylor's *Primitive Culture*; in the plan of Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*; in the previously noted 'worshipping of snakes and trees' of *The Rock*; and in James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (PE.72). All resonate with *The Waste Land's* 'references to vegetation ceremonies' (PE 72) evoked through 'dead land', 'Dull roots', 'spring rain' and 'feeding / a little life with dried tubers' (PE 55: 1-7). Southam writes:

Altogether [*The Golden Bough*] composed an encyclopaedic study of primitive myth and ritual, a possible line of continuity from these origins, through organised religion to modern scientific thought. Clearly, this hypothesis of continuity (as in *From Ritual to Romance*) is of importance to Eliot's interpenetration of past and present in *The Waste Land*.¹¹¹

The link between the clerk and Aaron through the carbuncle gem, and between the Church of St. Magnus Martyr and the Temple of Solomon through the 'white and gold' and the symbolism of the reredos itself, suggests the construction of 'a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity' which Eliot so admired in Joyce.¹¹²

There is a choice for the reader between two versions of the poet T.S. Eliot in Magnus Martyr. In one pew, this stellar intellect indulges a startling level of misogyny in constructing a fragmented poem while sitting dumb to the 'Inexplicable' (265) architectural language of the

¹¹⁰ Thomas Allen *The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Other Parts Adjacent* Volume 3 (George Virtue, Ivy Lane 1828) p.179.

¹¹¹ Southam 129.

¹¹² T.S. Eliot 'Ulysses, Order, and Myth: A review of *Ulysses*, by James Joyce' CP2.478.

church interior. This even though Charlotte and Henry Eliot were aware of and admired the beauty of the reredos, having met the new Anglo-Catholic rector.

Charlotte Eliot on her visit to London in 1921 with TSE's brother: 'Close to the foot of the steps leading down to the water from the bridge, is the Church of Magnus Martyr. It is small but exquisite, having some beautiful Grinling Gibbons carving on the altarpiece and the doors. While we were in the church the Rector entered and made his devotions ... He told us that Saint Magnus was one of the 19 churches selected for demolition, but he thought it would be spared, as it was used on weekdays by men employed on the waterfront.' (PE:671)

In a different pew, Eliot understands the Magnus Martyr interior. He appreciates the significance of the extraordinarily rich narrative and history of the reredos; the resonance with anthropological narratives of the genesis of ritual; the spiritual and previously noted literary significance of the carbuncle gem; and the possibilities therein for the mythic method. 'Inexplicable' might then be read, rather than an intellectual surrender, as in part a challenge to the reader to explicate.

While the poem directs to Wren's 'Ionian' (265) church style, it is striking that it was to the Corinthian order that an earlier draft of the poem directed:

/ there the walls
Of Magnus Martyr stood, and stand, and hold
Inviolable music
Their Joyful splendour of Corinthian white and gold
Inexplicable ¹¹³

If the Corinthian reference had remained, it would have directed the reader to the altarpiece and so to the theological narrative of the Corinthian reredos. One danger of direct reference to an illegal and, at the time, potentially incendiary form of worship was personal, for an already controversial poet desiring citizenship. Morgan wrote in 1926 that no 'poet of the present generation has been more violently attacked.'¹¹⁴ Eliot may also have withdrawn that direct

¹¹³ Valerie Eliot *The Waste Land: A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts* (London: Faber & Faber 1971) p. 37. Hereafter FT.

¹¹⁴ Louise Morgan 'The Poetry of Mr. Eliot' *Outlook* (London) 20 February 1926, vol. lvii, 135–6 p.214. CH.51.

Corinthian reference in the same spirit as Joyce's 'enigmas and puzzles'.¹¹⁵ Poets 'in our civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult' (*The Metaphysical Poets* CP2.381) and the reader perhaps must dig with 'the broken fingernails of dirty hands' (303), both in poem and church, to archaeologically excavate the imagery of a continuum of communal ritual as a possible antidote to the 'immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history.'¹¹⁶

4.3 The Continuum of Ritual

'The actual *ritual*' is part of 'a complex which includes previous stages' interpretation of the ritual of the previous stage, and so on back indefinitely.' Though Tom's interest here was in the way "'*fact*" melts into interpretation, and interpretation into metaphysics', later this sense of ritual, artistic expression and religious forms being layered one on top of another in a possible order that went 'back indefinitely' would be part of the underpinning of *The Waste Land*, and other poems. (YE.187)¹¹⁷

The enduring aspect within a continuum of worship is ritual. Section one of this chapter noted Tylor's anthropological theory of comparative religion, common to Weston, Frazer and Harrison, whereby animism preserves 'an unbroken continuity, into the midst of high modern culture' as 'the fundamental religious condition of mankind' and 'the groundwork of the Philosophy of Religion.' (Tylor 425).

Brooks observes that as 'Miss Weston has shown, the fertility cults go back to a very early period and are recorded in Sanskrit legends. Eliot has been continually in the poem linking up the Christian doctrine with the beliefs of as many peoples as he can.'¹¹⁸ It is this continuum of spiritual questing for meaning and metaphysical truth which is central to Eliot's use of Weston's work, rather than the grail itself as either a cult object or a doorway into arcane

¹¹⁵ 'I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant, and that's the only way of insuring one's immortality.' Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 521.

¹¹⁶ Eliot 'Ulysses, Order and Myth' CP2.478.

¹¹⁷ Quoting Eliot from 'The Interpretation of Primitive Ritual' CP1.106-119.

¹¹⁸ Cleanth Brooks, Jr. 'The Waste Land: An Analysis' *The Waste Land* Ed. Michael North (Norton Critical Edition) p.203.

mysticism or the occult. He wrote 'I regret having sent so many enquirers off on a wild goose chase after Tarot cards and the Holy Grail.'¹¹⁹

The cultic and occult are firmly dismissed through Madame Sosostris. 'Eliot sharply differentiated Christian mysticism from what he regarded as the Charlatanism of the occult' (Spurr 24). One interpretation of the word 'wicked' (46) is '*slang* (orig. *US*)'.¹²⁰ Sosostris's 'bad cold' (44) similarly suggests slang. To 'catch a cold' in cockney vernacular means to be apprehended in criminality; catching a 'bad cold' denotes serious offences. This can be read as a rebuke to those such as William Butler Yeats, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Bram Stoker of the Golden Dawn occult circle to which Aleister Crowley also belonged. Two members of the circle 'caught a bad cold' in that were imprisoned for the rape of young devotees, a scenario echoed in Huxley's *Chrome Yellow* when Mr. Scogan, disguised as the fortune teller Mrs. Sosostris, attempts to arrange a meeting for a companion with a young female.

A further blow came in 1901 following unwanted publicity as a result of the Horos case. An American couple, Frank and Editha Jackson, also known as Theo and Laura Horos, used the rituals, which they had duped Mathers into handing over to them in Paris, to set up their own order in London, known as the Order of Theocratic Unity. They defrauded and raped several young women persuaded to join this Order and the subsequent court case lead to the exposure of many Golden Dawn secrets in the press.¹²¹

Spurr consistently emphasises Eliot's ritualism:

More than ten years before his *soi-disant* conversion (still sometimes misrepresented as if it suddenly happened in 1927), he reviewed Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology* for the *Westminster Gazette*, focussing on 'ritual as organising and strengthening man'. Derivations of 'ritual' – 'ritualism' and 'ritualists' – were terms (as he was probably aware) which had been used, usually derisively, of Anglo-Catholicism and Anglo-Catholics since the later

¹¹⁹ Eliot 'The Frontiers of Criticism' *The Sewanee Review* Vol. 64, No. 4 Dec 1956 (The Johns Hopkins University Press) p.534.

¹²⁰ PE.611.46 citing the OED, which references Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise*, a reworking of his unpublished novel *The Romantic Egoist*.

¹²¹ Source: 'The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, its members and related bodies' (Library and Museum of Freemasonry ref: GB 1991 GD) <http://freemasonry.london.museum/>

nineteenth century (when ceremonial became a pronounced element in the previously doctrinally-preoccupied Catholic Revival). But Eliot, in the decade prior to his formal association with that tradition, was already placing importance upon religious ceremony as a source of classical order in what he perceived to be the chaotic, post-romantic world.¹²²

Progressive revelation would posit that the continuity in, and turning of ancient ritual and symbols from pagan to the Christian themes of the ‘higher religions’ of *The Rock* represents the divinely driven evolution of that ritualism to serve the fully revealed truth over time. The connection with ritualistic origins was not just a scholarly or literary perspective. It was a core argument of the Tractarians, forerunners of the Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism. ‘Is there any one who will deny, that the Primitive Church is the best expounder of our SAVIOUR'S will as conveyed through his Apostles?’¹²³ Adapted pre-Christian ritual was prescribed:

observe what GOD himself has directly told us in *Scripture* concerning Standing Religious Ordinances [...] He *positively* enjoins them. Turn to the Jewish ceremonies, and remember that they were, (1). Often unintelligible in their full import, yet positively enjoined, even on pain of death.¹²⁴

As ‘all the women are one woman’ (PE.74.218), in *The Waste Land* all the rituals are one ritual. Ritualism is a constant throughout history as a bonding aspect of community, and a constant throughout Eliot’s work: ‘a network of rites and customs, even if regarded by philosophers in a spirit of benign scepticism, make a world of difference.’¹²⁵ A key component of that shared ethical and mythical framework is shared imagery, acting as signposts of a shared narrative, both sacred and cultural. Fjordbotten writes:

More than just faith and piety, liturgy has to do with how one exercises, maintains and strengthens one’s faith, in the context of a believing community in the churches worship and prayer life – that is, how one is sustained by the symbols, rituals, sacraments, and general worship life of the church.¹²⁶

¹²² Spurr *Anglo-Catholic in Religion* 41.

¹²³ Tract 6 ‘The Present Obligation of Primitive Practice’. All tracts at <http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/>

¹²⁴ Tract 32 ‘The Standing Ordinances of Religion’.

¹²⁵ T. S. Eliot *After Strange Gods: A primer of Modern Heresy* CP5.33.

¹²⁶ A. Fjordbotten *Liturgical Influences of Anglo-Catholicism on the Waste Land and other Works by T.S. Eliot*. A. Fjordbotten, dissertation D.Phil, English, Fordham. p2.

However, ritualism in modernity is imperilled, by science and iconoclasm. The early Nietzsche writes that myth, ‘the prerequisite for all religions, is already thoroughly paralysed’, attributing that to degenerate ‘scholarly religions’ and leading to the ‘blight that lies dormant in the womb of theoretical culture’ (BT87).

4.4 Broken Images: The Battle of Creeds in the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr

Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images
(PE:55.20)

The Reformation struggle between the aniconic and the iconodule, between destroyers and those who would preserve imagery; between, as Eliot saw it, tradition and classicism aligned with Catholicism and an immature, anarchic Romanticism aligned with Protestantism, informed the long running battle of creeds in Magnus Martyr following the 1921 appointment of a ritualist rector.

Ritual and imagery had been regulated by law incorporated in the *Ornaments Rubric* of the *Book of Common Prayer* since the Elizabethan Settlement.¹²⁷ The more extreme form of Protestantism is expressed by ‘puritan’, arising as a pejorative term to denote clergy such as Miles Coverdale who refused to wear the priestly ritualist vestments inherited from Aaron, a version of which was stipulated by the Elizabethan settlement. The resultant compromise of the *Book of Common Prayer* eliminated most ritualism in favour of ‘freedom of the spirit’, a fundamental source of the ‘inner voice’:

Some [rituals] are put away [...] whereof Saint *Augustine* in his time complained, that they were grown to such a number that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter, than were the Jews [...] and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken [...] Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law, (as much

¹²⁷ The Act of Supremacy of 1558 re-established England's independence from Rome; and the Act of Uniformity of 1559 re-introduced the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*, to which was attached *The Ornaments Rubric* of 1549, a set of ordinances governing priest and church which banned imagery as idolatrous.

of *Moses' Law* was,) but it is a Religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit.¹²⁸

Notwithstanding the retreat from the full Judeo-Christian ritualism of Catholicism, the *Book of Common Prayer* is, in the face of Reformation extremism, a significant enforced compromise, a *via media* Eliot admired:

In its persistence in finding a mean between Papacy and Presbytery the English Church under Elizabeth became something representative of the finest spirit of England of the time. It came to reflect not only the personality of Elizabeth herself, but the best community of her subjects of every rank. Other religious impulses, of varying degrees of spiritual value, were to assert themselves with greater vehemence during the next two reigns. But the Church at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, and as developed in certain directions under the next reign, was a masterpiece of ecclesiastical statesmanship.¹²⁹

Despite the Elizabethan Settlement, Eliot wrote in 1946 that the schism of the Reformation had never fully healed and pointed to Milton's central role, writing that the 'fact is simply that the Civil War of the seventeenth century, in which Milton is a symbolic figure, has never been concluded.'¹³⁰ Eliot regarded the 'superstitious' abuse of images and relics to which the Reformation objected as a temporary historical moment giving unfortunate rise to a perseverating, detestable puritan presence. 'As soon as the emotions disappear the morality which ordered it appears hideous. Puritanism itself became repulsive only when it appeared as the survival of a restraint after the feelings which it restrained had gone.'¹³¹

Core puritan targets were imagery and ritualism, and the ritualism of Anglo-Catholicism was still illegal in the 1920's. It was less often prosecuted, since the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 had 'unintentionally turned Anglo-Catholic parish priests into martyrs when they were imprisoned for flouting it' (Spurr 68). Ritualist transgressions were nonetheless rigorously policed by puritan church clerks in search of idolatry supported, overtly or covertly, by the

¹²⁸ 'Concerning Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained' *The Book of Common Prayer* <https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/book-common-prayer/concerning-ceremonies-why-some-be>. Notable is the 'shadow', a metaphor of differing imports common to Eliot, Nietzsche in the opposition of shadow to perfect noontide, and Emerson: 'The lengthened shadow of a man | Is history, said Emerson' *Sweeney Erect* (25) PE.37.

¹²⁹ T.S. Eliot 'Launcelot Andrewes' *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: The Perfect Critic, 1919–1926* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Faber & Faber Ltd, 2014) p.817.

¹³⁰ T.S. Eliot 'Milton II' CP6:23.

¹³¹ Eliot 'Phillip Massinger' *The Sacred Wood* p.114.

episcopate. The Church of St. Magnus the Martyr was symbolically central, evident in the relentless court battles over ritualism and imagery from the appointment of the Anglo-Catholic ritualist Fr. Fynes-Clinton in 1921.

A representative deputation waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury [...] bearing nearly 1,400 lay signatures and 500 clerical signatures [which included] 44 members of both Houses of Parliament. The memorial dealt with the spread of modernism and ritualism in the church during the last 20 years [...] Since the Royal Commission of 1903 things have gone from bad to worse [...] At St. Magnus Martyr [...] there was even the service of the blackening of faces at the communion rail on Ash Wednesday.¹³²

The reredos as a distinct item within ritualist churches was exempt from normal Reformation prohibitions against imagery.¹³³ A magistrate ruled in 1924 that there ‘was a well-recognised distinction between figures forming part of a reredos and figures placed in isolated positions’, as reredos ‘offered no likelihood of superstitious abuse’.¹³⁴ Chaundy-Smart makes the general assertion about reredos, under the title ‘Counter-Puritan Iconography’, that it ‘is to be concluded [...] that the iconography of the altarpieces was anti-Puritan.’¹³⁵ The reredos emerged as a site of complex visual expression of a counter-puritan creed which, if expressed explicitly, could have resulted in imprisonment or worse for offenders.

In contrast to the reredos, the new rector acted illegally in introducing stand-alone images of the Virgin Mary. Puritan clerks objected to her images as cultic and superstitious. From 1921 Mr. W.C.W. Vincent, a church clerk known to interrupt church services in Magnus Martyr with his objections to ritualism, engaged Magnus Martyr in recurrent court cases.

The second Holy Table had been taken away, but, in exactly the same place, was a similar table with candlesticks on it, which were lighted when *Salve Regina* was sung. The original Holy Table had on it a picture of the Madonna and Child. That picture had been removed, and another of the Madonna and Child, with the inscription ‘S. Maria de Perpetuo Succursu’, substituted. [...] The next article was the Madonna and Child. He [Mr. F.H.L. Errington, Chancellor of the Diocese of London, in judgement] came

¹³² Appendix 2G. *Orthodox Views Changing. The Times* (London, England) Tuesday, May 09, 1922; pg. 13.

¹³³ Notwithstanding that, depending on the rector they were sometimes stripped of imagery. See the aniconic Magnus Martyr reredos of 1890, appendix 1C.

¹³⁴ Appendix 2F.

¹³⁵ ‘The Moral Shecinah: The Social Theology of Chancel Decoration in Seventeenth Century London.’ P. 193.

to the conclusion that that was a mere substitution for the original picture, and it must be included in the faculty for removal.¹³⁶

There is not record as yet of what happened to the imagery confiscated from Magnus Martyr. Since such images were in puritan eyes idolatrous there was a duty to destroy them, creating 'broken images' (22), following the explicit advice of the iconoclast Milton. Barbara K. Lewalski writes:

Milton chose [...] the title *Eikonoklastes*, the iconoclast. In choosing this title, Milton was assuming, he explains, the chosen surname of many Greek emperors who "after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, took courage, and broke all superstitious Images to peeces."¹³⁷

The Reformation breaking of images is explicit in *The Rock*:

Sound of a Lutheran hymn. The lights change to an angry glow [...] On the hill is a PREACHER of Reformation Times.

PREACHER: Now first of all, brethren, as touching the worship of images, which has long been a gross and Babylonish superstition in the land. God hath said: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." Therefore look you well to it, that no images abide in your churches, neither let them be carried away by superstitious folk who cling to them; but take them down, take them out yourselves, and destroy them utterly ... (II p.72).

Lewalski links Milton's iconoclasm to *Paradise Lost*:

His choice of persona was appropriate, given that idolatry was a central concern for Milton from his first major poem, the "Nativity Ode," through many prose tracts written during the Civil War and Protectorate, to his profound engagement with that issue in his greatest poems, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. (p.213)

The Reformation battle of creeds between aniconic puritans and ritualists was still active in the year of the publication of *The Waste Land*, at the church with which Eliot was involved, and

¹³⁶ Appendix 2a. 'Church of St. Magnus The Martyr.' *The Times* (London, England), Monday, Dec 04, 1922; pg. 14.

¹³⁷ Barbara K. Lewalski 'Milton and Idolatry' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 'The English Renaissance' (Rice University Winter, 2003), p.213.

involving 'idolatrous' veneration of the Christian Mary, to whom Eliot's dedication was lifelong.¹³⁸ Lewalski further comments:

For many Reformist Protestants, who identified Roman Catholicism with the Antichrist, idolatry meant especially the accoutrements of Roman Catholic worship: the mass, clerical vestments, religious statues and images, paintings of the Virgin Mary and the saints, and sometimes church music. (p.214)

This reading does not divert *The Waste Land* into an arcane battle. It was central to his time. 'I was writing in a context which the reader of today has either forgotten, or never experienced.'¹³⁹ It was also fought in literature and periodical.

Cartoons (in periodicals such as Punch) caricatured Anglo-Catholic priests in the mode of 1890's aesthetes, with flowing hair parted down the middle, *à la* Oscar [Wilde], gesturing extravagantly, in ornate statuary, attended by effeminate-looking servers, while John Bull stood apart in an attitude of outraged macho disdain. (Spurr 69).¹⁴⁰

In a more serious way the battle is reflected in Mathew Arnold's depiction of 'him who imagines that a Madonna of wood or stone winked,'¹⁴¹ and in Joseph Conrad's *Nostramo*, where the masculine aniconic Low Church perspective of the English hero of commerce is contrasted to the gaudy, superstitious worship of the females of more Hispanic temperament.

Mr. Holroyd's sense of religion,' Mrs Gould pursued, 'was shocked and disgusted at the tawdriness of the dressed-up saints in the cathedral – the worship, he called it, of wood and tinsel. But it seemed to me that he looked upon his own God as a sort of influential partner, who gets his share of profits in the endowment of churches. That's a sort of idolatry.'¹⁴²

Sacred wood relates variously to ancient sacred groves, the Cross, the Tree of Life and reredoses, and Mr. Holroyd's disrespect mirrors concern expressed in the introductory remarks of the Second Council of Nicaea of AD787 at the influence of 'unholy men' and a trusting in the inner voice of 'their own frenzies':

¹³⁸ Following his formal induction into Anglo-Catholicism, Eliot chose St. Stephen's Gloucester Road as his church. It is notable that whereas the Magnus Martyr reredos is masculine, with an Old Testament emphasis, the St. Stephen's reredos is rare, in being feminine and Marian. See Appendix 1C.

¹³⁹ T.S. Eliot 'To Criticise the Critic' *To Criticise the Critic and Other Writings* (Faber and Faber 1965) p.16.

¹⁴⁰ See Cartoon Appendix 3.

¹⁴¹ Mathew Arnold *Culture and Anarchy* Ch. 4 'Hebraism and Hellenism', in *Selected Prose* (Penguin Books 1970) p.283.

¹⁴² Joseph Conrad *Nostramo* (Penguin Modern Classics 1977) p.70.

Many pastors have destroyed my vine, they have defiled my portion. For they followed unholy men and trusting to their own frenzies [...] and they failed to distinguish the holy from the profane, asserting that the icons of our Lord and of his saints were no different from the wooden images of satanic idols.¹⁴³

In a vignette on the battle of creeds, *Ulysses* refers to ‘Margate’ (300).

Tour the south then. What about English wateringplaces? Brighton, Margate. [...] Mr. Bloom turned at Gray’s confectioner’s window of unbought tarts and passed the reverend Thomas Connellen’s bookstore. *Why I left the church of Rome*. Bird’s nest women run him. They say they used to give pauper children soup to change to Protestants in the time of the potato blight. Society over the way papa went to for the conversion of the poor jews.¹⁴⁴

Margate may not be an innocent seaside town in *The Waste Land*. It was, with Brighton, part of the south-east England arena of resilient ritualism humorously referred to as the ‘London, Brighton and South Coast Religion’, a play on the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway which connected the south-east region to London.¹⁴⁵ Antoinina Bevan Zlatar writes that where ‘Catholicism had been the religion of a large majority of the people in 1558, by 1603 it had become a seigneurial sect, found predominantly in the south-east of England.’¹⁴⁶ Margate was a regular destination for both John Henry Newman and Edward Pusey, two of the most prominent Tractarians and founders of the Oxford Movement from which Anglo-Catholicism proper emerged.¹⁴⁷ Newman was later ‘lost to Rome’, becoming a cardinal.

When Eliot took refuge from the strife of London and his personal life, he did so in a centre of Anglo-Catholicism, albeit still an emerging, illegal creed. It was there he refined a good part of *The Waste Land*, and from there that he went to his therapist Roger Vittoz, whom Eliot had carefully selected and who Lyndall Gordon terms ‘an austere catholic, to some a living

¹⁴³ papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum07

¹⁴⁴ James Joyce *Ulysses* ed. Hans Walter Gabler (The Bodley Head London 1993) 8.1069-74. Hereafter U.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix 3, ‘The Guy Fawkes of 1850’, a punch cartoon evidencing the effeminacy slur levelled at the proto-Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement. Note that one of the mitres is labelled ‘Margate’.

¹⁴⁶ Antoinina Bevan Zlater *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (Oxford University Press 2011) p.99.

¹⁴⁷ *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* Volume IX: ‘Littlemore and the Parting of Friends’ May 1842-October 1843 (OUP/Birmingham Oratory) 23 Feb 2006: Letter Pusey to Newman dated [Margate 4th July 1842]; letter from Newman to Charles Marriott Littlemore August 13/42 stated ‘I don’t suppose he [Pusey] knows himself whether he will be at Margate on September 3’; fn p.67 notes that ‘On 15 August Pusey had written from Margate’.

saint'.¹⁴⁸ The Margate narrator seems closest to Eliot. That he 'can connect | nothing with nothing' (301-2) is in this reading a temporary condition, after which he connects everything with everything in *The Waste Land*.

The ritualism which formed the core of Eliot's spiritual drive was then variously illegal; as such, a matter of religious and social controversy; scorned as effeminate Anglo-Catholicism by 'muscular' Protestant Christianity; studied as a primitive vestige by scholars emboldened by Darwinism; and derided as primitive and even atavistically harmful by a literary establishment newly informed by evolutionary science and, among others, Nietzsche's existential attack on Christianity. Further, 'in these years of the various intimations of his Anglo-Catholicism [...] Eliot was sensitive, in the literary demi-monde, about allegations of such propensities' (Spurr 46). In that light, and in light of his desire for citizenship, it is not surprising that his creedless ritualism took so long to surrender to the fact that the only formal English sanctum would be the kind of advanced Anglo-Catholicism given expression in Magnus Martyr.

There is also, in this reading of his moment of greatest genius, a key doubt of creed orthodoxy, a heresy: a fundamental questioning of a central tenet of Christianity in his rejection of the 'repellent mythology' of the subordination of women at the centre of one of the Genesis myths. In this reading, that is a grave scribal error reiterated by Milton and, as previously noted, according to Wollstonecraft motivated by an ancient will to power over the female. It is the later of two versions of the creation myth in Genesis, and is the misogynistic version which Milton chose to re-enact and reinforce in *Paradise Lost*. It is argued in 'Eve' that this version of the Eden story in Genesis and *Paradise Lost* is re-enacted in inverted form in the gender waste land of *The Waste Land* as an assault by male scribes on the feminine.

In contrast to that misogyny, the 'Eve' chapter also examines the venerated divine females linked to Sappho's evening star. Their connection with the theme of guidance will be explored, including how the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr is suggested as an alternative destination for the typist. It offers sanctuary and the solace of vespers, the ancient communal ritual of worshipful song connected to Sappho. Before that, an examination of the part ancient Rome plays in the poem, through Londinium and Mr. Eugenides.

¹⁴⁸ Lyndall Gordon *The Imperfect Life of T.S. Eliot* (Hachette UK 2012)

5. ROME: Mr. Eugenides, St. Paul's Mission to the Unshaven, London Bridge and Londinium

In his Note in the *Criterion* of October 1923 titled *The Classics in France – and in England*, originally subtitled *The Church of Rome*, Eliot wrote that:

England is a “Latin” country’, describing the discrimination made between French “Latins” and the English as ‘Saxons, or [...] Teutons’ as ‘the most noxious of [...] absurdities [...] The fact is, of course, that *all* European civilisations are equally dependent on Greece and Rome – so far as they are civilisations at all. (CP2.469)

In *The Waste Land*, the continuance and longevity of Christianity throughout the swing of history between order and chaos is, among other representations, suggested through the rise and fall of empires, such as in Spencer Morrison’s ‘list of failed imperial centres (Jerusalem, Athens, Alexandria, Vienna)’.¹⁴⁹ Rome looms through its absence, and is an exception: as the centre of the Christian world it represents almost two millennia of continuity and exceeded the scope of the British empire in 1922.

On the one hand, the empires of the poem represent the temporal nature of human power and constant anarchic strife and destruction through, among other allusions, the ‘stony rubbish’ (20) and ‘heap of broken images’ (22) of the destruction of First Temple Jerusalem: ‘they have turned Jerusalem into heaps of rubble’ (*Psalms* 79:1-3). On the other, only ‘insofar as Anglicanism could be regarded as Catholic, as a part of European Christendom, was it acceptable to Eliot’ (Spurr 44). Stability for Eliot was best ensured through that European Christendom, the City of God secured by secular Christian empires such as the later Roman; in early-modernity through ‘Elizabeth’ (279) and the emerging British empire; by that of the Vienna based Hapsburgs represented by Empress Sisi who ‘read, much of the night’ (18), addressed later in the ‘Attentat’ chapter; and by the only great empire remaining after WW1, that of ‘Queen Victoria’ (258). There were one hundred and twenty descendants of Victoria in the various royal houses of Europe in 1914. Following WW1 and the collapse of other European empires, the British empire controlled the largest population, land mass, economy, and navy in the world. She was well named, Victoria being the Roman version of the Greek

¹⁴⁹ Spencer Morrison ‘Mapping and Reading the Cityscape’ CCT 26.

Goddess Nike, the personification of victory. Representations of Post-war threats to that empire, particularly communism, are also discussed in 'Attentat'.

Eliot regretted in earlier history 'the intellectual break up of Europe and the rise of Protestantism (L3.131)', a schism suggested in the poem through Elizabeth and her Spanish Catholic guest in Froude's book to which Eliot refers in his note to line 279 (PE.75).¹⁵⁰ Morrison further notes Eleanor Cook's identification of 'The Waste Land's invocation of ancient Roman imperial geography' which redirects 'attention to imperial apparatuses as such', and sees the London of the poem as 'a palimpsest striated by urban cultures across time' (p.26-7).

Crawford writes that ticks in 'Tom's Baedeker suggest his particular interests included the 'Egyptian Antiquities' and 'Religious Collections' dealing with 'Early Christianity' in the British Museum; [...] He perused the banking hub, 'The City – Thoroughly'' (YE158). This interest in connecting London, the British empire, the ancient Levantine and classical Roman worlds, the psychological human and the metaphysical (see Bradley's Absolute in 'Adam') is evident in his 1915 poem 'Afternoon', sent to Conrad Aiken in February 1915 (L1.96):

The ladies who are interested in Assyrian art
Gather in the hall of the British Museum.
[...]
As they fade beyond the Roman Statuary,
Like amateur comedians across a lawn,
Towards the unconscious, the ineffable, the absolute.'

His interests ranged, then, from contemporary ritualist churches to the ancient history of both the Near East and the City of London, site of Londinium. Morrison writes that 'mapping's pliability as a representational mode [...] infuses *The Waste Land*' (p.24).

¹⁵⁰ Spurr CCE 190. Froude was involved with the proto-Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement, of which his brother Richard Hurrell Froude was an early leader. The Fabers were also significantly involved, and in 1933 Geoffrey Faber wrote *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (Faber and Faber Ltd 1974, 1st ed. 1933) which is dedicated to 'T.S. Eliot, with affection and respect': 'This was the Tractarian view – the view of the Kebles, the Froudes, Newman, Pusey, Rose Palmer and the rest.' *Oxford Apostles* p.336. Further, John Newman, Tractarian and founding father of the Oxford Movement (later 'lost to Rome', becoming a Roman Catholic cardinal) composed his *Gerontius* poem while on a journey with James Anthony Froude's brother: 'In the "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" Dr. Newman wrote: "We"—Mr. Hurrell Froude, brother of the historian James Anthony Froude, being the other person—"set out in December 1832. It was during this expedition that my verses which are in the 'Apostolica' were written.'
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/48927/48927-h/48927-h.htm#Anchor-21>

Both Greece and Rome are evoked throughout the poem through a range of divinities, most being shared Graeco-Roman entities, most archetypes of the Eternal Feminine. Eliot saw an ominous correspondence between the late Roman empire and the British: 'It will appear that English literature is in a state of disintegration into at least three varieties of provincialism: and in view of the history of the Roman Empire, this process may seem to have begun very early. Certainly, this is an unstable period'.¹⁵¹

The Roman empire, having incorporated Britannia, is in this reading physically mapped in *The Waste Land* through the legacy streets and sites of Londinium. The 'Strand' (258) was the roman road known as "Iter VIII" as part of the route to Silchester. 'Lower Thames street' (260) was the roman quayside on either side of the bridge, the river being a little more to the north in Roman times. 'Queen Victoria Street' (258) was the site of numerous roman discoveries, as well as suggesting a correspondingly great empire of continuity.

C. D. Blanton points to a later substrata of the City through 'Mr. Eugenides [whose] Cannon Street Hotel thus adjoins Cannon Street station, built on the site of an old Hanseatic trade mission'.¹⁵² That trade mission was in turn built on perhaps the most significant Roman substrata, since the 'Cannon Street hotel' (213)¹⁵³ and surrounds were the site of the Roman governor's palace and administration centre around which temples clustered, including the temple of the Mother goddess Isis, potentially on or near the site of the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr.¹⁵⁴ Many of the City churches were built on roman temple sites, such as 'Saint Mary Woolnoth' (67).¹⁵⁵ These temples then sit within the continuum of Weston's evolution of worship from pagan to Christian, in the context of the visual narrative of progressive revelation in Magnus Martyr. Londinium forms, in effect, the substratum of the City of London, as it forms in this reading part of the substratum of the poem, an archaeological component of a mythic layer accessed by 'the broken fingernails of dirty hands' (303).

¹⁵¹ T.S. Eliot 'A Preface to Modern Literature' 1923 CP2 p.485.

¹⁵² C.D. Blanton 'London' *T.S. Eliot in Context* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2011) p.39.

¹⁵³ 'During drainage work in 1845, along the line of this thoroughfare, in the western part, formerly known as Basing Lane (Plan A 153), "portions of immense walls with occasional layers of bondtiles and in some cases (as at Great Trinity Lane) exhibiting the remains of fresco paintings, afforded frequent evidence of the massive and important character of the edifices which anciently occupied this site" [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, I, 254].'

<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/london/vol3/pp106-145>

¹⁵⁴ A jug with the inscription 'to the temple of Isis in Londinium' was found beside London Bridge, and was in the British Museum during Eliot's time. See 'Eve' for the link between the Christian Mary and Isis through the evening star (Sappho's Hesperus) noted in Frazer's *The Golden Bough*.

¹⁵⁵ "Anno 1716, in digging Foundations of a new Church, to be erected where the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth in Lombard Street stood, at the Depth of about 15 Foot, and so lower to 22 Foot were found Roman vessels, both for sacred and Domestic Uses, of all Sorts, and in great Abundance" [Stow, *Survey*(ed. Strype), II, App. V. 24; Allen, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 25; Hughson, *Hist. of Lond.*, I, 34; cf. Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, X, pt. 1, 91] <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/london/vol3/pp106-145>

‘King William Street’ (64) is perhaps notable as a deviation from this poetic cartography of the classical, since it is the purpose-built modern road leading from the modern London Bridge of Eliot’s time, opened in August 1831 by King William IV. Before that, London Bridge stood a little upstream and ‘sprang from the Church’s very porch’,¹⁵⁶ so that travellers across the bridge walked directly past the doors of Magnus Martyr and up Fish Street Hill; or conversely, perhaps prior to pilgrimage, down Fish Street Hill past the doors of Magnus Martyr to the associated Chapel of Thomas Becket, St. Thomas of Canterbury, which stood directly on the bridge. King William Street, then, might be read as a cartographic metaphor for a society deviating from the Church and distancing itself from spirituality.

The motifs of map and structure suggest that religion is deeply entwined with society, involved in all humankind’s violence, construction and destruction throughout history. The struggles involved in this process can be read through the figure of ‘Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant’ (209), representing St. Paul and the transit of the new creed Christianity from the Levant through Rome to Londinium, creating a Christian Britain. Commonly read as a modern encounter with a vaguely sleazy and possibly homosexual merchant, the stanza can also be read as a compressed summary of the spread of Christianity through Europe.¹⁵⁷ ‘Weston tells us that Syrian merchants played a part in spreading the cults of Attis and Mithra through the Roman empire’ (Southam 169). In a similar way, early Christian merchants travelling the Mediterranean were key to the spread of Christianity, and Paul’s letters trace his missionary journey along the trading routes of the Roman empire.

Rainey writes that ‘euge means “well done” or “bravo!” In ancient Greek, eugeneia meant “high descent, nobility of birth,” and eugenes “well-born”’, reiterating the ‘wellborn’ of Southam (169) and Ricks and McCue (PE:657).¹⁵⁸ A detailed examination of the eugenics debate of the time - engendered by Darwin’s theory and attached to ideas of brute degeneracy, the need to improve human stock by breeding a superior human, and the *übermensch* - is beyond the remit of this study, save to say that whereas Christian progressive revelation posits the ennoblement of evolving humankind through an accompanying evolving revelation, Nietzsche sees Christianity as unnatural, contra Darwin, and leading to degeneracy:

¹⁵⁶ Appendix 5, Church Petition, p.2; & illustration.

¹⁵⁷ The term ‘stanza’ is used with reserve, as ‘We don’t have a word for such a sequence as Eliot variously creates [...] we are not to say ‘stanza’, but ‘verse paragraph’ is not quite it’ Christopher Ricks *T.S. Eliot and Prejudice* (Faber & Faber 1994) p.178.

¹⁵⁸ Lawrence Rainey *The Annotated Waste Land* (Yale university Press 2006) p.106:209.

To treat individuals as equals is to call the welfare of the species into question, and thus to favour practices which are tantamount to its ruin; Christianity is the opposing principle, the principle that *opposes selection*. If the degenerate and diseased man ('the Christian') is accorded the same value as the healthy man ('the pagan'), if not more, as Pascal would have it, then the natural course of development is interfered with, and the *unnatural* becomes law ... (WP§246 p.153)

As a portmanteau name, Eugenides can also be read as eu - 'good'; gen - 'born of'; 'ides', referring to the ides of March most famously linked with Caesar, conqueror of pagan Britannia, and consequently progenitor of roman Londinium and the resultant Christian Britain. Ides is also important as the classical holy week of celebrations for Cybele, the mother goddess imported to Rome to give divine aid to the war against Carthage, principally at the battle of 'Mylae' (70). With her came her self-castrating priests the Galli, derived from the cult of the self-castrating 'Attis' (PE.72) of the 'Hanged Man' (55) tarot card. As Aphrodite, evoked by 'April' (1) represents a theomachy featuring another castration in the Olympian overthrow of the Titans, Mylae represents a clash of empires and religions which marked the beginning of the end for the pantheon of 'Phlebas the Phoenician' (312) and his ancient Semitic precursor, the Canaanite Dido. It further represents the historical moment when the hitherto land based Romans learned seafaring and battle from Carthaginian methods, in the process becoming masters of the Mediterranean. The ships the Romans copied from Phlebas to then defeat him in war are those which both carried St. Paul to Rome and carried Christianity from Gaul to Britannia.

Both potential 'ides' references arrive at Rome, as did the grain ship carrying the prisoner St. Paul, one of the many merchant ships on which Paul is recorded as travelling, as prisoner or preacher, represented in the merchant shipping term 'C.i.f.' (211). That ship was shipwrecked, echoing *The Tempest*.

31 Then Paul said to the centurion and the soldiers, "Unless these men stay with the ship, you cannot be saved." 32 So the soldiers cut the ropes that held the lifeboat and let it drift away. [...] 38 When they had eaten as much as they wanted, they lightened the ship by throwing the grain into the sea. (*Acts 27*)

Paul adopted the title 'Apostle to the Gentiles' since his apostolic mission was to the uncircumcised gentiles of the northern Mediterranean, suggested by 'unshaven' (210). 'But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as

the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter' (*Galatians* 2). In this reading there are resonances between Mr. Eugenides, the self-castrating Attis, the Fisher King's castration wound, that of the birth of Aphrodite, and the theme of potency contested with Nietzsche: 'the "good man", herd animal [...] would mean to castrate mankind' (EH99). Nietzsche's concern is conflictual and gendered: '*The Shrewdness of moral castratism*. How does one wage war against the masculine passions and values?' (WP§204(3) p.131). For Nietzsche, Paul's voice is that of an 'emasculated human ideal' which destroys the morality of nature '*root and branch*'; the moral 'castrato which has, after all, grown sweeter' as it has had 'its 'male member' excised' and so 'its voice has acquired a more feminine timbre' (WP§204(1) p.129-30).

The genital humour posited in 'unshaven' was shared with Pound:

May your erection never grow less. I had intended to speak to you seriously on the subject, but you seemed so mountany gay while here in the midst of Paris that the matter slipped my foreskin. You can forward the Bolo to Joyce if you think it wont unhinge his sabbatarian mind. On the whole he might be saved the shock, shaved the sock.¹⁵⁹

In *Ulysses*, apart from the clerical castration references in 'gelded' (U. 3.117; 5.217), there is circumcision humour with a Nietzschean tint: 'Jehovah, collector of prepuces, is no more. I found him over in the museum when I went to hail the foamborn Aphrodite. The Greek mouth that has never been twisted in prayer' (U.9.609). Later, the circumcision of Jesus yields 'the divine prepuce, the carnal bridal ring of the holy Roman catholic apostolic church' (U.17.1205).

The ebb and flow of religions and the progress of Christianity was, then, a modernist interest linked with anthropology and the classical. Eliot's valorisation in this reading of the progression of Christianity into Europe 'C.i.f.' St. Paul contrasts to Joyce's outlook on the arrival of Christianity to Ireland: he writes of the 'last pagan king of Ireland Cormac' that 'Saint Patrick converted him to Christianity' in line six six six of chapter eight of *Ulysses* (U8.666).

Bertrand Russell later wrote of the difference between Paul and Peter on the necessity of circumcision:

¹⁵⁹ Ezra Pound letter of 28? January 1922 *The letters of T.S. Eliot* Vol. 1, ed. Valerie Eliot and High Haughton (Faber and Faber 2009) p. 631. Hereafter L1.

CHRISTIANITY, at first, was preached by Jews to Jews, as a reformed Judaism. Saint James, and to a lesser extent Saint Peter, wished it to remain no more than this, and they might have prevailed but for Saint Paul, who was determined to admit gentiles without demanding circumcision or submission to the Mosaic Law. [...] circumcision was an obstacle to the conversion of men. The ritual laws in regard to food were also inconvenient. These two obstacles, even if there had been no others, would have made it almost impossible for the Hebrew religion to become universal. Christianity, owing to Saint Paul, retained what was attractive in the doctrines of the Jews, without the features that gentiles found hardest to assimilate.¹⁶⁰

There was, prior to and at the time of writing *The Waste Land*, a significant interest in the relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek, the Jew and the gentile, a distinction potentially dissolved outside the temporal (see 'Eve' 6.9 on Tiresias and gender dissolution): 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all' (*Colossians* 3). Among other aspects, Mathew Arnold discussed the perceived difference between the strictures of Hebraism and a more fluid Hellenism: 'Hebraism and Hellenism, - between these two points of influence moves our world.'¹⁶¹

The potential homosexuality of Mr. Eugenides is contextualised within that attention to 'Gentile or Jew' (319) of the time, and as potential humour to accompany the posited circumcision joke, since by '1900 *Greek* had become Bohemian slang for those who preached sensual-aesthetic liberation, and *Jew* had become slang for those who were antagonistic to aesthetic values, those who preached the practical values of straightlaced Victorian morality.'¹⁶²

St. Paul spent eighteen months in the trading port of Corinth, preaching in the synagogue. A foreshortened version of 'raisins of Corinth' is 'currants' (210), from the Black Corinth grape. There is an incidental resonance with *Ulysses* in the 'buns with Corinth fruit in them that

¹⁶⁰ Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Simon and Schuster New York 1945) Book 1. Chapter II 'Christianity During the First Four Centuries' p.333. Hereafter HWP.

¹⁶¹ *Culture and Anarchy* Ch.4, 'Hebraism and Hellenism' p.274.

¹⁶² *Ulysses Annotated* p.16.1.158. The reference in *Ulysses* is to chapter four of Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, 'Hebraism and Hellenism.'

Periplipomenes sells' (U.14.1148), explained as 'Currants (associated here with Corinth of ancient Greece)', Periplipomenes being a 'Greek coinage suggesting "itinerant fruit merchant"' (UA.435.14.1148). It is not made clear whether that coinage, resonating with the portmanteau aspect of Mr. Eugenides in this reading, is Joyce's or borrowed.

A 'pocket full of currants' (210) evokes Polycarp, which translates as 'plenty fruit'. Bishop Polycarp is considered a saint and Church Father in the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches, so being representative of the 'early' and 'primitive' church before any schisms. He represents the 'ideal of the primitive Church' (Spurr 84), an error-free unified Church of All Nations advocated by the proto-Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement. He was appointed by the apostle John as the first Bishop of 'Smyrna' (209), and so he directly represents the Apostolic Succession. Through the European missions of St. Paul and Polycarp, the ritualism of Magnus Martyr is connected in a continuum traced back through the Apostolic Succession to the Second Temple reformed Judaism of Paul, and in turn to the Aaronic Priesthood of the First Temple and the Tabernacle in the desert. It is a lineage essential to Tractarian and proto-Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement arguments for ritualism, tradition, heritage and authority.¹⁶³

The Apostles, preaching throughout countries and cities, used to appoint their first fruits, after they had proved them by the Spirit, to be Bishops and Deacons of those who should hereafter believe.¹⁶⁴

London, the mapping of Londinium in the poem, and the city motif, are mirrored in the reference to the 'Metropole' (214), meaning 'mother city', from Greek *mētēr* meaning "mother", and *polis*, meaning "city" or "town"; originally the mother city or 'polis' of a Greek colony. London is 'the great metropolis [...] our modern Babylon' to Leopold Bloom (U.16.514).

A metropolis is also a bishopric. Paul founded the metropolis of Corinth, wrote two epistles there, and on his missionary travels wrote letters to the Corinthians from Smyrna, the metropolis of Polycarp. He also wrote to the Philippians, including Philippians 4:7; 'And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.' Eliot states in his notes that this is the equivalent to 'shantih', with which the poem ends

¹⁶³ Tracts for the Times Tract 4, *Adherence To The Apostolical Succession The Safest Course* poses the question 'How far the analogy of the Aaronical priesthood will carry us' in arguing for Anglo-Catholic freedom of worship <http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/tract4.html>.

¹⁶⁴ Tract 12, *Bishops, Priests and Deacons* <http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/tract12.html>

(PE77.433). The Tractarian *Tract 33* notes that ‘IN primitive times the first step towards evangelizing a heathen country seems to have been to seize upon some principal city in it, commonly the civil metropolis, as a centre of operation; to place a Pastor, i.e. (generally) a Bishop there.’¹⁶⁵ In that light, Londinium was the ‘principal city’ of the ‘heathen country’ Britannia, and ‘Metropole’ suggests Rome as mother city of Londinium and Britannia, or Londinium as mother city of Eliot’s London and Britain, or both; and, possibly, ‘Jerusalem’ (374) as mother city of all, through Judeo-Christianity.

Polycarp was known as ‘St. John’s scholar’ (*Tract 81*) and was responsible for the spread of Christianity throughout Europe.

Lyons may therefore justly be considered the oldest Christian church in Gaul. Secondly, it appears that the church of Lyons very early sent missionaries to convert the pagan nations of Gaul. It seems probable that Benignus, Andochius, Thyrsus, and Felix, disciples of Polycarp, preached the Gospel at Marseilles, Lyons, Langres, Saulieu, and Dijon.¹⁶⁶

Polycarp was eventually killed in a brutal way by a combined mob of pagans and Jews, both established sects objecting to the new sect. It is an example, in tandem with a continuum of worship, of the continuity of brutality and anarchy which accompanies the struggles between peoples and creeds which pervades *The Waste Land*, stretching back to the Canaanites, Israelites and Romans.

The phrase ‘demotic French’ (212) is another instance of *engeschachtelt*, a recursive reference of immense depth and scope. A demotic language – from Greek *dēmotikós*, meaning ‘popular’ - denotes a widespread vernacular. A previous draft of the poem read ‘abominable French’ (FT31), suggesting the ‘language of the Franks’, the demotic language of commerce throughout the Mediterranean circa 1000CE from which the term ‘lingua franca’ arose. The word ‘abominable’ is of Anglo-French, or lingua franca origin. The case is made that English is now an international lingua franca. All are facilitated by the alphabet of Phlebas. The fragmented, ‘multivocal multilingual’ (Harding) anarchic aspect of the poem stands in juxtaposition to the

¹⁶⁵ Tract 33 *Primitive Episcopacy* <http://anglicanhistory.org/tracts/tract33.html>

¹⁶⁶ The Rev. William Palmer, ‘Liturgy of Gaul’ *Origines Liturgicæ, or, Antiquities of The English Ritual, and A Dissertation On Primitive Liturgies* Sect. IX. (Oxford at The university Press 1839) <http://anglicanhistory.org/palmer/palmer9.html>

idea of an ancient demotic lingua franca, a universal bridging language related to the structure theme in, for instance, the repetitive destruction and rebuilding of London Bridge. It evokes the continual human drive to create a communal, bonding message central to language itself. Frazer writes:

The authors of Genesis say nothing as to the nature of the common language which all mankind spoke before the confusion of tongues [...] in modern times, when the science of philology was in its infancy, strenuous, but necessarily abortive, efforts were made to deduce all forms of human speech from Hebrew as their original.¹⁶⁷

Egyptian Demotic is one of the languages on the Rosetta Stone, facilitating translation of the Egyptian hieroglyph equivalent on another face of the stone. Greek demotic is one of the scripts used on guidance signs in the Second Temple, such as in prohibiting visitors from entering the holy areas.

When you go through these [first] cloisters, unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition made of stone, all round; whose height was three cubits, its construction was very elegant. Upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another; declaring the law of purity, some in Greek and some in Roman letters; that *no foreigner should go within that sanctuary*.¹⁶⁸

Demotic Greek - also called Koine Greek, the Alexandrian dialect, Common Attic, Hellenistic and Biblical Greek - was amongst peoples of many local languages in the ancient Mediterranean the shared 'language of commerce,' and as such Romans often spoke and wrote demotic Greek rather than Latin when abroad in the empire. As the 'language of the books' it is the language into which the Aramaic early Christian texts were translated for wider dissemination, including through St. Paul's mission to the uncircumcised.

¹⁶⁷ Sir James George Frazer *Folk-Lore In The Old Testament. Studies In Comparative Religion: Legend And Law* Vol. 1 (MacMillan 1918) p.374. Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* holds a quasi-theological theory prevalent in Ireland at that time that Hebrew was the ur-language of ancient Irish, connected through a king of Scythia who, it was theorised, was an ancestor of the Phoenicians who occupied Spain and then ancient Ireland (U.17.724-773/UA.577.748).

¹⁶⁸ Josephus *Of the War of the Jews* Book V Ch 5. 'A Description of the Temple.'
<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/josephus/war-5.html>

The Mr. Eugenides stanza can, then, be read as mapping the introduction and spread of Christianity through Europe to Londinium, initiated by St. Paul. Nietzsche wrote of the ‘frightful swindler’ St. Paul:

But *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world* to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are: That no flesh should glory in his presence.’ (Paul I Cor. 1:20 ff.). — To *understand* this passage, one should read the first essay of my *Genealogy of Morals*: in it there was first set forth the contrast between a noble morality and a chandala morality, one born out of *ressentiment* and impotent vengefulness. Paul was the greatest of all apostles of vengefulness...¹⁶⁹

Nietzsche’s Zarathustra declaims ‘You preachers of equality, the tyrant’s madness of impotence cries out of you thus for ‘equality’’ (Z86). The condition extends to God: ‘God has proven *in praxi* a God of the greatest degree of shortsightedness, devilry and impotence’ (WP§246 p.152). Nietzsche’s idea of Pauline *ressentiment* is the vengeful attitude of the ‘herd’ to ‘aristocratic’ strength, and in terming Paul and God impotent he echoes the Fisher King’s wound, the castration of Uranus suggested by Aphrodite, and the self-castrating Attis. Smith writes the ‘difference between will to power and *ressentiment* is figured as one of castration’ (GM165). However, in this reading of Eliot’s schema the Mr. Eugenides stanza, with its genital cutting joke, reads as a demonstration of the metaphorical potency of St. Paul engendered by the power of the Christian message. He is aided both by divine power expressed through progressive revelation and the power of the will to worship of the ‘herd’. Nietzsche wrote ‘it gives me pleasure to draw my rapier’ (EH50), but in a religious sense St. Paul conquered Rome and its empire armed only with the ‘sword of the Spirit’ (*Ephesians* 6:17). This is Hesse’s ‘thought out of Asia’ to which we are referred by Eliot – ‘366-76. Cf. Hermann Hesse *Blick ins Chaos*’ (*Notes on the Waste Land* PE.76):

It is possible that the whole Downfall of Europe will play itself out "only" inwardly, "only" in the souls of a generation, "only" in changing the meaning of worn-out symbols, in the dis-valuation of spiritual values. Thus the ancient world, the first brilliant coming of European culture, did not go down under Nero. Its destruction was not due to Spartacus nor the Germanic tribes. But “only” to a thought out of Asia, that

¹⁶⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche *Ecco Homo* trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Penguin Books 1992) p. 45. Hereafter EH.

simple, subtle thought, that had been there very long but which took the form the teacher Christ gave to it.¹⁷⁰

The idea of a Christian civilisation emanating from Rome is reflected in St. Augustine's *City of God*, in turn reflected in the city motif of the poem: 'I promised to write of the rise, progress, and appointed end of the two cities, one of which is God's, the other this world's, in which, so far as mankind is concerned, the former is now a stranger.'¹⁷¹

[*City of God*] is a vindication of Christianity against the attacks of the heathen in view of the sacking of the city of Rome by the barbarians, at a time when the old Græco-Roman civilization was approaching its downfall, and a new Christian civilization was beginning to rise on its ruins. It is the first attempt at a philosophy of history, under the aspect of two rival cities or communities, – the eternal city of God and the perishing city of the world. This was the only philosophy of history known throughout Europe during the middle ages.¹⁷²

Rome survived as the centre of the spiritual civilization of Christianity, enduring for almost two millennia and becoming synonymous, in Dante, with the heavens; 'that true Rome, wherein Christ dwells a Roman' (*Purgatorio* Canto XXXII 101). In this reading, that civilisation is now existentially threatened by the anarchy of a godless Nietzschean world advocated by among others Eliot's Nietzschean contemporaries Dora Marsden (see 'Eve') and H.L. Mencken (see 'Adam').

Pilgrimage is enjoined in the poem through such references as in 'dull roots with spring rain' (4) to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*: 'When in April the sweet showers fall | [...] Then folk do long to go on pilgrimage, | And palmers to go seeking out strange strands, | To distant shrines well known in distant lands.' In a reversal through time, the reader can become the 'nameless pilgrim in *The Waste Land*' (Gordon 103), crossing the Londinium bridge to retrace the journey of Christianity 'C.i.f' St. Paul to Europe from the 'distant shrines' of the Levant. 'London Bridge' (62) in this reading serves as a figurative bridge to the heritage and tradition of the

¹⁷⁰ Herman Hesse 'The Downfall of Europe' *The Waste Land* ed. Michael North (Norton Critical Edition 2001) p.61.

¹⁷¹ Philip Schaff, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Vol. 2 (St. Augustine's City of God and Christian Doctrine [1887]) (The Online Library Of Liberty) Preface p.5. St. Augustine *City of God* Book XVIII Ch. 1. <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/schaff-a-select-library-of-the-nicene-and-post-nicene-fathers-of-the-christian-church-vol-2>

¹⁷² Schaff Preface p.5.

classical and Judeo-Christian past, in juxtaposition to the godless bridge to the future, the fragmented, conflictual world of Nietzsche's *übermensch*.

With these preachers of equality I will not be confused and confounded. For thus does justice talk *to me*: 'Human beings are not equal'. And they shall not become so either! For what would my love for the Overman be if I spoke otherwise? On a thousand bridges and footpaths they shall throng toward the future, and more and more shall war and equality be set amongst them: thus does my great love make me talk! (Z87).

The repetitive disintegration depicted in 'London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down' (426) serves as a structural metaphor which mirrors the posited deliberate structural anarchy of the poem, representing a constant destruction and rebuilding of cultural structure and order. The bridge can also be read as signifying a link from north to south through time, and to venerable cultural and spiritual repositories of tradition also evident in the empire and city motifs. Nietzsche also uses the bridge as a metaphor for cultural time travel, in a critique of the Platonic 'ideal' which 'made it possible for the nobler natures of antiquity to misunderstand themselves and to step onto the *bridge* which led to the 'Cross'.¹⁷³

In this reading of *The Waste Land*, Rome, the eternal city, is the preeminent metropole in the rise and transit of Christianity. It is St. Paul's bridge to Europe and modern London from the Levant, much as London Bridge acts as a figurative bridge to the past linking London to Londinium bridge and back to classical Rome, to Hebrew Jerusalem, to the wanderings in the desert and the rise of worship in sacred groves symbolised by both the 'vegetation ceremonies' (PE.72) of the opening of the poem and the vegetation carved onto the Magnus Martyr rearedos.

Central to such primitive drives to worship was the veneration of the divine essence, however represented at the time, through ritualism. Nietzsche's regard for music was such that in religious terms 'music can give birth to *the myth*' (BT79). Central to ritual and arising, prior to temple building, from worship in sacred woods is ritual song – hymn – manifesting in such later variations as the classical odes of Sappho and vespers in Magnus Martyr, to which Eliot guides the reader through the roman counterpart of Sappho's Hesperus, Vesper.

¹⁷³ Friedrich Nietzsche *Twilight of the Idols* trans. R.J. Hollingdale (Penguin 2003) p.117.

6. EVE: Sappho, the Evening Star, Vespers, the Typist and Lilith

Scientifically speaking, woman is the human type, of which man is an eccentric or abnormal development. The story of Adam and Eve is the exact reverse of the truth. And it is necessary to insist on this because the religious, political and industrial eclipse of woman is the result of a great revolution, in which Christianity is the latest episode; and woman will never obtain the religious franchise from a masculine God.

(*The New Freewoman: An Individualist Review* No. 1, Vol. 1, 1913)¹⁷⁴

This chapter will examine the Eternal Feminine in *The Waste Land*, including positive representations embodied in such venerated females as Venus, Aphrodite and the Virgin Mary as the New Eve. Rachel Potter writes that Eliot ‘insists that femaleness produces a significant unity within the poem’.¹⁷⁵ Allusions in the extended typist scene – from the ‘violet hour’ (215) to the ‘Inexplicable splendour’ (265) of the Magnus Martyr stanza – suggest an alternative to the alienated gender waste land of the world of the clerk, an alternative in which the ritual communal bonding of vespers in Magnus Martyr is evoked through Sappho’s evening star and other allusions, such as to Dante. Spurr writes that ‘the possibilities for salvation are there, clearly embedded in the poem’s discourse. *The Waste Land* is thus not bereft of religious possibility’ (Spurr CCT 62).

The theme of guidance will be examined through the carbuncular link to Moses and Aaron, both from Genesis and in the portraits on the Magnus Martyr reredos. Those guides to the promised land are comingled with the classicism of Sappho’s evening star as sailor’s guide; allusions to other New Testament figures such as Jesus as the morning star; the futurist ‘taxi’ and the ‘human engine’ (216); and St. Peter as the ‘pilot of the Galilean lake’ of Milton’s *Lycidas*. *Lycidas* also introduces the theme of spiritual nourishment through the ‘hungry flock’, reflected in the ‘food in tins’ (223), with echoes of Eve feeding Adam.

¹⁷⁴ Dora Marsden’s journal. <https://library.brown.edu/pdfs/1303305402406379.pdf>

¹⁷⁵ Rachel Potter ‘Gender and Obscenity in *The Waste Land*’ *Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* p.133.

6.1 The Eternal Feminine, Sappho's Evening Star and Vespers

Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* sets out a succinct overview of the Eternal Feminine, including the negative aspects and consequences, a sacred and profane duality also suggested in the poem and its drafts: '(The same eternal and consuming itch | Can make a martyr, or plain simple bitch)' (FT27).

There are different kinds of myths. This one, the myth of woman, sublimating an immutable aspect of the human condition—namely, the “division” of humanity into two classes of individuals—is a static myth [...] in place of fact, value, significance, knowledge, empirical law, it substitutes a transcendental idea, timeless, unchangeable, necessary. The idea is indisputable because it is beyond the given: it is endowed with absolute truth. Thus, against the dispersed, contingent, and multiple existences of actual women, mythical thought opposed the Eternal Feminine, unique and changeless. If the definition provided for this concept is contradicted by the behaviour of flesh-and-blood women, it is the latter who are wrong: we are not told that Femininity is a false entity, but that the women that are concerned are not feminine. The contrary facts of experience are impotent against the myth [...] To pose Woman is to pose the absolute Other, without reciprocity, denying against all experience that she is a subject, a fellow human being [...] In consequence, a number of incompatible myths exist, and men tarry musing before the strange incoherencies manifested by the idea of Femininity....But if woman is depicted as the Praying Mantis, the Mandrake, the Demon, then it is most confusing to find in women also the Muse, the Goddess, Mother, Beatrice. As group symbols and social types are generally defined by means of antonyms in pairs, ambivalence will seem to be an intrinsic quality of the Eternal Feminine.¹⁷⁶

In exploring 'the relation between disorder and implied unity' Potter comments that 'Pinkley's claim that Eliot attempts, but fails, to impose masculine forms of order on female bodily chaos has been reiterated in a range of feminist and historical readings' (p.134). In this reading, the poem posits chaos as arising from the anarchy and 'vanity' (241) of the male centred inner voice – 'Oft times nothing profits more | Then self esteem' (PL.VIII.571) – and the unifying solution lies with the feminine.

¹⁷⁶ Simone de Beauvoir *The Second Sex* (Vintage Classics 1997) p.282.

At the violet hour, the evening hour that strives
Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea,
The typist home at teatime, clears her breakfast, lights
(PE:63:220)

Eliot explicitly directs the reader to Sappho and her evening star – the planet Venus in the night sky: ‘This may not appear as exact as Sappho’s lines’ (PE75.221). Those lines are Sappho’s *Ode to Hesperus*:

Hesperos, you bring home all the bright dawn
Scattered,
Bring home the sheep,
Bring home the goat, bring the child home
To her mother.¹⁷⁷

Ricks and McCue offer a translation of the opening of Sappho’s fragment 149 as ‘Evening Star, that brings back all that the shining dawn has scattered’ (PE.663.[III]), and note resonances with among others Dante, and Milton’s *Paradise Lost* XII 629-32: “evening ... the labourer’s heel | Homeward returning.”

The Roman counterpart of Hesperus is Vesper, evoking the evening prayer hour of vespers, conjoining the themes of guidance and music. Vespers is formally *vespertina synaxis* – ‘Synaxis (synaxis from synago) means gathering, assembly, reunion. It is exactly equivalent to the Latin collecta (from colligere), and corresponds to synagogue’.¹⁷⁸ It is a continuation of the Hebrew evening sacrifice of the Old Law, and is one of the most ancient Offices of the Christian Church. Vespers is not exclusively an inheritance from Hebrew ritual; it evolved as a mix of Hebrew and Roman music, the latter in the main based on classical Greek music exemplified by Sappho. It is argued shortly that vespers in Magnus Martyr is in significant part an inheritance from the music of Sappho.

¹⁷⁷ *The Complete poems of Sappho* trans. Willis Barnstone (Shambala Boston & London 2009) p.17.

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=11205>

Frazer connects the Christian Mary with the evening star and Isis: ‘to Isis in her later character of patroness of mariners the Virgin Mary owes perhaps her beautiful epithet of *Stella Maris*, ‘Star of the Sea’, under which she is adored by Tempest-tossed sailors.’ (GB389). Spurr writes:

Eliot particularly embraces the idea of Mary as *Mater Dolorosa*, the Mother of Sorrows, in reference to the women who suffer while their menfolk undertake hazardous, life-threatening work at sea. But she is also there, crowned, as the ‘Queen of Heaven’.¹⁷⁹

The evening star evokes a female mythology encompassing an extensive range of divinities through time and geography. Aphrodite and Venus were within the compass of Eliot’s poetic consideration. Venus is present in the drafts as ‘Venus Anadyomene’ (FT29), as is her Greek counterpart Aphrodite through Fresca, who ‘was baptised in a soapy sea’ (FT41), an allusion to Aphrodite’s birth from the sea foam created by Uranus’ genitals following his castration by Cronus. Combined with the Fisher King’s wound, the circumcision joke in Mr. Eugenides proposed in this reading (see ‘Rome’) and the loveless pregnancies of Lil, the key concerns of emasculation and potency common to both Nietzschean and muscular Reformation Christianity seem both suggested and undermined. The romantic, heroic male world of extreme individualism, alienated from the feminine, is recast as a re-enactment of the self-emasculation of Attis.

There is also a link to the early-Semitic goddess of ‘Phlebas the Phoenician’ (312), the Queen of Heaven Astarte, explained by Pliny the Elder.

The origin of this story of the star of Venus may be traced to a Phoenician or Trojan source; for we find, in the fragments of Sanchoniatho, the following account: “But travelling about the world, she found a star falling from the sky; which she, taking up, consecrated in the Holy Island Tyre. And the Phoenicians say, that *Astarte* is she who is amongst the Greeks called *Aphrodite*” - (Bishop Cumberland’s Trans, p. 36.) This Tyrian or Trojan deity was the Marine Venus, and is to be distinguished from Venus Urania, the heavenly, the greatest; who, according to Cicero, (N. D. iii. 23.) and other authority, was the Syrian Astarte, and the Ashteroth of sacred Scripture:¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Spurr 161, writing on *Four Quartets*. His page 160 holds a photograph of Our Lady of good Voyage in Gloucester, Massachusetts.

¹⁸⁰ Pliny the Elder *Natural History* Book II Chapter XXV p. 66 in *Pliny’s Natural History* Vol. 1 (Printed for the Wernerian Club, George Barclay Leicester Square 1847-48). Ashteroth or Ashtoreth: ‘Her name derives from the deliberate conflation of the Phoenician Ashtart [Astarte] with the Hebrew word *boshet* (“shame”)’ David Lyle Jeffrey *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition* (William B. Eerdmans 1992) p.60.

Mary as *Stella Maris* is also a theme in *Ulysses*. The *Nausicaa* episode, the symbol of which is the ‘virgin’, sets Bloom by the sea at the violet hour of dusk. ‘A star I see. Venus? Can’t tell yet [...] Land of the setting sun this’ (U.13.1076/1079). *Ulysses Annotated* explains: ‘stars – symbolic of divine guidance or favour; the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven is crowned with twelve stars (Revelation 12:1); the star is symbolic of her title *Stella Maris* (Star of the Sea)’.¹⁸¹ Other *Nausicaa* imagery resonating with *The Waste Land* includes music drifting on water, vespers, and the radiance of Dante’s Mary. The resonance with Eliot’s Queen of Heaven ‘whose shrine stands on the promontory’ (*The Dry Salvages* PE.198.IV.1) is also compelling.

Far away in the west the sun was setting and the last glow of all too fleeting day lingered lovingly on sea and strand, on the proud promontory of dear old Howth guarding as ever the waters of the bay [and] on the quiet church whence there streamed forth at time upon the stillness the voice of prayer to her who is in her pure radiance a beacon ever to the stormtossed heart of man, Mary, star of the sea. (U.13.2-8)

The resonance between Eliot’s ‘Figlia del tuo figlio | Queen of Heaven’ (*The Dry Salvages* PE.199.9) and *Ulysses* is also notable, as is her appellation as the ‘second Eve’:

She hath an *omnipotentiam deiparae supplicem*, that is to wit, an almightiness of petition because she is the second Eve and she won us, saith Augustine too, whereas that other, our grandam, which we are linked up with by successive anastomosis of navelcords sold us all, seed, breed and generation, for a penny pippin [...] vergine madre, *figlia di tuo figlio* (U.14.297-301/303. (Dante *Paradiso* 33.1))

As an indication of the scope of the various manifestations of the Queen of Heaven in addition to those previously noted, other allusions in the poem include to Diana, through her ‘Hofgarten’ (10) pavilion; Cybele, through her consort Attis of the ‘Hanged Man’ (55) card and the battle of ‘Mylae’ (70); Isis – according to Frazer ‘the many named’, ‘the thousand named’ and in Greek inscriptions ‘the myriad-named’ (GB386) - through Cleopatra;¹⁸² Juno, through the blinding of Tiresias and Eliot’s note to line 218 of the ‘great anthropological interest’ of Ovid’s corresponding passage (PE74); and Demeter and the ‘Queen of Hades’ Persephone through among other references the ‘hyacinths’ (35) Persephone was gathering before her abduction by Hades. It is beyond the scope of this study to detail the further range of female deities, and

¹⁸¹ Don Gifford with Robert J. Seidman *Ulysses Annotated* (University of California Press 2008) p.399.

¹⁸² In literature, there is Shakespeare’s ‘O Eastern Star!’ in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (5.2.307), a reference to Cleopatra’s title Queen of Heaven through association with Isis.

fallen women archetypes such as Salome, which in this reading surrounds the Cleopatra figure of Part II who, through her link to Isis, is also in part a traduced queen of heaven.

The figure of the 'mighty mother' and associated manifestations, including her relationship with the Christian Mary, is recurrent in *Ulysses* (U 1:85; 3.31; 3.395; 14.248). Eliot's note to lines 366-376 (PE.76) directs to Herman Hesse, who also uses the image of a mother goddess, from Goethe's *Faust* – in which the Eternal Feminine is explicitly involved in the spiritual rescue of Faust - as a source of rebirth for a potentially destroyed, decadent Europe. 'This is what I mean by the downfall of Europe. This downfall is a returning home to the mother, a turning back to Asia, to the source, to the "Faustischen Müttern"'.¹⁸³

She was also of interest in popular culture, at least among the avant-garde and feminists, according to an article in Dora Marsden's *The New Freewoman*, precursor of *The Egoist*. Under the general title 'The Eclipse of Women' and titled *The Earth Goddess* - attributed to F.R.A.I (Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute), otherwise anonymous - it points to St. Augustine's account of the fall of the 'Earth Goddesses' which coincided with the suppression of women; the need for more female involvement with the Church; the central role Elizabeth I played in the English Church; and, strikingly in such a journal, the revival of veneration of the Virgin Mary:

The question is of practical importance at the present moment because this worship of the Earth Goddess is intimately connected with the political rights of women. Saint Augustine informs us (in the City of God, xviii, 9) that the introduction of the Olympian Gods at Athens, and the consequent eclipse of the old Earth Goddesses, was accompanied by the change from matriarchal to patriarchal government. The women were deprived of votes, and children who had formerly borne the name of their mother's family, were now given their father's instead [...] If the general tendency in the past has been for these religious and political changes to go together, it follows that the recovery by women of their political rights is likely to be accompanied by a revival of their influence in the religious sphere. To put it in the plainest light, women will be empowered to legislate for the Church of England. As that Church was governed by a woman during the forty years that really settled and stamped its character, there should

¹⁸³ Hermann Hesse, 'The Downfall of Europe' (from *In Sight of Chaos*) in *The Waste Land* (Norton Critical Edition) p. 60.

be no reason for alarm as to the probable future. But we may reasonably expect the worship of the Virgin to be revived.¹⁸⁴

There is a male mythological line linked to that star in its morning variant, the planet Venus in the morning sky. Hesperus is the son of the Greek dawn goddess Eos and half-brother of her other son Phosphorus, the 'Morning Star'. The Latin name for the morning star is Lucifer, meaning 'light bringer' - 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!' (Isaiah 14.12) - linked below with Vesper, Pliny's name for the evening star:¹⁸⁵

Each Planet hath a several Colour;
Saturn is white, Jupiter clear and bright, Mars a fiery red,
Venus glowing, when Lucifer; when Occidental, or Vesper,
Resplendent:¹⁸⁶

Both the presence and temporary absence of Jesus is also evoked. The star in the Graeco-Roman sense of light bringer was later associated with Christ: "I [Jesus] am ... the bright and morning star" (Revelations 22:16). Jesus is further evoked through the 'violet' (215) covers placed over imagery in Magnus Martyr and all Anglo-Catholic churches between Passion Sunday and Good Friday:

Before Vespers of Saturday preceding Passion Sunday the crosses, statues, and pictures of Our Lord and of the saints [...] with the sole exception of the crosses and pictures of the Way of the Cross, are to be covered with a violet veil, not translucent, nor in any way ornamented. The crosses remain covered until after the solemn denudation of the principal crucifix on Good Friday.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ *The New Freewoman* Issue 4, August 1913.

http://www.modjournal.org/render.php?id=1303306397625127&view=mjp_object

¹⁸⁵ Lucifer in the sense in which Eliot calls Stravinsky the 'Lucifer of the season, brightest in the firmament [...] The effect was like *Ulysses* with illustrations by the best contemporary illustrator.' T.S. Eliot 'London Letter: September 1921' CP2 p.369.

¹⁸⁶ Pliny the Elder *Natural History* Book II Chapter XVIII p. 56.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix 1B. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11535b.htm>.



Violet Coverings over Imagery in Magnus Martyr during Easter

In addition to suggesting twilight, the mournful church coverings of Easter, and the hour of vespers, violet also invokes the yearly death and resurrection of Attis, since Frazer writes that ‘violets were said to have sprung from the blood of Attis’ (GB348). Brooker writes that ‘the single most important pattern in early Eliot is that of the dying God’ (*Dialectic* p.56). In his *Notes on the Waste Land* Eliot links the ‘Hanged Man’ tarot card with the ‘Hanged God of Frazer’ (PE:72) which is Attis, and Frazer remarks on the close parallels between Attis and Christ:

Christians and pagans alike were struck by the remarkable coincidence between the death and resurrection of their respective deities [...] the pagans contending that the resurrection of Christ was a spurious imitation of the resurrection of Attis, and the Christians asserting with equal warmth that the resurrection of Attis was a diabolical counterfeit of the resurrection of Christ. (GB364)

6.2 Guidance, Ritualism, Prayer Hours and *Paradise Lost*

The theme of guidance is entwined with ritualism. The note directing the reader to Sappho's *Ode to Hesperus* is itself a guide to the motif of sacred song, and in this motif there is an aural poetic accord with *Paradise Lost*. Eliot writes that we 'must, then, in reading *Paradise Lost*, not expect to see clearly; our sense of sight must be blurred, so that our *hearing* may become more acute [...] the emphasis is on sound, not the vision'.¹⁸⁸

Sappho creates a focus on the ancient link between poetry, ritual and hymn. The allusion to Sappho is encased in an allusion to a canto of Dante's *Inferno* which, in a second allusion to vespers, explicitly refers to vespers and Mary. Southam writes of the lines starting with 'Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea' (221) that 'these lines seem to be modelled upon the evening scene at the opening to the *Purgatorio* viii' (Southam 171).¹⁸⁹ That link is reiterated by Rainey: 'For many readers the entire passage of the "violet hour" (lines 215-223) recalls Dante *Purgatorio* VIII, 1-6' (*The annotated Waste Land* 108). That canto reads:

Now was the hour that wakens fond desire [8.1]
In men at sea, and melts their thoughtful heart,
[...]
Thrills, if he hear the vesper bell from far,
That seems to mourn for the expiring day:¹⁹⁰

The pilgrim sailor sings the vesper "Te Luce Ante", meaning 'To Thee [God] before the close of day'. It reiterates the theme of maritime guidance in Eliot's note on 'the 'longshore' or 'dory' fisherman, who returns at nightfall' (PE.75.221), later echoed in part IV of *The Dry Salvages*. Dante's sailor continues:

Both palms it join'd and rais'd, [8.10]
[...]
 "Te Lucis Ante," so devoutly then
Came from its lip, and in so soft a strain,

¹⁸⁸ Eliot 'Milton II' CP6.31.

¹⁸⁹ There may be a further encased reference, an allusion to Virgil's *Eclogue X*: 'Now homeward, having fed your fill | eve's star is rising' (Latin: *venit Hesperus*), preceded by the famous 'Love conquers all', which could be read in *The Waste Land* as a pastoral metaphor suggesting the potential of communal love in shared ritual.

<http://classics.mit.edu/Virgil/eclogue.10.x.html>

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/8795/8795-h/8795-h.htm#link8>

[...]

Follow'd through all the hymn, with upward gaze

The 'upward gaze' of Dante's sailor leads to a third suggestion of vespers. It is the same heavenward gaze to the 'divine office' suggested at 'the violet hour, when the eyes and back | Turn upwards from the desk' (215). The 'desk', an image of 'the stress of labour'¹⁹¹ and the daytime office, evokes its spiritual evening opposite, the divine office of vespers, a turning from the burdensome affairs of the worldly day to matters of the spirit. Eliot's play *Murder in the Cathedral* explicitly connects vespers and the 'divine office' when, on the arrival of the murderous knights, a fearful priest advises Thomas, 'My Lord, to vespers! You must not be absent from vespers. You must not be absent from the divine office.'¹⁹²

Dante's canto continues:

"Both come from Mary's bosom," said Sordello, [8.37]

"to serve as the custodians of the valley
against the serpent that will soon appear"

[...]

Even as Virgil spoke, Sordello drew [8.95]

him to himself: "See there—our adversary!"

[...]

there was a serpent—similar, perhaps,
to that which offered Eve the bitter food.

Eliot has supported his inversion of the Miltonic Edenic schema by opposing Milton's puritan, aniconic, anti-Marian Reformation theology with the more feminine, pre-schism Marian vision of Dante. The Typist scene is now in this schema linked to Eve, Adam and Satan through Milton, and to the 'New Eve' Mary, Eden and Satan through Dante, creating a key contrast, a juxtaposition. Dante's radiant protector Mary is invoked through the sailor's vespers as a guard against the male Satan, the Miltonic version of whom is linked to the carbuncular clerk through *Paradise Lost*: 'In Serpent [...] and Carbuncle his Eyes' (PL:9:500). For Milton, elevating the

¹⁹¹ Appendix 5, Magnus Martyr petition, p.1.

¹⁹² T.S. Eliot *Murder in the Cathedral* (Faber and Faber 1982) p.76. In *Paradise Lost*, Satan is confined in a profane Office: 'Into this gloom of Tartarus profound, | To sit in hateful Office here confin'd' (PL.II.858).

veneration of Mary is superstitious, cultic and Romish. For Dante, Mary is not only the Mediatrix but is a representation of the Eternal Feminine powerful in her own capacity, an effective guard against Satan's entry into Eden. Spurr reads 'a significant moment in Eliot's poetry' in *The Hollow Men* as 'the very first sign of the possibility of redeemed life and, crucially, this is communicated through a vision of the Mediatrix'; however, in this reading the redemptive Mediatrix as the New Eve is already present in *The Waste Land*.¹⁹³

Dante transports Mary to Eden and, through allusion to Dante's vespers and the evening star, Eliot transports her to the modern gender waste land of London in her redemptive role as the New Eve, a role she undertakes in conjunction with Jesus as the New Adam, so that they redeem mankind of the original Edenic error.¹⁹⁴ Mary as the New Eve is venerated in dedicated Masses: 'Masses Of The Bvm: 20 Mary, The New Eve [...] Glorious are you, holy Mary, the new Eve. From you the new Adam, Christ Jesus, was born [...] she is indeed the new woman.'¹⁹⁵

The observation of prayer hours also potentially enriches the 'dead sound on the final sound of nine' as 'Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours' (68). 'The Hours' is Church shorthand for prayer hours, and what is suggested is that spiritually deadening moment when workers such as the typist leave behind the 9am prayer hour of Terse, the last morning opportunity to commune with the divine, as the 'eyes and back' turn downwards to the commercial 'desk'.

A further prayer hour, that of Sext, might then be suggested when the 'fishmen lounge at noon' (263), in the presence of Magnus Martyr nearby and the deliberately misspelled 'mandoline' (261). It is the instrument Eliot took to ritualist Margate (see p.54), the modern equivalent of Sappho's lyre, a version of which was known as the *Psaltērion*, the root word of Psalter, the book of psalms within of the *Book of Common Prayer*. In *The Rock*, these honourable fishmen of the Thames have a New Testament resonance: 'ST. PETER (THE ROCK) and a FISHERMAN are seen returning to the Thames shore' (p.79). To Nietzsche - for whom noon means the schismatic 'great noontide when [mankind] looks back and looks forward' (EH66) - the fishman's 'public bar' (260) and church beside would stink: 'Where the people eats and drinks, even where it worships, there is usually a stink. One should not go into churches if one wants to breathe pure air' (BGE30). There were smells, as Spurr, quoting John Betjeman, notes:

¹⁹³ Spurr 'T.S. Eliot and Christianity' CCE 198.

¹⁹⁴ 'A second Adam to the fight | And to the rescue came', John Newman *Gerontius* 808.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/48927/48927-h/48927-h.htm#Anchor-21>

¹⁹⁵ <http://www.ibreviary.com/m/preghiere.php?tipo=Preghiera&id=725>

‘the whole district smells of fish, but inside the church there is the abrupt change to a smell of incense’ (Spurr 11). This evokes the sense of smell, and it is argued shortly that all the ritualist senses are engaged in the typist scene.

As an aside, ‘the lighting of the lamps’ is also Church shorthand, referring specifically to vespers.¹⁹⁶ Eliot’s *Preludes* is a poem about the ‘winter evening’ (PE15.1), and ‘then the lighting of the lamps’ (13), that stanza end-line given particular prominence through the double line space above. Since the draft epigraph held variations of the ‘little whore’s soul’ (PE.412), there is created, in 1915, a poetic scene surrounding a fallen woman or ‘slut’ (Hayward PE664[III]222-23) at twilight in a modern city, with an allusion to vespers. There is also a juxtaposition between that figure and the ‘notion of some infinitely gentle | Infinitely suffering thing’ (*Preludes* 12-13), resonating with the ‘lovely woman’ (253) moment of the typist scene.

A fourth allusion to vespers can be read into the isolation of the typist as she puts a ‘record on the gramophone’ (256), which, as Laurence Rainey points out, rhymes with ‘alone’ (254).¹⁹⁷ It recalls the juxtaposition of the sacred and secular aspects of the song motif in *Eeldrop and Appleplex* between the ‘gramophone’ and the communal belonging of the ‘choir of the Baptist chapel’:

The suburban evening was grey and yellow on Sunday; the gardens of the small houses to left and right were rank with ivy and tall grass and lilac bushes; the tropical South London verdure was dusty above and moldy below; the tepid air swarmed with flies. Eeldrop, at the window, welcomed the smoky smell of lilac, the gramophones, the choir of the Baptist chapel, and the sight of three small girls playing cards on the steps of the police station.¹⁹⁸

In this scene there can be read an early fusion of Milton’s prelapsarian Eden with Dante’s antehell. The ‘verdure’ evokes the unspoilt Eden of Milton’s primal waste land rendered verdant by God; ‘the bare Earth, till then | Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn’d, | Brought forth the tender Grass, whose verdure clad’ (PL.VII.313-5). Barbara K. Lewalski writes that ‘Milton represents Hell, Heaven and Eden as regions in process: their physical conditions are fitted to the beings that inhabit them, but these inhabitants interact with and shape their

¹⁹⁶ https://mci.archpitt.org/liturgy/Vespers_Lighting_of_the_Lamps.html

¹⁹⁷ Rainey ‘With Automatic Hand: *The Waste Land*’ CCT 83.

¹⁹⁸ T.S. Eliot *Eeldrop and Appleplex* CP1 p.528.

environments'.¹⁹⁹ Human indifference and spiritual cowardice seem to have degraded the Eden of *Eeldrop and Appleplex*. In this reading, the greenery is 'rank' and dusty above for lack of attention to the divine, and 'moldy below' because of rot seeping from the mouth of hell - the 'tepid air' and 'flies' of *Eeldrop and Appleplex* evoking the 'turbid air' and 'horseflies' of the ante-hell of Dante's *Inferno*, the same Canto III alluded to in *The Waste Land* in 'I had not thought death had undone so many' (63):

Here sighs and lamentations and loud cries [22]

[...]

forever through that turbid, timeless air,

[...]

I should never have believed

that death could have unmade so many souls.

[...]

These wretched ones, who never were alive,

went naked and were stung again, again

by horseflies and by wasps that circled them. [66]

This prose paragraph of Eliot's shares themes and techniques with this reading of *The Waste Land*, including the same contrast between the lonely secular music of the gramophone and the church choir suggested by the music that crept by 'upon the waters' (257) from the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr.

Nietzsche saw Jesus as a 'holy anarchist, who summoned the people at the bottom, the outcasts and sinners' (A§27). *The Waste Land* seems to suggest a subtle invitation to the outcast 'sinner' the typist, through that drifting music, to attend a form of anti-anarchy: the ritual communal bonding of vespers in Magnus Martyr, an inheritance from the ancient rituals of sacred woods.

¹⁹⁹ Barbara K. Lewalski 'Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes' *the Cambridge History of English Poetry* ed. Michael O'Neill (Cambridge University Press 2015) p.263

6.3 The music of Sappho: from Sacred Wood to Vespers and First Wave Feminism

What matters most, let us say, in reading an ode of Sappho, is not that I should imagine myself to be an island Greek of twenty-five hundred years ago; what matters is the experience which is the same, for all human beings capable of enjoying poetry, of different centuries and languages, the spark which can leap across those 2,500 years.²⁰⁰

In an echo of Pound's comment that a 'return to origins invigorates', Eliot wrote in 1919 that 'The maxim, Return to the sources, is a good one.'²⁰¹ To a significant degree, Sappho represents the sources of Christian vespers.

The word 'music' originated in the Greek *mousikē*. It had ritual and ethical dimensions and was closely linked with poetry. David Fuller notes the importance of music to Eliot's poetry:

Eliot liked to stress that the very nature of poetry is in part music. This is most obvious in his use of musical titles – quartets, song, prelude, rhapsody, 'Words for music', five-finger exercises, invention, suite, caprice, nocturne and humoresque.²⁰²

Christian music emerged as a fusion of Hebrew hymn, Roman hymn and Roman and Syriac street music from the Levantine primitive Church, particularly east of Jerusalem in Edessa, capital of the 'little kingdom' Osroene. It is often termed the first Christian state – a legend recounts an exchange of letters between Jesus and its king. It was the centre of Semitic Aramaic literary culture from which arose the early Christian Aramaic writings. These were translated into demotic Greek to facilitate St. Paul's mission to Europe, forming the core of the New Testament. 'Alexandria' (374) later became the centre of theology and translation. Edessa was at the juncture of empires and so absorbed Greek, Hebrew, and particularly Roman influences from its incorporation into the Roman Empire.

Christianity had spread east as well as west [...] to Edessa, a cosmopolitan trading city under the protection of the Romans [...] Christians in Edessa were able to build proper public church buildings. The earliest public church building in the world is recorded here [...] We tend to think of church music in western terms [...] But the real source of western church music probably lies [...] in Syria [with] church leaders like Ephrem of

²⁰⁰ T.S. Eliot 'The Frontiers of Criticism' *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1956), p.543

²⁰¹ Ezra Pound 'The Tradition' *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound* p.92 / T.S Eliot 'War-paint and Feathers' CP2.138.

²⁰² David Fuller 'Music' *T.S. Eliot in Context* p.141.

Edessa, who wrote hymns and liturgy in metrical verse and even put new, orthodox lyrics to older popular melodies [...] Eastern popes in Rome imported these practices. Western Christians who sing the Agnus Dei, ‘Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world’, are using a Syrian form of words imported by Pope Sergius. And English church music followed suit: there was a Syrian Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, of whom Bede says that after he arrived on English shores, ‘they began in all the churches of the English to learn Church music’.²⁰³

The Romans had no indigenous theory or system of music, instead using and teaching Greek methods, exemplified by Sappho. Through the Romans, in Edessa the Greek music of Sappho fused with the Hebraic and other Levantine elements to create early Christian hymn which might be termed in the main Judeo-Greek, with Syriac and Roman influences. It became a musical ‘demotic’ (212), the blend that underwrites all subsequent Christian music including vespers in Magnus Martyr.²⁰⁴ It is notable that the earliest fragment of Christian music, the *Oxyrhynchus* hymn, is notated in demotic Greek and was found in the same 1918 archaeological dig near Aphroditopolis in which a significant cache of the fragments of Sappho were found.

At the time of *The Waste Land*, the classical reference to Sappho was to the oldest known female poet.²⁰⁵ Through among others her odes to Aphrodite, she represents the most ancient worship which arose from ritual hymn in sacred woods before the rise of temples, the classical mirror of the reredos depictions in Magnus Martyr of the rise of worship from primitive sacred wood to the Temple of Solomon and the New Testament; a ‘parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity.’²⁰⁶ This melding of common classical and Judeo-Christian roots of worship in the ritual of ‘vegetation ceremonies’ (*Notes on the Waste Land* PE.72) is further comingled by the intersection of the music of Sappho and vespers. There is a resonance with Nietzsche’s thinking:

From this abyss [‘the twitching convulsions of our cultural life’] there emerged the German Reformation, in whose chorale the future of German music resounded. The Lutheran chorale is as profound, courageous and soulful, as exuberantly good and

²⁰³ Nick Page *A Nearly Infallible History of Christianity* (Hodder & Stoughton 2013) p.77

²⁰⁴ Stephan Dedalus, in discussing a piece of music: ‘It may be an old hymn to Demeter or also illustrate *Coela enarrant gloriam Domini*’ [Psalm 19], followed by the thematic ‘Jewgreek is greekjew’ (*Ulysses* 15.2088/2097).

²⁰⁵ The oldest known female poet is now Enheduanna, Sumerian high priestess of Inanna (23 cen. BCE) discovered on cuneiform cylinders in 1927.

²⁰⁶ T.S. Eliot *Ulysses, Order, and Myth* 1923 CP2.478.

delicate, as the first luting Dionysiac call that rings out from the undergrowth at the approach of spring. (BT110)

The Birth of Tragedy is dedicated to Wagner, in whose mythic ‘German music’ Nietzsche at that time saw national salvation from decadence. Nietzsche is, then, comparing Reformation choral to both the modern in Wagner and the ‘luting’ vegetation ceremonies of ancient sacred groves.

In the work of Harrison and others, rituals are consistently shown to be carried forward after, in many instances, the precise meaning or intention has been forgotten. Harrison expounds a form of hymn origin story when she links the most ancient ritual cry of the Greeks to Christian Easter:

Some, like Lacchos [Dionysus] and probably Bacchos itself, though they ultimately became proper names, were originally only cries. Lacchos was a song even down to the time of Aristophanes and was probably, to begin with, a ritual shout or cry kept up long after its meaning was forgotten. Such cries from their vagueness, their aptness for repetition, are peculiarly exciting to the religious emotions. How many people attach any precise significance to the thrice repeated, stately and moving words that form the prooemium to our own Easter Hymn? ‘Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.’ They are a homage beyond articulate speech. Then, as now, these excited cries became sacred titles of the worshippers who used them.²⁰⁷

Nietzsche writes that we ‘must reconstruct the overwhelming power of the musical effect in an almost scholarly fashion’ (BT81), and this seems part of Eliot’s intention. *The Waste Land* posits in Sappho what Harrison calls ‘the comparatively permanent element of the ritual and the shifting manifold nature of the myth’ (Crawford SC86), in that, in this reading, the ‘new’ Christian myth resulting from progressive revelation avails of the permanent ritual of hymn figuratively and actually handed on by Sappho.

‘Memory’ (3) then suggests an ancient companion for Aphrodite of ‘April’ (1) in evoking Mnemosyne, Greek goddess of memory and mother of the nine muses. In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, poets derive their capability from Mnemosyne and the nine muses, so perhaps ‘Memory’ is in

²⁰⁷ Harrison, Jane. *Prolegomena to the study of the Greek Religion* 1908 (Cambridge: at the University Press 1908) p.413. *Prooemium*: classical Latin - preamble, prelude in music.

part Eliot's subtle invocation of the poetic muses. A poem attributed to Plato terms Sappho the 'tenth muse' (Barnstone xx).

It is the mnemonic which underlies ritual and song engendered both in Tylor's animist oral cultures represented in the 'vegetation ceremonies' (PE.72) of *The Waste Land* which are 'the groundwork of the Philosophy of Religion' (see 'Archaeology' p.39); and Harrison's 'ritual' 'cries' noted above which, for 'their aptness for repetition, are peculiarly exciting to the religious emotions.' Those mnemonic techniques of oral culture seem repeated in the opening of the poem through the drumbeat rhythm of the words 'breeding', 'mixing', 'stirring', 'covering', and 'feeding' (PE.55.1-6). It is perhaps notable that an important aspect of 'desire' (3) is, in Sappho, for the sacred, mirroring the later Christian meaning: 'desire | and | Afroditi [...] the Geraistion shrine | lovers | of no one | I shall enter desire' (*Afroditi and Desire* Barnstone 63).

The first four lines of *The Waste Land* vary in only minor ways from a Sapphic stanza of four lines, and 'Dull roots with spring rain' (4) is exactly an adonic, the fourth line of a Sapphic stanza; five syllables composed of a dactyl and a trochee. The trochee is less commonly called the choreus, from Greek *chorós*, meaning 'choral dance' or 'dance', and the root word of chorus. Nietzsche calls the chorus the 'true primal drama' of 'purely religious beginnings' (BT36).

Lines five to seven can be read as in part another fragment of Sappho, more simple and primitive, mirroring Sappho's earliest work in three line stanzas. It could represent the first emergence of poetry, perhaps even language itself, from Harrison's ritual cry that evolved into the hymn of the sacred wood.²⁰⁸ Nietzsche writes '*Melody, then, is both primary and universal [...] Melody gives birth to poetry, over and over again*' (BT33).

As *Oxen of the Sun*,²⁰⁹ episode fourteen of *Ulysses*, is a series of imitative styles which 'recapitulates the evolution of prose style in literary history' (UA.408.fn.1), and which opens with primitive incantations to, among others, the 'sun as a source of fertility' (UA.408.14.2) – 'Send us bright one, light one, Horhorn, quickening and wombfuit' (U.14.2) - so there may be

²⁰⁸ It is perhaps biting literary mockery to find a reference in the most 'primitive' section of Eliot's masterpiece, through 'A little life' (7), to Byron's waste land poem *Darkness*: 'The feeble ashes, and their feeble breath | Blew for a little life, and made a flame | Which was a mockery'. Eliot seconded Mathew Arnold's view that the Romantic hero Byron was 'so empty of matter' (*The Sacred Wood* Introduction xiv), as is the 'Earth' (6) in this section of *The Waste Land*.

²⁰⁹ Notably, that chapter, the organ of which is the 'womb' and the symbol the 'mother', imitates a series of male scribes throughout history discussing fertility, maternity, childbearing and other aspects of the feminine.

running through *The Waste Land* a similar modernist endeavour: a map of the development of poetry throughout history.

Barnstone writes that ‘In Sappho we hear for the first time in the Western world the direct words of an individual woman. It cannot be said that her song has ever been surpassed’ (p.64). She was preeminent in her time; ‘her fame as a lyric poet exceeded all others in Greek and Latin antiquity’, and that continued through history in both admiration and censorious ‘book-burning religious authorities who left us largely scraps of torn papyrus’ (p.xiii). Sappho acquired her first Christian ‘whorish woman’ (p.xxv) appellation from Tatian the Syrian, one of the earliest Christian theologians (2nd century) influential in the Edessa region. The only contemporary description of Sappho is by the ‘Lesbian poet Alkaios; “O violet-haired, holy, honeysmiling Sappho”’ (Barnstone 123).

Representations through history have been as varied as those of the Eternal Feminine – the fallen Sappho as prostitute, licentious lesbian, and wanton pagan contrasts to the various sanitised, chaste Sappho’s, including she whose lesbian poetry was but ritual expression by a virgin priestess. ‘Most hurtful to Sappho were the majority of her defenders from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century’, eager to ‘clean up Sappho’s act’, save for exceptions such as ‘Charles Baudelaire, who paid bitterly for his candor’, and William Muir of Caldwell, who admitted Sappho’s broad sexuality, though terming it ‘so foul a blot on the Greek national character’ (Barnstone p.xxix). Erika Rohrbach notes the ‘1890’s boom of interest in her’, continued in the early twentieth century when, for ‘a number of modernists, much was at stake in the reading of Sappho.’²¹⁰ Sappho seems the Ur-Imagist, among other modernist resonances.

In her own fragment poems H.D. used Sappho to expand her poetic relation to imagism [...] H.D. mostly sought refuge in Sappho’s lesbianism as a poetic escape from real heterosexual trauma. Like Aldington [...] and Virginia Woolf, whose intellectual pursuit of Sappho was aggravated by the sexism of her male peers, H.D. used Sappho as a projection of her own life, not as she wished it to be, but as it was. (Rohrbach 184)

²¹⁰ Erika Rohrbach ‘H.D. and Sappho: “A precious inch of Palimpsest”’ in *Re-reading Sappho* ed. Ellen Greene (University of California Press 1996) p.184.

Aldington was editor of *The Egoist Poets' Translation Series*, the second of which was Edward Storer's *Poems and Fragments of Sappho*, 'most likely read by Ezra Pound, Marianne Moore, James Joyce, Amy Lowell, F.S. Flint, Harriet Shaw Weaver, Dora Marsden and T.S. Eliot' (Rohrbach 185). It is safe to say that during the modernist period Sappho was important, and her reception re-evaluated, particularly by female modernists pointing to a female poetic exemplar from less oppressive times. Rohrbach comments that 'Woolf and company make Sappho the object of study for the formation of their own insular female "society"' (p.188) although, in Rohrbach's detailed analysis of Sappho's themes in H.D.'s fragment poems, classical themes seem shared with male modernists: H.D.'s fragment poems address the self-castrating Attis (p.191), and 'H.D. restores Aphrodite' (p.192). It seems clear that Sappho served in an important respect as a modernist feminist rebuke to an oppressive male dominated society which suppressed the female, including artistic potential. "Perhaps in Lesbos" Woolf speculates, "but never since have these conditions been the lot of women."²¹¹

What Eliot is pointing to, aside from her consummate craft, is Sappho's all-encompassing immersion in the divine through, among other works, her devotional odes to Aphrodite: she 'chatted with Afroditi', sometimes 'conversing almost fiercely with her ally the love goddess' (Barnstone xiv). In that sense, all the poetry of Sappho, and the signals of her rich emotional and cultural life derived from that and celebrated particularly by female modernists, arise from the sacred hymn of the ancient sacred wood. 'Kritan women once danced supplely | around a beautiful altar with light feet | crushing the soft flowers of grass' (*Dancers at a Kritan Altar* Barnstone 6).

It is of note that Sappho is also interested in an improved version of man. In her fragment *Myths* (Barnstone 64) a better version of man is shaped by myth and poetry: 'All would | say | that my tongue | tells tales | and for a greater | man.'²¹² In that, there is a deep resonance with Eliot, and a stark contrast with the brutally excised tongue of Philomel and, figuratively, that of the typist.

²¹¹ Susan Gubar 'Sapphistries' *Re-reading Sappho* p.201.

²¹² *The Complete Poems of Sappho* p.64.

6.4 The Birth of Tragedy: Ritual, Vegetation Ceremonies, Sappho and Dionysian Hymn

Michael Tanner, commenting on Nietzsche's perspective on the classical Greek chorus, writes of 'apparent individuals submerging their identities in the mass. This is only possible under various conditions [such as] a member of a choral society [...] singing the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.' (BT xvi). This release from self experienced in the 'choral society' – whether the 'choir of the Baptist chapel' of *Eeldrop and Appleplex* or vespers in Magnus Martyr – is a form of Nietzsche's Dionysian transcendence experienced in the rituals of the most primitive sacred wood. It is the 'self-oblivion of the Dionysiac state' contrasted to the Apollonian 'apotheosis of the *principium individuationis*' (BT27/26). Nietzsche writes of 'the overwhelming power of sound, the unified flow of melody and the utterly incomparable world of harmony' (BT20). For Nietzsche, music is:

placed on one side over and above all the other arts, the independent art in itself, *not*, like the others, offering copies of the phenomenal world, but rather speaking the language of the will itself, directly from the 'abyss', as its most authentic, most original, least deprived revelation. (GM82)

Scott Freer, referring to Eliot's Wagnerian quote in *The Waste Land* lines 31-4, comments that it 'is more than mere coincidence that Eliot should single out a lyric that Nietzsche celebrates at length in section 21 of *The Birth of Tragedy*.'²¹³ Since in his last book, a review of his life's work, Nietzsche writes 'I still today seek a work of a dangerous fascination, of a sweet and shuddery infinity equal to that of Tristan – I seek in all the arts in vain' (EH31), it is clear that *Tristan und Isolde* continued to be of seminal importance to him. Zilcosky comments that:

As critics have convincingly argued, *Die Geburt de Tragödie (The Birth of Tragedy)* looms behind both the ritualistic, Dionysian tragedy *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), as well as the mytho-poetic *The Waste Land* (1922). In the latter, Nietzsche haunts Eliot via *Tristan and Isolde*, as a voice latent within its text and its notes.²¹⁴

Isolde is again a traduced woman, condemned to a forced marriage, and Nietzsche sees in her 'metaphysical swansong' a desire to escape herself and her position, to 'escape back to the womb of the sole true reality'. He quotes Isolde: 'To drown – to sink | Unconscious – supreme

²¹³ Scott Freer *Modernist Mythopoeia* (Palgrave MacMillan 2015) p.66.

²¹⁴ Zilcosky 'Modern Monuments: T. S. Eliot, Nietzsche, and the Problem of History' p.21.

joy!' (BT106), an echo of Ophelia's suicidal urge in the Lil scene: 'her farewell anticipates her death by water' (PE640.[II].172).

Alienation and desire for release from self are for Nietzsche entwined with the idea of personal fragmentation. He posits the Dionysian urge for 'blissful ecstasy' which 'rises up from man's innermost core' as in part a dread of the 'fragmentation of the *principium individuationis*' (BT17), which according to Graham Parkes is a theme of fragmentation of the individual shared with *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Emerson and Schiller.²¹⁵ Later, he deploys that fragmentation against the Christian as an act of self-inflicted psychological harm by the 'naïve *homo religiosus* [who] divides himself up into *several people*', believing only the weak and sick part to be himself, and feelings of strength to be instilled by a God: 'Among the sick, a sense of health suffices to make one believe that God exists, that God is near': 'Religion is the outgrowth of a *doubt* as to the unity of the person' (WP§135/136 p.92/93).

On the other hand, Nietzsche quotes Schopenhauer on the 'unshakable, blissful peace' a 'state of pure knowing' achieved through song as a suspension of the will. This is temporary, since the will and the 'divided state of mind' it creates 'always tears us away again' (BT31). He writes of a man experiencing a Dionysian reaction in the 'convulsive spreading of the souls wings' in response to music – specifically 'the third act of *Tristan und Isolde*', asking how could such a man 'fail to shatter into pieces all of a sudden' before 'inexorably fleeing to his primal home amidst the piping of the pastoral metaphysical dance' (BT101).

That 'pastoral metaphysical dance' is at least in part what Eliot suggests in his 'references to vegetation ceremonies' (PE72), and echoes Sappho's *Dancers at a Kritan Altar* noted above. It represents a transcendence or temporary dissolution of the pain of individuality – a 'mystical state of self-expression and unity' (BT30) – which this reading of *The Waste Land* posits in more spiritual form in the ritual of vespers. Nietzsche writes:

Under the influence of the narcotic potion hymned by all primitive men and peoples, or in the powerful approach of spring [...] subjectivity becomes a complete forgetting of the self. (BT17)

Nietzsche again quotes Schopenhauer on the 'close relationship between music and the true nature of all things [it] expresses the metaphysical to everything physical' (BT78). In 'Adam',

²¹⁵ *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* 'Explanatory Notes' p.305.120. Schiller's theory of fragmentation of the modern individual is said to have in part inspired Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, an Adamic narrative in which the creature has read *Paradise Lost*, terming it 'the picture of an omnipotent God warring with his creatures', and lamenting that 'no Eve soothed my sorrows, shared my thoughts'. Mary Shelly *Frankenstein* (Norton Critical Edition 2012) p.90-91.

the Nietzschean transcendence of self is examined in relation to his ‘wretched bell-jar of human individuality’ (BT101) and his concept of the ‘primal Oneness’; in conjunction with Emerson’s extreme individualism contrasted to his Oversoul; and Bradley’s isolated ‘opaque’ ‘sphere’ of the individual of the *Notes on the Waste Land* (PE77) compared to his all-encompassing Absolute. In each instance, the isolated self reflects the trapped Cumaean Sibyl of the poem’s epigraph, and the isolation of all females and indeed all characters in the poem, contrasted to the Primal Oneness, Absolute or Oversoul – notwithstanding their differences from an orthodox Godhead (see ‘Adam’) – linked to transcendence of self represented by ritual as expressed in modern London in vespers.

In the main this study posits Eliot’s antipathy to Nietzsche in the contexts of his later ruthless iconoclastic attacks on Christianity and his advocacy of extreme individualism. From that perspective, Nietzsche most potently and dangerously gives voice to the most errant, godless manifestation of the inner voice. However, there appears to be a deep engagement with Nietzsche’s concept of art. Particularly, *The Waste Land* in this reading seems to apply Harding’s previously noted ‘adversarial yet reconstructive’ methodology (*Egoist* 96) to Nietzsche’s theory of music, and it is perhaps notable that Nietzsche’s full title is *The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music*.

In *the Birth of Tragedy* and at the end of the second *Meditation*, the dangers of the Dionysian are clearly recognised, and Nietzsche admits that it leads only to wantonness and licentiousness unless it is harnessed and transformed by Apollo’s intervention. (Kaufmann 169)

The Dionysian effect of music in transcending Nietzsche’s ‘wretched bell-jar of human individuality’ and affecting the soul through the ‘spreading of the souls wings’ (BT. §21 p.101) might be seen as, per Kaufmann and at the time of *The Waste Land*, ‘harnessed and transformed’ by the Apollonian guidance of the combined universalist ritualism and accompanying heritage of Eliot’s tradition and classicism, the culmination of the accumulated cultural and spiritual efforts of mankind, the logos. Nietzsche’s ‘daemonic folk song’ is disciplined by the ‘psalmodizing Apolline artist’ (BT27/26). ‘Have I been understood? – *Dionysos against the crucified...*’ closes *Ecce Homo* (EH104), however in vespers Nietzsche’s anarchic primal Dionysian urge not only submits to Apollonian guidance but also is essential in that conjunction to achieve transcendence through ritualist music. Spurr writes that ‘the outward and visible signs of liturgy and church adornment are [...] conducive to stirring the

sense of “the numinous” appropriate to prayer and worship’ (Spurr CCE191-2), and hymn magnifies that experience. Nietzsche writes that the ‘image and concept, influenced by a truly corresponding music’ endow the ‘symbolic image with *the highest level of significance*’ (BT79). Further, vespers and the accompanying imagery of ritualism, including the ‘splendour’ of Magnus Martyr, belie Nietzsche’s comment that ‘Christianity is neither Apollonian nor Dionysian, it *negates* all *aesthetic* values’ (EH49).

Vespers, emerging from the music of Sappho in turn derived from the ritual cry of the primitive sacred wood, then represents the optimum fusion of the Dionysian and Apollonian in approaching a realisation of the Christian version of Nietzsche’s ‘primal Oneness’. ‘Singing and dancing, man expresses himself as a member of a higher community [...] and is about to fly dancing into the heavens’ (BT18). Nietzsche claims the primal Oneness to be a ‘necessary illusion’; however in this mythic schema of *The Waste Land* that is reconstructed to instead represent the ‘inexplicable splendour’ (265) of the ‘whole scheme of redemption’ (Appendix 2.5) depicted as a narrative of ennobling progressive revelation and potential transcendence, set out in visual form on the Magnus Martyr reredos and aspired to through vespers.

On the other hand, the absence of such classical guidance – in Eliot’s reconfigured sense of the classical - leads to Kaufmann’s Dionysian ‘wantonness and licentiousness’; the indulgence of ‘the inner voice, which breathes the eternal message of vanity, fear, and lust’ (*The Function of Criticism* CP2.461). In a later essay this manifests in both what is suggested as a form of debased, socialist hymn from ‘a proletarian conductor, with a couple of railway flags, directing some “community singing” from the top of a factory’; and in the mob transcendence of the Massenmensch:

of late, whenever any very large number of Britons is assembled in one place for holiday enjoyment, as for a Cup Final or Test Match, we find that a large part of the excitement consists in their singing all together. We have not witnessed such a musical sacrifice, and do not know whether it is as yet merely a newspaper wheeze, or whether it has really taken hold of the British Massenmensch. (*A Commentary* CP2.102)

6.5 'Food in tins': Spiritual Nourishment and Milton's *Lycidas*

Morrison writes of 'how churches function as spaces of refuge in the poem.'²¹⁶ There is a suggestion that attending vespers in Magnus Martyr would be a more rewarding, spiritually nourishing destination for the typist than her loveless rendezvous. A more spiritual relationship with sex is linked with the Christian Mary by the later Eliot, and here is evidenced an intense personal relationship with the Eternal Feminine, linking the secular female with the divine. Spurr writes that Eliot 'wrote to Geoffrey Faber: "I have found my own love for a woman enhanced, intensified and purified by meditation on the Virgin" (*L3* 711)' (CCE.197).

In contrast, the spiritual impoverishment of the typist's rendezvous is embodied in the poor nourishment of the 'food in tins' (223), an echo of Eve feeding Adam save that the typist's circumstances are so circumscribed by the misogynistic world about her that there exists no alternative, no 'Paradise that bear delicious fruit | So various' (PL.IV.422). That theme of nourishment is echoed in Milton's *Lycidas* through the 'hungry sheep look up, and are not fed'.

Lycidas is a lament at the loss of a selfless young clergyman in contrast to the surviving established Bishops and ministers considered so venal. St. Peter appears as a judge, described as 'The Pilot of the Galilean Lake', so continuing Eliot's and Sappho's theme of guidance expressed in seafaring terms. St. Peter appears linked to *The Waste Land* through the 'human engine' (216), which echoes Milton's 'two-handed engine' of *Lycidas*:

Last came, and last did go, [108]

The Pilot of the Galilean lake;

[...]

The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed, [125]

But, swoll'n with wind and the rank mist they draw,

Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw

Daily devours apace, and nothing said,

But that two-handed engine at the door

Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

²¹⁶ Spencer Morrison 'Mapping and Reading the Cityscape' CCT 35.

Spurr writes that for Eliot the ‘lively relationship’ between two elements, ‘the historical and cultural heritage at the centre of the life of a society’ and the ‘theology, spirituality and ritual of the Western Catholic Church [...] through the centuries, had given Western civilisation its meaning and purpose, as well as its great artistry’.²¹⁷ As the guide St. Peter represents the Christian pilot, so Sappho represents the classical world as a cultural pilot, a comingled source of guidance.

The classics have, during the latter part of the nineteenth century and up to the present moment, lost their place as a pillar of the political and social system – such as the Established Church still is. If they are to survive, to justify themselves as literature, as an element to the European mind, as the foundation for the literature we hope to create, they are very badly in need of persons capable of expounding them. We need some one – not a member of the Church of Rome, and perhaps preferably not a member of the Church of England – to explain how vital a matter it is, if Aristotle may be said to have been a moral pilot of Europe, whether we shall or shall not drop that pilot.²¹⁸

Milton’s metaphor of the ‘two-handed engine’ is famously opaque, perhaps related to Hebrews 4: ‘For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword.’ Eliot invests the metaphor with more focus by embodying that engine as a collective human energy. When ‘the human engine waits / Like a taxi throbbing waiting’ (216), it can be read as the massed energy of humanity waiting, like a taxi, for guidance, for instructions on what road to take in the modern world. The maritime theme of guidance from Sappho’s Hesperus and St. Peter has now been brought ashore and into the present, to the streets of Eliot’s London. It is a machine metaphor with a sense of crisis at a crossroads. Arnold writes ‘Faith in machinery is, I said, our besetting danger [...] Culture looks beyond machinery’.²¹⁹ A sour irony gives the lie to the secular confidence of pre-war movements such as the Futurists. Mencken writes ‘In Italy the wilder youngsters write Nietzschean poetry, denounce Dante as an ass and call themselves “Futurists”’.²²⁰ They fetishized the triumph of science and machinery, subsequently to devastate Europe in the mechanised killing of the Great War. Eliot notes ‘Milton’s propensity towards images of engineering and mechanics’,²²¹ and Milton’s engines are

²¹⁷ Spurr, ‘T.S. Eliot and Christianity’ *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* p.190.

²¹⁸ T. S. Eliot ‘Euripides and Professor Murray’ *The Sacred Woods* p.61.

²¹⁹ Mathew Arnold *Selected Prose* ‘Culture and Anarchy’ Ch. 2 ‘Sweetness and Light’ (Penguin Books 1970) p.209/225.

²²⁰ Mencken ‘What about Nietzsche?’ *The Smart Set* November 1909 <https://theGrandArchive.wordpress.com/what-about-nietzsche/>

²²¹ Milton II CP5:31. “Milton’s poetry is far less naturalistic than Shakespeare’s. He is extremely fond of all human artefacts – buildings, machinery, scientific inventions. . . . War’s more mechanic and explosive qualities fascinate Milton.” Quoting Wilson Knight’s *Chariot of Wrath* (122). Fn.34.

similarly troublesome, as Satan ‘invents devilish Engines, which in the second dayes Fight put Michael and his Angels to some disorder.’²²²

While Eliot considered Mina Loy’s *Human Cylinders* ‘not so good’ (PE:714), it may be that there is some resonance in view of her enthusiastic engagement with futurism. ‘The human cylinders | Revolving in the enervating dusk | That wraps each closer in the mystery | Of singularity [...] Having eaten without tasting | Talked without communion’.²²³ It is notable that in the drafts the clerk says ‘Grandly, “I have been with Nevinson today”’ (FT33), identified as the painter C.R.W. Nevinson (FT128), a painter of machine aesthetic futurism such as the striking *La Mitrailleuse*. This suggests an intended link between the clerk and erroneous faith in a secular, mechanistic future.

6.6 The Eve of *The Waste Land*

Milton had a choice in *Paradise Lost* between two versions of Genesis. Frazer writes:

ATTENTIVE readers of the Bible can hardly fail to remark a striking discrepancy between the two accounts the creation of man recorded in the first and second chapters of Genesis [...] In the first narrative the deity begins with fishes and works steadily up through birds and beasts to man and woman. In the second narrative he begins with man and works downwards through the lower animals to woman, who apparently marks the nadir of the divine workmanship.²²⁴

In this reading, that ‘second narrative’ represents for Eliot the ‘theology that I find in large part repellent, expressed through a mythology that would have better been left in the Book of *Genesis*, upon which Milton has not improved.’²²⁵ Milton erred by endorsing that aspect of the myth which confirmed the subordination of women, thereby validating the waste land of gender alienation identified in Virginia Woolf’s writing as ‘Milton’s bogy’.²²⁶ In another Edenic twist,

²²² ‘The Argument’, *Paradise Lost*, Book 6.

²²³ Mina Loy *Human Cylinders* in *Others: An Anthology of the New Verse* (1917) (Leopold Classic Library 2015) p.71.

²²⁴ Sir James George Frazer *Folk-Lore In The Old Testament. Studies In Comparative Religion: Legend And Law* Vol. 1 (MacMillan 1918) p.3. Notably, it was from these discordant Genesis accounts that the early medieval myth of Jewish folklore developed in which Lilith - short form ‘Lil’ of *The Waste Land* (139) - was the first wife of Adam, divorced because she refused to be subordinate.

²²⁵ Eliot ‘Milton 1’ CP5.376

²²⁶ Virginia Woolf *A Room of One’s Own* (Penguin Classics 2000) p. 112. ‘if we look past Milton’s bogy, for no human being should shut out the view; if we face the fact, for it is a fact, that there is no arm to cling to’.

Mary Wollstonecraft wrote: 'if men eat of the tree of knowledge, women will come in for a taste; but, from the imperfect cultivation which their understandings now receive, they only attain a knowledge of evil.' She characterised the subordination of women as infantilization and enforced voiceless ignorance, echoing both the voiceless job of the typist in transcribing the words of men and her 'one half-formed thought' (251), and Mencken's idealised, coquettish woman (see 'Adam'):

To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty adorn'd
My author and disposer, what thou
bid'st Unargued I obey; so God ordains.
God is thy law thou mine: to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.

These are exactly the arguments that I have used to children;²²⁷

Eliot is, then, not the first to invert the Eden myth. In what might be termed a sequel to the fall, *Ulysses* portrays a squalid universal couple east of Eden - not so far removed in squalor from Eliot's couple - in which woman is particularly afflicted and betrayed by man: oppressed, prostituted, with the 'shefiend' aspect of Lilith (see 6.7):

Shouldering their bags they trudged, the red Egyptians. [...] With woman steps she followed: the ruffian and his strolling mort [...] Behind her lord, his helpmate, bing awast to Romeville. When night hides her bodies flaws calling under her brown shawl from an archway where dogs have mired. Her fancyman is treating two Royal Dublins in O'Loughlin's of Blackpitts [...] a shefiend's whiteness under her rancid rags. (U.3.370-380)

Linking females distant in time, status and other distinctions casts light from each to other, illuminating the Eternal Feminine through the cultural assumptions informing each archetype: 'Fresca! In another time and place had been | A meek and lowly weeping Magdalene | More sinned against than sinning | bruised and marred' (FT:41).²²⁸ For women, the subordinate aspect of the Eve myth represents an imposed regression rather than any form of evolution or progression. The typist as a representative of the Eternal Feminine is much reduced in circumstances compared to the venerated female archetypes with which she is surrounded. Her failure to clear away her breakfast is most suggestive of depression. The scene is preceded by the potential suicide of Ophelia in response to the similarly abysmal scene between Albert and Lil, and followed by a reference to the Vicar of Wakefield in 'When lovely woman stops to

²²⁷ Mary Wollstonecraft *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* p.23.

²²⁸ Fresca is linked to Aphrodite through the 'soapy sea' (FT41) – see 6.1.

folly' (253), another reference to suicide as potentially the only option available to women, if left defenceless in the absence of care and guidance.

The theme of depression, potential madness and suicide in women in *The Waste Land* is constant. Suicide, assault, rape, voiceless depression, abortive poisoning, assassination (see 'Attentat'), the cutting out of tongues and other insults are part of the lot of the female in this gender waste land. The typist is yet another depiction of a traumatised women in the poem, so oppressed and depressed that she barely functions mentally, whereas the scribes of female submissiveness such as those of the Old Testament, Milton, Nietzsche and Mencken (see 'Adam') portray in their idealised females only forms of occasional coquettish pique, soon dispelled by superior male intelligence. Persistent female rebels are variously catastrophised as Eve, demonised as Lilith, or in Nietzsche's anti-feminist case, rendered *abortive*.

Unless these poetic insults to the female are deliberate or, despite himself, the poetic eruptions of Eliot's latent rape fantasies - he was dismissive of readers who 'peer lasciviously between the lines for biographical confession'²²⁹ - there must be an alternative reason for such unrelenting misogynistic brutality. In using the term 'lovely woman', Eliot appears to signal that the typist, trapped as she is, is absolved of blame.

In the early 1900's, as a reverberating consequence of the Reformation, there existed a deep puritan antipathy to worship of the Virgin Mary as cultish. This overlapped with an array of fallen women and whorish slurs, adopted by puritan scribes from the Old Testament, which were used against the Church of Rome and eventually its Anglo-Catholic sister church. It created by default a core lode of sublimated misogyny in society and, in that light, the perceived misogyny in the poem is, in this reading, a trap. Our easy susceptibility to, complicity with, and resignation to such misogynistic language and imagery shows it to be entrenched from the creation, in the Eve myth, of the archetypal tainted, seditious female.

In that light, Hayward's characterisation of the typist as a 'slut, as much by force of circumstances as by nature' (PE664[III]222-23) is uncharitable. The reading of wantonness is not unique either to Hayward or the typist. Gilbert Seldes wrote of the female wishing 'goonight' (170) in that pub that we 'have a passage seemingly spoken by a slut', and this highlights two aspects.²³⁰ The ease with which such judgements were made at that time appears a vestige of the remaining power of biblical misogyny ingrained in the society of the time; and

²²⁹ Valéry CP2.561

²³⁰ Gilbert Seldes 'T.S. Eliot, 'Nation', (New York) *The Dial*, 6 Dec. 1922. In *The Critical Heritage Early Criticism*

the power of those critical expressions may have contributed to those subsequent readings of the poem as an extended expression of direct misogyny by Eliot, rather than, in this reading, a critique of that inherited misogyny.

From a different perspective the typist is not a 'slut'. The position of typist granted some independence and dignity compared to other slavish work available to women of the time – albeit that her position is voiceless, as in the 1920's she would have been transcribing, and so reiterating, the words of male scribes. It is a reiteration also evident in Lil's false friend, examined shortly. Rainey writes: 'In this tableau, the typist vanishes entirely as an autonomous agent.'²³¹ Other work available to women was for instance listed in 'the *Church Times* [which] continued to print one or more pages of advertisements for 'Christian young women 'from respectable families' to act as housekeepers and maids.'²³² Rainey reports that overtime work for typists was paid with "Bread, jam and tea for one hour", and "Scrambled eggs, scones and tea for two hours", and that it was 'not unknown for a girl to faint at her work from lack of adequate nourishment.'²³³

It is not Eliot who assaults the typist, it is the carbuncular clerk, representing ideas and forces, injurious to the Eternal Feminine, to which Eliot is deeply opposed. Her accommodation circumstances, the poor quality of nourishment, and the brute assault of the clerk combine to create a bleak modern environment, devoid of solace, gentleness or care. That brutality is also evident in the worn out and used up Lil.

6.7 Troublesome women: Dora Marsden, Nietzsche and Lil

Since 'all the women are one woman' (*Notes on the Waste Land* PE.74.218), the woman of *The Waste Land* descends from the venerated heights of Venus, Aphrodite and the New Eve Mary to the public house environment of the brutalised 'Lil' (139) and 'Albert' (142). As consort of Queen Victoria, a different Albert evokes the consorts 'Adonis, Attis, Osiris' (PE.72), suggesting a more healthy male relationship with the Eternal Feminine in ancient times prior to the Eve myth. There is an irony in the juxtaposition between the ideal subordinate

²³¹ Rainey 'With Automatic Hand: *The Waste Land*' *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* p.80.

²³² John Gunstone *Lift High the Cross: Anglo-Catholics and the Congress Movement* (Canterbury Press 2010) p.16.

²³³ Rainey 'With Automatic Hand: *The Waste Land*' *The New Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot* p.78.

females of the Old Testament, Milton and Nietzsche, and the male consort relationships in the poem of Elizabeth and Victoria.

The scene in *The Waste Land* between Albert and Lil can be read as offering a sharply focussed insight from a 1920's perspective into the posited scribal battle between Eliot and Nietzsche though the latter's infamously misogynistic 'whip passage'. As the clerk appears a debased *übermensch*, Lil, in contrast to her ferocious ancient counterpart Lilith, becomes a debased Nietzschean perfect woman, the plaything of a warrior, submissive, used up, rendered *abortive*: 'I am the first psychologist of the eternal-womanly. They all love me – an old story: excepting the *abortive* women, the 'emancipated' who lack the stuff for children' (EH45).

Simone de Beauvoir writes that there is 'no figurative image of woman which does not call up at once its opposite [...] In the figures of the Virgin Mary and Beatrice, Eve and Circe still exist' (*Second Sex* 218). Lil seems to represent the modern nadir of the Eternal Feminine, mirroring Frazer's Eve as 'the nadir of the divine workmanship'²³⁴ and offering potential insight into a fundamental Nietzschean error, misogyny, undermining Nietzschean thoroughness in that he claims absolute freedom from Judeo-Christianity yet repeats Old Testament and Lutheran scribal misogyny.

Lil is the short form of the Jewish Lilith, which has implications both for Eliot's inversion of the Eve myth and his source material, which ranged beyond orthodox biblical sources to engage with medieval Jewish rabbinical texts and 'folk-lore'. This range is shared with the omnivorous scholars of comparative religion of his time and with Joyce, who with his 'encyclopaedic knowledge of Semitic representations' has Stephen muse on 'Moses Maimonides, a medieval rabbinical philosopher who was said to have synthesized Aristotelian rationalism with orthodox Judaism.'²³⁵ There are many such examples in *Ulysses* – 'Lilith, patron saint of abortions' (U.14.242) – and this Judaic range is also evident in *The Waste Land* in, for example, the mythology of the menorah, represented in the deliberate error of the 'sevenbranched candelabra' (82) (see 'Error').

Lilin is the Hebrew word for both the succubus and incubus, seconding the posited allusion to St. Augustine's 'sylvan' (98) incubus (see 'Error'). The mythos of Lilith is ancient, running from the serpentine *lilitu* of Sumerian and early-Semitic Akkadian mythology to medieval Judaism. As *Lilin* in Mesopotamian demonology she was a hostile night spirit who attacked

²³⁴ Frazer *Folk-Lore In The Old Testament. Studies In Comparative Religion: Legend And Law* Vol. 1 (MacMillan 1918) p.3.

²³⁵ Bryan Cheyette *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English literature and Society: Racial representations 1875-1945* (Cambridge University Press 1995) p. 212, 209.

men, a demon of famously dangerous hair – the control of female hair being a pre-Semitic, biblical and classical motif carried to the poem – who is a killer of infants and fornicates with demons. In Jewish folk myth, she is the rebellious first wife of Adam, declaring herself to be his equal and divorced because she would not submit. In that, she highlights the tension between versions of Genesis as noted by Frazer, being somewhat the original proto-feminist and a counterpoint to Milton's subordinate Eve of *Paradise Lost*. Her Greek counterpart is Lamia, the 'child killer' who in turn seems Tiresias's female counterpart or opposite in that she was cursed by Hera with sleeplessness and permanently open, 'lidless eyes' (138). 'Left to herself, the serpent now began | To change; [...] Her eyes in torture fix'd, and anguish drear, | Hot, glaz'd, and wide, with lid-lashes all sear, | Flash'd phosphor and sharp sparks, without one cooling tear.'²³⁶ Keats' Lamia is the story of a beautiful nymph trapped in the physical form of a serpent; in this reading that may be reflected in the 'lidless eyes' of *The Waste Land* as in part a narrative of 'lovely wom[e]n' (253) trapped by the politically motivated biblical myth of a serpent.

In *The Waste Land* Lilith is shorn of ferocity, being burnt out and used up by the 'demobbed' (139) Albert, the Nietzschean warrior: 'Brethren, war's the origin / Of happiness on earth: / Powder-smoke and battle-din / Witness friendship's birth!' (GS.41).²³⁷ There is a resonance between 'demobbed' and the Nietzschean mob of *Eeldrop and Appleplex*: "'Individualists. No!! nor anti-intellectualists. These also are labels. The 'individualist' is a member of a mob as fully as any other man: and the mob of individualists is the most displeasing, because it has the least character. Nietzsche was a mob-man, just as Bergson is an intellectualist.'" (CP1.528).²³⁸

Nietzsche writes that 'War and courage have done more great things than love of one's Neighbour' (Z33). Any form of neighbourly, spousal or otherwise nurturing love is absent for Lil. Alberts attitude is 'seen to be a callous, loveless sexuality, indifferent to Lil's welfare' (Spurr 60). He 'wants a good time' (148), and if Lil doesn't perform, 'there's others will' (149). Lil's abortion troubles mean she has 'never been the same' (169), but this is not a concern of

²³⁶ Keats *Lamia* 150-3.

²³⁷ The 'manly delight in combat' of *The Birth of Tragedy* p.99.

²³⁸ Aside from despising the herd, there are arguments, resonating with Eliot's reluctance to embrace full democracy, that Nietzsche was against disorder including that of the mob: 'He would be as dismissive as Socrates of a life that lacked "order and necessity," and perhaps even more concerned that a *Rangordnung* [hierarchy] be acknowledged – within as well as among individuals. Even if the rulers change from time to time, at least there must be rulers who exercise power; for Nietzsche the democratic type of soul is too indiscriminating, slack and anarchic to be productive.' Graham Parks *Composing the Soul* (University of Chicago Press 1994) p.350. In that light, his comment that 'we should be willing to see our entire civilisation collapse into anarchy for the sake of a Napoleon' (WP§877 p.501) seems an acceptance of temporary disorder for the sake of the genesis of, in his view, a superior, undemocratic, aristocratic, post-Christian new order.

Albert's. The architecture of this loveless abyss between Albert and Lil resonates throughout with the misogynistic advice in Nietzsche's infamous 'whip passage'.

Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of the warrior: all else is folly [...] Everything in woman is a riddle, and everything hath one solution – it is called pregnancy [...] the happiness of man is, 'I will'. The happiness of woman is, 'He will' [...] 'Thou goest to Women? Do not forget thy whip!' - [...] Obey, must the woman [...] A plaything let woman be. (Z Part xviii, 'Old and Young Women')

Pregnancy is a control solution also suggested in *Ecce Homo*:

Has my answer been heard to the question how one cures – 'redeems' – a woman? One makes a child for her [...] 'Emancipation of woman' – is the instinctive hatred of the woman who has *turned out ill*, that is to say, incapable of bearing. (EH46)

Other voices in the Lil scene seem to reflect the Nietzschean debate of the time. The pub landlord's repetitive cry 'HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME' (141) sounds like a figurative *cri de guerre* to call time on Nietzschean ideas. Bertrand Russell later wrote that Nietzsche's 'followers have had their innings, but we may hope that it is coming rapidly to an end' (HWP773).

Lil's female interlocutor, unthinkingly repeating and reinforcing the strictures of that brute male world in the same manner as the typist's job is to voicelessly duplicate its scripts, becomes a version of the *Nietzscheanerin*. This is an ironic variation on Nietzsche's perfect submissive woman derived from his idolization of Cosima Wagner: 'The woman impoverishes herself for the sake of the master, she becomes touching, she stands naked before him. The *Wagnerianerin*' (Kaufmann 34, quoting Nietzsche's *The Case for Wagner*). Barbara Helm writes:

In prewar Germany, Nietzschean arguments dominated debates over women's sexuality. Women who bobbed their hair and held allegedly 'nihilistic views' were called 'Nietzscheanerin.' [...] for many women, Nietzsche's writing came as a revelation. Contemporary critics of both sexes found this reception paradoxical. Marie Hecht wrote that female adherents of Nietzsche 'make credible the [...] [passage of the

whip] as a recommendation full of deep psychological insight. They reverently kiss the seams of the attire of him who has swung the whip so emphatically above them.²³⁹

Lil's female interlocutor resembles the voice of such a collaborator: 'Well, if Albert won't leave you alone, there it is, I said, / What you get married for if you didn't want children?' (163). She is perhaps the voice of those early feminists who were prepared to ignore Nietzsche's misogyny so that they could deploy his other iconoclastic writings, such as Nietzsche's "Götterschluß" (conclusion of God's nonexistence) to challenge male superiority over women' (Helm 71).

She may even in part represent anarchists such as Dora Marsden. One of Marsden's many battles involved British 'indigenous scientific misogyny' and 'medical misogyny' (DM86/87), reflected in Lil's abortion troubles. As a Nietzschean unsympathetic to the feminist cause because it did not go far enough, being too aligned with the submissive 'bondwoman' (see 'Ordonnance'), and in the interests of a 'counterironic premium on straight talk, her revolutionary desire to blast through polite reserve and reveal through bare utterance the full extent of the sexual antipathies at large in Western culture' (DM87), she called attention to the virulent pseudo-scientific, gender essentialist misogyny of those such as Otto Weininger, including reprinting the last chapter of his *Sex and Character* in the April and May 1912 issues of *The Freewoman* (DM87). In another issue, she wrote:

How could they [Englishmen] tell the delicate, lovely, drooping woman that they were lunatics twelve times a year, as was amiably suggested some time ago in the House of Commons and as Sir Almroth Wright with praiseworthy courage puts it today? [...] The German, in Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Weininger, is prepared beforehand for any uprising of women, coming as it does more than a generation behind ours. (DM86)

Marsden's individualism was too extreme for the mainstream suffragist movement. A physical lightweight at five foot four, she was a philosophy graduate like Eliot and capable of radical disorder in print and action. In that, despite her Nietzschean outlook, she is the antithesis of Nietzsche's vision of the feminine. 'At bottom the emancipated are the *anarchists* in the world of the 'eternal womanly', the under-privileged whose deepest instinct is revenge ... an entire species of the most malevolent 'idealism'' (EH46).

²³⁹ Barbara Helm, 'Combating Misogyny? Responses to Nietzsche by Turn-of-the-Century German Feminists.' *The Journal of Nietzsche Studies*, Issue 27, Spring 2004. P. 65.

In her antagonism to feminism as seeking only small concessions in a male world, the uncompromising anarch becomes counter-productive, and so like Lil's female interlocutor, Marsden inadvertently reinforces the male world of Albert. Her Nietzschean cure for gender ills is so extreme it becomes also a *Pharmakon*, a poison.²⁴⁰ Lil speaks of 'them pills I took' (159) for her abortion. 'The Chemist said it would be all right, but I've never been the | same' (161). The proposed cure for her condition is also a poison. Nietzsche poses the question:

What if there existed a symptom of regression in the 'good man' likewise a danger, a temptation, a poison [...] So that none other than morality itself is the culprit, if the *highest power and splendour* of the human type, in itself a possibility, were never to be reached? So that morality would constitute the danger of dangers?... (GM8)

Conventional morality as poison is a motif in Nietzsche's work, preventing the manifestation of the *übermensch*. In the following chapter that 'splendour of the human type', the *übermensch*, is read in conjunction with the clerk; the carbuncle gem on Aaron's chest within the 'splendour' (265) of the Magnus Martyr interior; Emerson's 'splendour' of the Oversoul in comparison to his radical individualism as inspiration for Nietzsche and his *übermensch*; and the 'fuller splendour' of Bradley's Absolute. Here, the deleterious effects of deploying Nietzsche as a cure for misogyny suggests a poison pill for *Nietzscheanerin*, the cure coming from a misogynistic source as virulent as the problem it is supposed to address. Spurr writes:

Through a crude procedure – "the chemist said it would be all right" (161) – she had aborted her latest pregnancy. Once again, life is touched with death, and female lives, congruent with the dominant theme of this section, are spoiled: even when sexual potency can be stirred, its result are not regenerating but life-denying, and the section (which opened with Cleopatra) closes in reminiscence of another Shakespearean heroine, Ophelia, and her deranged song before her suicide.²⁴¹

The Lil scene anticipates Russell when he later writes that Nietzsche has 'a complete absence of sympathy. (He frequently preaches against sympathy, and in this respect one feels that he has no difficulty in obeying his own precepts)' (HWP 771). In the spirit of *Jest, Ruse and Revenge* which is Nietzsche's subheading, Eliot seems to deliver another black comic blow, an act of faux generosity. Albert gives Lil money with instructions to 'get yourself some teeth' (144), and perhaps there is embedded here an exhortation to *Nietzscheanerin* women to regain

²⁴⁰ The *pharmakon* is a concept of Plato (*Phaedrus*), also addressed by Derrida in *Plato's Pharmacy*, in which writing itself is both remedy and poison.

²⁴¹ Spurr 'Religions East and West in *The Waste Land*' p.60.

their bite, like the original Lilith. Nietzsche writes that the ‘more a woman is a woman the more she defends herself tooth and nail against rights in general’ (EH46). In the midst of Nietzsche’s fierce rejection of sympathy and care as inimical to the goal of engendering the *übermensch*, and of which in any case the lowly such as Lil are unworthy, Eliot in this reading does manage to extract some faux decency from Nietzsche. ‘To my Reader: Good teeth and good digestion too / This I wish thee!’ (GS54). Nietzsche’s great emphasis on nutrition and digestion is evident in his stipulation ‘one must have a joyful belly’ (EH43). In *The Waste Land*, at least Lil has the digestion, if not quite the teeth, to enjoy a ‘hot gammon’ (166), which may represent what Eliot regards as currently hot but ham philosophy.

6.8 Ritualism and the Senses

Eliot describes Calvinism as ‘a form of worship from which the office of the imagination and the aesthetic emotions had [...] been so ruthlessly evicted’ (Spurr 40). While sacred music and imagery are the main ritualist focus of this study, they are part, in ritualism, of worship with all the senses. Perhaps shedding some light on Eliot’s early intention to conjoin the poems, this contrasts to aniconic puritans whose prohibitions on ritualism resonate with the complaint in *Gerontion* that ‘I have lost my sight smell, hearing, taste, touch: | How should I use them for your closer contact?’ (PE:33:59). Gordon states that that *Gerontion* quote is an ‘allusion to Newman’s sermon on Divine Calls’, quoted in the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* [...] ‘Let us beg and pray him day by day to reveal Himself to our souls more fully, to quicken our senses, to give us sight, and hearing, taste and touch of the world to come.’²⁴²

Buddha’s Fire Sermon, suggested by the title of this section of the poem, is often quoted for its ‘burning’ senses as uncontrolled, base passions such as those of the clerk. However, the sermon is also concerned with disciplining the senses and eliminating those base passions in the same manner as Christian ritual: ‘He finds estrangement in the ear... in sounds... He finds estrangement in the nose... in odors...He finds estrangement in the tongue... in flavors... He finds estrangement in the body... in tangibles... [...] When he finds estrangement, passion fades out. With the fading of passion, he is liberated.’

²⁴² Gordon *Eliot’s Early Years* 103 fn.

The base and ennobled, like the sacred and profane, is one of the many juxtapositions in the extended typist scene, engendered through among other techniques a contrast between light and dark, the transition between them being the twilight ‘violet hour’ which, as Ascuito notes, creates a ‘chiaroscuro context’ and ‘underscores the contrast of light and darkness characterizing the sexual encounter between the typist and the young man carbuncular, a contrast which in turn has resonances with other aspects of the poem.’²⁴³ Eliot writes that this contrast is a core technique of Milton:

Milton is at his best in imagery suggestive of vast size, limitless space, abysmal depth, and light and darkness [...] As it is, the impression of Eden which we retain, is the most suitable, and is that which Milton was most qualified to give: the impression of *light* – a daylight and a starlight, a light of dawn and of dusk, the light which, remembered by a man in his blindness, has a supernatural glory unexperienced by men of normal vision. (Milton II p.31)

In this the poem is engaging the sense of sight, pointing to a core tenet of ritualism; the importance of imagery in connecting to the divine through Eliot’s ‘office of the imagination’ (Spurr 40). In the emerging Anglo-Catholic creed this became ‘the picture language of the beauty of worship’, similar to the *Biblia pauperum* for those who could not read:

The beginning of the revival of ritual and ceremonial arose in these churches in the slums [including Brighton] where Religious Truth was taught in the picture language of the beauty of worship.²⁴⁴

This is akin to Eliot’s later ‘beauty of incantation’, the sound of ritualism also evoked through Sappho and vespers: ‘the soul of man that is joined to the soul of stone [...] Joined with the artist’s eye [...] Out of the sea of sound the life of music [...] and the beauty of incantation’ (*The Rock* II.75). Critics such as Kennedy (see p.35) and Spurr note the incantatory in Eliot poetry: the ‘rhythm and vocabulary of the poetry [Part V] now are decidedly incantatory [...] as in psalmody’ (Spurr CCT.64).

²⁴³ Ascuito ‘T.S. Eliot’s ‘Young Man Carbuncular: Precious Gemstone or Infected Sore?’ p.1.

²⁴⁴ Mary I.M. Bell *Before and after the Oxford Movement* (The Catholic Literature Association 1933).

As previously noted, the sense of smell is engaged through the Thames ‘fishmen’ (263) and the sense of taste through the ‘food in tins’ (223), an impoverished form of Edenic plenty. The sense of touch is left to the clerk’s exploring ‘hands’ (240), which are also his only form of guidance as he ‘gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit ...’ (248).

6.9 Bisexuality and Gender Dissolution

Nietzsche writes of ‘*the leveller* (Christ)’ (WP§284 p.176). In the next chapter, the illusionary nature of the fragmentary experience of life is discussed in relation to the complete unity posited in, for example, Bradley’s Absolute or Emerson’s Oversoul. That unity outside the temporal includes a gender dissolution: ‘There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus’ (*Galatians* 3:28). The same union in the divine is reflected in the Upanishads: ‘So do all creatures lose their separateness | When they merge at last into pure Being’ (*Chandogya Upanishad* IV.10.1-3). Rather than only signifying the modern connotation of sexual taste in the term bisexual, Tiresias also represents a theme throughout history; the spiritual dissolution of genders in the eternal. It is reflected in the term hermaphrodite, an amalgam of Hermes and Aphrodite in their son Hermaphroditus, who was both male and female through fusing with the nymph Salamis. A similar blurring of distinctions is reflected in the idea of Jesus as both son and husband, and Mary as both wife and mother – *Figlia del tuo figlio* (*The Dry Salvages* IV.10 PE.199), part of an ancient heritage, again linked with vegetation ceremonies, noted by the founder of biblical archaeology William F. Albright:

Hence the divinities of vegetation were similarly fancied [as unisexual and bisexual vegetation]; both Tammuz and Istar were often androgynous; the bearded Isttar (=masculine Astar) is well known; the planet Venus was male in the morning, and female at night. Similarly, several of the names of Tammuz are feminine: in short, these gods of fertility are practically interchangeable when considered in the light of their entire history and not in too narrow a scope [...] Hence vegetation always springs from the severed members of Attis and his congeners [...] with a primitive naivete of logic,

which was, none the less, rigorous, the virgin sister had to become the brother's mother, and so the brother becomes his own father.²⁴⁵

On a secular level it is echoed in Dora Marsden's post-gender freewoman-man who will 'push open the door of the [Nietzschean] superworld' (see 'Ordonnance' p.27). Nietzsche would have stridently opposed Marsden. The blurring of gender boundaries, whether spiritual or anarcho-feminist, contrasts to his gender essentialism from which arises his seemingly overt misogyny, fantasy of the servile perfect woman, war of the sexes and other negative clichés of the Eternal Feminine. For the women of *The Waste Land*, there is no emancipatory reward from the cult of the individual. Neither is it new or proto-feminist: while expounding an emancipation for males from the constraint of the herd, Nietzsche and other scribes are repeating controlling misogynistic tropes the genesis of which lies in significant part in the Eve myth. In his ideas concerning the Eternal Feminine Nietzsche repeats a facet of Milton's 'repellent theology' by confirming the inferiority and subordination of the female.

Wherever the industrial spirit has won out over the military and aristocratic spirit, women are now striving for the economic and legal independence of a clerk: 'the woman as clerk' is written on the gateway to the developing, modern society. (BGE128)

For Eliot in this reading, that blindness to the circumstances of women, and the repetition of the misogyny of the puritan creed from which he averred himself free – Nietzsche's 'protestant perspectives are often suggestive and fruitful even when they are unacceptable' (Kaufmann xxiv) – undermine the thoroughness of Nietzsche's self-knowledge and philosophical insight.

²⁴⁵ William F. Albright 'The Goddess of Life and Wisdom' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 36 No. 4 (Jul 1920) pp. 258-294 (The University of Chicago Press) p.263.

7. ADAM: The Inner Voice and the Cult of the Individual from Coverdale to Milton, Emerson and Nietzsche.

This chapter will first follow the clerk through his rendezvous with the typist. It will then examine the clerk as a dark Adam representing the evolution of the cult of the individual which, in this schema of the typist scene, arises from the Reformation schism and contrasts to the more communal theme of spiritual and cultural guidance represented by Aaron and Sappho. Frazer states that ‘The Hebrew word for man in general is *adam*.’²⁴⁶ Eliot writes that male ‘character’ ‘melts’ into male character (PE.74.218), suggesting attention to a universal, representative man. What image of man is Eliot creating in the clerk?

Milton’s Reformation Adam of *Paradise Lost* is darkly comingled by Eliot with the clerk and Milton’s Satan through, among other images, the ‘Enemie of Mankind [...] and Carbuncle his Eyes’ (PL.9:500). This reading traces Milton’s Adamic sources from the Old Testament to Miles Coverdale, and the potential descendants of Milton’s Adam to the ‘superior man’ of the father of American individualism, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in turn a significant inspiration for Nietzsche’s *übermensch*.

Evolution and the shaping of man again becomes a focus, as Nietzschean thought, in the hands of his American translator and epigone H.L. Mencken, a contemporary and trans-Atlantic literary associate of Eliot’s, becomes ruthless social Darwinism:

What he proposed, in brief, was a transvaluation of moral values [...] His ideal was not contentment, but fresh conquest; not peace as an end in itself, but successful war; not virtue in the ordinary Christian sense, but efficiency. The law of natural selection, for all his denials of Darwin, was his one supreme mandate and revelation. “The weak and the botched,” he roared, “must perish; that is the first principle of our humanity. And they should be helped to perish.”²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ ‘Folk-lore in the Old Testament’ p.29.

²⁴⁷ H.L. Mencken ‘The Prophet of the Superman’ *The Smart Set* March 1912.

7.1 The Clerk's Assault: *Paradise Lost* and Nietzsche

The Waste Land ends as the Fisher King sits on a shore with the 'arid plain behind' (424), where 'London bridge is falling down' (426), echoing Nietzsche: 'We have burned our bridges behind us – indeed we have gone farther and destroyed the land behind us.'²⁴⁸ Two versions of a waste land can be read in *The Waste Land*: the modern waste land which includes in this schema a gender waste land; and a part realised, part prophesised greater waste land in which Nietzsche has destroyed God.

The importance of imagery to Christianity is acknowledged by Nietzsche. '*His* requirement was *power*; with Paul the priest again sought power — he could employ only those concepts, teachings, symbols, with which one tyrannizes over masses, forms herds.'²⁴⁹ In this reading, the symbols Nietzsche attempts to wrest from the sacred are contested so that no imagery is ceded, including the tree, the bridge, the shadow, the mountain, the cave, and the sea and fishing.

The metaphor of fishing, a Christian constant embodied in the ichthys, is central to Nietzsche: 'Ah, I cast my net into their seas and wanted to catch fine fish; but I always pulled up the head of some old God or other. Thus the sea gave to him who was hungry a stone [...] To be sure, one does find pearls in them' (Z112). He said of himself in *Ecce Homo*:

Included here is the slow search for those related to me, for such as out of strength would offer me their hand for *the work of destruction*. — From now on all of my writings are fishing hooks: perhaps I understand fishing as well as anyone? ... If nothing got *caught* I am not to blame, *There were no fish ...*' (EH82).

In the drafts of the poem there is what can be read as a black joke at Nietzsche's expense, as a form of deformed Fisher King.

The infant hydrocephalous, who sat
By / At a bridge end, by a dried up water course
And fiddled (with a knot tied in one string)²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, Ed. Bernard Williams, Trans. Josefine Nauckoff (Cambridge University Press 2001) §124. Hereafter GS.

²⁴⁹ Nietzsche *The Anti-Christ* §42 p.166.

²⁵⁰ Valerie Eliot, *T.S. Eliot The Waste Land, a Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound*. (Harvest Books, 1971) p. 75.

Hydrocephalus, or ‘water on the brain’, has serious consequences, including dementia. On the immense revolution of Descartes, Eliot wrote in 1926 that mankind ‘suddenly retires inside its several skulls, until you hear Nietzsche – pretty well tormented in his cranial lodging’.²⁵¹ That ‘infant hydrocephalous’ suggests the madness of the rod-fishing Nietzsche: ‘the human’s sea:- into *that* I now cast my golden fishing rod [...] With my best bait shall I lure today the most wondrous human-fishes’ (Z208). The image was omitted perhaps because it jarred with the deep subtlety of the poem, or perhaps to avoid ‘*ad hominem*’ (Kaufmann 84). It is cruel humour but only reciprocal, since for Nietzsche ‘Faith’ is a form of mental illness’ (WP§152 p.102), a constant accusation of deformity and madness levelled against Christianity and its adherents:

In the case of the deformed and the disgruntled (the *majority* of mortals), an attempt to imagine oneself ‘too good’ in the struggle against chronic pain and boredom; in the case of priests, the distinctive priestly belief, its most effective instrument of power, also the ‘very highest’ licence for power; in the case of saints finally, a pretext for hibernation, their *novissima gloriae cupido*, their rest in nothingness (‘God’), their form of madness.²⁵²

In such a reading, the water course of Eliot’s draft is dry as all the water is in Nietzsche’s brain; his ideas about the symbolism of water are a sodden madness. To Eliot, the proposed freedoms of Nietzsche’s waterways, the ‘open sea’ (GS§382) and ‘the ‘ideal ‘Mediterranean Sea’’ (GS§343), are dark phantasms leading only to a waste land, to ‘a cry of need and the cry of a human being, which may well come out of a black sea. But what does human need matter to me!’ (Z211). That Nietzschean seascape is an empty abyss, contrasting to the ancient Mediterranean as the location of the early civilisations of *The Waste Land* such as the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, with their sacred protectors such as the goddesses of the sea represented by the evening star as *Stella Maris* (see ‘Eve’). The absence of divine protection is a reason to ‘fear death by water’ (55).

At the very dawn of creation
 your Spirit breathed on the waters,
 making them the wellspring of all holiness.
 (Roman Missal, Easter Vigil 42: Blessing of Water.)

²⁵¹ T.S. Eliot ‘Clark Lecture II: Donne and the Middle Ages’ CP2.635. Eliot’s emphasis.

²⁵² *On the Genealogy of Morals* p.77. ‘*novissima gloriae cupido* - Latin: ‘the most recent desire for fame’. Allusion to Tacitus, *Histories*, iv. 6. Ibid. p.150:77.

The concept of all waters as holy is ancient and associated with animist vegetation ceremonies: ‘in accordance with a wide-spread conception of early men, water was regarded as holy. The Tigris and Euphrates are twice spoken of as holy rivers, and the “mighty abyss” (or well of the mighty abyss) is appealed to for protection.’²⁵³ Eliot remarked on the central position of water to the Hebrews, reflecting his parched poem: ‘The Hebrews lived in a dry land, in which water is almost always welcome and beneficent [...] The properties of water are healing and cleansing to body and soul.’²⁵⁴

The sea and water seem then to be battlegrounds between the sacred and the profane, between spiritual succour and the abyss. They are ancient, Judaic and Christian metaphors, the sea most often signifying the universal, such as in Arnold’s *Dover Beach*: ‘The Sea of Faith | Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore | Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd. | But now I only hear | Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar’.

As a human, the clerk is bestial. In a previous draft, following his descent, the clerk ‘at the corner where the stable is, | Delays only to urinate, and spit’ (FT35): he descends to the level of animal, a Sweeney-like ‘brute-man’ comparison which Nietzsche had in turn levelled at the Christian man he hoped his superman would eliminate:

The problem that I set here is not what shall replace mankind in the order of living creatures (— man is an end —): but what type of man must be bred, must be willed, as being the most valuable, the most worthy of life, the most secure guarantee of the future. This more valuable type has appeared often enough in the past: but always as a happy accident, as an exception, never as deliberately willed. Very often it has been precisely the most feared; hitherto it has been almost the terror of terrors; — and out of that terror the contrary type has been willed, cultivated and attained: the domestic animal, the herd animal, the sick brute-man — the Christian. . . .²⁵⁵

²⁵³ George A. Barton *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions Part 1 Sumerian Religious Texts* (Yale University Press 1918) p.15.

²⁵⁴ T.S. Eliot ‘The Bible as Scripture and as Literature’ CP4:701.

²⁵⁵ *The Antichrist* 3, p.128.

From a different perspective this brute man was also a concern of the Tractarians, the forerunners of the Oxford Movement from which Anglo-Catholicism evolved, and in Pusey's comment can be seen the idea of the Journey of St. Paul as ennobling the previously brute European:

The brute-creation, most familiar with man, learn from him something of right and wrong. Whence did man learn it? [...] Whence had the tent-maker that zeal, whereby he sped from East to West and endured those daily deaths, for the well-being of his fellow-men?'²⁵⁶

The clerk as *übermensch* appears a debased version of Nietzsche's elevated new man, an ironic 'guarantee of the future' in crass, street level action. In this reading, the clerk's 'bold stare' (232) is the certitude of the 'Massenmensch [...] listening to the inner voice, which breathes the eternal message of vanity, fear, and lust' (TSE *A Commentary* 1927), save that he stares into the Nietzschean abyss: 'if you gaze long into an abyss, the abyss also gazes into you' (BGE §146). In the 'sun's last rays' (225) there is an ominous representation of the collapse of Eliot's European tradition and morality (see 'Attentat'). Nietzsche writes:

some sun seems to have set, some old, profound confidence seems to have changed into doubt: [...] what must all collapse now that this belief had been undermined, - because so much was built upon it, so much rested on it, and had become one with it: for example, our entire European morality. (GS343)

Leaving after the assault, the clerk 'gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit ...' (248) echoing Satan's Miltonic return to hell save that in this reading the Eve figure has not been an agent of sedition but instead represents the Eternal Feminine as a victim of seditious scribal assault.

The clerk is not without Christian choices. In 'Eve', communal vespers at Magnus Martyr is posited as a more nourishing assignation, perhaps in the main as sanctuary for the typist. For the clerk, his choice is encased in the word 'propitious' (235). As with many words in the poem, there is *engesachtelt* in the word itself, and critics deconstruct Eliot's words fruitfully. Rainey writes that [male] vanity 'is a cognate of the term "vanishing" that we have used to

²⁵⁶ Edward Pusey 'Un-Science, not Science, Adverse to Faith' 1878. *Project Canterbury* <http://anglicanhistory.org/>. p.18. Arguing that brute man, whether the product of purely organic evolution or not, would have lacked divine inspiration. 'The river's tent is broken' (173) in part reflects the tent, derived from the wanderings in the desert, as metaphor for a broad, universal, pre-schism church. That tent is further reflected, in this reading, between the central pillars of the Magnus Martyr reared, representing the Holy of Holies in both the Temple of Solomon and the earlier desert tented tabernacle. 'And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought: for by their occupation they were tentmakers' (Acts 18:3).

describe the typist's disappearance'.²⁵⁷ Potter writes of Eliot's statement on the 'substance' of the poem in his preamble to his *Notes on the Waste Land* (PE72) that "'Substance" is a word whose origins lie in the Greek "hypostasis" meaning "standing under" and Eliot does imply structural as well as visionary cohesion here' (CCT 133).

Use of the word 'propitious' is similarly complex. Where the clerk judges the moment to be propitious to launch his assault, he should be acting pro-piteously; with compassion and care: 'Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous' (1 *Peter* 3:8). Nietzsche thought Christianity to be 'the religion of pity .. it is a depressant. A man loses power when he pities', a concern aligned with the contested theme of potency.²⁵⁸ The clerk should also be acting to 'propitiate', being to please or make atonement to a god, following the example of Jesus at Easter: 'he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world' (*John* 2:2). However, the clerk's 'vanity' (241) prevails:

Against remorse. I do not care for this sort of cowardice in the face of one's own actions; one must not abandon oneself under the impetus of unexpected shame or distress. *Extreme* pride is more appropriate here. (WP§235 p.147)

7.2 The Adam of Coverdale and Milton

Judeo-Christian doctrine names Moses, Aaron's companion in portraiture on the Magnus Martyr reredos, as the author of Genesis. He is by convention the first scribe of Adam. That Adam survived in the main unadulterated until the Reformation. One of the first scribes of Adam of the Reformation is Miles Coverdale, as previously noted, buried in Magnus Martyr. Elizabeth I and the *Book of Common Prayer* are prominent in the poem, and Celia Hughes writes:

His [Coverdale's] theological development furnishes a paradigm of the progress of the English Reformation [...] he parted with the *via media* and adopted a position which

²⁵⁷ Rainey 'With Automatic Hand' CCE p.81.

²⁵⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, trans. Anthony M. Ludovici (Prometheus Books 2000) p. 7.

might be termed proto-puritan [as he] could not come to terms with the Elizabethan Prayer Book.²⁵⁹

Coverdale's Adam, like Milton's, is the primary focus of creation: 'And forasmuch as he, being solitary and alone, could not conveniently dwell without a mate [...] provided for him a wife, even out of the bones of his own body, that she might be the man's help.'²⁶⁰ From the outset the Reformation confirms the biblical archetype of the subordinate version of Eve, resonating with Milton's 'fit help'; 'Woman is her Name, of Man Extracted' (PL.8.450/496). Wollstonecraft writes that the '*rights* of humanity have been thus confined to the male line from Adam downwards.'²⁶¹ Coverdale's Reformation Adam theologically underwrites the Adam of Milton, who is similarly against Judaic and Catholic ritualism. He is allowed, with Eve, an Edenic form of worship, but otherwise is free of ritual: 'and other Rites | Observing none, but adoration pure | Which God likes best, into thir inmost bowre' (PL.Book IV.736).

There is a literary difference between the Adam's of Coverdale and Milton: one is puritan dogma, the latter is, in addition, literary genius. Barbara K. Lewalski writes that 'Milton presents the Genesis creation account in terms that make place for contemporary and future science'.²⁶² Similarly, *The Waste Land* in this reading accommodates evolution, save for the essential need for guidance and progressive revelation to spiritually augment the brute man; the Sweeney ape, examined shortly. Lewalski's is a nuanced reading of Milton's first couple. 'Early modern notions of male superiority are voiced by Adam, Eve, and Raphael, but they strain against Milton's representation of Adam and Eve's shared activities and abilities' (p.266). However, as Frazer noted, there are two versions of the first couple in Genesis, one in which Eve is coequal (Genesis 1:27), and one in which she answers to Adam, and he to God (Genesis 2:22): Eve is demoted to what Frazer terms 'the nadir of the divine workmanship'.²⁶³ There is no suggestion of that dissonance, or the potential gender equality of Genesis 1:27 in *Paradise Lost*, and so Milton's genius serves to perpetuate the subordination of women.

Lewalski writes of the 'loving union' of Milton's Adam and Eve as 'they go forth hand in hand' (p.267), but in the typist scene there are only the invasive hands of the clerk. Notably, it was

²⁵⁹ Celia Hughes 'Coverdale's Alter Ego' p.100. <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m1698&datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF>

²⁶⁰ *Writings and Translation of Miles Coverdale* The Parker Society (Cambridge, The University Press 1864) p.16.

²⁶¹ Wollstonecraft *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* p.93.

²⁶² Barbara K. Lewalski 'Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes' *the Cambridge History of English Poetry* ed. Michael O'Neill (Cambridge University Press 2015) p.256.

²⁶³ Sir James George Frazer *Folk-Lore In The Old Testament. Studies In Comparative Religion: Legend And Law* Vol. 1 (MacMillan 1918) p.3.

from the discordant Genesis accounts that the early medieval myth of Jewish folklore developed, in which Lilith - short form 'Lil' of *The Waste Land* (139) (see 'Eve') - was the first wife of Adam, divorced because she refused to be subordinate. Milton's Eve might have been advised to resist the promise of faux equality and also make an early exit, honour intact.

7.3 Emerson's post-Christian Superior Man, American Individualism and Adam

Emerson – I have in a book never felt myself so much at home and in my home as – I dare not praise it, it is so close to me.²⁶⁴

So spoke Nietzsche of Emerson. Stack's footnote sources '*Werke* GOA, Leipzig, 1901ff., XII: 179', and further notes that:

An early, but unused, draft of a section in his autobiography, *Ecce Homo*, shows how much Emerson meant to him. "With his essays, Emerson has been a good friend and cheered me up even in black periods. He contains so much *skepsis*, so many possibilities, that even virtue attains esprit in his writings. A unique case! I enjoyed listening to him even as a youth."²⁶⁵

Ralph Waldo Emerson is the missing link between the Adams of Milton and Nietzsche. Eliot directly engages with Emerson in *Sweeney Erect* (PE.37.25-28), and through 'Sweeney' (198) Emerson is carried to *The Waste Land*. Emerson is further suggested through other allusions, particularly the significant link to the 'inexplicable splendour' (265) of Magnus Martyr, examined shortly. Further, Eliot's note on the "longshore" or 'dory' fisherman' (PE.75.221) encased in the reference to Sappho evokes the New England origin of both Emerson and Eliot: Eric Sigg writes 'Eliot often called himself a New Englander.'²⁶⁶

Milton is Emerson's preeminent advisor to America. Griffis writes that the 'Protestant Reformation and the founding of the United States were, in the Transcendentalist's view, events that would culminate in their own movement.'²⁶⁷ Emerson deploys Adam consistently,

²⁶⁴ George J. Stack 'Emerson and Nietzsche's 'Beyond-Man' in *Diálogos. Revista de Filosofía de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 25 (56):87, 1990. P. 90.

²⁶⁵ Stack quotes Erich Podach, *Friedrich Nietzsches Werke des Zusammenbruchs*, Heidelberg, 1961, p. 236.

²⁶⁶ Eric Sigg 'New England' *T.S. Eliot in Context* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2011) p.17.

²⁶⁷ Griffis 'Reformation leads to Self-Reliance: The Protestantism of Transcendentalism' p.3.

and his Adam is in part Milton in cypher; he writes ‘Was there not a fitness in the undertaking of such a person to write a poem on the subject of Adam, the first man? [...] when we are fairly in Eden, Adam and Milton are often difficult to be separated.’²⁶⁸ On a new literature, he writes: ‘To the poet the world is virgin soil [...] He is a true re-commencer, or Adam in the garden again’ (*Poetry and Imagination*). On the American Adam and a new genesis: ‘So, in the new-born millions, | The perfect Adam lives’ (*Nominalist and Realist*); ‘I call our system a system of despair [...] Let us wait and see what is this new creation [...] A new Adam in the garden’ (*Education*).

Emerson is, then, constructing his American ‘superior man’ from Miltonic Adamic stock, and that superior man is the proto-superman, fundamental to the *übermensch*; Stack writes “‘The Nietzschean superman,” he observed, “is already half-explicit in Emerson’s hero.”²⁶⁹

Emerson also reiterates and encourages the schism with tradition, anathema to Eliot, who writes that ‘the Christian religion is an essential part of the history of our race [...] humanism has been sporadic, but Christianity continuous [...] Our problem being to form the future, we can only form it on the materials of the past; we must use our heredity, instead of denying it.’²⁷⁰ Although deeply antagonistic to that position, the same question has urgency for Nietzsche, since the ‘question of the origin of moral values is therefore for me of the *first rank* because it conditions the future of mankind’ (EH66).

Eliot writes that ‘the essays of Emerson are already an encumbrance.’²⁷¹ There are a number of potential reasons. In literature, there is Emerson’s inconsistency and style, which Arnold noted: ‘I come to this country, where Emerson now counts for so much, and where such high claims are made for him.’²⁷²

I do not, then, place Emerson among the great poets. But I go further, and say that I do not place him among the great writers, the great men of letters [...] Like Wordsworth,

²⁶⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson ‘Milton’ 275.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/emerson/4957107.0012.001/1:12?rgn=div1;view=fulltext;q1=milton>

²⁶⁹ Stack p. 69, quoting from Stephen Whicher *Fate and Freedom: An Inner Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Philadelphia 1953).

²⁷⁰ T.S. Eliot ‘The Humanism of Irving Babbitt’ 1928 CP3:455.

²⁷¹ T.S. Eliot ‘American Literature A review of *A History of American Literature*, vol. II’ CP2:23.

²⁷² Mathew Arnold *Discourses in America* (London MacMillan & Co. 1885) Ch. 3, ‘Emerson.’

he was in later life fond of altering [...] Unsound it is, indeed, and in a style almost impossible to a born man of letters.²⁷³

That style is oratorical, redolent of Miltonic preaching, so perhaps a grating encumbrance. Fjordbotten writes that ‘the puritans brought the sermon style with them to America, where it became a large part of the American rhetorical tradition’.²⁷⁴ Arnold further comments ‘he cannot build; his arrangement of philosophical ideas has no progress in it, no evolution; he does not construct a philosophy.’

Emerson’s oratorical style and his perhaps deliberate lack of system were deployed in generating a ‘superior man’ favouring the inner voice and resolute individualism: ‘the superior man is at home in his own mind.’²⁷⁵ Eliot writes that ‘Americans also have encouraged this fiction of a general type, a formula or idea, usually the predaceous square-jawed [...] a race of commercial buccaneers.’²⁷⁶ In the same essay, Eliot writes of James’ characters that it is ‘the consummation of an American to become, not an Englishman, but a European’ (p.648). In contrast, Emerson’s new American Adam is enjoined to throw off tradition and the Old World: ‘Go—I have given you English language, laws, manners; disanglicanize yourselves if you can.’²⁷⁷ He goes further: ‘Can we never extract this tape-worm of Europe from the brain of our countrymen? [...] One day we shall cast out the passion for Europe by the passion for America.’²⁷⁸

Encumbrance notwithstanding, Emerson as a founding father of American individualism is too important to ignore. He is fundamental to the social and religious fabric of America, and his thinking has deep foundations in the Reformation. ‘American literary critic and Catholic convert Orestes Brownson’s aptly titled article “Protestantism ends in Transcendentalism” (1846) describes transcendentalism as “nothing but the fundamental principle of the Protestant reformation itself”.’²⁷⁹ Since through that argument Transcendentalism can be seen as one

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ A. Fjordbotten *Liturgical Influences of Anglo-Catholicism on the Waste Land and other Works by T.S. Eliot*. A. Fjordbotten, dissertation D.Phil, English, Fordham. p22. ‘America was the new Promised Land, with the Puritans as the New Israelites on a mission into the wilderness to establish a New Jerusalem’. p.23.

²⁷⁵ Emerson *Lectures and biographical sketches* [Vol. 10] II. ‘Aristocracy’: ‘and far below these, gross and thoughtless, the animal man, billows of chaos.’

²⁷⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘In Memory of Henry James’ CP1.650.

²⁷⁷ *The complete works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: English traits* Vol. 5, X. ‘Wealth’. Britain personified speaks here.

²⁷⁸ Emerson *The Conduct of Life* [Vol. 6] IV. ‘Culture’ p.145; VII. ‘Considerations by the Way’ p.266.

²⁷⁹ Rachel B. Griffis ‘Reformation Leads to Self-Reliance: The Protestantism of Transcendentalism’ *Religions* (www.mdpi.com/journals/religions 2017) p.1.

manifestation of the multivocal anarchy of the protestant inner voice, there is some irony in Emerson's comment on that anarchic tendency:

the Protestant [...] with its hateful "private judgement" brings parishes, families and at last individual doctrinaires & schismatics [...] to the last degree disagreeable [...] The Catholic church is ethnical & every way superior [...] The Protestant has his pew, which of course is only the first step to a church for every individual citizen – a church apiece.²⁸⁰

These 'several versions of the word of God' (*Choruses* II:22 PE.159) result in an anarchic sectionalism, as David S. Reynolds writes:

The ferment caused by religious freedom in the young democracy generated an array of offshoots of Protestantism [...] Among the sects that sprang up were many varieties of Baptists, including Primitive Baptists, Free-Will Baptists, Hard- and Soft-Shell Baptists, Particular Baptists, Six-Principle Baptists, Anti-Mission Baptists, Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists, German Seventh-Day, Close-Communion, General, Sabbatarian, and Foot-Washing Baptists—all with different emphases in doctrine.²⁸¹

So the essays of Emerson represent an encumbrance for reasons literary, philosophical, cultural and spiritual, central to which is the valorisation of extreme individualism governed by the inner voice. While post-Christian, his works are a cultural product of Russell's previously noted 'Protestant emphasis on the individual conscience [as] essentially anarchic [...] Out of this attitude developed the cult of the hero, as it is expressed by Carlyle and Nietzsche, and the Byronic cult of violent passion of no matter what kind' (HWP Book1.18).

7.4 Emerson's Oversoul, Bradley's Absolute and the Nietzschean Bell-Jar

Strikingly, Emerson also expresses the opposite to extreme individualism: the idea of a unified system of cosmic import.²⁸² This has significance both for the potential existence of a unified spirituality represented in the poem, and a unified poem.

²⁸⁰ Note of October 18(?) 1847 while visiting England. *The Selected Writings of R.W. Emerson* (Random House Inc; 26 May 1994).

²⁸¹ David S. Reynolds 'The Popery Panic' *The New York Review of Books* April 2019 p.58-9.

²⁸² See Colin Burrow, 'The Magic Bloomschtick' *London Review of Books* (21 Nov 2019) for an examination of Harold Bloom and the anxiety of influence in the context of Emerson and his American individualism.

On ‘inexplicable’ (265) Ricks and McCue refer to the OED: ‘very intricate or complex. *Obs.*’, citing Emerson: “There is never a beginning, there is never an end to the inexplicable continuity of this web of God” (PE.672.[III]). That OED reference to ‘inexplicable’ is a repeat of the first edition 1901 OED Vol. V. entry: ‘Emerson *Addr Amer Schol Wks* (Bohn) II 175’ citing the same quote, so that a person examining the word in 1922 would have been guided to Emerson then as now.²⁸³ The reference is to Emerson’s essay ‘American Scholar’ which, with other essays such as ‘Self Reliance’, are the seminal texts of American individualism. The link with Emerson is further strengthened by ‘splendour’ (265) - remembering Nietzsche’s ‘*highest power and splendour* of the human type’ (GM8) (see p.102) - since the full quote reads:

There is never a beginning, there is never an end to the inexplicable continuity of this web of God but always circular power returning into itself. Therein it resembles his own spirit, whose beginning, whose ending, he never can find—so entire, so boundless. Far, too, as her splendors shine, system on system shooting like rays, upward, downward, without centre, without circumference [...] To the young mind every thing is individual, stands by itself. By and by, it finds how to join two things and see in them one nature; then three, then three thousand; and so, tyrannized over by its own unifying instinct, it goes on tying things together, diminishing anomalies, discovering roots running under ground whereby contrary and remote things cohere and flower out from one stem.²⁸⁴

Emerson here employs a form of the ‘roots’ and ‘branches’ (19) metaphor which in ‘Anthropology’ was examined as a trope of the universal common to the Bible, anthropologists such as Tylor, Darwin, Nietzsche and *The Waste Land*. While post-Christian, Emerson retained a deep spirituality, the soul being one of his most commonly used terms. He writes of the ‘Oversoul’ - ‘His health was restored, and he was eager to begin life anew [...] “The Over-Soul” was then burning within him’²⁸⁵ - and the ‘Universal Spirit’; ‘This purified man [...] an organ of the Universal Spirit’ (Nature). These and other interchangeable terms are deployed to denote variously Nature, collective reason, and a collective soul. Stack writes that ‘In his Nachlaß, Nietzsche refers to Emerson’s “oversoul” as a projection of perfection to a being beyond the world’ (*Emerson and Nietzsche’s ‘Beyond Man’* p.87).

²⁸³ *A New English Dictionary* Vol. V. H-K, ed. James A.H. Murray (Oxford Clarendon Press 1901) p.247.

²⁸⁴ Ralph Waldo Emerson ‘the American Scholar’ *The complete works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Nature addresses and lectures* [Vol. 1] (Boston; New York : Houghton, Mifflin 1903) p.85.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/emerson/4957107.0001.001/1:10?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

²⁸⁵ *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Nature addresses and lectures* [Vol. 1] ‘Biographical Sketches’.

Demarcating the tension between his extreme individualism and his Oversoul, Emerson comments that ‘there has always remained, in the last analysis, a residuum it could not resolve. Man is a stream whose source is hidden. Our being is descending into us from we know not whence’.²⁸⁶ That Oversoul resonates with the concept of a reality greater than that experienced in the work of F. H. Bradley – termed the ‘Absolute’ - on whose philosophy Eliot wrote his thesis, also evoked through ‘splendour’. Brooker quotes Eliot quoting Bradley: ‘That the glory of this world in the end is appearance leaves the world more glorious, if we feel it a show of some fuller splendour’.²⁸⁷ Writing of Eliot that ‘the philosophers who influenced him most were idealists; especially Emanuel Kant [and] F.H. Bradley’, Brooker summarizes the philosophical relationship between the fragmentary and the unified, suggesting the possibility of a reading of *The Waste Land* as both depicting that ‘world of fragmentation’ and involved in what Harding terms ‘the difficult task of repossessing the fragments of a disintegrating ‘mind of Europe’’ (*Egoist* 97) to reconstitute a cultural and spiritual whole. Brooker writes:

The basic idea is that all fragments are part of organic wholes, which themselves are part of larger wholes, which ultimately are part of an all-encompassing whole (variously called the Idea, the Absolute, Experience, the Sensorium of God).²⁸⁸

Bradley’s Absolute and Emerson’s Oversoul overlap with the idea of God, as seen above from Emerson’s essay, and as can be understood from Bradley’s *Appearance and Reality*: ‘We have no basis on which to doubt that all content comes together harmoniously in the Absolute’ (p.239); and, ‘That the real Absolute, or God himself, is also my state, is a truth often forgotten’ (p.260).²⁸⁹ Nietzsche’s ‘primal Oneness’, on the other hand, formulates that urge for union with the primal common will, for dissolution of the self, as ‘redemption by illusion’ (BT25). However, what *The Waste Land* seems to suggest is that despite the significant differences in perspective between the Absolute, Oversoul, and primal Oneness, all are expressions of a central human desire or will to transcend the individual and conjoin in the universal.

All are brought like errant prodigal sons to the true Godhead in the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr. Nietzsche wrote that in ‘order to live, the Greeks were profoundly compelled to create those gods’ (BT23). In this reading *The Waste Land* suggests that humans, experiencing

²⁸⁶ Ralph Waldo Emerson *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Essays*. 1st series [Vol. 2] IX ‘The Oversoul’

²⁸⁷ Jewel Spears Brooker in ‘Eliot’s Philosophical studies’ *The New Cambridge Companion to T. S. Eliot* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2017) p. 183.

²⁸⁸ Jewel Spears Brooker ‘Dialectic and impersonality in T.S. Eliot’ *T.S. Eliot and the Concept of Tradition* ed. Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2007) p.44.

²⁸⁹ F. H. Bradley *Appearance and Reality: A Metaphysical Essay* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1916) Sixth Impression.

temporal fragmentation often as a distressing, anarchic experience, have been innately compelled to yearn for and seek reunion with an already existing God as variously expressed both ritually and intellectually throughout history. Again, although illusionary to him while of real spiritual import to Eliot, the early Nietzsche is compellingly acute and sympathetic with Eliot's thought on the function of ritual: 'Not only is the bond between man and man sealed by the Dionysiac magic: alienated, hostile or subjugated nature, too, celebrates her reconciliation with her lost son, man' (BT17).

As all the women are one woman, all the Absolutes and Oversouls, if sincere human searching for a central unity, are representations of the one God: 'always struggling, always reaffirming, always resuming their march' (*Choruses from 'The Rock'* PE168:VII:25). While not orthodox, Bradley engaged thoughtfully with Christianity, and it is notable that Bradley's philosophy has been described as a 'secularised version of Christianity'.²⁹⁰ A. E. Taylor wrote of Bradley as 'an intensely religious man, in the sense of a man whose whole life and thought was permeated by a conviction of the reality of unseen things and a supreme devotion to them'; and a man against 'bilibolatriy', which could describe the puritan doctrine of *sola scriptura* at the centre of the valorisation of the inner voice.²⁹¹ The 'inherent authority' below recalls Eliot's previously noted 'old *aporia* of Authority vs. Individual Judgment':

He spoke bitterly of the Christian Church in our country, chiefly on the charge of an alleged 'idolatry' of the text of the Bible, a fault not, I think, really common among Anglicans at the present. He commended the Roman Church for its discouragement of promiscuous Bible-reading, but held that it did not go far enough. He would have the Church, he said, cease to appeal to any literature from the past and insist directly upon its own inherent authority as the living voice of the divine Spirit.²⁹²

Emerson's superior man, enjoined to extreme individualism, paradoxically exists within the Oversoul, as the fuller splendour of Bradley's Absolute is populated by individuals who, in a striking resonance with Nietzsche's 'wretched bell-jar of individuality', exist in discrete 'opaque' 'spheres' (*Notes on the Waste Land* PE.77).²⁹³ Eliot links this quote with line 411:

Dayadhvam: I have heard the key [411]

²⁹⁰ *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* ed. Robert Audi (Cambridge University Press 1995) p.85.

²⁹¹ A. E. Taylor *F. H. Bradley's Mind*, vol. XXXIV, no. 133 (January 1925), pp. 1-12.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Nietzsche's bell-jar and Bradley's opaque spheres resonate with the Cumaean Sibyl's cage: 'Kenner wrote that "Cage" is a mistranslation of *ampulla*, "Bottle" (PE.593).

Turn in the door once and turn once only
We think of the key, each in his prison
Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison

While not offering a detailed reading of these lines, it is possible that the key is in part archaeological; to dig further in Bradley with ‘the broken fingernails of dirty hands’ (303), working past the individual’s isolation within a ‘circle closed on the outside’ (Bradley PE77) to connect everything with everything by finding the Absolute, the fuller ‘splendour’; thereafter returning to *The Waste Land* and the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr.

Emerson’s American Scholar in *American Scholar* digs to find the ‘inexplicable continuity of this web of God’ - the Oversoul - like roots in the ground and in the context of an initial appearance of the fragmentation of isolated facts. Sigg writes that ‘if rather different forces call forth Eliot’s visionary moments, those moments resemble Emerson’s when self-consciousness – confined, narrow and exclusive – is transformed into consciousness of something beyond the self.’²⁹⁴

A brief look at *Sweeney Erect* may further identify aspects of the multi-faceted image of man Eliot constructs in the clerk. Crawford writes that ‘Apeneck Sweeney would be involved in Eliot’s examination of what ‘manliness’ might mean’ (SC28). The allusions in *Sweeney Erect* to Emerson’s essay *Self-Reliance* which, combined with the previously noted *American Scholar*, is seminal to American individualism and the idea of the ‘superior man’, are acknowledged (PE.500:2,3,9). Eliot’s concern with the development of man through the entire sweep of history is explicit in *Sweeney Erect*, explicitly connected to Emerson, and to the image of the ape.

(The lengthened shadow of a man
Is history, said Emerson
Who had not seen the silhouette
Of Sweeney straddled in the sun.)
(PE 37).

²⁹⁴ Eric Sigg *New England* p.22.

Crawford writes of Sweeney ‘he is a modern troglodyte, but one with a rich ancestry [...] Eliot traces the line further back into primitive prehistory’ (SC104-5). Following Darwin, the idea of the brute-man, the vestigial ape, was a theme of Eliot’s time. Mencken quotes Nietzsche: “Man,” he said, “is not a goal, but a bridge. Man is something to be surpassed. What the ape is to man, that man must be to the superman.”” (*Prophet*). George Bernard Shaw advocated the breeding out of the brute through the engendering of the superman, and the theme of eugenics has been previously noted in Mr. Eugenides. The early reviewer Edmund Wilson wrote ‘if he [Eliot] only looked more closely into poor Sweeney he would find Eugene O’Neil’s Hairy ape’.²⁹⁵

Ricks and McCue write: ‘*Erect*: when discovered in 1891, *Homo Erectus* was named *Pithecanthropus erectus* (upright ape-man). *Paradise Lost* IV288-90: “Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall | Godlike erect, with native Honour clad | In naked majesty”’ (PE:498). Eliot creates through Sweeney an evolutionary link between *Homo Erectus*, Milton, Milton’s Adam, and Emerson and his New World Adam. ‘Erect’ later served Eliot as a metaphor for morality in ‘the natural aversion of human beings to the responsibility and strain of being *human*. For we must remember that it *is* a great strain for the erect animal to persist in being erect, a physical and still more a moral strain.’²⁹⁶

As Emerson is brought to *The Waste Land* through his explicit link with Sweeney in the text of *Sweeney Erect*, so implicitly is Milton through the title *Sweeney Erect*, since it is Milton himself who, for Emerson, ‘stands erect’ in creating the ‘laws of the moral sentiment’ for ‘the new born race’ America:

But it would be great injustice to Milton to consider him as enjoying merely a critical reputation. It is the prerogative of this great man to stand at this hour foremost of all men in literary history [...] we think no man can be named whose mind still acts on the cultivated intellect of England and America with an energy comparable to that of Milton. As a poet, Shakspeare undoubtedly transcends, and far surpasses him in his popularity with foreign nations; but Shakspeare is a voice merely; who and what he was

²⁹⁵ Edmund Wilson ‘The poetry of Drouth’ in *The Critical Heritage* p.136.

²⁹⁶ T.S. Eliot ‘Literature and the Modern World’ CP5:201.

that sang, that sings, we know not. Milton stands erect, commanding, still visible as a man among men, and reads the laws of the moral sentiment to the new-born race.²⁹⁷

Since Sweeney is Emersonian, and Emerson's core superior man is rooted in Milton's Adam, in this reading Sweeney as a degenerate representation of base evolution - who, since linked to Emerson, has by inference cast off Christianity - is a trope carried forward to his Adamic poetic brother in *The Waste Land*, in that another facet of the clerk is as an amoral, errant *Homo Erectus* unleashed from collective responsibility by iconoclast scribes, so groping 'his way [...] unlit' (248). The clerk may also be a poetic conceptual leap, an evolution of the base *Homo Erectus* Sweeney which also incorporates Nietzsche's 'contradiction between 'becoming more moral' and the elevation and the strengthening of the human type. *Homo natura*. The 'will to power'' (WP§391 p.228).

Mara de Gennaro sees in the structure of *Sweeney Erect* something of the same juxtaposition between the heritage of the communal and anarchic individualism which this reading posits in *The Waste Land*:

The poem in which Eliot most directly evoked the outcome of scientific individualist thinking is "Sweeney Erect" (1919). He prepares us to receive this outcome by starting the poem with its antithesis, the fundamentally communal imaginative vision of an individual who makes sense of her present by recognizing in it mythic meanings of the past.²⁹⁸

She also sees in *Sweeney Erect* what this study reads in the clerk of *The Waste Land*: a critique of the Emersonian superior man as an enabler of the brute narcissism of the cult of the individual.

In Eliot's terms, Emerson's vision of man is limited, just as Nausicaa's vision and Polypheme's vision are limited. What we can bring to "Sweeney Erect" from our readings of Eliot's prose is that in the teens and twenties he and a good many of his contemporaries equated individualism with the validation of self-absorption, social alienation, and moral relativism. Individualism is dangerous, in their estimation, for its potential effects on "the popular mind"—politically in the form of democracy; aesthetically in the form of Romanticism and naturalism (including film); and through

²⁹⁷ Emerson, 'Milton' *The complete works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Natural history of intellect, and other papers* [Vol. 12] VII. (Houghton Mifflin Boston: New York 1903-1904) p.253.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/emerson/4957107.0012.001/1:12?rgn=div1;view=fulltext;q1=milton>

²⁹⁸ De Gennaro 'The Makings of Modernist Imagination' p.177

these means, morally. Sweeney is not, as Crawford and Brooker would have it, the natural man-beast overlooked by an Emersonian worldview; Sweeney, with his fractured, starkly physical world, is the consequence, the projection of that worldview.²⁹⁹

7.5 The Übermensch about Town: H. L. Mencken's Violet Hour Rendezvous

My twelfth rib is gone, he cried. I'm the *Übermensch*. Toothless Kinch and I, the supermen (U.1.708).

So the young men who through mockery reject Rome on the opening pages of *Ulysses* become Joyce's new Adamic *übermenschen* of Dublin. 'Zarathustra asserts: "The most contemptible thing is *the last man*.'" Thus, since Mulligan's "twelfth rib is gone", he is Adam, first man, least contemptible man – in other words, superman' (UA27.1.708). Despite Buck Mulligan's claims, the narrative and imagery suggest that the aspect of Stephan Dedalus which represents Joyce is the true *übermensch*, the new high priest of the arts who, through art, ameliorates the Nietzschean death of God. Dedalus as Irish *übermensch* is a leitmotif: 'Mead of our fathers for the *Übermensch*' (U.14.1467). Joyce 'in 1904 signed his letters "James Overman" and "Stephan Dedalus" with equal ironic arrogance (Letters 1 54-56)'.³⁰⁰

H.L. Mencken, a Nietzschean epigone and one of his early American translators, was as fiercely anti-Christian as Nietzsche, and played a key part in delivering a hard interpretation of Nietzsche. He writes

"I am a dionysian !" cries Nietzsche. "I am an immoralist!" He means simply that his ideal is a being capable of facing the horrors of life unafraid, of meeting great enemies and slaying them, of gazing down upon the earth in pride and scorn [...] "Let us so live day by day," says a distinguished American statesman, "that we can look any man in the eye and tell him to go to hell!" We get a subtle sort of joy out of this saying because

²⁹⁹ Ibid. p.186.

³⁰⁰ Robert Spoo *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare* (Oxford University Press -1994) p.21.

it voices our racial advance toward individualism and away from servility and oppression. We believe in freedom, in toleration, in moral anarchy.³⁰¹

Mencken writes in the Emersonian tradition, whom Harold Bloom calls the ‘theologian of the American religion of self-reliance’.³⁰² *What about Nietzsche?* is the title of a 1909 article by Mencken in the modernist journal *The Smart Set*:

Was he a Socialist or an Anarchist [...] a man or a devil? [...] Nietzsche has been breaking into print of late with conspicuous assiduity. The theological reviews denounce him in every issue as a natural son of Judas Iscariot and Lucretia Borgia. The yellow journals connect him with “waves of crime” and “the decay of the churches”.³⁰³

There was a trans-Atlantic connection through modernism and literature. Modernism as a revaluation of all values was at least in Pound’s mind at the time, writing to Mencken in 1922: ‘the Christian era ended at midnight on Oct. 29.30 of last year. You are now in the year 1 p.s.U [post-scriptum *Ulysses*]’ (L1:625). He may have had in mind Leopold Bloom’s vainglorious hallucination in the sordid Nighttown of the *Circe* episode of *Ulysses*, in which as ‘emperor-president’ and ‘king-chairman’ he builds a new ‘Bloomusalem’ in ‘our loyal city of Dublin in year 1 of the Paradisical Era’ (U.15.1471/1544/1631). Both are Nietzschean references:

I call Christianity the *one* great curse, the *one* great intrinsic depravity, the *one* great instinct for revenge for which no expedient is sufficiently poisonous, secret, subterranean, *petty* —I call it the *one* immortal blemish of mankind... And one calculates time from the *dies nefastus* on which this fatality arose—from the first day of Christianity! *Why not rather from its last? From today?* Revaluation of all values!³⁰⁴

Fred Hobson writes that depending ‘on the position of the reader, he [Mencken] was either a great defender of women’s rights or, as a critic labelled him in 1916, “the greatest misogynist since Schopenhauer”, “the country’s high-priest of woman-haters.”³⁰⁵

Mencken would hardly have gone so far as his mentor Nietzsche [...] “*Forget not thy whip!*” But it is clear that a primary role of women, as he saw it, was to be attentive to men. As he was to write to Sinclair Lewis: “I like women who appreciate their men. We bucks do a great deal for them. We defend them, support them, soothe their frenzies

³⁰¹ *The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche* p.124.

³⁰² Harold Bloom ‘The Sage of Concord’ *The Guardian* Books May 24 2003

³⁰³ H. L. Mencken ‘What about Nietzsche?’ *The Smart Set* November 1909

³⁰⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche ‘Conclusion’ *The Antichrist* trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Penguin Books 2003) p.199.

³⁰⁵ Fred Hobson *Mencken: A Life* (Random House Publishing 2012) p.194.

[...] but not when they try to make slaves of men who are their betters. In any combat between superior and inferior, I am for No. 1.” (Hobson p.197).

These echoes of the hard Nietzsche in Mencken’s attitude to women include dangers to the manly Protestant: ‘The masculine mind is readily taken in by specious values; the average married man of Protestant Christendom, if he succumbs at all, succumbs to some meretricious and flamboyant creature, bent only upon fleecing him.’³⁰⁶ Mencken does argue for a form of shrewd high intelligence in some women, again a Nietzschean perspective, but this appears a sop overwhelmed by many misogynistic tropes. ‘A woman’s penchant for “realism” as he defined it, could also be taken for small mindedness, pettiness, an inability to conceptualise on a grand scale’ (Hobson 196).

Mencken had written Ernest Boyd that he was contemplating “A Book for Men Only,” a “critical consideration of la femme. Aphoristic, scandalous” [...] in February 1918, he first entitled it “The Eternal Feminine.” Recognising that such a title suggested a mythic, even anthropological approach he did not intend to take, he also considered “The Infernal Feminine”, then settled on the ironic “In Defence of Women.” (Hobson 195)

A section of *In Defence of Women* is titled ‘The Eternal Romance’, alluding to Nietzsche’s ideas of the ‘eternal-womanly’ (EH46). At its core is an assumption of an eternally dark and seditious aspect in the character of the female. Mencken’s woman bares her teeth, in contrast to the toothless Lil.

Women may emancipate themselves, they may borrow the whole bag of masculine tricks [...] Men fear them, and are fascinated by them. They know how to show their teeth charmingly [...] It was Nietzsche who called them the recreation of the warrior—not of the poltroon, remember, but of the warrior. A profound saying.³⁰⁷

The question arises whether correspondences between the typist scene and the following idealised assignation of Mencken’s are coincidental. Mencken’s is also an after-work scene. His twice repeated divan corresponds with the twice repeated ‘divan’ (226, 244) of the poem. Mencken’s ideal female companion is Miltonic: ‘For contemplation hee and valour formd, | For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace’ (PL.IV.297). Though Mencken’s physical contact may be desexualised compared to the lustful clerk who endeavours ‘to engage her in caresses’

³⁰⁶ H.L. Mencken *In Defense of Women* (New York Alfred A Knopf 1918) p.205

³⁰⁷ Mencken *In Defense of Women* p.206

(237), he is close enough 'to reach her with my hand', much like the clerk's 'Exploring hands' (240). The male 'sleep poetized' of Mencken contrasts to the sparse provisional sleeping circumstance of the typist, where the divan is '(at night her bed)' (226). Dissatisfied, the 'girl grows prettily miffed and throws [Mencken] out', a genteel version of the typist's forlorn thought "Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over" (252). Mencken feels ennobled, as the clerk is gratified, but there is nothing ennobling for either female in either scene, and it might be asked if Mencken omitted to record whether in his fantasy, as he is ejected, he imagined bestowing 'one final patronising kiss' (247).

It is the close of a busy and vexatious day— say half past five or six o'clock of a winter afternoon. I have had a cocktail or two, and am stretched out on a divan in front of a fire, smoking. At the edge of the divan, close enough for me to reach her with my hand, sits a woman not too young, but still good-looking and well-dressed— above all, a woman with a soft, low-pitched, agreeable voice. As I snooze she talks— of anything, everything, all the things that women talk of: books, music, the play, men, other women. No politics. No business. No religion. No metaphysics. Nothing challenging and vexatious [...] I listen to the exquisite murmur of her voice. Gradually I fall asleep— but only for an instant. At once, observing it, she raises her voice ever so little, and I am awake. [...] I ask you seriously: could anything be more unutterably beautiful? [...] Well, here is sleep poetized and made doubly sweet. Here is sleep set to the finest music in the world. I match this situation against any that you can think of. It is not only enchanting; it is also, in a very true sense, ennobling. In the end, when the girl grows prettily miffed and throws me out, I return to my sorrows somehow purged and glorified. I am a better man in my own sight. I have grazed upon the fields of asphodel. I have been genuinely, completely and unregrettably happy.³⁰⁸

Whether Eliot is or is not among the multi-faceted aspects of the scene satirising Mencken, the scribe Mencken is effectively describing the occupation and position in society of the typist, who voicelessly transcribes and so perpetuates the scripts of male scribes. The volubility of his imagined companion contrasts with the 'half-formed thought' (251) of the typist, save that through the prohibition 'No politics. No business. No religion. No metaphysics. Nothing

³⁰⁸ H. L. Mencken *In Defense of Women* p.208: 'the ghost of clean-heeled Achilles marched away with long steps over the meadow of Asphodel'; the 'Meadow of Asphodel where abide the souls and phantoms of those whose work is done'. *The Odyssey* Book 11; 24.

challenging and vexatious' he is also inhibiting his imagined female's ability to engage in discourse, a cutting out of the female tongue. Appel writes:

Nietzsche believes even the most ideal female consort to be barred from the highest of human relationships because of her inherent 'shallowness', her inability to attain the summit of excellence that is the province of her partner, the creative man.³⁰⁹

Absenting the stipulation that Nietzsche may only be read metaphorically, Mencken's is a misogynistic Nietzschean script, demonstrating the continual harm to the Eternal Feminine of perpetuating versions of the Eve myth - Old Testament, Lutheran, Miltonic or Nietzschean:

Woman wants to be independent [...] Woman has so much reason for shame; in woman there is concealed so much pedanticism, superficiality, schoolmarmishness, petty presumption, petty unbridledness, and petty immodesty [...] which has fundamentally been most effectively controlled and repressed hitherto by *fear* of men [...] her arts and best policy [are] charm, care, the banishing of care. (BGE144)

In this reading, anarchic Protestantism underpins the Emersonian male construct which both informed Nietzsche's *übermensch* and has its genesis in the Adam of Milton, in turn somewhat a child of the proto-puritan Coverdale. It is a portrait of man interrogated by Eliot in the form of the clerk; a dark Adam 'with carbuncle his eyes', an inferior realisation of Emerson's superior man, a debased street level *übermensch*, a Massenmensch. He is the product of scribal error since the Old Testament creation of the misogynistic Eve myth, reiterated and compounded by the Reformation and its scribal progeny.

³⁰⁹ Fredrick Appel 'The *übermensch*'s consort: Nietzsche and the Eternal Feminine' *History of Political Thought* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 1997) p.525.

8. ERROR: Philosophical, Biblical, Miltonic and Deliberate Poetic Error

A man of genius makes no mistakes. His errors are volitional and are the portals of discovery. (Stephan Dedalus, *Ulysses* U.9.228).

Eliot's Harvard dissertation includes error as a focus – the word appears some fifty-six times throughout his dissertation - in examining the disjunct between appearance and reality.

TSE's note: "Cf. Joachim, Nature of Truth, 144-45: 'For precisely that feature in error, which at the time robs it of its sting for the erring person (viz. his untroubled confidence in the truth of his judgement), constitutes the distinctive character of error and its power for mischief.'"³¹⁰

Eliot's perspective at the time of his thesis seems similar to Nietzsche's perspectivism. Where Nietzsche writes 'in every value judgement there is a definite point of view' (WP§259 p.258), Eliot writes 'I have tried to show that there can be no truth or error without a presentation and discrimination of two points of view; that the external world is a construction by the selection and combination of various presentations to various viewpoints'.³¹¹ The dissertation seems to represent the crystallisation of Eliot's understanding of the limits of the secular world's ability to transcend the fragmentary experience of the individual - Bradley's individual 'opaque' 'spheres' (PE77), mirrored in the Nietzschean 'wretched bell-jar of human individuality' (BT101) - and so may indicate the genesis of his search for a spiritual creed of invariable, universal truth which also spoke to his ritualist, poetic self. Contrary to Nietzsche's morality 'as *vampirism* [...] the concept 'the Beyond', 'real world' invented so as to deprive of value the *only* world which exists' (EH103), Eliot wrote in Harvard in 1914 that 'if all meaning is human meaning, then there is no meaning. If you observe only human standards, what standard have you?'³¹²

Manju Jain writes that Eliot's thesis is 'haunted by the author's need to find meaning and order in a universe that appears to be discordant, inchoate, indefinable and swarming with contradictions' (Spurr 21). Such a seemingly anarchic universe is prone to error. A brief review of Eliot's relationship to error in philosophy; to the concept of error in scribal interpretation; to Milton's conception of error; and to Eliot's potential use of deliberate error in the poem may

³¹⁰ T. S. Eliot 'Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley' CP1 p.243; Chapter V: The Epistemologist's Theory of Knowledge II CP1 p.355 fn.8.

³¹¹ Eliot Dissertation 358.

³¹² T.S. Eliot 'The Relationship between Politics and Metaphysics' CP1.99.

aid in among other aspects positioning the relationship of *The Waste Land* to *Paradise Lost* in this reading. Error as a theme is also central to Milton, both in his general theological perspective – popery is the ‘Mother of error, school of heresy’ – and in *Paradise Lost*.³¹³ John Rogers comments:

Now of course, “error” is one of the most resonant words in the entire poem. Error is the moral category, or we can think of it as the theological category, most often applied to the Fall and to Adam and Eve’s eventual sin.³¹⁴

There are different forms of error. Bradley writes that the ‘fact of illusion and error is in various ways forced early upon the mind; and the ideas by which we try to understand the universe, may be considered as attempts to set right our failure.’³¹⁵ The error of the Old Testament scribes previously noted by Wollstonecraft in exerting the will to power over the female through the creation of the Eve myth is in her eyes, and in Eliot’s in this reading, a deliberate abuse of power. Within Christianity, and particularly within the doctrine of progressive revelation, it is permissible to ascribe error to aspects of the interpretation of earlier revelations, being partial. Interpretive error can then become a key accusation between creeds: Stephan Dedalus refers to Luther as ‘the fighting parson who founded the protestant error’ (U.15.261). When Milton reiterated divinely mandated female subordination, he can both have been repeating the error of the culturally naturalised will to power over the female and have had, in the words of Eliot above, ‘untroubled confidence in the truth of his judgement.’ Conversely, Sappho’s ‘error’ in worshipping the non-Christian Aphrodite can be termed virtuous, since it represents a sincere will to worship the divine as understood at the time. This is reflected in the thinking of the proto-Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement:

Do you then unchurch all the Presbyterians, all Christians who have no Bishops? [...] Nay, we are not judging others [...] we do not therefore exclude either from salvation. [...] Neither do we desire to pass sentence on other persons of other countries [...] because similar difficulties may be raised about virtuous Heathens, Jews, or Mahometans.³¹⁶

The concept of error was, then, deeply studied by Eliot, including that aspect of error which bears no trouble for the perpetrating scribe: having no ‘sting for the erring person’.

³¹³ John Milton *Against Popery* 1673.

³¹⁴ John Rogers Yale open lectures transcript. <https://oyc.yale.edu/english/engl-220/lecture-14>.

³¹⁵ Bradley *Appearance and Reality* 11.

³¹⁶ John Henry Newman (subsequently Cardinal Newman, Tractarian forefather of Anglo-Catholicism) Tract 4.

There is also the infinitesimal deliberate error which obliquely guides the reader, and a series of small seemingly deliberate errors in the poem and the notes underscores a central theme of error throughout history. In this reading there are at least, at this moment, three deliberate errors in the Cleopatra scene; two in the ‘sevenbranched candelabra’ (82) and another in the ‘sylvan scene’ (98). A detailed examination of the mythology of the menorah is beyond the scope of this study, save to say that the missing hyphen between ‘seven’ and ‘branched’ is deliberate - since it read ‘seven-branched’ in a draft (FT.17.6) - is significant, and is not explained by scansion, contraction or other poetic techniques. Further, while the menorah has seven lamps, it has only six branches, thereby directing attention to the mythology of the central lamp, which is not considered a branch.³¹⁷

31 "You are to make a menorah of pure gold. It is to be made of hammered work; its base, shaft, cups, ring of outer leaves and petals are to be of one piece with it. 32 It is to have six branches extending from its sides, three branches of the menorah on one side of it and three on the other. (Exodus 25)

The error pertinent to the typist scene is the ‘sylvan scene’, evoking Satan’s approach to Eden: ‘So on he fares, and to the border comes | Of Eden [...] A Silvan Scene’ (PL:131;140). The error is in spelling. While Eliot’s ‘sylvan’ is an alternative, it is not Milton’s. Attention is again drawn to specific usage in *Notes on the Waste Land*: ‘98. Sylvan scene. V. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 140’ (PE.73). Strikingly, the note ponderously directs the reader to the book, section, line and phrase of *Paradise Lost*, and reiterates the Miltonic phrase; except not quite. The note is either entirely superfluous, telling the reader nothing, since it is needless to highlight the resonance with *Paradise Lost*, particularly with so laborious a hand; or it directs the reader to identify a difference; an instance in which Eliot’s manipulation of the ‘infinitesimal’, discussed in ‘Ordonnance’, creates the smallest of deliberate errors with extraordinary significance. That difference, Eliot’s ‘sylvan scene’, suggests an interpretation from St Augustine:

There is, too, a very general rumor, which many have verified by their own experience, or which trustworthy persons who have heard the experience of others corroborate, that

³¹⁷ There were ten menorah in the tabernacle in the desert in which Aaron served as high priest, and in the Temple of Solomon: ‘7. And he made the ten candlesticks of gold according to the ordinance concerning them; and he set them in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left.’ (2 Chronicles 4).

sylvans and fauns, who are commonly called “incubi,” had often made wicked assaults upon women, and satisfied their lust upon them;³¹⁸

The incubus - the male version of the succubus evoked through ‘Lil’ (139) as the short form of Lilith, previously examined in ‘Eve’ - is a parasite, and a spiritual predator to women. Such a demonic creature embedded in the very words which introduce us to Milton’s prelapsarian Eden subverts that introduction even as it is written. The Miltonic ‘delicious Paradise’ recreated from the conventional Eden story is fundamentally undermined in *The Waste Land* by an insidious male presence. In this schema, that male presence is scribal, intent on warping our perspective of the female, and the conventional Eden story of the seditious Eve is overturned by a depiction of the male scribe as seditious, erroneous aggressor.

Like *Ulysses*, *The Waste Land* engages with class, and the scene between Albert and Lil mirrors the scene between the typist and clerk in enacting the most likely street level manifestations and consequences of elite thought, including valorisation of the cult of the individual. Implicit is a criticism of that elite, and what Eliot terms ‘every chaotic and immature intellectual enthusiasm of the later nineteenth century.’³¹⁹ This perspective resonates with the multi-voiced anarchy of the poem itself, and Eliot would be including the deliberately chaotic Nietzsche.

Nietzsche’s ceaseless experimenting with different styles seems to conform to the *Zeitgeist* which was generally marked by a growing dissatisfaction with traditional modes of expression. Wagner, the Impressionists and the Expressionists, Picasso and the Surrealists, Joyce, Pound and Eliot all show a similar tendency. (Kaufmann 92)

In a similar vein to the subversion of Milton through his own constructions, a subversion of Nietzsche’s literary style might be read in *The Waste Land*. The anarchy of the poem reflects somewhat Nietzsche’s ‘style of decadence’, the fragmented aphoristic style deployed to subvert what he saw as the illusionary order of received thought systems: ‘from every point of view the *erroneousness* of the world in which we believe we live is the surest and firmest thing we

³¹⁸ Philip Schaff *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* Vol. 2 *St. Augustin’s City of God and Christian Doctrine* (Buffalo: The Christian Literature company 1887) p.462.

³¹⁹ T.S. Eliot ‘Introduction *Savonarola: A Dramatic Poem*, by Charlotte Eliot’. CP3.772.

can get our eyes on' (BGE§34 p.46). It is primarily 'Christian moral quackery' through which 'error is made obligatory' (WP§248 p.155); '*Morality as the work of error*' (WP§266 p.165).

The "style of decadence" is methodically employed in the service of Nietzsche's "experimentalism." [...] Each aphorism or sequence of aphorisms [...] may be considered as a thought experiment [...] The discontinuity, or, positively speaking, the great number of experiments, reflects the conviction that making only one experiment would be one-sided. (Kaufmann 85)

Kaufmann reads Nietzsche as deploying stylistic anarchy to encourage the search for a more authentic order, and that may be a structural aspect of *The Waste Land*, although the desired worlds of Eliot and Nietzsche are existentially opposed. Nietzsche's work is not irremediably fragmented; the 'organic unity of his work is granted in principle' (Kaufmann 157). A genuine stylistic 'bedlam' (Kaufmann 135), a disconnected confusion of styles is decadent and barbarous: "Much knowledge and learning is neither a necessary means of culture nor a sign of it and, if necessary, gets along famously with the opposition of culture, barbarism: i.e., the lack of style or the chaotic confusion of all styles." This bedlam, says Nietzsche, characterises postwar Germany' (Kaufmann 134, quoting Nietzsche's first *Untimely Meditation*). It would seem then that if *The Waste Land* is a disjointed confusion of styles with no connecting rationale, Eliot the poet risks dismissal by both Nietzsche and the unclassical-classicism (Sullivan) of Eliot the critic. Central to *The Birth of Tragedy* is admiration for 'the Greeks [who] imbued with the Apollinian [sic] spirit, learned to "organise the chaos"' (Kaufmann 152).

While Nietzsche's styles are collectively regarded by most scholars as a successful anti-method, where Nietzschean philosophy is dedicated to the destruction of Christianity and willing for the sake of the Napoleonic superman to 'see our entire civilisation collapse into anarchy' (WP§877 p.501), that 'discontinuity' and fragmented aphoristic style becomes a deeply erroneous threat in that it risks a genesis of world from page: a disjointed, deliberately engineered godless anarchy.

In recent theory, Anthony Cuda identifies a postmodern codification of the anarchy of the poem.

Ruth Nevo proposes an argument that has become familiar indeed, namely, that Eliot's poem prefigures the strategies of poststructuralist theory, that it can "now be read as a

postmodernist poem ... as a deconstructionist Ur-text, even as a Deconstructionist manifesto.”³²⁰

The poem does resonate with a Nietzschean and Emersonian multifocal perspectivism: Emerson writes ‘there is properly no history, only biography’.³²¹ However, the structural anarchy of the poem in this reading is more a modernist critique when conjoined with and measured against the mythic and New Testament themes of guidance and bonding communal alternatives of ‘the violet hour’ of vespers and Sappho’s evening star.

It may be that, contra Nevo, it should be considered an anti-deconstructionist Ur-text; a prophetic pre-emptive warning of the potential anarchy and fragmentation of a society which erroneously valorises the primacy of the unmoored individual voice over the value of communal narratives.

³²⁰ Anthony Cuda ‘*The Waste Land’s Afterlife*’ *The Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* ed. Gabrielle McIntire (Cambridge university Press 2015) p.202. He quotes Ruth Nevo’s “*The Waste Land: Ur-text of Deconstruction*,” *New Literary History* 13 (Spring 1982): 454 [453-61].

³²¹ Emerson ‘History’ *Essays* 1st series Vol. 2.

9. ATTENTAT: Anarchy, Empress Elizabeth, Alienation and the fall of the European Order

Jewel Spears Brooker offers insight into Eliot's intellectual dynamic: 'Eliot posits a dialectical triad in which the primitive mind and the modern mind are at once included and transcended in a greater mind – the mind of Europe' (Dialectic p.48). Jeroen Vanheste further refines the understanding of Eliot's 'unclassical classicism' as European:

this classicism has no exclusive association with classical antiquity. Rather, he uses the term to denote a belief in reason, established standards of excellence and the importance of the cultural tradition [...] essentially an assertion of intellectual, moral and aesthetic standards that transcend the subjectivity of the individual [...] lessons taught by the greatest achievements of the European cultural tradition [...] It is in this sense that Eliot [...] can be called a European classicist.³²²

This chapter will examine the idea of Europe within the poem in the context of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, known as 'Sisi', an insomniac who read 'much of the night' (18) and went 'south in the winter' (18) to 'her exotic hermitage in Corfu'.³²³ It will examine the anarchic aspect of her assassination, an act of *attentat* – Serbo-Croatian for assassination. Empress Elizabeth is another traduced female figure in the poem who suffered severe isolation and constraint within the Hapsburg court, and this will be examined in the context of the development of the ego through proto-Indo-European, 'echt' (12), and the 'I', the first person pronoun.³²⁴

Politically, the concept of *attentat* includes the anarchist 'propaganda of the deed' which motivated Sisi's assassin, the Italian anarchist Luigi Lucheni. Intending to assassinate a French royal who had in fact departed the area, he randomly targeted the empress as the only readily accessible royal. Assassination was on Eliot's mind at this time. Walt Whitman's poem 'When lilacs last in the doorway bloom'd' is suggested by 'lilacs' (2) and is a pastoral lament for the assassinated president Abraham Lincoln. The speech of the ghost in Hamlet is evoked in 'dull roots' (4), in which the ghost laments both his assassination, and that it is being collectively

³²² Jeroen Vanhesten 'The Idea of Europe' *T.S. Eliot in Context* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2011) p.55.

³²³ Fredric Morton *A Nervous Splendor Vienna 1888/1889* (Penguin 1979) p.179.

³²⁴ Countess Marie Wallersee-Larisch *My Past* (Forgotten Books 2012, originally published 1918) p.352. 'I looked upon Elizabeth as being from the old world of the Gods. She was Artemis – cold, beautiful, arrogant [...] her ivory loveliness gleaming in the moonlight when she bathed, like Venus – and in those scented solicitudes she was like a Pagan called back from the Past.' p. 54. 'Her real place was with the immortals' p. 152.

forgotten: 'And duller shouldst thou be than in the fat weed.' (Hamlet, 1.5.32-34). Eliot used the term when commenting on the "églishes assassinées [murdered churches] of London".³²⁵ A petition in Magnus Martyr wrote of 'when **sentence of death** has been passed on certain city churches (those lamps of faith).'³²⁶ All echo Nietzsche's ideas on the 'death of god'; on modern philosophy as being 'out to assassinate the fundamental presupposition of the Christian doctrine'; and his 'attentat on two millennia of [Christian] anti-nature' (BGE49/128).

This assault on, and potential destruction of the European Christian order is suggested by the previously noted 'sun's last rays' (225) at the 'violet hour' of vespers as, in this reading, the debased *übermensch* climbs the stairs to assault the typist. The full quote from Nietzsche, read after the Great War, must have seemed ominously prophetic. It resonates with the structural destruction in the poem – the 'stony rubbish' (20), 'Falling towers' (337), the 'empty chapel' that 'has no windows, and the door swings' (388-9), and the repetitive collapse of London Bridge (426):

The most important of more recent events - that "God is dead," that the belief in the Christian God has become unworthy of belief - already begins to cast its first shadows over Europe [...] some sun seems to have set, some old, profound confidence seems to have changed into doubt [...] so much was built upon it, so much rested on it, and had become one with it: for example, our entire European morality. This lengthy, vast and uninterrupted process of crumbling, destruction, ruin and overthrow which is now imminent: who has realised it sufficiently today to have to stand up as the teacher and herald of such a tremendous logic of terror, as the prophet of a period of gloom and eclipse, the like of which has probably never taken place on earth before? (GS 343)

Among other aspects, the death of Empress Elizabeth represents the collapse of the Catholic Austro-Hungarian empire, ruled by the Hapsburgs for many centuries as Holy Roman Emperors. Another assassination of a Hapsburg court royal unleashed the chaos of WW1 which destroyed the cohesion of central and eastern Europe. The Hapsburg collapse removed a Christian bulwark against Herman Hesse's 'Asiatic' hordes. Those hordes, in *The Waste Land*,

³²⁵ Barry Spurr, 'Anglo-Catholic in Religion': T.S. Eliot and Christianity. (Lutterworth Press 2010) p. 39: '... quoting Marcel Proust who coined the phrase in En mémoire des églises assassinées to describe the French cathedrals wrecked by the Germans during the First World War.'

³²⁶ Appendix 5, original bold. London Metropolitan Archive.

represent among others a new state sponsored communist godlessness to the east;³²⁷ what Harding terms ‘a nightmare of the Bolshevik Revolution.’³²⁸ Rabaté writes that the Soviet-Polish war which ended in 1921 was ‘widely seen as an attempt by the Soviet regime to spread the revolution westward’, and in an earlier draft the ‘hooded hordes swarming’ (368) swarmed over ‘Polish plains’.³²⁹

Alexander Zevin writes of the ‘socialist government of the First Austrian Republic, which took office in February 1919’ which to some at the time represented ‘Bolshevism’ and ‘would lead Vienna to starvation and terror within a few days [...] plundering hordes would take to the streets [...] ‘and a second bloodbath would destroy what was left of Viennese culture.’³³⁰ It is a suggestion of warring mobs and masses unleashed and driven by anti-Christian ideologies, whereas prior to the Great War the Christian empires of the cousins the Tsar, the Kaiser and George V, along with their relatives the Hapsburgs, had controlled half the world’s population. Following the war, such binding Christian entities collapsed across the continent and Russia, leaving only the British empire. Rabaté points to Eliot’s complaint regarding the ‘Balkinisation of Europe’ (p.16). Eliot wrote that it ‘is for us to see that in this reorganization of the ideas of Europe, the ideas of Britain and the British Empire have their place.’³³¹

Emerson, Nietzsche and communism made explicit, in various forms, a desire to overthrow the Christian European order in favour of desired new world orders. In this reading, as Eliot is engaged in a struggle with Old Testament scribes and Milton over the biblical genesis myth, so he struggles with the anti-Christians Marx, Emerson and Nietzsche over the genesis of the world to come, our ‘problem being to form the future’.³³²

Eliot had no scruples about resisting communism with force. Less than three months after the publication of *The Waste Land* his enthusiasm for the Italian *Fascisti* was printed in a letter to *The Daily Mail*, yielding a key insight into his preoccupations and fiercely defensive attitude

³²⁷ Eliot’s note ‘367-77. Cf. Hermann Hesse, ‘Blick ins Chaos’. In Hesse’s characterisation, the ‘ideal of the Karamazov, primeval, Asiatic, and occult, is already beginning to consume the European soul.’ He writes of Kaiser Wilhelm warning ‘the European nations to guard their “holiest possessions” against the approaching peril from the East’ and a ‘fear of the Eastern hordes.’ http://world.std.com/~raparker/exploring/books/hesse_hudson_brothers.html

³²⁸ Jason Harding ‘Modernist and modern poetry: an overview’ *The Cambridge History of English Poetry* ed. Michael O’Neill (Cambridge University Press 2015) p.734.

³²⁹ Jean-Michel Rabaté “‘Strange Revolutions Since I died”” CCT 16 / Valerie Eliot *The Waste Land. A Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts* (Harvest 1971) p. 75.

³³⁰ Alexander Zevin reviewing *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* by Quinn Slobodian (Harvard March 2018) in *The London Review of Books* Vol 41 Aug 2019 p.27. Zevin is quoting the economist and foundational theorist of neoliberalism Ludwig Heinrich Edler von Mises, colleague of Friedrich von Hayek. Slobodian ‘draws an intellectual genealogy from interwar Vienna to 1990s Geneva [...] from the fall of the Hapsburg Empire to [...] the EEC’.

³³¹ T.S. Eliot ‘A Commentary’ 1927 CP3 p.157.

³³² T.S. Eliot ‘The Humanism of Irving Babbitt’ 1928 CP3:455.

on behalf of European culture and Christianity. ‘Nothing could be more salutary at the present time than the remarkable series of articles which you have been publishing on Fascismo; these alone constitute a public service of the greatest value and would by themselves have impelled me to write to thank you.’³³³ The *Fascisti* at that time, although lead by Mussolini, were not the radically transformed fascists of the dictatorship from nineteen twenty-five onwards. In nineteen twenty-two they were regarded in significant part as a form of Christian militia, Catholic warriors fighting a holy war on Europe’s behalf against Bolshevik godlessness:

Italy has turned the tide against Bolshevism, and it may yet be said that she has saved Europe. The victory of the Fascisti, which swept into power that strange dominant personality, Benito Mussolini—knight of the 15th century in white spats and a morning coat—is still but imperfectly understood and appreciated by the outside world. Comparatively few people realise that, apart from the Great War, the revolt of Italy's young manhood against the tyranny of Red Socialism will be set down by historians as the most important movement of our time [...] It has fought a holy war [...] Christianity, patriotism, loyalty to the state, liberty of the individual, recognition of the rights and duties of all classes of society, co-operation of all classes for the good of the country, obedience to established authority, social morality—all these tenets of national life which Bolshevism would consign to the dust-heap have again been embraced by the people of Italy, high and low alike, in a spirit of enthusiasm which is nothing less than sublime.³³⁴

Eliot was not, then, against deploying aggressive physical power in defence of an ordered, Christian society, an attitude concurrent with and, in this reading, reflected in literary form in *The Waste Land* through his similar battle with, among others, the heresiarch of godlessness Nietzsche.

‘England was toppling already and her downfall would be Ireland, her Achilles heel’; a prophesy in *Ulysses* accompanied by the observation that, since the Irish make the best soldiers, the ‘Irish catholic peasant’ is ‘the backbone of our empire’ (U.15.1003/1016-1022). In *The*

³³³ *The Letter of T. S. Eliot* Vol. 2. 1923-1925. Ed. Valerie Eliot and Hugh Haughton (Faber and Faber 2009) p.7. Hereafter L2. Letter published 8th January 1923. Assuming various time lags such as the Christmas period, and those between writing, postal delivery and preparing for print, it may well be that the letter was written in 1922. The series of articles, a serialisation of Phillips book, started on 19th Dec. (L2.7.fn2).

³³⁴ Sir Percival Phillips *The “Red” Dragon and The Black Shirts. How Italy Found Her Soul. The True Story of the Fascisti Movement* (London: Carmelite house EC4) Ch. 1 ‘The Holy War for Freedom’ p.11. the book includes further chapter headings such as ‘IV. David goes out against Goliath’; ‘V. Fascisti Martyrs’; and ‘XII. No More Strikes: No Class War’; ‘XIII. Short Way with Crime.’ Phillips is listed as ‘special correspondent of ‘The Daily Mail.’’ <https://archive.org/details/reddragonblacksh00phil/page/n4>

Waste Land, ‘*Mein Irisch Kind, | Wo weilest du?*’ (33) can be read in part as a lament at the loss of the newly independent south of Ireland to the empire, a potentially godless independence if the more hard-line Irish Workers Party socialists like Larkin and Connelly were to prevail. As such, it was a microcosm of Russia to the east. Eliot writes that ‘the most important event of the War was the Russian Revolution. For the Russian Revolution has made men conscious of the position of Western Europe as (in Valéry’s words) a small and isolated cape on the western side of the Asiatic Continent.’³³⁵ Partition in Ireland in 1921 was de facto a land schism between the Protestant and Catholic creeds, a sundering which had been avoided in an earlier England by the previously noted Elizabethan Settlement (see p.48-9) which Eliot so admired and which engendered the enforced *via media* of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The word ‘common’ here suggests again the theme of shared, bonding ritual which transcends the Reformation schism.³³⁶

It may be that there is another, remarkable map in *The Waste Land* surrounding ‘echt’ (12). It further develops, through the linguistic development of pronouns within Proto-Indo-European, the theme of progression from an ancient communality surrounding vegetation rituals to the modern alienating cult of the individual. The opening verse paragraph indicates a mapping of the evolution of personal pronouns as a representation of the evolution of the human ego, creating a progression from the primitive, communally inclusive ‘us’ and ‘we’ to the isolated ‘I’ of modern civilisation. It is a map which further addresses the pervading sense of isolation and alienation attached particularly to the females of the poem.

In contrast to the mainly ritualist, anthropological reading of this study, this mapping of the I pronoun arises more from psychology, and philology – the diachronic linguistics of Eliot’s time, and Nietzsche’s early speciality and professorship. The root language of Europe, Proto-Indo-European, is reconstructed from ‘Litauen’ (12), Lithuanian. It is often called the Adamic language, or first language, and could be termed the original ‘demotic’. The idea of ‘Indo-European’, now called Proto-Indo-European, as a common root language for Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic and other European and Asiatic languages was first realised by nineteenth century comparative method philologists. As a glimpse of the philological thinking

³³⁵ Eliot ‘A Commentary’ *The Monthly Criterion: A Literary Review*, 6 (Aug 1927) CP3.156.

³³⁶ Political creeds were a sustained concern in Eliot’s critical and other writings. Throughout *The Rock* there is a contest between the religious, communist and later fascist narratives.

around Eliot's time, Frank R. Blake writes that there 'was in all probability a period in the primitive development of languages when there were no personal pronouns'.³³⁷

There has long been an acknowledged dissonance between the claim of the 'Hofgarten' (10) voice to be both Lithuanian and German: 'Bin gar keine Russin, stamm' aus Litauen, echt deutsch' (12), translating as 'Not a Russian, I'm from Lithuania, genuinely german' (PE. 605.I:12). It is notable that the 'deutsch' is not capitalised, which discriminates it from the capitalised 'Russin' and 'Litauen'. Notwithstanding national fluidities of the time, one could not be both Lithuanian and German. However, if the 'speaker' here is not an individual in the Hofgarten but the 'I' itself, the English first person pronoun, that dissonance between Lithuanian and German disappears. 'I' arose from Old High German 'ich' which evolved into the German 'echt' (12) of *The Waste Land*. That proto-Germanic 'ich' in turn arose from the proto-Indo-European 'ego', cognate with both the Latin and Greek 'ego'. Proto-Indo-European is, or at least was at the time of writing the poem, reconstructed predominantly from Lithuanian, the most conservative European Language. In that sense, 'I' is both Lithuanian and German, since it emerged from a shared root.³³⁸

Laurence Rainey's dissection of the use of pronouns in the opening of *The Waste Land* traces a progression from the communal 'us' to the plural 'we' to the isolated 'I': 'eight uses of first-person pronouns. The result is slightly staggering.'³³⁹ Rainey reads a 'self-cancelling' result into this as part of a fragmentation reading of the poem. In this study, that stepped evolution of pronouns represents the psychological aspect of a swift poetic progression, over eighteen lines of poetry, from the ancient communal vegetation ceremonies invoking such deities as Aphrodite of 'April' (1) to the alienated apogee of modern civilisation represented by Empress Elizabeth of the Hapsburgs. At the same time, it suggests a deterioration. What is represented is a map of the development of the modern ego through personal pronouns; the alienating cost of both modernity and the cult of the individual; and the isolated 'I' of even the most elevated females within modernity.

³³⁷ Frank R. Blake 'The Origin of pronouns of the First and Second Person' *The American Journal of Philology* Vol. 55, No. 3 (1934), pp. 244-248.

³³⁸ See Appendix 7. The line also gives Eliot the opportunity to name the languages Russian, Lithuanian and German in what may be an ambition to name or allude to all the main languages of Europe and all the associated languages of proto-Indo-European, such as Sanskrit. This is potentially linked with the alphabet of Phlebas the Phoenician, civilisation's Adam, creating a map of the development of language and writing, to complement a possible map of the development of poetry – see p.85 regarding *Oxen of the Sun*, of *Ulysses*.

³³⁹ Laurence Rainey 'With Automatic Hand: *The Waste Land*' *The New Cambridge Companion to The Waste Land* ed. Jason Harding (Cambridge University Press 2017) 73.

11. CONCLUSION: 'As good in its way as Ulysses in its way' & 'Thus Speaks the Inner Voice'

This thesis may seem somewhat singular compared to other critical readings of *The Waste Land*. However, set out in support is Eliot's constant focus on order, tradition, unity and classicism, and his constant deprecation of the chaotic lack of cohesion of the bad poet: 'the difference between the complete and the fragmentary, the adult and the immature, the orderly and the chaotic' (*The Function of Criticism* CP2.460).

There is also his insistence at that time on the mythic method. When, so soon after publication of *The Waste Land* and with the force of a manifesto, Eliot wrote of the mythic method in *Ulysses* that 'I hold this book to be the most important expression which the present age has found; it is a book to which we are all indebted, and from which none of us can escape' (*Ulysses, Order, and Myth* CP2.477), it is a compelling thought that in part that was an invitation to look again at his own *magnus opus* through the mythic lens, which might render the poem complete, adult and orderly: unified.

Within that essay, he wrote in response to a critic that 'if Ulysses were a "libel" [against humanity] it would simply be a forged document, a powerless fraud' (p.477). If personally misogynistic, either he was hypocritical, or blind to the application of that same critical logic to his own masterpiece; so that 'if [*The Waste Land*] were a "libel" [against women as half of humanity] it would simply be a forged document, a powerless fraud'. Alternatively, his poem does not represent his own misogyny. Eliot does not assault the typist, it is the clerk. It is not Eliot who has so physically and mentally degraded Lil, nor is it Eliot who, as a false friend, castigates her lack of ability to perform in a male world. It is not Eliot who cuts out Philomel's tongue. It is not Eliot who names the typist, the suicidal woman leaving the pub, and the Cleopatra figure, as sluts and fallen women.

Following Dr. Ascuito's essay on complexity, and the examination in this study of 'meanings perpetually *engesachtelt* into meanings' in such images as the carbuncle gem and the evening star, the associated figures of the clerk and typist seem transformed into extraordinary archetypes: a modern Adam and Eve, encapsulating a profound examination of the clash between the cult of the individual and the Eternal Feminine. If the misogyny is not Eliot's, pervasive and brutal as it is, what is its purpose and meaning?

This reading does not deny that there is sustained misogyny in the poem. It does argue that the focus on the source should be elsewhere; that readers should look not only at the misogyny, but behind it. 'The maxim, Return to the sources, is a good one.'³⁴⁰ Nor does this reading deny the fragmented ur-Deconstructionist aspect argued by Nevo (see 'Error'), but argues that, rather than a romantic expression of personal agony and despair in a hopelessly fragmented world, it can be read as a deeply scholarly warning of the potential of the cult of the individual to create an ever more atomistic, isolated, fragmented society stripped of bonding ritual and narratives and so close to multivocal anarchy.

In a similar way, this reading does not deny other current critical perspectives on the poem. It does argue that, rather than either unconsciously leaking misogyny into the poem or indulging in misogyny, Eliot is identifying perspectives such as misogyny to question, like Nietzsche, the very nature of perspective; how it is created, manipulated and governed by scribes. In each case Eliot, even if adversarial, does not abandon the work of that scribe. Rather, he reworks that perspective as a form of revelatory critique in the manner he reworked both classicism to arrive at Sullivan's 'unclassical classicism', and tradition to arrive at the methodology of Harding's 'adversarial yet reconstructive doctrine of tradition'; so that we have adversarial yet reconstructive approaches to such scribes as those of the Old Testament, Milton, Emerson, Nietzsche and the host of other male scribes in the poem which it is beyond the scope of this study to consider.

What did Pound mean when he called the poem 'the longest poem in the English language' (PE.626)? It is obviously not, begging a question; was Pound comparing a seemingly fragmented, incoherent poem with no mythic schema to the vast scale, mythic depth, intellectual bravura and disciplined modernist cohesion of *Ulysses*? Or is this Pound's metaphor for the scale and depth of a poem which - through *engesachtelt*, a master's cabinet of other techniques, and a superior, poet's version of the Joycean 'lightest touch' - he understood to be 'as good in its way as *Ulysses* in its way' (L1.640)? In this reading, Pound made that comparison because he understood *The Waste Land* as a work of similar scope,

³⁴⁰ T.S Eliot 'War-paint and Feathers' CP2.138.

depth, intellectual bravura and disciplined modernist cohesion, underwritten by a similar mythic layer; to paraphrase Aiken, a *Ulysses* in a walnut shell.

There is in this reading a deep, admiring but none the less interrogative conversation between *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses*, since, among other aspects, Dedalus is also a version of the *übermensch*. As it would be a substantial essay in itself, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine, as a spectacular instance of *engeschachtelt*, and as part of what might be termed an Oxford Movement layer, the relationship between the headgear of Aaron on the Magnus Martyr reredos,³⁴¹ the Second Temple representation above that, the ‘silk hat’ (235) of the clerk, the figurative Second Temple moneylender scene in *Ulysses* (among numerous ‘silk hats’ in the novel) in which traders of the Parisian Bourse ‘swarmed loud, uncouth, about the temple, their head thickplotting under maladroit silk hats’ (U.2.365), and the venal episcopate of London attempting to demolish churches to sell the sites, ‘the need of money the ecclesiastical reason’.³⁴²

To write ‘the longest poem in the English language’ in four hundred and thirty three lines of poetry would require a deep poetic compounding of the ‘Joycean lightest touch’, necessitating the recruitment of *Ulysses* among a vast array of other art works to use, in the manner of *Ulysses*, ‘allusions suddenly and with great speed, part of the effect being the extent of the vista opened to the imagination with the lightest touch’ (YE309). Further, the poem’s range across the arts throughout history - poetic, prose, visual and musical - makes of it in this reading a ‘total work of art’, in the manner of Wagner’s *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and, according to some critics, *Ulysses*. To again paraphrase Aiken, a *gesamtkunstwerk* in a walnut shell. That all-encompassing art work would most closely mirror the appeal to all the senses in ritualism.

The rise of civilisation out of the ancient Near East is exemplified in the maritime Phlebas, who spoke a bonding demotic while teaching the new alphabet on his journeys including to the ‘foam swept coast of Cornwall’ (*Dans le Restaurant* PE.527). His language and writing system

³⁴¹ In a delicate act of representation, the headgear suggests, but also deliberately avoids explicit connection with the bishop’s mitre, symbolic of the tradition of church hierarchy inherited from the Aaronic Priesthood. Too explicit a connection with, or representation of the bishopric would be romish, risking both the seizure and destruction of the reredos images and the potentially severe punishment of the idolatrous perpetrators. See the aniconic reredos of 1890, appendix 1D.

³⁴² ‘London Letter’ *The Dial* 70, June 1921, CP2. The ‘églises assassinées [murdered churches] of London.’ Letter to Richard Aldington 1921, quoted in Spurr, *Anglo-Catholic in Religion: T.S. Eliot and Christianity*. P 39. The venal bishopric of Milton’s *Lycidas* is also interwoven.

- a Canaanite dialect of the Northwest Semitic languages, as is Hebrew - underwrites western civilisation, and arose from the Proto-Canaanite alphabet which in turn was derived from Egyptian Hieroglyphics. As most of the languages of Europe derive from Proto-Indo-European, so the Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Paleo-Hebrew writing systems derive from the Phoenician, recording and shaping the classical and Judeo-Christian aspects of the European mind as Eliot's 'pillar[s] of the political and social system'.³⁴³ Gibbon writes:

Phoenicia and Palestine will forever live in the memory of mankind; since America, as well as Europe, has received letters from the one, and religion from the other.³⁴⁴

Phlebas then becomes universal, being the 'Gentile [and] Jew' (309) before either existed; he is civilisation's Adam and ancient history's everyman, a portrait of which Nietzsche might approve. Lamenting a later degeneration in ancient Greek music and drama, he writes of:

The anti-mythic, non-Dionysiac spirit in action if we turn our attention to the increased stress of *character portrayal* [...] The character is no longer expected to broaden out into an eternal archetype [...] the spectator is no longer alive to the myth and instead focuses on the verisimilitude of the characterisation [it is] the victory of the individual phenomenon over the universal, and the delight taken in the study of an individual anatomical specimen. (BT84).

In this reading, Eliot has achieved both. The 'individual anatomical specimen' of the clerk created through the stark image of a brute young individual in an upstart hat afflicted with pustules is also an 'eternal archetype'; a dark, errant Adam, a brute evolution of man whom Phlebas would disown.

Whereas Phlebas is Semitic and figurative, Sappho is classical and represents the same continuum in history. In the poem she appears fused with Aaron to represent a reconstructed classicism as a potential antidote to despair and anarchy. Sappho is figuratively and actually the repository of sacred music arising from primitive sacred woods, and she also figuratively and actually informs the music of vespers in Magnus Martyr. She is the embodiment, as is Aaron, of a continuum of ritual which achieves release from fragmentation, from Bradley's isolated spheres and Nietzsche's 'wretched bell-jar of individuality'.

³⁴³ T. S. Eliot 'Euripides and Professor Murray' *The Sacred Woods* p.61.

³⁴⁴ Edward Gibbon *History Of The Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire* Vol. 1 With notes by the Rev. H. H. Milman 1997 (Project Gutenberg Edition (1845 (Revised))) Chapter I: The Extent Of The Empire In The Age Of The Antonines.—Part III. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/25717/25717-h/25717-h.htm>

The Waste Land is also about art; the way in which we construct ourselves and society. The rituals, images, texts and structures which collectively constitute a bonding cultural tradition should, with care and vigilance, both self-perpetuate and evolve, including under divine guidance. Anarchic impulses such as iconoclasm and *attentat* strike at heritage, breaking ‘Images to peeces’ (Milton, *Eikonoklastes*) in a desire for a new world order in which the Miltonic, Emersonian or Nietzschean new Adam can start afresh. Without the guidance of the collective repository of tradition held within the classical and Judeo-Christian heritages of culture, how is this new Adam shaped? ‘Our problem being to form the future, we can only form it on the materials of the past’.³⁴⁵

To a significant degree, Eliot’s Anglo-Catholicism emerges from a form of anthropological spirituality which has its genesis in the most ancient sacred wood. While deeply felt both spiritually and culturally, it is constructed through ‘architectonic ability’;³⁴⁶ an extraordinarily detailed and scholarly investigation of the world so that the intellectual scaffolding of his faith is a structure of immensely intricate learning, the foundations of which sit at the archaeological levels of mankind’s first consciousness and ritualist spiritual awakening. In this reading, since those first hymns in sacred woods, Harrison’s ritual cries, man has been guided in his evolution by progressive revelation, the narrative of the carved sacred wood of the Magnus Martyr reredos, as part of a culturally ennobling process which elevates him above the Sweeney type, the intelligent but brute ape of biological evolution.

That intertwining of ritual, the primitive, the Judeo-Christian and the classical results in the unclassical-classicism of Sullivan, the reconstructive tradition of Harding, the European classicism of Brooker and Vanheste. Reshaped by Eliot, this version of culture represents the ennobling repository of all mankind’s cultural and spiritual efforts. Against that effort, the danger is the deliberate anarchy of the heresiarch or anarch whose method is ‘broken images’. In that sense, Nietzsche creates a toolkit for disassembling the cohesion of society. Shared ritual and imagery, and the bonding culture they create, are destroyed by iconoclasm.

Because of his genius and ruthlessness, Nietzsche is the most dangerous iconoclast, but he is not alone. Eliot writes:

We are not, in fact, concerned with literary perfection at all – the search for perfection is a sign of pettiness, for it shows that the writer has admitted the existence of an

³⁴⁵ T.S. Eliot ‘The Humanism of Irving Babbitt’ 1928 CP3:455.

³⁴⁶ Eliot ‘Clark Lecture 1’ CP2.618

(FT.113)

Dealing with the battles of the gods and the brutal conflicts of man throughout history makes *The Waste Land* a poem of great and continual violence.

Similar terms [craving for the fantastic, for the strange] preoccupy Eliot over the course of 1921, among them “ferocity” [...] A related if more muted term is “intensity”, and the cognate words “intense” and “intensify.” They appear twenty-one times in Eliot’s essays from the first half of 1921 [...] Ferocity, intensity, violence, companions to the strange, the surprising, the fantastic, something very near to parody: here is the core of Eliot’s aesthetics while he was writing *The Waste Land*.³⁴⁹

That violence is male, embodied in the attitude and actions of the clerk. Stack writes that what ‘Emerson, in a general way, and Nietzsche in a specific, dramatic way, proposes is a sort of Hegelian self-suppression of powerful natural drives: they are negated in their crude and coarse form and preserved by virtue of the discipline of “sublimation”.³⁵⁰ Eliot quotes Elihu Root: ‘in the practical conduct of life the most difficult and the most necessary virtue is self-restraint.’³⁵¹ However, the carbuncular clerk as a character is incapable or heedless of such ‘self-suppression’. With the Massenmensch’s ‘bold stare’ (232), the certitude of the cult of the individual, he is released from collective responsibility and guidance, freed to indulge those ‘crude and coarse’ natural drives in Russell’s previously noted ‘Byronic cult of violent passion of no matter what kind.’

The clerk in this reading represents the most likely street level, brute, misogynistic modern manifestation of the anarchic individualism released by the Reformation, and again is part of a juxtaposition, since he contrasts to the elevated *übermensch* who has never arrived. Stack writes that ‘Emerson laments that there has never yet been a [superior] man, in an exemplary sense, just as Nietzsche laments in Zarathustra that “there has never yet been a superman.”³⁵² The superman’s epigone, his debased imitator, Emerson’s ‘bold sensualist [who] will use the

³⁴⁹ Laurence Rainey *Revisiting The Waste Land* (Yale University Press 2005) p. 51.

³⁵⁰ George J. Stack *Emerson’s and Nietzsche’s ‘Beyond Man’* p.93.

³⁵¹ ‘The Relationship between Politics and Metaphysics’ CP2.101

³⁵² *Emerson’s and Nietzsche’s ‘Beyond Man’* p.97.

name of philosophy to gild his crimes', does seem to have been starkly realised in the pustular clerk.³⁵³

The clerk is a portrait of man in great contrast to the heritage of tradition and guidance associated with, among others, Sappho, and Aaron who wears the sacred carbuncle gem. He is not the Adam imagined by either Milton or the traditionally nominated scribe of the opening books of Genesis, Moses, Aaron's brother in portraiture on the Magnus Martyr reredos.

³⁵³ Emerson 'Self-Reliance' p.74.

Appendix 1 A-D: Reredos Imagery

1 A: Aaron wearing the Carbuncle Gem in the Breastplate of Judgement

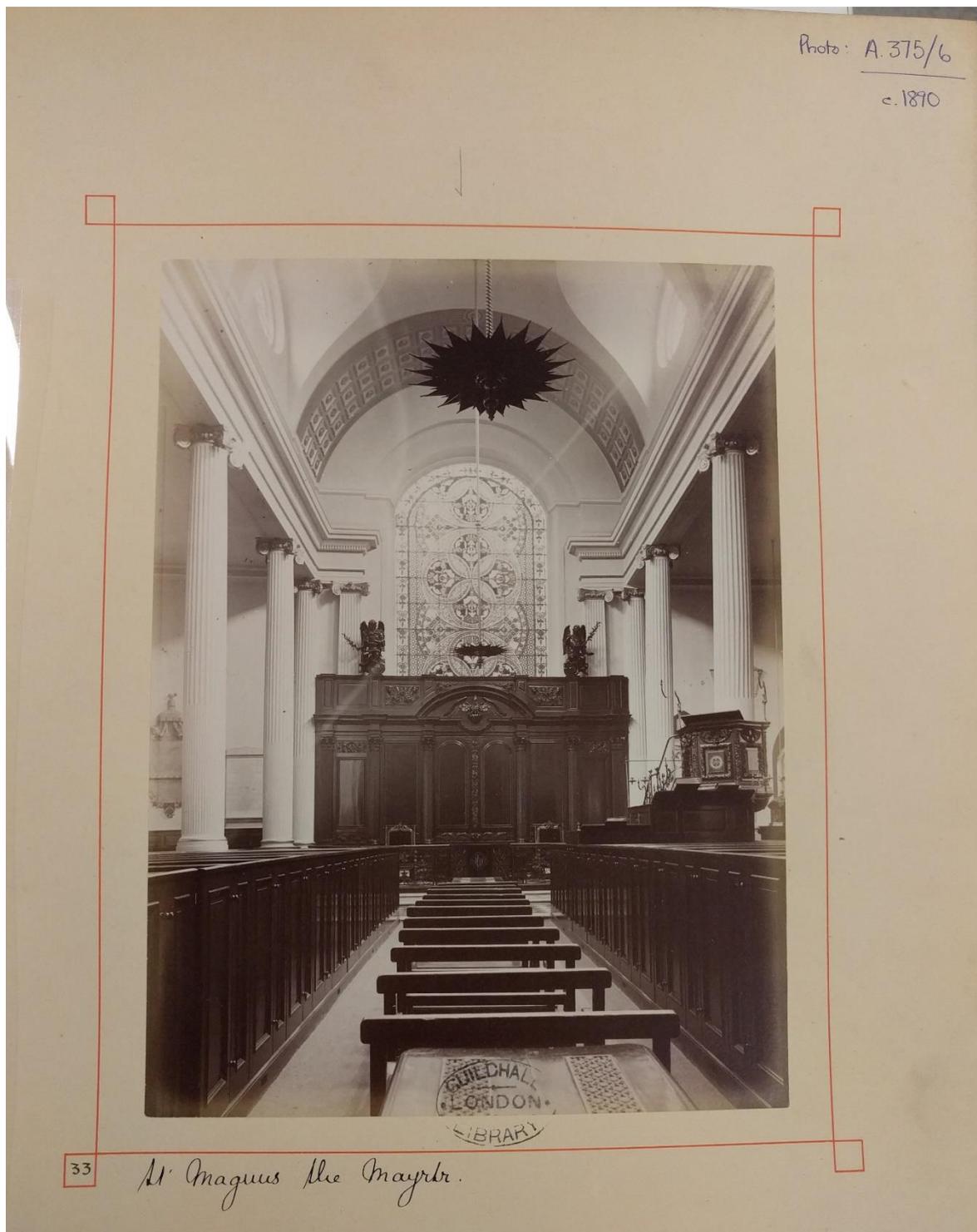


Photo by kind permission of John Salmon.

Appendix 1 B: Violet coverings over Magnus Martyr imagery during Easter



Appendix 1 C: The aniconic reredos of Magnus Martyr in 1890



Source: London Metropolitan Archives

Appendix 1 D: The Marian reredos in St Stephen's, Gloucester Road.



The life of the Blessed Virgin Mary is depicted in three scenes – the visit of the angel Gabriel, the birth of Jesus, and the Ascension. Her position, occupying the entire row above the apostles and saints, makes this reredos quite unique, emphasising her position as Queen of Heaven and placing her closest to God as the Mediatrix.

Photo by kind permission of John Salmon.

Appendix 2A-G: Broken Images. Magnus Martyr Court cases from 1922

- A. Court orders the removal of imagery including a gilded throne and picture of the Madonna from Magnus Martyr in 1922. *The Times* (London, England), Monday, Jul 31, 1922; pg. 4.

limits. He had no doubt that the rector of this parish was a hard-working and earnest priest, but there were certain articles here which must be removed without the least possible delay. They are:—(1) the tabernacle on the Holy Table which was proved by evidence to be used for Reservation of the Sacrament; (2) the gilded throne, which seemed to be used entirely in the Reservation; (3) the second Holy Table made of wood; (4) the picture of the Madonna and Child on the re-table; (5) the iron frame for forty-nine candles with a receptacle in which candles were kept; (6) the holy water stoup; (7) the vat and brush for sprinkling; (8) the Crucifix affixed to the south wall near the font; (9) a small Crucifix attached to the inside of the rector's pew, which pew had been proved to have been used as a confessional; (10) the Veronica picture; (11) the catafalque used in requiem masses; (12) the sepulchre; and (13) the English Missal.

- B. "Illegal Practices" in Magnus Martyr. *Letters*. *The Times* (London, England), Wednesday, Aug 02, 1922; pg. 11.

" ILLEGAL PRACTICES."

No well-informed person is likely to object to Chancellor Errington's judgment in the case of St. Magnus the Martyr, especially as he dealt so courteously with its rector. As these ornaments and practices are "illegal" in St. Magnus, they are equally "illegal" in many hundreds of churches throughout the country. But a law which is not enforced, except in a sporadic manner, tends both to fall into disrepute and to awaken popular sympathy for its unlucky victims. If, however, the requirements of Parliamentary law are to be enforced against all churches of this group, then in ten years we shall have another powerful organization erected outside the Established Church; and the problem of unity (or at least confederation) may be still further postponed, and the Parliamentary Church confronted by a strong and growing rival.—REV. J. PLOWDEN-WARDLAW, Rector of Beckenham.

- C. Protestant Truth Society *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday, May 19, 1925; pg. 18.

Scriptures. There were signs of the setting up of a God of human reason in place of a God of revelation. Evangelical Christianity was the fundamental need of the world to-day. Mr. J. A. KENSIT said that the chief force arrayed against English Protestantism was Anglo-Catholicism. One of the best illustrations of the defiant lawlessness of the Anglo-Catholic party was seen in the case of St. Magnus-the-Martyr, London Bridge. The whole internal arrangements of that Wren edifice had been transformed into a tawdry imitation of a Romish chapel. The Bishop of London's complicity in the matter was perhaps the gravest scandal of all.

- D. 'City church Dispute' and illegal imagery. City Church Dispute. *The Times* (London, England), Tuesday, Nov 21, 1922.

CITY CHURCH DISPUTE.

ORNAMENTS AT ST. MAGNUS THE MARTYR.

An order was made on July 29 by the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London on the petition of certain parishioners of the united parishes of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, St. Margaret, New Fish-street, and St. Michael, Crooked-lane, that a faculty should issue for the removal from the Church of St. Magnus of certain articles or ornaments alleged to have been introduced without a faculty and to be illegal, the faculty to be suspended for a month to give the rector and churchwardens an opportunity of removing the articles. On November 7 the petitioners applied for the issue of a faculty, alleging that certain of the articles had not been removed, and that though some had been removed others of the same nature had been substituted without a faculty. A citation to all interested persons was therefore posted during the week-end by order of the vicar-general on the main door of the Church of St. Magnus, to show cause why the faculty directed to issue after the lapse of a month for the removal of the articles should not also authorize the removal of any substituted articles.

- E. The reredos, Moses, Aaron, the New Testament, the Continuity of Scripture and the Scheme of Redemption. St. Magnus The Martyr. *The Times* (London, England), Monday, Mar 31, 1924; pg. 7.

THE RECTOR'S EVIDENCE.

The Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, the rector of St. Magnus the Martyr, gave evidence in support of the petition. As to the proposed enlargement of the sanctuary, there was at present, he said, not sufficient room for the epistoler and gospeller and others to be there. The alterations in the reredos were matters of architectural beauty. Two things most prominent in the church were the pictures of Moses and Aaron, as representing the Old Testament, and he desired to keep them. There was nothing there to represent the New Testament, and therefore he should like to have the figure of Our Saviour in order to show the continuity of Holy Scripture and the whole scheme of redemption. It was

- F. 'St. Magnus-the-Martyr Chancellor's Judgement.' The reredos as an exception to superstitious abuse of imagery in churches. 'City Church's Ornaments' *The Times* (London, England), Monday, Apr 14, 1924; pg. 14.

With regard to No. 3 (the reredos), the only objection taken was to the Rood figures forming the upper portion. There was a well-recognized distinction between figures forming part of a reredos and figures placed in isolated positions, and although these figures surmounted the reredos, they formed, in his opinion, an integral part of it and offered no likelihood of superstitious abuse. He therefore sanctioned this reredos.

G. Objections to ritualism in Magnus Martyr

ORTHODOX VIEWS CHANGING.

ARCHBISHOP ON THE FAITH.

A representative deputation of the clergy and laity of the Church of England waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday to present a memorial bearing nearly 1,400 lay signatures and 500 clerical signatures, publicly protesting "against the violation of law, and neglect of moral obligations, which are now allowed to prevail among many of the clergy of the Church of England," and by which, the memorial declared, the whole basis of the Church as established by law is being undermined.

The memorialists declared that they desired only the observance of the doctrine and worship prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of the Church of England, which are formally acknowledged by all clergy to be agreeable to the Word of God; and they appealed to the authorities of the Church to maintain the rights of members of the Reformed Church of England in their most sacred interests.

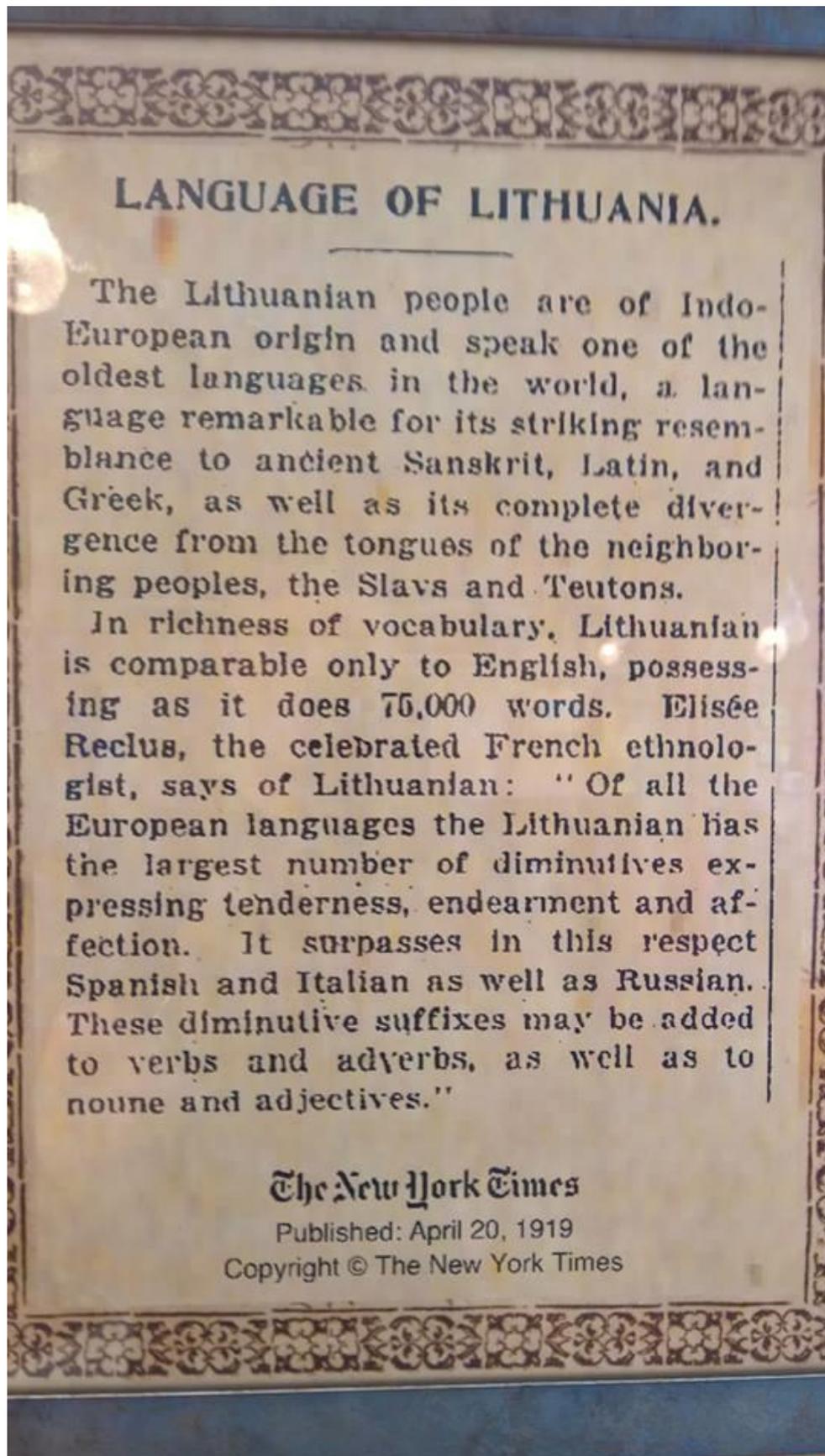
SIR W. JOYNSON-HICKE, M.P., introducing the deputation, said they represented members of both Houses of Parliament, 44 members of the National Church Assembly, and a large number of clergy and laity. The memorial dealt with the spread of modernism and ritualism in the Church during the last 20 years. The deputation represented the great body of Church opinion which believed firmly in the old doctrines attacked by modernists and ritualists, and they appealed to the Archbishop, as head of the Church, to give them help and encouragement. They saw with grave anxiety the attitude taken up by the Cambridge Conference last year, and the new view taken by a great many Church writers and speakers as to the nature of God.

Since the Royal Commission of 1903 things have gone from bad to worse. The Roman Catholic Mass had been practised in St. Saviour's, Hoxton, and the Bishop was impotent to deal with it. At St. Magnus-the-Martyr, a presentation of the Bishop of London, there was even the service of the blackening of faces at the Communion rail on Ash Wednesday. A year ago a clergyman in the diocese of Bath and Wells, inhibited by the Bishop, left the Church of England, but, failing to get Orders in the Church of Rome, returned, and to the scandal of many Church-people, was permitted by the Bishop of London to act as curate at one of the extreme high churches in the East of London.

BISHOP INGHAM said the memorialists were not consciously serving any party in the Church. They came from no society—they were simply Church folk, who longed for some unity. But more vital than unity was the continuity of Faith as the Church of England had understood it for 350 years.

Appendix 3: Effeminacy cartoon from the 1850's attacking the proto-Anglo-Catholic Tractarian bishops and Oxford Movement. Note 'Margate'.





Appendix 5.

A: Magnus Martyr Petition on City churches 'sentence of death', and the roots of the ancient past. Source: London Metropolitan Archive.



THE City of London lies before us ; day by day we journey thither, and when the day is ended we leave it behind us, with all its stress of labour, and yet it somehow never leaves us. No city in the world can compare with it for size, for contrasts, for glorious and historic past. To know our London we must look beneath the superficial, we must strike out from its main thoroughfares, we must go back into its past. Here we stand in the midst of its busiest street ; there, down a small courtway, and we are right away back two hundred years or more in the quadrangle of ancient courtyard, or within the walls of hoary temple. The London of the present has its roots deep, deep down in the past. Churches are to be found on every hand, and yet we could not spare one of them—for each and every one has some especial claim to our attention.

Many have already been sacrificed to the City's need for space ; others we are told must go, and yet the City's life is inextricably bound up with these ancient shrines.

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said—
“My God, how wonderful Thou art,
Thy Majesty how bright ;
How beautiful Thy mercy seat
In depths of burning light.”

So these Churches stand within the fierce light of public scrutiny once again. We are told that the City is ever foremost in the uplifting of humanity, in succouring the needy and downtrodden, the outcast and the oppressed.

Having these words in the ears, we take courage at this time, when **sentence of death** has been passed upon certain City Churches (those Lamps of Faith), which have for centuries guided the feet of past generations into the paths of justice and peace. We feel sure that the men of London, although now only working in London during the day and deriving their income therefrom, will not suffer the golden thread of faith to be drawn out from the fabric of our City's weaving.

“The City prays for the guidance of the Almighty”—may He at this time lead us into the way of Truth. There are, unfortunately, strong materialistic forces at work, undermining and permeating the very foundations of the City's moral, social and religious fabric.

Upon what does British Trade and Commerce rest ? Fidelity to the principles of moral integrity !—and these condemned Churches, even if it were true that some are empty and silent, are yet **witnesses to the foundation principles of our City's life**. They are material evidence of the glorious historic past. They are visible symbols of spiritual power. Remove them, and what is it proposed to put in their place ? The warehouse, the mart ! But what are they without the spiritual influence,

purifying and keeping pure the minds which work therein. "Man is the creation of thought." But, oh, what a creation, if the wellspring of thought be fouled, for "that which man thinks that he becomes."

The argument need not be laboured. **S. Magnus the Martyr, standing in Billingsgate, is condemned.** It is to be razed to the ground, and the place wherein it has stood, certainly since 1291, is to know it no more. This spot, consecrated by the prayers of countless millions who stayed one moment ere they entered the ancient city from old London Bridge, which sprang from the Church's very porch, or passed out on pilgrimage bent to a Becket's shrine, or to trade in Southwark's Fair, this plot of ground which enwraps the bones of so many of London's Civic Lords—John Blount (1307), John Mitchell (1436), the two Gerrards (1555 and 1601), or those of Henry Yevele, the Freemason of Edward III, Richard II and Henry IV, who erected the tomb of Richard II and built Westminster Hall and Eltham Palace, or, yet again, those of Miles Coverdale, who gave to us "our English Bible"—**this spot is to be desecrated** by the erection of shrines in which the worship of mammon will proceed from early dawn till latest even—admittedly for the sake of mere mammon this place must go.

Could this site speak it would tell of the many who knelt in devotion and prayer—it would tell how, on 2nd September, 1666, the dull red glow of a new dawn burst through its windows, brightening as the flames from Pudding Lane spread, and at last engulfed the ancient shrine (but not its undying spirit)—and at last London lay in ashes around—then, out of those ashes the immortal soul of S. Magnus rose up again and, re-enshrined by Wren in 1676, still kept watch and ward over London's Bridge until, in 1831, the Bridge was shifted farther west to its present site.

I must not weary you, but could this Church speak it would call you to spare one moment to examine its beautiful interior—the carving of the Grinling Gibbons School—the antiquities of days when men valued their heritage perchance the more: but no! midst the City's busy life—midst the coming and going up on yonder bridge, which once sprang from the Church's side, no ear can catch the plaintive cry: "Behold me, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow."

And this rich treasure, only one 'tis true of nineteen, they no less rich to those who love them—is to be sacrificed for mere monetary gain. It cannot be, it must not be. You, my brother, are called to save this Church; you may not use it, but others do, and if one soul only found rest and peace its preservation is unquestionable. For what shall it profit the powers that be if they gain the whole world by the sale of the site, and yet lose that one soul. This gem of historic antiquarian and artistic worth must be saved.

Will you help? S. Magnus is a silent witness in Bridge Ward to moral integrity—it is a witness to London City's glorious past. It shall not be destroyed. Let us cry—"Hands off God's heritage!" We do not ask for money: but we ask your moral support. A Petition lies in the Vestry for signature, or will be sent round to all who are prepared to sign it.



Appendix 5B.

Old London Bridge attached to the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr, date unknown.

Source: London Metropolitan Archive.



OLD LONDON BRIDGE, CITY END, WITH ST. MAGNUS CHURCH
(From a model by John B. Thorp in the London Museum)

22

ST. MAGNUS THE MARTYR.

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