

DATA END

MEN 25, 77

MARGARET BERRY

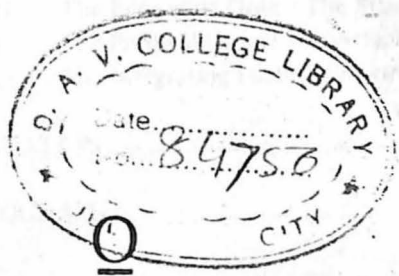
100

MULK RAJ ANAND

THE MAN

AND

THE NOVELIST



O
P



AMSTERDAM

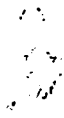
ORIENTAL PUBLISHING HOUSE

1971

Im
*23.009

CATALOGUED

8475



To my mother and father

ISBN 90 6023 136 8

© 1971 by Oriental Press Publishers

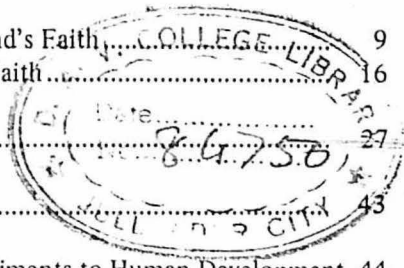
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without written permission from the publishers.

✓
291.13041
HM 47 MBS

U. G. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	5
I ANAND'S FAITH AS A MAN	9
A. The Background of Anand's Faith	9
B. The Nature of Anand's Faith	16
II ANAND'S FAITH AS A WRITER	27
III THE NOVELS.....	43
A. The Social Order: Impediments to Human Development	44
B. The Economic Order: The Struggle for Socialism.....	63
C. The Political Order: The Attack on the Establishment .	67
D. The Integrating Factor: <i>Bhakti-Yoga</i>	72
IV EVALUATION	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY	107



Library

IIAS, Shimla

823.009 An 47 B



G1041

11-11-11

Changing of Social Institutions

INTRODUCTION

India's basic challenge today is the changing of her social institutions. For curing his country's ills, Mahatma Gandhi had prescribed change in people's hearts; Jawaharlal Nehru, the training of their minds. But, as Gunnar Myrdal has recently pointed out, such strategies, without alteration of the system, are likely to be ineffective:

' [In India] intellectual and moral conversion tends to be advanced as a panacea for all kinds of ills. But to change attitudes without changing social institutions is a rather hopeless quest. This remains the basic dilemma and challenge of Indian politics.'¹

This thesis proposes that Mulk Raj Anand, novelist, editor, and art critic, has contributed to Indian awareness of this need for social change. One need not agree with his politics nor praise his literary style to recognize the ardor of his assault on social institutions. To this work Anand brought, besides his Indian heritage, a university education, long experience in the West, devotion to art, and unquestionable dedication to humanity and to India. His effort to order, for himself and for his country, the experience of past and present, of East and West, of science and the humanities culminated, on the one hand, in revolutionary Socialism, and, on the other, in the humanist ethic he called *bhakti*.

Anand's Marxism, especially that of his early years, has provoked many enemies. This fact in itself raises the question of the relation of Anand's art to concepts and techniques dictated by Marxist aesthetics. How and to what extent does Anand follow these tenets? Is he, even in his best moments, merely a polemicist? What innovations did he effect in the Indian novel form? Is he, in fact, to be summed up as a revolutionary thinker who used the novel form to spread revolutionary ideas?

This study focuses on the thirteen Anand novels. In assessing Anand's achievements as a novelist, I have sought to answer four major questions:

What are Anand's values as a man?

What are his values as a writer?

How are these values realized in the novels?

What, finally, is Anand's merit as a novelist?

In addition to the thirteen novels, half a dozen volumes of short stories, some criticism, fairy tales, and autobiography, Anand has also written on language, history, education, politics, art, films, folk theater, dance, music, feminism and contemporary Indian civilization. His books have been translated into twenty languages, and there are multiple printings and editions of some of them.

Revolutionary Socialism
or a Humanistic Ethics.

No sustained biographical or literary study of Anand has yet been published. This thesis is based, therefore, chiefly on a detailed examination of the novels in the light of Anand's non-fiction, though notice has been taken of other materials by other critics. I have been especially fortunate in being able to discuss the ideas of the thesis with the author himself. In a series of thirteen letters, written between September 20, 1967, and April 30, 1968, Doctor Anand has generously answered questions and analyzed issues. The letters are of varying length and importance; some are not dated. All, nevertheless, evince the earnestness, humor, compassion, and belief in man which, from the beginning of his career, have characterized Mulk Raj Anand as a writer and as a man.

ANAND'S FAITH AS A MAN

In a 1931 conversation with Bonamy Dobrée, English literary scholar, Mulk Raj Anand, Indian novelist, art critic, and editor, expressed the need of some faith. Dobrée, he wrote, had arrived at a 'standpoint of artistic disinterestedness, the fascination of studying a mind for its own sake... through a great deal of scholarship and research.'

'But for me, who had come through the social and mental disintegration of contemporary India, through some years of academic philosophical study, particularly in Hume and Bertrand Russell, and then through the years of the world economic crisis, my sickness was a very unhappy business indeed. For, if I was to write, as I had just decided to do, with a view to discovering the causes of the mental and material chaos in India and the world, and of my own failure as well as the failure of my generation in the face of it, if I was to act, as seemed necessary, because of the oppressive political and social authority in India and the emergence of fascism in Europe, I must believe, I must have some touchstone of values to discriminate between the various problems before me. I must have some hypotheses.'¹

Anand's faith came to be humanism, with India as its place of concentration, revolutionary Socialism as its political context, and *bhakti-yoga* as its characteristic dynamic and excellence. The associations and experiences out of which Anand's ideas emerged and the nature of some of them is the matter of this inquiry.

A. *The Background of Anand's Faith*

Anand's life easily divides into three periods, according to his main place of residence: the early years in India, 1905-1925; the years abroad, 1925-1945; and the later years in India, 1945 until now.

Mulk Raj Anand was born 'in a Hindu family of Kshatriya,'² December 12, 1905, in Peshawar, Northwest Frontier Province, the third of five sons of Lal Chand, a silversmith turned sepoy, and Ishwar Kaur, a peasant mother from the Sialkot District, Central Punjab.³ The first twenty years of Anand's life seem to have been spent in the Punjab area. His early recollections focus on two cantonments, Mian Mir and Nowshera; on his mother's village of Daska near Gujranwalla; and on his father's hometown of Amritsar.

Anand's father, Lal Chand, was of the Thathiar caste, workers of copper and silver, which, 'though Hindu, still retained its loyalty to the Aga Khan'.⁴ Opposing a 'strong-willed' mother, Lal left his hereditary occupation to attend school, learn English, take a British military examination, and successively serve in cantonments including Sialkot, Ferozepur, Peshawar, Mian Mir, Nowshera, and Malakand.⁵ Head clerk of the Thirty-eighth Dogra Regiment, 'the only literate man in the whole regiment,' he was, as Anand recalls him, playful, bluff, hearty, quarrelsome, pragmatic, a reader of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and of English novels, a hockey enthusiast, and a babu unusually ambitious for his sons' education and economic status.

On becoming a member of the Arya Samaj, Anand's father served as president of the Nowshera Samaj from about 1910 to 1913. When, with nationalist bombing plots, the society incurred the hostility of British officials, Lal, fearing the displeasure of his superiors and at the request of the Adjutant Major Carr, withdrew from the group. Characteristics and experiences similar to those Anand attributes to his father, including name and occupation, appear in the protagonist of Anand's trilogy: *The Village* (1939), *Across the Black Waters* (1940), and *The Sword and the Sickle* (1952). The second volume is dedicated to Anand's 'subedar' father.

Anand's mother came from a devout Sikh peasant family. Her platform for idols is described as including Vishnu, Yessuh Messih, the Buddha, and the Aga Khan, 'who was the incarnation of Krishna and Vishnu and Rama and head of the Ismaili sect, who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad and was Household God of our coppersmith's caste.' The platform also, according to the account, held copies of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Japji*, and the *Koran*. Teased about the variety, his mother, Anand says, responded 'hesitantly': 'The God behind all of them is the same.' She propitiated evil spirits by giving oil to barbers and entertainment to Brahmans and engaged in 'all kinds of superstitious beliefs in charms, tricks and magical potions, which are encouraged by the priestcraft in India.'⁶

In addition to her religious devotion, Anand recalls another maternal trait:

'My mother had a vast fund of folk tales, having heard them in her childhood from her own mother, as legends, fables, myths, and other narratives of gods and men and birds and beasts... So sure was my mother's gift for storytelling, so vivid her manner, so wonderful her sense of character that sometimes I found myself rapt in her tales with an intensity of wonder that precluded sleep and left me tossing in bed... for long hours afterwards.'⁷

Finally, Anand remembers his mother's nationalism as nurtured by her father, a veteran of Sikh military encounters with the British. Grandfather Nihal, in the account, says:

'And I know your mother is a rebel like me, for I filled her with hatred for the ferungis, who bought us off through the traitors rather than beat us into submission... I have fought for the Khalsa, and I hope when you grow up you will be like me and your mother, rebels against the ferungis. You must not become their servants like your father.'⁸

The 'Sikh, peasant, Punjabi environment of Daska, the mother's village, including characters like Harbans Singh, the cousin, 'who sold out to the ferungis and became landlords and grew rich by seizing other people's lands,' reappears in the first volume of Anand's trilogy, *The Village, Seven Summers* is dedicated to the memory of his mother.

Anand's 'idolized' oldest brother, Harish, attended the Dayanand Anglo-Vernacular School at Lahore. After traditional negotiations and astrological consultations, he, at fifteen, married a Thathiar girl, Draupadi, who

'had learned the alphabet of Sindhi, the language in which the religious code of the Aga Khan's sect was written, because her family followed this spiritual leader devoutly, but she did not know how to read or write even this language.'⁹

Against the wishes of Lal Chand and his wife, Draupadi and her father persuaded Harish to abandon studies at the Medical School in Lahore and to accept a position as assistant jailer in that city.

With the two years older brother, Ganesh, Anand recalls a close, at times quarrelsome association. It was to ensure a playmate for Mulk as well as schooling for Ganesh that the older son was recalled from Amritsar where he had been sent for a time. Anand learned later that

'the idea of apprenticing him (Ganesh) to the family craft of silversmithy was just a cover for... a long range manoeuvre to get uncle Pratap, who had no issue yet, to adopt Ganesh as a son, so that he might ultimately bring back the joint family property to the common pool.'¹⁰

Prithvi, the fourth son, died in infancy, a fact his mother attributed to the parents' bad *karma*, Shiva, the youngest, was liked by Anand, but is little mentioned.

In the Nowshera Government Primary School, under a Pathan headmaster

and a 'ferocious' Afridi teacher, Anand began his studies. Of British-Indian schools like this one, he writes:

'the education was imitative, giving very little idea of Indian tradition, but mainly a bastardized version of English curricula, in English, with particular emphasis on English history, ideas, forms and institutions, deliberately calculated to show everything related to Indian history and tradition as inferior.'¹¹

Among Anand's vivid childhood memories is Grandfather Nihalu's explanation of the teachings of Guru Nanak, 'with copious quotations from the *Guru Granth*,' and references to the Khalsa Brotherhood.¹² Another favorite recollection is family attendance at the Imperial Coronation Durbar in the new amphitheatre of Delhi in 1911. A similar excursion of the whole family to the holy cities of Hinduism, at an unspecified date, writes Anand,

'was only memorable to me for the vivid recollections of the disgusting ascetics who abounded in these places, of my first view of the lilies in the pools of the Taj Mahal at Agra, of how I nearly got drowned as I dived into the Ganges after my father.'¹³

During these childhood days, Anand was obsessed with things British, clothing and manners especially, and with his desire to go one day to Europe, the Vilayat of his parents' tales.¹⁴

At the outbreak of World War I, Lal Chand, transferred to Malakand, sent his family to Amritsar, where the children were to 'join a school.'¹⁵ For the Amritsar years, 1914-1925, Anand makes special mention of the death in 1916 of a girl cousin, Kaushalya, which provoked early speculative tendencies; involvement in nationalist activities disapproved by his father; a brief stint as journalist in Bombay; frequent trips to Lahore to visit the poet Mohammed Iqbal, whom Anand claims as his mentor; study at Khalsa College, University of Punjab; attempts at writing poetry; the editorship of *Darbar*, the college magazine; and graduation, with honors, in 1924.¹⁶ During these years Anand's record reflects growing hatred of both British imperialism and Indian feudalism:

'I had grown up in the ferment of a great moral and political movement in which I had learnt through the eleven stripes on my back at Amritsar, that alien authority constricted our lives in every way... waves of fury swept over me to see hundreds of human beings go to jail daily after being beaten by the police for offering civil disobedience. But I did not let my imagination blind me to the fact that my hatred of

imperialism was bound up also with my disgust for the cruelty and hypocrisy of Indian feudal life, with its castes, creeds, dead habits and customs, and its restrictive religious rites and practices.¹⁷

In 1925, according to the Chronology, on the advice of Iqbal, over the objections of Lal Chand (who wanted for his son a conventional law career), and with the help of his mother (who sold her jewels for the travel money), Anand went to London for studies at University College. There, under G. Dawes Hicks, a realist, a Kantian scholar, and a co-editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, Anand eventually, after completing a dissertation on the thought of John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, and Bertrand Russell, won a doctoral degree in 1929.

For Anand, a crucial episode of these years was the British General Strike of 1926. Convinced henceforth of the chasm between rich and poor in world society, Anand began to participate actively in meetings of the British Trade Union and of Marxist study circles. Another important event was his drafting, in the same year, of a long, autobiographical novel, a 2,000-page narrative inspired by one Irene, daughter of a Welsh scientific philosopher, which came to be a major source for Anand's fiction, beginning with *The Untouchable* (1935).¹⁸

During and after formal study, Anand underwent a period in search of a faith, re-examining Hinduism, exploring Christianity, studying modern intellectual development. Hinduism, he concluded, 'has tended for a long time to be more and more the social organism of caste and less and less a unified religion.'¹⁹ In Christianity, the uniqueness of Christ as Son of God, the rejection of saints like the Buddha, the mystical sanctions of the prophets and of revelation, the insistence on original sin-- these, Anand says, he could not accept. The intellectuals of Europe, he charged further, were preoccupied with personal interest, lacked centrality of vision, and were unable to make a synthesis.²⁰ Anand's search culminated in his reading of Karl Marx's *Letters on India* in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 1853. In these, Anand writes,

'a whole new world opened to me. All the threads of my past reading which had got tied up into knots, seemed suddenly to straighten out, and I began to see, not only the history of India, but the whole history of human society in some sort of inner connection... Nothing less was involved than a re-orientation of one's outlook on history as well as a complete transformation of present day society from the new point of view.'²¹

Henceforth, invoking Marx's dictum that philosophers have interpreted the world but that the business of modern man is to change it, Anand felt compelled 'to begin somewhere and do something by which one could contribute to the application of the new views of the universe.' The goal, as Anand now viewed it, was for the Indian people

'to carry out the social revolution... to win control of the means of production, to abolish the profit system and to undertake large schemes of industrial and social planning with the help of the latest researches in science and technology, through which alone we could appease the great hunger in our country and become dignified members of the human family.'²²

Though refraining from membership in the Communist Party, Anand became, in effect, an active Marxist:

'As I did not join the communist party, (because I honestly believed that I would never, as an intellectual, be able to accept the almost religious discipline demanded by a group of people who evolved changing tactics around a minimum manifesto with maximum sanctions), I was somewhat saved from the blind acceptance of all Marx's strategic actions and the dogmas propounded in his name by many of the verbal jugglers among his orthodox party-line followers. Besides, I had come to socialism through Tolstoy, Ruskin, Morris, and Gandhi, imbued with the sense of this doctrine as the embodiment of an ethical creed, insofar as it was a protest against misery, ugliness and inequality.'²³

The new insights, according to Anand's report, were shared with other Indian and with Chinese intellectuals. By heroism, faith, and optimism, they felt, the new Asia had already moved ahead of the West 'in a sense of locality and a wider, more human outlook.' National liberation, for the Indians, was to be their first goal. This group, Anand recalls, read Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India* (1919-1922) and 'followed his thoughts on national freedom as our main food, day and night, while we worked in Krishna Menon's India League Office in the Strand.'²⁴

After a trip to India following graduation, Anand devoted much time, especially in Europe, to the study of art and oriental culture. Following the 1932 publication of *Persian Painting, A Hindu View of Art*, and *The Golden Breath* (literary criticism), he returned again to India for study of her ancient monuments. On this occasion Anand's sojourn with Gandhi in his Sabarmati Ashram resulted in the drafting of *The Untouchable*. It effected, too, 'a

information from a Bloomsbury intellectual, an insular snobbish aesthete, with a more emphatically self-conscious Indian.

spiritual change,' transforming Anand from 'a Bloomsbury intellectual (an insular, snobbish aesthete) to a more emphatically self-conscious Indian.' Anand worked in the anti-untouchability program, cleaned latrines along with the sweepers, and conferred with Gandhi several times a week. He began to simplify his life, to wear homespuns, and to recall 'the feelings for devotion or *bhakti*... acquired as a young boy by seeing the personal love of my Sikh maternal grandfather, Nihalu, who used to tend the sick and the poor in his home.' Here, too, Anand accepted for the first time 'the idea of work as worship.'²⁵

On Anand's return to England, *The Untouchable*, after rejection by nineteen companies, was finally published.²⁶ *The Coolie*, following in 1936, accentuated public political fears already aroused by Anand's Marxist associations. Suspecting the novelist not only of sedition but also of Bolshevism, the British Government in India, writes Anand, 'paid me the compliment of banning all my books and considered me a dangerous enough fellow to be given a C.I.D. (Criminal Investigation Department) escort every time I came there (India).'²⁷ In 1937 the resentment of tea plantation owners and magnates brought about the banning of the newly published *Two Leaves and a Bud* in Britain as well as in India. The 1946 Indian printing of this novel sold out quickly, and the book was thereafter translated into 'the major Indian and European languages... [with] large sales particularly in Bengali, Czech and Polish.'²⁸

After 1935 Anand increased his participation, often involving travel to Europe, in activities concerning Socialism, Indian nationalism, and writing. Of special importance were the Spanish Civil War, in which Anand briefly engaged directly; the All India Progressive Writers' Association, which he helped to found; and the completion of the first nine of the thirteen novels. A Leverhulme Fellowship for research of Hindustani literature; free-lance writing; work, during war years 1939-1942, for the British Broadcasting Company, and for the Ministry of Information (in documentary film producing); and a lectureship in literature and philosophy for the London County Council of Adult Education gave Anand a living for himself and Kathleen Van Gelder, the English actress whom he married in 1938.²⁹

Finally, the London years included friendships and associations with, among others, Eric Gill, Bonamy Dobrée, Ananda Coomaraswamy, E.M. Forster, D.H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Herbert Read, André Malraux, Pablo Neruda, and Hsiao Ch'ien.³⁰ *The Big Heart* (1945) is dedicated to Hsiao 'and to the friendship of India and China.'

In 1945 Anand returned to India, where his main work has been the founding

Sedition & Bolshevism emanated

10

allegedly from *The Coolie*.

After 1935 Anand increased his participation

and editing of *Marg*, a magazine of Indian arts and crafts admired in India and abroad.³¹ In addition to writing and editorial work, Anand supports numerous Indian cultural organizations, including the World Peace Council, the Sahitya Akademi of Letters, the Lalit Kala Akademi of Art, the Sangeet Akademi of Music and Dance, the National Book Trust, the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, the UNESCO Dialogues of East and West, University seminars and conferences, the Progressive Writers' Association, the Afro-Asian Writers Association, and subsidiary projects and organizations.³² Travels for these groups and activities have taken Tim to Poland, Russia, Europe, Japan, Australia, Egypt, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. Since 1962 Anand has been Tagore Professor of Art and Literature at the University of the Punjab in Chandigarh.³³

B. The Nature of Anand's Faith

Anand's faith in humanism is the subject matter of two volumes: *Apology for Heroism* (1946), focusing on humanism as the culmination of his personal search for a faith; and *Is There a Contemporary Indian Civilisation?*, focusing on humanism as a synthesis of values which India must struggle to achieve. A third major treatment is 'Prolegomena to a New Humanism,' the first essay in *Lines Written to an Indian Air* (1949). The ideas in these volumes, all written in Anand's third period, and in current letters from him, indicate little change during the past twenty years.

In the 'Prolegomena' Anand defines humanism as 'enlightenment in the interests of man, true to his highest nature and his noblest vision.'³⁴ *Contemporary Indian Civilisation* sees it as

'the acceptance of man as the centre of all our thinking, feeling and activity, and the service of man for the greater good of all humanity, in the material world, under the sanctions of imagination, reason and creative democracy... to evolve individuals, potentially equal and free...'³⁵

Humanism 'does not promise anything in the supernatural world.'³⁶ The function of philosophy and of art is seen as humanistic insistence on

'the values of this world as against the next one, of the here and now as against the never never-to-be hereafter... on relations with other men rather than on the redundancies of religion and power politics which have ceased to mean very much.'³⁷

enlightenment in the interests of man,
16 true to his highest nature and his
noblest vision; Acceptance of man as
the centre of all our thinking, feeling and
activity, and the service of man for

The humanism of Anand 'does not rest on a Divine Sanction, as does the mystical humanism of Gandhi or Tagore... but puts its faith in the creative imagination of man, in his capacity (through reason) to transform himself.' It stands for 'a reverent attitude towards the last members of society, towards the weak and the fallen and the underprivileged everywhere,' and for 'equality of intellectual freedom' all over the world.³⁸

The final chapter of *Contemporary Indian Civilisation* lists twelve 'chief premises of this humanist philosophy.' In abbreviated form they are as follows:

- 1) Man is the center of all things.
- 2) Matter precedes mind in any metaphysical attitude towards the universe.
- 3) Man, a product of evolution, has no conscious survival after death.
- 4) Through imagination, reason, and scientific method, man can understand his problems, if he has the courage to face the truth without pride or prejudice.
- 5) Man possesses genuine freedom of creative choice and action.
- 6) The highest human ethic is the conquest of pain and the realization of social and economic freedom, and mental and emotional awareness in order to gain wholeness.
- 7) Full manhood is achieved by the integration of personal satisfaction with creative self-development contributing to man's renewal and to the welfare of the community.
- 8) Poetry and creative art help the process of integration.
- 9) Brotherhood among men should be achieved by peaceful negotiation of disputes.
- 10) Democratic procedures, with full freedom of expression and civil liberty in all political, economic, and cultural life, should prevail.
- 11) Humanism should be a developing philosophy, open to experiment and innovation.
- 12) It should be international, involved in basic issues common to all men, in a spirit of co-existence and compassion.³⁹

As to the origins of this faith, Anand believes that

'much of my insistence on the role of man in this universe derives from European Hellenism. For the traditional attitude of India in this regard is essentially non-human, superhuman. 'This Atman (the vital essence in Man) is the same in the ant, the same in the gnat, the same in the elephant, the same in these three worlds... the same in the whole universe.' So says the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*.⁴⁰

On the other hand, Anand traces a humanistic movement in Indian thought through seven stages: Buddhism, the medieval saints, Islam, Sikhism, and

17
the last members of society, towards the weak and the fallen and the underprivileged everywhere. The result of a thoughtful

developments represented respectively by Ram Mohan Roy, M.N. Roy, and Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴¹

The 'new values' of Indian humanism, Anand believes, 'such as democracy and personal freedom' demand that 'we look at the whole of the European and Asiatic traditions, compare and contrast them, try to achieve some kind of synthesis even through the welter of confusion, and get to work to build the new India.'⁴² The idea of humanism as a synthesis of the values of East and West, of material and spiritual, of science and art, of old and new appears often in Anand's writing, notably in *Contemporary Indian Civilisation* and in the 'Prolegomena.' Referring, in a recent letter, to Christian, Socialist, revolutionary, and rationalist influences from the West, Anand writes that, for the people of his generation,

'the synthesis became electric [*sic*] with an assortment of philosophies derived from the Hindu tradition and fused, to some extent, with contemporary European thinking. But the Hindu philosophy to which I have gone again and again for sustenance is Samkhya, with its insistence on Prasha [*sic*]—Prakriti (soul—body) rather than the Vedanta, which is merely interpretative of the soul.'⁴³

This association of Anand's religio-philosophic position with Samkhya dualism recalls his many references to literature as the drama of the body and soul seeking proper integration. Describing the actual writing out of *The Untouchable*, for example, he says:

'I was then aware, and am confirmed in my opinion now, that the body is the soul and the soul body, and that both are involved in the creative process. I remember the sheer physical absorption... the flow of the bloodstream... as though in the act of writing the various elements of the body were seeking fulfillment... Human beings can achieve perfection by giving importance to the growth of the body—soul through cultivation of the whole personality.'⁴⁴

Following the Samkhya allusion in his letter, Anand adds: 'And there are many popular strains of the Lokayat which have influenced me from my awareness of folk cultures through my peasant mother.'⁴⁵ Lokayat, pure materialism reliant solely on direct sense perception as the source of knowledge, is an unorthodox Hindu philosophical system; Samkhya is one of the six orthodox systems.⁴⁶ On the one hand, Anand seems drawn toward reality as strictly 'material, evolutionary, and incomplete';⁴⁷ on the other, he acknowledges in 1957 a realization 'that any humanism that is worthwhile

18 New values of humanism (democracy and personal freedom) demand that we look at the whole of the European & Asiatic traditions, compare & contrast them, try to achieve some kind of synthesis even through the welter of confusion.

must leave room for the *world of values* (italics Anand's) which contains elements that transcend the *world of facts*.⁴⁸ Even twelve years earlier Anand had, in a defense of Marxist Socialism, written: 'But it becomes incumbent on all of us in effecting the transition to see to it that the spiritual and human values, the quality of civilisation... is not sacrificed by admitting any limitations of the human personality.'⁴⁹

The role of poetry in Anand's humanism recalls that described by Matthew Arnold:

'More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry our science will appear incomplete; and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry... what are they but the shadows and dreams and false shows of knowledge? The day will come when we shall wonder at ourselves for having trusted to them, for having taken them seriously; and the more we perceive their hollowness, the more we shall prize 'the breath and finer spirit of knowledge' offered to us by poetry.'⁵⁰

Thus, in Anand's humanism,

'literature, music and art are better able to fulfill the needs of our time than religion, and beauty is better worth worshipping than... a Deity for whom the sanctions lie in the intuitions of a few mystics... the sanction of poetic truth is the highest in our contemporary world.'⁵¹

Poetry and courage, he writes, 'are the ethos of our efforts to build the tentative hypothesis of a new, contemporary Indian civilisation.'⁵²

Anand's humanism assumes that

'the deepest socialism is the only basis for perfecting the deepest human personality, that the two should be mutually inclusive, and that it is only by combining the two that a richer and more stable civilisation will arise... socialism alone can restore dignity and real freedom to every man, because it ensures him economic freedom, i.e. real democracy.'⁵³

In such a context, Anand says, India can become 'a kind of laboratory for the experience of building a new kind of human society.' Its internal Socialist reconstruction and its will for peace 'may tilt the balance in favour of the continuance of the human race at a possible human level.'⁵⁴

Humanism, then, is Anand's faith; India, its proposed laboratory and hope; democratic Socialism, its political context. *Bhakti yoga* is its characteristic

dynamic and excellence.

India has always been noted for its tendency to absorb the extraneous, to accept a new activity or mode of thought and find for it a precedent and a label in ancient Indian tradition. Such an activity was social reform, probably taken from Western and Christian sources, for which the terms *lokasangraha*, *ahimsa*, *sarvodaya*, *sewaka*, and *bhakti yoga* were and are variously invoked. The terms are not consistently used or defined; Anand's *bhakti* is a case in point. *Bhakti*, from a root for 'sharing' first found in the *Aitereya Brahmana*, traditionally meant personal devotion to God in a context of philanthropic benevolence and of ministrations to holy men, as in the lives and work of Kabir, Nanak, and Tukaram. Anand now defines the term as 'personal, selfless devotion and service to all human beings.'⁵⁵ Swami Vivekananda uses *sewaka* for a similar meaning, and reserves *bhakti yoga* for Divine Love experienced through the sublimation of energies.⁵⁶ Vinoba Bhave, while attributing compassion to the *Bhakti* or Devotional School of Hinduism favors the term *sarvodaya* to *bhakti*. The latter he associates with a religious elite:

'Now religious devotion would be transformed into *Sarvodaya*. 'That capacity to see all beings with an equal eye' should not now be known as *para bhakti* -- as the highest type of devotion as it has been described in the *Iti*. It should be looked upon as a type of devotion that is to be practised by all; it is thus to become 'the commonest form of devotion'... [the realization by everyone] that all created beings are his kith and kin.'⁵⁷

Whatever the terminology, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Indian social reformers associate religious devotion with social service. Thus Vivekananda exhorts his hearers: 'May the suffering millions be the object of worship to you; may the illiterate mass be the object of reverential service to you... Pray to Lord Vishnu for selfless love for all beings.'⁵⁸ Gandhi writes: 'I am endeavoring to see God through service of humanity, for I know God is neither in heaven nor down below, but in everyone.'⁵⁹ Bhave declares: 'Service of the people takes the place of idol worship in our ideology... one should look upon all men and women as so many images of God.'⁶⁰ God and man, indeed, fuse in popular notions of *Dardyanarayan*, lower castes as the lowest incarnations of God, and of *harijans*, outcastes as the sons of God. Devotion or *bhakti* toward such persons is seen as the equivalent of direct service to God.

Anand traces his first interest in *bhakti* to his Sikh maternal grandfather, from whom, he says, 'I took ... not mysticism, but *bhakti*, which is personal

20 *Bhakti*: "Personal selfless devotion and service to all human beings."

devotion to human beings—a doctrine which has been emphasized by all our medieval saints from Nanak, Kabir and Tukaram to Gandhi.’⁶¹ A second influence toward *bhakti* is ascribed to B.R. Puri, a philosophy lecturer in Amritsar in 1925. Puri’s absorption in religious mysticism under a Sikh guru impressed Anand less than ‘his doctrine of *bhakti*, devotional worship and service of others, as a way of living.’⁶² In Christian emphasis on development of human personality through unselfish service, Anand saw ‘only a confirmation of the Hindu doctrine of *bhakti*, devotion through works.’⁶³

In *Contemporary Indian Civilisation* Anand discusses three traditional Hindu values, still surviving, he believes, in their residual forms, and related to the practice of *bhakti*: universalism, intolerant tolerance [*sic*], and compassion. These are not now operative ‘in the complete sense,’ Anand submits, yet

‘because of the great weight of the past on the Indian conscience, they play some part in moulding our people, especially the vast, illiterate population, which has inherited the past in the form of custom and convention, so that it is still comparatively inaccessible to Western modes of propaganda, through newspapers, radio, and television.’⁶⁴

Hindu universalism, Anand says, originated in Vedic sensitivity to the greatness of the cosmos, absorbed Buddhist and Jain humanistic awareness of the dignity of all life, took in invaders from many directions, even among Muslims maintained constant intermixture and fraternization at the lower levels, and today is assuming to itself the science of the West. From this universalism Anand concludes, springs the doctrine of co-existence, the attitude of the human family as one.⁶⁵

The second value, intolerant tolerance, writes Anand, basically refers to the capacity of the Hindus, relatively to Buddhists, Muslims, and Christians, to tolerate and even to absorb heterodoxies.

‘Insofar as Hinduism, unlike other revealed religions, renounced the finality of its revelations, while the others insist on it, it has remained a looser ideological discipline than the other dogmatic faiths, except for the rigidity of its caste structure.’⁶⁶

The practical consequence of this value in India today, as Anand sees it, is that the Hindu is ‘relatively more docile and a little less amenable to the cold war, and may believe in the co-existence of individuals and nations more readily.’⁶⁷

Karuna, compassion or tenderness, is a concept much used by Anand. His idealization of Hindu compassion, if not his wisdom in predicting events,

appears in his early judgment that 'whatever be the shortcomings of the contemporary culture of India, one thing about it is certain: It is still full of the ancient tenderness, still full of its old infinite kindness.'⁶⁸ Starting on his novel-writing career, Anand was struck

'not so much [by] the passion of religion, or ambition among men, as the insults they heaped on each other, the pain they extracted out of each other, and I sought Buddhist compassion through which alone one could understand this.'⁶⁹

Compassion, says Anand, understands the failings of individuals and allows for improvement or growth in their personality through devotion or enlightenment.⁷⁰ In this attitude he detects the Hindu doctrine 'which sees the unquenchable spark of divine fire in the worst villains and the remnants of a good conscience even in the worst criminals.' From 'this very attempt at tenderness,' he believes, 'will spring the dynamic of the new life, a new humanism.' This tenderness or love 'is the creative center and root of all human living.'

'neither contempt from above nor sentimental love from below, but a tender recognition of the essential similarity both in strength and frailty of human beings... the pervasive starting point of comprehension for each feeling, wish, thought and act that constitutes the world behind the scene of the human drama, from which catharsis or ultimate pity may arise.'⁷¹

For Anand it is, above all, the low-caste and outcaste people who evoke compassion and challenge the resources of literary men:

'No one in India has yet written the epic of this suffering adequately, because the realities were too crude for a writer like Tagore, and it was not easy to write an epic in India while all the intricate problems of the individual in the new world had yet to be solved.'⁷²

Some evidence suggests that Anand himself hoped to write, in a series of novels, the epic of the poor in India.⁷³

Anand's belief led him to reject or to qualify some features of traditional Hindu worship; notably, idol-worship, ritualism, caste, Brahman veneration, neo-Vedantic mysticism, *karma*, and *dharmā*. Objections to the first three are conventional enough and need not here be discussed. The Brahmins, Anand charges with 'insidious corrosions of the caste hierarchy' and with preserving power 'by a subtle psychology of ritualistic worship.'⁷⁴ A favorite scene, as,

22 Anand hoped to write, in a series of novels, the epic of the poor in India.

for example, in the 1960 *The Road* as well as the 1935 *The Untouchable*,⁷⁵ is the Brahman priest at the well, at once concerned with the procuring of water, the ceremonials of evacuation, and leering at outcaste women. In these, as in other of the novels, greed and hypocrisy, accompanied by punctilious piety and unctuous sentiment, are commonly ascribed to Brahmins.

About mysticism, Anand did not deny the reality of the mystical experience, but only its availability to the masses. Repeatedly he objected that only a small fraction of humanity can claim such experience, and that, therefore, its authority tends to be meaningless. Speaking of Eric Gill's aesthetics, which he otherwise finds commendable, Anand writes, for example:

'But the fundamental faith to which he tried to relate all his ideas, Catholicism, was too much like traditional ritualistic Hinduism to convince me as a final view. Besides, the ultimate basis of the Catholic or the Hindu attitude lay... in its claim to possess the Absolute Truth and in the mystical test. I was not questioning the Christian Dogma or the honesty of its saints when they gave evidence of the sudden visions or trances through which they achieved union with God. But I had never had such experience myself. Nor could I believe that the vast majority or even the most sincere, sensitive, and talented men could be vouchsafed these visions. And a view of life, built on the testimony, howsoever uniform, of a few saints, could not be recommended to a civilization out of joint.'⁷⁶

Secondly, Anand argued, the central truth of mysticism leads men away from life,

'insofar as the mystic resorts to the one-way traffic with God. No one can come back to tell us what is at the other end. On the other hand, I feel that the two-way traffic of the artist, to and back from God, by which I mean the attempt to plumb the depths of the soul, to receive insight into the elements of truth, inwardness and love may be achieved through constant questionings and meditations.'⁷⁷

Anand's treatment of *karma* is qualified. Though he attests the importance of the concept in the daily lives of his characters by increasing frequency of reference to it,⁷⁸ for himself, he says, 'I do not believe in the theory of *karma*.'⁷⁹ The popular belief, he submits, besides being false, engenders selfishness: 'The average Hindu, imbued with the idea that his *karma* is his own and has very little to do with the *karma* of other people, tends to seek his own personal salvation rather than to help others in their distress.' Again,

the 'anarchic individualism' of Indian belief in *karma* 'leads to a denial of the organized life which is the modern state,' i.e. the Socialist state in which Anand believes.⁸⁰

Still, according to Anand's poet of *The Untouchable*, there had once been a 'pure philosophical idea of *karma*, that deeds and acts are dynamic, that all is in a flux, everything changes,' an idea that would have benefited India, except 'for the wily Brahmins, the priestcraft, who came in the pride of their white skin... and misinterpreted it to mean that birth and rebirth in this universe is governed by good or bad deeds in the past life.'⁸¹

In *dharma*, too, besides its general character as individual rights, duties, and virtues, Anand sees an expression of 'the inalienable belief in the worth of the individual, for the purpose of salvation.' In this, *dharma* represents a value 'above the state, safeguarding the individuals against the encroachments of the king.' But the Socialism to which Anand is committed considers 'the state as the primary concept, and the individual as only part of it: having his being and finding his fulfillment through the state.' How then, asks Anand, 'is the concept of each individual, as the custodian of his own personal salvation, to be reconciled to a Socialist Indian State?'⁸² He concludes that 'the struggle of an independent intellectual to reconcile individual freedom with planned progress will tend to be like a prolonged torture.'⁸³

Nehru's references to *dharma* as a doctrine of rights and responsibilities are vague, Anand charges. They go into the same political context as Rajagopalachari's use of the term 'to revive the old doctrines entire.' Defenders of Hindu individuality, 'rather ineffectually,' he continues, refer to *Lokasangraha*, the doctrine that the purposive activity of men in the interest of the world can become the supreme *dharma* of the individual.⁸⁴ Anand doubts such a solution. He reflects, only, that

'If there is no war, from deep within the orbit of the Indian tradition of individualism, shorn of its religious sanctions, may grow the gradual limitation of the power of the state. Except that the old individualism will also have to shed its egoism and concern for personal salvation and take on the *bhakti-yoga*, or devotion through works, which integrates the individual into the community. ...the small co-operatives, the Panchyats, and local industries all depend on the creation of a psychology of mutual aid and work as worship.'⁸⁵

On the whole, Anand regards *dharma* negatively, as a terminology 'leading to confusion' and used by priests and by politicians to victimize the Indian people, 'murdered... by the *dharma*-bugs.'⁸⁶

Anand's childhood and education included a variety of religious strains. He finally came to believe in 'a kind of worship of humanity,' which would have a stronghold in India within a democratic and Socialist context, and which would carry out *bhakti-yoga* activities in a spirit of universalism, tolerance, and compassion. The *bhakti-yoga* references and the insistence on indigenous special virtues reflect Anand's increasing efforts, after long and intensive experience in the West, to restore his roots in Indian tradition and to determine his true identity. His beliefs, nevertheless, led him to reprehend certain features of Hinduism; among them, idol worship, ritualism, Brahmanism, and caste. He suggests that, for the masses at least, rationalism should be substituted for mysticism. Finally, he proposes that the terms *karma* and *dharma* are, at best, of questionable value, and, at worst, instruments of exploitation. As a writer Anand is pervasively and militantly aware of the misery of the masses in India. As a man he is determined ceaselessly, through cultural activities, to attack social evils and to work for a new world community. Most of his ideas are not original and can be found in contemporary movements associated with nationalism, social reform, economic Communism and Socialism, and political democracy. For such movements Anand was preconditioned in his youth by Sikh ideals of militancy, service to others, this worldliness, and greater social equality; by Arya Samajist progressive thought; and by early contacts, in cantonments and in British-Indian schools, with liberal Western thought and attitude.



II

ANAND'S FAITH AS A WRITER

Anand's belief about man and society carry over, naturally, into his literary theory. Literature is considered by him, on the one hand, as a weapon for attacking social, political, and economic institutions injurious to human freedom and equality of opportunity. On the other, it is seen as the purveyor of a new vision of society: an international brotherhood based on humanist and Socialist ideals and constructed through bhakti-yoga.

Anand has not actually written much on literary theory as such. For pre 1945 there are only the introduction to *The Golden Breath: Studies in Five Poets of the New India* (1932); the important All-India Progressive Writers Association Manifesto of 1935, which he helped formulate; a 1938 newspaper interview on behalf of the AIPWA; and scattered incidental remarks. For post 1945 there are passages in essays on other topics, and six articles, all written in the sixties, on literary theory itself.

The most striking and consistent aspect of Anand's literary considerations is his opposition to art-for-art's sake formalism in favor of art-for-the-message's sake moralism. This stance is underscored by Anand's frequent references to literature as criticism and as prophecy with intent to effect change. In the early *Golden Breath* (1932), Anand's only volume of literary criticism, the author states: 'Throughout my treatment of my subjects I have been more concerned to draw out the message each one of them (the poets) has for us than to discuss the various problems connected with their respective techniques.' This point of view is in itself less significant: than the justification offered. A discussion of style, Anand says, 'would have minimized the effect of Indian critical emphasis on the moral and mental implications of poetry.'¹ Anand's consistent rejection of formalist art in favor of moralist or didactic or propagandist art nevertheless undergoes shifts of emphasis, passing through three stages, not mutually exclusive: a brief, relatively unimportant idealism, followed by revolutionary Socialism, thence broadening into what the author calls 'comprehensive historical humanism.' In this last phase, Anand's Socialism continues to draw him toward external, group, class-oriented depictions; his humanism impels him toward internal, individual, psychological analysis and concern with intimate human relations. Where the tension is consciously grasped and shaped, the literary outcome, theoretically, should be better. Where it is unconsciously at work, the result is likely to be irritating inconsistencies.

Even though Anand's interest in Marxist thought predated the London years, and even though he associates his earliest London involvements with leftist movements, his literary discussions in or before 1932 view literature and the arts mainly as religious and philosophic derivatives. For example, *The Golden Breath* proposes that 'the Hindu view of poetry, like the Hindu view of art, has been a projection in the special field of poetry of the fundamental principles of Hinduism as a religion and philosophy.'² The historians and critics of India, according to Anand,

'laid down that the problem whether a work of art is good or bad should be decided by resorting to the simple internal criterion: whether the artist... had succeeded in evoking the mystery of the Divine Spirit... But an 'art for art's sake' has never been practised in India; criticism for the sake of criticism was always dismissed as a parasite... poetry, like painting, sculpture and the other arts, remained the handmaid of religion, the servant of philosophy.'³

In the light of Anand's post-1934 iconoclasm, it is startling to read what follows:

'This is, perhaps, as it should be... When a civilisation has sincerely sought to explore all the ramifications of experience and then resorted to a belief or beliefs in the widest, the broadest, the most universal truths that its philosophers can discover, the venerated of that belief or those beliefs need not be afraid to rest back upon the solid foundations of systematised religious faiths, offering symbols which express the mystery of human life and 'justify the ways of God to man.'⁴

Reasoning so, in considering the five poets of the new India, Anand proposed to interpret 'the values of their respective faiths... presenting such considerations of philosophical, religious and sociological import as may interest the reader of their prophecies.'⁵

Finally, in this earliest published venture into literary theory and criticism, written at age twenty-seven, Anand asks: 'What, then, is the fundamental character of Indian literature?' and answers:

'from its first mature articulation in the *Rig Veda* to its latest expression in the poetry of the five contemporary authors treated in this volume, Indian literature breathes the golden breath of a great and lofty idealism, a belief in the deepest self of man as the highest goal of life, and of the whole universe as a manifestation of the world soul, to be realised in a union of the seen and the unseen.'⁶

That Anand, would-be writer of Indian literature, included himself in this idealist approach is clear from his remark on the criterion of a writer's success being his 'evoking the mystery of the Divine.'

'a standard applicable by any genuine reader who looks at poetry in the humble spirit of sympathetic consideration, because he seeks through it to evoke the same ideal in himself, and is indeed prepared to perfect in his heart the song left imperfect by the poet.'⁷

The point is supported by a passage in *Persian Painting* (1932). Speaking of the religious intensity of the Persian painter Bihzad, Anand writes:

'Perhaps the best way of enjoying such beauty may be, not to define it, but to let it define us, to let it reveal to us our own soul, and to rouse our inner worlds of faculty and experience in the realisation of which rests the true joy of art.'⁸

A Hindu View of Art (1932) expresses many of the same ideas. The preface, however, to the revised, 1956 edition, after noting some revisions and deletions, observes that 'the basic hypothesis about the deep inner connection between aesthetic and spiritual values in India... was sustained [only] until the European impact of the eighteenth century.' What happened thereafter was, presumably, to be treated in 'another small book on aesthetic theory, dealing with the predicament of the arts in contemporary India.'⁹ To my knowledge this book has not yet appeared.

Sometime after 1932 Anand's literary perspective changed substantially. By his own account this change was due to his reading of Karl Marx's three letters on India in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 1853.¹⁰ The implications of Marxism for Anand's literary thought were decisive. Henceforth he was committed to a special concept of the function of literature: to raze the old society and to build up the new.

One of the major proponents of this view was the All-India Progressive Writers Association, called by Hafeez Malik 'a transmission belt of the Communist Party of India.'¹¹ Of Anand's part in the formation of this group a report comes from Sajjad Zaheer, 'an outstanding member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India' and later, in 1948, 'Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Pakistan':¹²

'I have had the good fortune of having known Mulk... since 1930, when we were both young and in our twenties and were students in England. During the last years of my stay in England, in 1935, Anand and I,

together with a few other young Indians founded the Indian Progressive Writers' Movement. This was the seed from which developed later in India the great Progressive Writers' Movement, spreading to almost all the great languages of India, blessed and supported by such eminent figures as Tagore and Premchand.¹³

According to Zaheer's report, Anand assisted with the 1935 drafting, in London, of the AIPWA Manifesto, which specifies the function of Indian writers as follows:

- 1) It is the duty of Indian writers to give expression to the changes in Indian life and to assist the spirit of progress in this country by introducing scientific rationalism in literature. They should undertake to develop an attitude of literary criticism which will discourage the general reactionary and revivalist tendencies on questions like family, religion, sex, war and society, and to combat literary trends reflecting communalism, racial antagonism, sexual libertinism, and exploitation of man by man.
- 2) It is the object of our Association to rescue literature from the conservative classes—to bring the arts into closest touch with the people...
- 3) We believe that the new literature of India must deal with the basic problems of existence today—the problems of hunger and poverty, social backwardness and political subjection.
- 4) All that arouses in us the critical spirit, which examines customs and institutions in the light of reason, which helps us to act, to organise ourselves, to transform, we accept as progressive.¹⁴

To carry out the AIPWA's aim of promoting a cultural front which could express the extent of the sufferings of the people of India, Anand insisted, in a 1938 *Civil and Military Gazette* (India) interview, on three basic responsibilities of Indian writers:

- 1) To align themselves with the vanguard of the Indian struggle for political and economic emancipation. Their technical skill could be mobilised in the vigorous journalism... growing in the train of the national movements... [to] bring them into daily contact with actual national and social problems and the people whose life made these problems urgent duties.
- 2) Secondly, in the midst of India's disintegrating feudalism and in the

midst of antiquated customs, Indian writers could fulfill their creative aspirations by the radical realisation of the causes that have hampered social life and by the portrayal through a heightened sensibility of all those tragedies in the obscure lanes and alleys of Indian towns and villages which have seldom found utterance in the literature of India.

- 3) The third function which a contemporary Indian writer must fulfill... [is] to take an active part in preparing the people to read him when he gives forth to the world the outcome of his difficulties and spiritual struggles (e.g. by libraries and study clubs).¹⁵

While Anand has not left a more detailed analysis of the social realism dictated in the Manifesto and in the interview, it is clear that his central problem, as that of the AIPWA, was 'how to infuse contemporary Indian literature with Marxist content.'¹⁶ The answer was supplied by the statute of the Union of Soviet Writers, of which the AIPWA was an offspring:¹⁷

'Social realism is the fundamental method of Soviet literature and criticism: it demands of the artist a true, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Further, it ought to contribute to the ideological transformation and education of the workers in a spirit of socialism.'¹⁸

Accordingly, Progressive writers were required to view subjects, characters, situations, and attitudes as products of economic forces. Characters, in particular, were to be treated as personifications of economic categories and embodiments of particular class relations. Situations ideally involved the masses in group struggle for economic emancipation. Attitudes were to reflect solid, unquestioning approval of all calculated to advance history toward an international Communist society. Marxist social realism of the thirties left no room for doubt, questioning, or search relative to basic values and goals. These were *a priori* determined.¹⁹

Less striking than Anand's shift of the early thirties from a religio-philosophic to a socio-economic view of literature is the modification of his thought in the forties and later. At this time, Anand's discussions of literary theory, as well as of other topics, reveal strengthened emphasis on personal and individual development and on basic human freedoms vis-a-vis the stress on social change and class struggle required by the AIPWA Manifesto and its related interview.

The new emphasis appears chiefly in the essays of the sixties on literary theory, though Jack Lindsay remarks a change of temper as early as 1944.

Referring to Anand's *The Barber's Trade Union and Other Stories* (1944), Lindsay writes that Anand was feeling about 'for new strands of method and material linking the folk forms and their poetic resources with contemporary issues... introducing elements of European psychological realism and a clearer emphasis on the individual.'²⁰ The coming of national independence, Anand's return to India for permanent residence, and his editorship of the elegant and expensive *Marg*, in addition to his own growing maturity, may have effected the change. The writings on literary theory more than the novels show this broadening of perspective in the forties to include individual psychological as well as group Socialist emphasis.

The point is illustrated by Anand's 1941 article on 'English Novels of the Twentieth Century on India', with its attack on bourgeois, conservative, middle-class writing and reactionary political belief. A characteristic passage, referring to E.M. Forster, an Anand favorite, incorporates Anand's literary theory of the time:

'And it is well known that all he was interested in [in *Passage to India*] was personal relationships between human beings. He is very suspicious of, if he does not actually despise, a political attitude in art... he has been forced by events now and then to take a political attitude, but I must respect his premises and judge him according to his own theory, which is 'only connect.'

The theory does not, however, exclude social criticism, or even politics in a broad sense; it only means that Mr. Forster was deeply concerned with the psychological... Thus he had very little to say, but he said it very well.'²¹

This long article does not once mention humanism, personal freedom, individual rights, or synthesis of human values, phrases crucial to post-1945 writings. Indeed, Anand's 1941 disdain of Forster's psychological interests contrasts interestingly with Anand's 1945 statement about his own writing:

'The theme of my work became the whole man and the whole gamut of human relationships...

and though our [writers'] main struggle remains the search for individual values... insofar as these are increasingly open to re-interpretation, it is necessary to explore the sensibilities of all human beings... insofar as they have been affected by the 'iron' age.'²²

And later: 'Poetry became the criticism of life, and prose was used to dissect the human metabolism in order to discover new norms of human relations

and explore the crisis of character in a fast changing world.’²³

Anand himself traces the attitudinal shift in the Postscript to the 1957, second edition of *Apology for Heroism*:

‘I do not want to hide any mistakes I have made in my life or to defend them through egoism. But it is important to realise that the illusions of an Indian intellectual in the thirties could be based on sincere belief in the necessity of national freedom and socialism... it is not necessary to pay the price of socialism. ...the Communist world, on the defensive, denies to people the very liberties and human rights for which the revolution was fought.

Gone are the old hopes about the withering away of the state. Even the dreams of rapid social change have faded. The philosophical basis which supplied the cue for reform and revolution is suspect and needs deeper analysis.’²⁴

How such a transformation affected Anand’s literary theory is suggested by a note in his Chronology for 1948-49: ‘Declared a decadent by the Bombay group of the Progressive Writers Association.’²⁵

In any event, after 1945 Anand’s literary theory, if not always his practice, stresses humanist-oriented values: Man and his whole, harmonious development rather than society and the partialist views of Socialism; the individual rather than the group; personal freedom rather than solidarity; questioning and search rather than doctrinaire solution; synthesis in the search for universalism and internationalism; and the role of poetry as a substitute for political as well as for religious dogma. On the other hand, Anand’s humanist view of literature shares with his Socialist view opposition to religion, focus on lowly people, a universalist and international ideal, stress on content rather than form, and an unrelenting attack on Indian social, political, and economic institutions.

The humanist views are prominent in Anand’s six articles on literary theory, written in the sixties and concerned with the nature of literature, the responsibility of the writer, and the special characteristics of the novel:

New Bearings in Indian Literature 1961

The Task Before the Writer 1963

Is Universal Criticism Possible 1965

A Note on Modern Fiction 1965

The Role of the Creative Writers and Artists in Developing Countries of Afro-Asia 1966

My Experiment With a White Lie 1966’

Neo-Realism: a combination of objective & subjective factors and a seeking of realities behind them

'The nature of literature. Poetry is now conceived by Anand 'as the criticism of life, as the prophecy of the more intense life in a world without frontiers where universal co-existence is possible.'²⁶ A more detailed Anandian definition of literature might be extrapolated from the essays as follows:

Literature is a criticism of life treating human themes with insight, passion, and compassion, resulting from the author's engagement in service to his country and his fellow man; and employing, not only direct meaning and 'resonance,' but also concrete images and rhythms, imaginatively produced to suggest universal entities. It fuses content and form.

In matters of style, as in philosophy, Anand tries to blend both realism and romanticism, i.e. to copy from life and to create from imaginative visualization. The true issue, he maintains, is between the formalists, whose work 'is without a deep relation to life,' and the realists, whose work, presumably, is so related.²⁷ In earlier days Anand called his own brand of realism 'poetic realism' and in later days, 'neo-realism,' terms implying a combination of objective and subjective factors and a seeking of realities behind nature.²⁸ Western and European writers are at fault, in Anand's eyes, for limiting their view to the facts, imitating living models, and copying direct from nature. From a 1945 perspective, he declares that the social realism of the West in the thirties was, for these reasons, a failure.²⁹ Anand's 'poetic realism' or 'neo-realism,' in contrast, is pervaded by what he calls variously the desire image, the flight of winged facts, the romantic will, and revolutionary romanticism, seeking to change life in accordance with 'the inchoate urges of the body-soul.'

The double pull in this theory, analogous with Anand's Socialism and humanism, gave rise to a style of writing, 'expressionism,' which Anand regards, not only as his own special manner, but also as a characteristically Indian style. Typical remarks are the following:

'I mean by romanticism the preservation of the desire image, but more than romanticism and realism I believe in expressionism, which is the heightening of the drama of the body-soul in all its various implications. Every Indian seems to be, almost biologically, an expressionist. It is in our system.'³⁰

'Naturally, as an Indian born to the tradition of Hindu society, I have an almost biological, pathological and deliberately metaphysical attitude towards life. So my books are not realistic in the ordinary sense of European realism, but a species of Indian expressionism, by which I

Neo-Realism pervades by what he calls
desire image, flight of winged facts, the romantic

Body-soul drama in imaginative literature
concerns man's destiny.

mean that during every generation, for thousands of years, the creative men of India have tried to stage the body-soul drama in the imaginative literature which concerns man's destiny.'³¹

'I hold the view that my novels are expressionistic in the manner of the old Indian fiction—staging the body-soul drama as in the past, only in dealing with contemporary characters and now in mythological apprehension from the new truths of Freud, which had, of course, been anticipated in the branches of tantric philosophy.'³²

'The reading of Rimbaud made for a certain kind of belief in the solid experience of distorted individuals. This resulted in a kind of expressionism which dramatises, often exaggerates, and seeks to break through to simultaneousness of human experience qua experience.'³³

'the urge to express oneself at all costs, in an absolutist manner, so as to expose the ugliness of death in life by deliberately dramatising, even distorting, the non-human realities which impinged on one from all sides. It was a kind of expressionism which I began to share with some of the painters I knew in London at that time.'³⁴

In plain language Anand's 'expressionism' seems reducible to a coordinated rendering, at times with exaggeration and distortion, of physical, emotional, and rational life, of the whole man. Its Indianness seems to be merely the proverbial Indian preoccupation with things metaphysical, notably the relation between the body and the soul, or between the body and consciousness. Anand's search for a model in achieving these ends led him, early in his career, to the work of James Joyce, of whose *Ulysses* Anand writes:

'The three important things this novel taught us were: 1) that the unity of time and space were possible all in one day of the life of a character; 2) that the disturbed, restless and panoramic stream of consciousness of the people of our time could be reproduced, not as Joyce has done it, as so much raw material, but in the same kind of direction, so as to suggest value judgements about the characters; 3) that the nineteenth century novel, with a beginning, a middle, and an end, was over, and that one could make a novel out of anything, so long as there was a pattern.'³⁵

In a discussion of how expressionism transcends merely realistic or representational writing to rise to the universal, Anand invokes the folk tale, an alleged frequent influence on his work:

'As soon as a story, picture or novel becomes prismatic by making the individual character into individual type, it lifts the particular to the

universal, almost as in a folk tale or symbolic story... if the novel can achieve this kind of ambivalent form, as it does in *The Untouchable* (both modern novel and a kind of Indian fable), the individual character is more suggestive in all his or her implications than in a merely realistic work.³⁶

11 Having settled on literature as the imaginatively shaped criticism and prophecy of writers engaged in social struggle, and having identified expressionism as the indigenous Indian style, Anand argues the possibility of universal standards of criticism. His affirmative answer rests on 'the common human factors': 1) insight into man as maker of his own destiny vis-a-vis the gods of the older and the machines of the newer day, 2) the common world of images, the one-world culture accumulated from all lands of all times. 3) the basic human passions, and 4) the concepts of freedom, equality, and democracy 'in the humanist world of our time.'³⁷ The point need not be labored that Anand's discussion begs the question of what differentiates literature from a listing of facts, that he, in reality, confuses content and form.

The responsibility of the writer. In both theory and practice Anand visualizes the writer (or poet or philosopher) as a man whose insights and passions outweigh his physical strength:

'The poet has always been the odd man out, too weak to do heroic deeds. But he is able to comprehend all, through his heightened sensibility, or through the compensatory resonances of his fantasy, as in the case of a blind bard. And, inspired by intense emotion about a given human situation, gathering up the various vitalities of the body-mind from the whirlpool of his subconscious, criticising everything from his enlightened will or *some deliberate attitude* [italics Anand's], he charges words with various associations and projects them, through the eye of the imagination, towards the dormant or half awakened sensibilities of others... in full *engagement* with some part of life or the whole of it, with its values and important issues.'³⁸

Again:

'The poet has generally been the weakest member of the flock physically, so that he has always compensated himself for the lack of ability to participate in heroic action by staying a little behind and singing about it, thus inspiring men to further action.'³⁹

In the essays of the sixties Anand, strangely, does not refer to the writer's

activities as *bhakti-yoga*, though the term occurs in the novels and in his other writings to express dedicated service through literature as well as through other activities. Still, the idea, if not the label, is there. The writer's responsibility, by talent and humanity, is to serve the human cause, now no longer for national independence, but for world peace, through disarmament, and for national prosperity. India's writers are summoned to participate in their countrymen's search

'for other new freedoms, freedom from hunger, freedom from undue restraint and freedom of conscience to pursue our individual perfections from within the orbit of paucities forced on us by prolonged slavery.'⁴⁰

The writer, in fine, must seek

'the real courage to create a literature of protest, which can reveal the insults, humiliations and injustices sought to be perpetrated in our society by the inheritors of privileges who seek everything without offering sacrifices equal to those offered by less privileged people. Perhaps this is the opportunity to produce the literature of integral humanism which allies itself with the deepest yearnings of men and women and leads our people to Destination Man.'

Our fraternity is not exclusive with the writers of our country, but also with the writers of the world who are struggling to promote understanding among the peoples of the world.'⁴¹

In many places, nevertheless, Anand denigrates propaganda, speaking, for example, of 'the subtle insinuations of partisanship through effective mass media... part of the propaganda machine of the hostiles.'⁴² His own literary 'engagement' is described and justified in happier terms:

'It may be necessary to define engagement here briefly: It is not what the denigrators of the literature of struggle, strife and experience have always called the 'source of a propaganda literature.' It is the involvement of conscience. It is the attitude of literature which faces the problems of man's destiny in any given contemporary period.'⁴³

A constant theme in Anand's discussion of the responsibility of the writer is his necessity for freedom, a need sometimes at odds with the facts of political life:

'to a writer no possession is dearer than freedom. For, if man is born free and enslaved by custom, habit, and protective toughness, as a

The writer's responsibility, by talent and humanity, is to serve the human cause no longer for national independence, but for world peace; through disarmament

writer he becomes a source of liberation from all the bonds in which he himself and other people are caught up.

This freedom to create from the compulsions of our consciences, from the sources of our regenerating action, from our interior vision, can only flourish in a society where 'the hundred flowers' are allowed to flourish... we have, as citizens, to defend the political freedom of our state.'⁴⁴

The novel. Much of Anand's theory of the novel is covered by his discussions of the nature of literature and the responsibilities of the writer. It should, nevertheless, be noted that in 1941 he had upheld political and social cause as functions of the novel prior to psychological penetration. By contrast, in the 1965 'Note on Modern Indian Fiction' he writes:

'the ultimate purpose of the novelist is to understand man, to intensify his [man's] emotions, to arouse his consciousness, and to create the conditions for the experience of *rasa* or flavour or beauty... [the novelist's] total consciousness, including all his faculties and experiences, are likely to be involved in the creative process. And it is only through the imagination that the raw material of human life can be illumined and transformed. Only then can the new poetry of the novel form become a kind of criticism of life.'⁴⁵

The emphasis is thus now on topics like 'the whole man,' who acts and re-acts as a physically, emotionally, and rationally integrated person. Most novelists, alleges Anand, 'only see and support partial attitudes rather than the whole man.'⁴⁶ What makes a novel modern, as Anand explains it, is just this replacement of religious and moral preachment by social and psychological analysis allowing for the whole man to be depicted, his inner as well as his outer world, his potential for growth as well as his immediate activity. The modernness of the novel is said to depend, further, on new awareness of universal human qualities emerging 'in the whole world through the breaking down of national frontiers and by the confrontation of each man with his own destiny in the one world of the industrial and atomic age.'⁴⁷ Finally, Anand views modernness in the novel as the springing up of new human values with consequent new human conflicts; for example, those relating to marriage and family life.

The novelist's increased, depth interest in man is seen to penetrate further than idealism or social realism. Thus most Indian novelists who write in English have a technical advantage over those who write in the native languages, Anand maintains, because they can imbibe the influence of

Western writers and fuse the two values of East and West into a literature notable for 'comprehensive historical humanism.'⁴⁸

This new humanistic approach, continues Anand, is characterized by detachment, engagement, and courage. 'Like a painter correcting his perspective by moving away from the canvas' or 'a mirror held above phenomena,' the novelist attains fuller comprehension by distance from the fray. Engagement, on the other hand, enables him to achieve the passion 'fundamental to human experience and to human creativity.' Finally, only by courage, says Anand, can the novelist discipline himself to say the 'unmentionable' things. 'The novel is true,' he concludes, 'if it is human, if it creates the universe of discourse of the fundamental human passions... Poetry and courage thus may sum up the aspiration of the novel in our time if such aspirations can ever be summed up.'⁴⁹

As to how the novel may achieve this end, Anand responds:

'The significant novelist broods upon human existence, feels himself at one with its sources, becomes obsessed in his soul with a theme, interprets experience, arranges the disarrangement, and produces a pattern, which may accord with the universal urges of man.'⁵⁰

In carrying out such a program, Anand prefers the 'Western' dramatic method of novel writing to the 'oriental' recitalist method. Chiefly on the basis of this dramatic as contrasted with recitalist narrative, Anand declares Tagore to be 'in the formal sense, the first novelist of India.'

'Some people may wonder why... [when] before him Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had written copious fiction, I have chosen to call him [Tagore] the first novelist of India... I want to differentiate between the old novel, or 'recital' from the new novel in our contemporary sense... seeking the illusion of life through a dramatic sequence based on the development of character. As such it is distinct from what may be called a report or recital, which is a presentation of events in the light of [the narrator's] or someone else's external opinions.'⁵¹

Among other things, dramatic method implies scenic presentation, dialogue, direct confrontation, and acting out of conflict. Anand does not, in his writing, discuss these matters much. He seems, however, to have them in mind when, asked about his theory of the novel, he writes:

'The reason why I left philosophy... and resorted to the novel was because I felt that the illogic of logic in human life compels attention to

insights into the characters and their slow inner growth. As also intuition, wisdom cannot be reproduced in didactic writing. The novel in its amorphousness reaches the roots and corners of the sensibility and registers the conflict of feelings and values in a more intimate manner.

For instance, conflict in the plot structure of *The Untouchable* is the anal-erotic complex of the puritan upper caste Hindus against whom Bakha is constrained to say: 'They think we are dung, because we clean their dung.' My rejected hero can't put it like a Professor of Psychology, but he says it in his own naive manner. And his insights about the joy of the upper castes in seeing the outcastes condemned to do the business of cleaning at the same time as they express disgust against the untouchable reflects the paradox of the puritan temperament, unified for generations into ritualistic orthodoxy. Only a novel can, with its imaginative suggestion, reach down to the metabolism and perhaps transform the reader's consciousness by the empathy it creates, finding the rigid doctrinaire ideas, emotion, or myth.⁵²

Anand's defense of dramatic method against didactic writing recalls his conversation with Gandhi about the projected *Untouchable*:

(GANDHI) 'Why write a novel? Why not a tract on untouchability?'

I answered that a novel was more human and could produce contrary emotions and shades of feeling, whereas a tract could become biased, and that I liked a 'concrete' as against a 'general' statement.

The Mahatma said: 'The straight book is truthful and you can reform people by saying things frankly.'

I said: 'Though I do want to help people, I believe in posing the question rather than answering it.'

Gandhi said: 'As far as I know, novels are generally about love and tell lies and make them gullible with fine words.'

I said: 'Novels are not only about love, but about anything on earth, if you value the thing and go behind it.'

This amused the old man.⁵³

About dialogue, Anand in several places mentions the need for

✓ 'the skill by which the realities of life [can] be expressed in the short crisp sentences of ordinary speech, thereby refashioning the Indian

languages... images and metaphor, [thus bringing writers] into daily contact with external and social problems and with the people.'⁵⁴

In Indian novels generally, Anand sees a weakness due to the inadequacy of native phraseology for 'the sharp staccato utterance of contemporary industrial man.'⁵⁵

One of the few really insightful remarks of Anand relative to dramatic technique occurs in a discussion of the short story. Having remarked the subtle interplay of situation and character leading to climax and denouement in Western fiction, Anand observes that in Indian fiction the two elements are dissociated. Thus Indian stories, he submits, offer merely 'a series of collisions, with little interplay of character and situation, unresolved crises, and abruptness of treatment.'⁵⁶ These faults Anand proposes to overcome in his own writings by adopting the more successful interplays of Western dramatic technique.

In dramatic characterization Anand's ideal novelist tries 'not to sit in judgment so much as to understand the motivations deep down in the subconscious minds of his characters... the reasons for the hardness of heart and the evil nature of even those who become the instruments of oppression.'⁵⁷ These motivations, however, like the capacity of the human being 'for real growth,' are, at times, seen as determined by social and economic forces. Individual man reacting with industrial society creates the dramatic conflict which Anand sees as 'the heart of the problem of our time, the problem of the human sensibility in the present complex, the tragedy of modern man.'⁵⁸ The challenge to Anand's novelist is to dramatize the interplay with truth, depth, and skill.

The Indian novelist writing in English, according to Anand, has a particular role to play in that synthesis of values sought by comprehensive historical humanism. He provides 'a kind of bridge between India and the West,' thus fulfilling 'the need for fusion not only between the values of Indian and post Renaissance Europe,' but also absorbing 'in this most human of European forms of creative literature,' those truths 'which lie at the core of some of the most advanced thinking in the West and which our alien rulers concealed from us to a large extent by giving us a bad education or no education at all.' Those truths chiefly concern the right and need of all men to freedom and equality if they are to achieve their potential.⁵⁹ In Anand's literary theory this synthesis of the idealism or introversion of the East with the realism or extroversion of the West, this expressionism, is an important part of comprehensive historical humanism.

Anand's literary theory thus derives largely from his Socialist and his humanist preoccupations. While Anand does not, in the available sources, refer to *bhakti-yoga* as part of his literary theory, it is evident that he charges the writer with the responsibility of dedicated, selfless, personal service of his fellow man through literature, a role specifically defined in some of the novels as the writer's *bhakti-yoga*. The novel form is, according to Anand, especially well suited for this end, i.e. as a vehicle for the author's message. In Anand's case this message is the evil of existent social, political, and economic institutions and the need for constructing a new society.

III

THE NOVELS

Anand's first ten novels, with subsequent reprints for some, were originally published and reviewed in England. Translations, especially of the first three novels, thereafter appeared in Russia (nine works), Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Israel, Germany, Roumania, China, Spain, Malaysia, France, Hungary, Portugal, Bulgaria, Sweden, Japan, and several North Indian states. Many reprints of the novels, as well as first editions of the last three, came from Indian publishers, notably Kutub Popular of Bombay, a company which, by Sajjad Zaheer's account, Anand helped set up.¹ In the United States—perhaps because of diminished interest in India during the thirties and early forties—Anand's novels have been little noticed. The Anand Bibliography lists only two printings here, both by Liberty Press of New York: *The Coolie* in 1952 and *Two Leaves and a Bud* in 1953.²

For the greater realism of his novels, Anand notes repeatedly, he used characters, situations, and episodes drawn from personal experience and recollection. 'I sought to recreate my life through the memories of the India in which I grew up,' he writes, 'with a view to discovering [its] vanities, [its] conceits and [its] perplexities.'³ Accordingly, the characters of the novels are

'the reflection of the real people I had known in childhood and youth. And I was only repaying the debt of gratitude I owed them for much of the inspiration they had given me to mature into manhood when I began to interpret their lives in my writing. They were not mere phantoms, though my imagination did a great deal to transform them. ... They were flesh of my flesh and blood of my blood, and obsessed me in the way in which certain human beings obsess an artist's soul. And I was doing no more than what a writer does when he seeks to interpret the truth from the realities of life.'⁴

Besides taking his characters from life, Anand pioneered, he says, in the choice of the poor as central subject matter for Indian novel writing:

'until I began to write about the outcastes, the pariahs, the peasants and the bottom dogs of my country and to resurrect them from the obscure lanes and alleys of the hamlets, villages and small towns, nothing very much had been heard or written about them in polite literature in the languages of our sub-continent...

I found myself going beyond the work of these three writers [Tagore,

Sarat Chander Chatterjee, and Prem Chand] because the world I knew best was the microcosm of the outcastes and peasants and soldiers and working people... But, contrary to superficial allegations, there was not much self-conscious proletarianism in my attitude, as there was in many middle-class writers of western Europe, simply for the reason that I was the son of a coppersmith turned soldier, and of a peasant mother, and could have written only of the lives I knew most intimately.⁵

While humanist and Socialist emphases intermingle in all the Anand novels, this chapter will make a somewhat arbitrary division of subjects. The first section will consider topics especially relevant to humanism, to individual human wholeness and dignity as it is damaged, in Anand's portrayal, by Indian social institutions. The second will consider topics oriented toward Socialism, toward group conflict, in which the classes-rich and poor, Capitalist and labor-are, in the novels, pitted against each other. A third division will consider Anand's attacks, in the narratives, on political targets and a fourth, his use of the doctrine of *bhakti*.

In attacking Indian institutions, Anand employs, in his novels, direct and indirect means. Direct assault occurs in the author's own commentaries and, in narrative or dramatic framework, as discussion and debate between characters or monologue and soliloquy of single characters. Indirect attacks appear in plots, settings, situations, episodes, above all in characterizations, as these are affected by Indian institutions.

A. The Social Order: Impediments to Human Development

Major social institutions which Anand portrays as wholly or partially damaging to individual human persons are caste, religion, aspects of sex and marriage, and system of education. In the scope of this essay it is obviously impossible to treat these topics in detail. The chapter proposes only to summarize what Anand has done with the subject and to give some examples. Again, it is extremely difficult to disentangle Anand's treatment of *varna*, caste, color, class, and communalism. Differentiation is further complicated by Anand's presentation of these categories in process of change, of 'revolutionary development.' The discussion cannot possibly always maintain clear-cut divisions; it only hopes to suggest some aspects of these human distinctions as, in Anand's novels, they affect India's emergence into the modern world.

Caste. Anand's novels present caste as only one element 'in the complex texture of social and economic particularism and inequality in Indian society.' The author nevertheless sees this system as crucial, 'tying together all the other elements into a rigid structure.'⁶ At every level of society the characters more or less precisely understand their caste positions and, except for the reformers, acquiesce in caste cruelties. Thus the Brahman cook Santu, of the Indian regiment in *Across the Black Waters*, reflects on some new twists in the system, induced by the war:

'They [the soldiers] were his superiors in rank... though they were inferior to him by caste, because he was a high-caste Brahmin. But his was the kind of transformation every one had long learnt to take for granted, because it was the prestige of rank and higher pay which was the proper measure of authority created by the Sarkar; the old distinctions between the learned man, the warrior, the shopkeeper and the rest were only subsidiary, applied on suitable occasions, but otherwise only retained in the official files. And to Santu, the Brahmin turned menial, every sepoy was a man of the higher species, 'Sarkar,' government.'⁷

Among Anand's Brahmins, Santu stands nearly alone as a sympathetic figure. For, with untouchability, Brahmanism is a major target of Anand's attack on the Indian social order. Even Brahmins of lowly occupation-waterboys, cooks, other menials-are typically portrayed as grasping, hypocritical, lascivious bullies, distinguished only by circumstances and crudeness from temple priests and family chaplains. Such figures are Lachman of *The Untouchable* and Varma and Lehnu of *The Coolie*.

Major Brahmin villains, however, are those in honored places: Pandit Kali Nath of *The Untouchable*, who attempts the seduction of Bakha's sister; Mahand Nandgir of *The Village*, who connives with landlords and money-lenders against the poor; the temple Brahmin who curses the Coolie Munoo because he cannot pay for 'free water'; Pandit Bhola Nath, who attacks the child Gauri in *The Old Woman and the Cow*; Munshi Mithan Lal, more vidusaka than villain in *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*; Pandit Suraj Nath, the avaricious hypocrite of *The Road*; and, elsewhere, 'Swarms of miracle making, money grabbing, unscrupulous Brahmin priests, wrapping... all violence and infamy... in the habiliments of words and chants from the holy books.'⁸ Such direct and indirect indictments of Brahmanism in India abound in the novels of Anand.

At the other end of the scale are the untouchables, about whom Anand wrote in his first novel, *The Untouchable* (1935), and in his last thus far, *The Road*

(1963). In the first especially, Anand depicts the filth, poverty, disease, and degradation of the sweepers of excrement in a country where the toilet is little known and elimination performed everywhere. Eighteen-year-old Bakha is probably too handsome, strong, intelligent, and sensitive for belief; his sister too modest and refined. Still, these characterizations are balanced by the portrayal of the little brother Rakha:

'His tattered flannel shirt, grimy with the blowings of his ever running nose, obstructed his walk slightly. The discomfort resulting from this, the fatigue, assumed or genuine, due to the work he had put in that morning, gave a rather drawn, long-jawed look to his dirty face on which the flies congregated in abundance to taste the sweet delights of the saliva on the corners of the lips. The quizzical, not--there look defined by his small eyes and his narrow, very narrow forehead, was positively ugly. And yet his ears, long and transparent in the sunlight, had something intelligent about them, something impish. He seemed a true child of the outcaste colony, where there are no drains, no light, no water; of the marshland, where people live among the latrines of the townsmen, and in the stink of their own dung scattered about here, there and everywhere; of the world where the days are dark as the nights, and the nights pitch dark. He has wallowed in its mire, bathed in its marshes, played among its rubbish heaps; his listless, lazy, lousy manner was a result of his surroundings. He was the vehicle of a life -- force, the culminating point in the destiny of which would never come, because malaria lingered in his bones, and that disease does not kill but merely dissipates the energy. He was a friend of the flies and the mosquitoes, their boon companion since childhood.'

Passages like this deliver Anand's message indirectly. Direct attacks occur in the last section of *The Untouchable* and are spoken respectively by the English Christian missionary, Colonel Hutchinson; by Mahatma Gandhi; and by the young poet--editor Socialist, Iqbal Nath Sarshar.

The missionary at first wins Bakha's attention and sympathy by his account of Christ as the god--man who sacrificed himself equally for Bhangi as well as for Brahman. Then the missionary estranges the boy by his, to Bakha incomprehensible, stress on sin. Gandhi, invoking his own experiences, puts the case more powerfully; but he, too, relies on religious sanctions and the sense of sin:

'while we are asking for freedom from the grip of a foreign nation, we have ourselves, for centuries, trampled underfoot millions of human

beings without feeling the slightest remorse for our iniquity. For me the question of these people is moral and religious. When I undertook to fast unto death for their sake, it was in obedience to the call of my conscience... The fact that we address God as the 'purifier of polluted souls' makes it a sin to regard anyone born in Hinduism as polluted--it is satanic to do so... All public wells, temples, roads, schools, sanatoriums must be declared open to the Untouchables.'¹⁰

The strongest case against untouchability is made by the Poet. Setting religion aside, he attacks the institution as offensive on human grounds and hails the humanly contrived machine, the toilet, as the means of sweeper liberation:

'essentially, that is to say humanly, all men are equal... we must destroy caste, we must destroy the inequalities of birth and unalterable vocations. We must recognize an equality of rights, privileges and opportunities for everyone... the legal and sociological basis of caste having been broken down by the British - Indian penal code, which recognizes the rights of every man before a court, caste is now mainly governed by profession. When the sweepers change their profession, they will no longer remain Untouchables. And they can do that soon, for the first thing we will do when we accept the machine, will be to introduce the machine which clears dung without anyone having to handle it--the flush system. Then the sweepers can be free from the stigma of untouchability and assume the dignity of status that is their right as useful members of a casteless and classless society.'¹¹

The case against untouchability, presented so directly in the last pages of the first novel, reappears in the short tale, *The Road*, almost thirty years later. Here the effort of an enlightened landlord, a rare creation for Anand, to unite caste groups and untouchables in building the road indispensable for modernization results, successively, in tragedy, collaboration, and reversion to separatism, but not without permanently affecting the untouchable boy, Bhikhu. In another procedure rare for this author, Anand omits all direct commentary in favor of a simple dramatic narrative which sees Bhikhu in the end take the new road out of the village Govardhan 'towards Gurgaon, which was the way to Delhi town, capital of Hindustan, where no one knew who he was and where there would be no caste or outcaste.'¹² Anand has not missed the point that such a decision, credible in the 1960's, would have seemed unrealistic in Bakha's era, the early 1930's.

Anand's depiction of caste shows, too, that no one is ever so low that someone else is not lower, that snobbery flourishes everywhere. Among the untouchables, washermen hold themselves higher than leatherworkers;

leatherworkers insist on preceding the sweepers. Bahkha himself despises the beggars, a congeries of many castes. Munoo the coolie, a 'fallen' Kshatriya, also feels superior to the beggars; he has 'read up to the fifth class' and has 'served in a Babu's house where a Sahib once paid a visit.'¹³ The plantation coolie Gangu, also a Kshatriya, disdains a fellow coolie, 'because in his mind, the Bikaneris were all associated with low, ugly paupers and street beggars, and he still felt the pride of the once well-to-do peasant in his bones.'¹⁴ Nur, of *The Lament for the Death of a Master of Arts*, himself deprived of a job, for being a confectioner's son, cuts his friend and protector Gama because Gama is the son of a vegetable man.¹⁵

Anand's indictment of caste is complicated in some of the novels by his tendency to show it as yielding in importance to class considerations. Munoo, in *The Coolie*, for example, declares:

'Whether there were more rich or more poor people, however, there seemed to be only two kinds of people in the world. Caste did not matter. 'I am a Kshatriya and I am poor, and Varma, a Brahmin, is a servant boy, a menial, because he is poor. No, caste does not matter. The Babus are like the Sahiblogs, and all servants look alike. There must be only two kinds of people in the world: the rich and the poor.'¹⁶

Equally strong passages occur in other of the novels. The tactic of underplaying caste or birth consideration in favor of rich-poor dichotomies and capital-labor oppositions is a major part of Anand's Socialist literary strategy. With few exceptions all the novels attack lallas, banias, and shopkeepers less as claimers of caste privilege than as more or less wealthy men who cheat and rob the poor. In the long run, however, class remains only another complication in the ancient system.

A striking example of the relationship appears in *The Big Heart*. Here Anand coordinates caste, class, and communal affiliation with a completeness not apparent in *The Coolie* or *The Sword and the Sickle*. Like some of Anand's coolies, the coppersmith Thathiars claim 'the second highest caste (kshatriyas),' though they are degraded for following a dirty profession.' The machine age has occasioned a partnership of production between Murli of the Thathiars and Gokul of the Kaseras, 'a slightly more pretentious caste,' which sells utensils made by the Thathiars. But Gokul 'had never intended the partnership to involve eating and drinking with the low Thathiars, or to be on intimate social terms with any members of the community.'¹⁷

The aspirations of Thathiar Murli to move up, with his family, into the Kasera caste provokes a disunity among the coppersmiths which, added to the

heretical worship of the Aga Khan by some of their women, the revivalist beliefs of peaceable Arya Samajists and fanatical Sanatanis, the quarreling of political factions, the workers' blind fear of the machine, Ananta's illicit liaison, and Hindu Muslim hatreds fomented by the enemy prevent the successful consolidation of the workers against their Capitalist masters. In no other novel has Anand so attempted to organize a whole social, economic, and political picture. While his attack on Capitalism is, if anything, more vehement than ever, his inclusion of caste complications renders his message more than usually realistic.

Anand's condemnation of the caste system is epitomized in his account of the writing of *The Untouchable*:

[the hero is] a rare human being, whom I had known from my childhood and adored as a hero because he was physically like a god, played all the games superbly, and could recite whole cantos from the epic poem *Heer Ranjnah* of Waris Shah... I was not, however, remembering him in *Boy's Own Paper* mood of hero worship. Even on the level of commonsense reality, I was aware of his tragedy. That this otherwise near perfect human being was a sweeper who was always being humiliated by most of our elders on account of his low caste, was not allowed to go to school, even if his father had sent him (which he would not have), flawed his excellence, for no fault of his. And though patronized because he was a good worker and obedient, he was suspected of leading all the young people astray and therefore was vigilantly watched and kept at bay. The contradiction between the inborn qualities of this youth and the down and out status to which he was condemned, may have been the cause of my broodings about him... I glimpsed the truth that the tragedy of my hero lay in the fact that he was never allowed to attain anything near the potential of his qualities of manhood.¹⁸

What is true of the sweeper boy is, in degree, Anand contends, true of all the lower castes. Their human powers are atrophied; they become things, to be used for others' wealth and comfort; notably those of Brahmins and of Capitalists.

Caste in India has traditionally been based on religion, on concepts of *dharma* and *karma* resting, in their turn, on a view of reality as essentially transcendental. For Anand, then, religion is the true *bête noir*.

Religion. Anand's most pervasive and bitter attacks against the Indian social order are directed against religion in the sense of a mystical appeal to

trans-human forces and the expression of that appeal through 'superstitious' ritual. As usual Anand attacks through direct commentary and through dramatization. It is difficult to select any one novel as more relevant than another to this theme; all are permeated with the attitude that religion is 'the opiate of the people,' the major tool of Capitalists, landowners, money-lenders, merchants, and priests for subjugating the poor and maintaining vested interests. The attack focuses on two levels: the popular religion of the lowly, the illiterate, women; and the rationalized religion of 'unenlightened' educated groups like the Arya Samaj, the Sanatanis, Congress.

The Village and *The Road* are strong in portrayals of popular Hinduism, with its fear of avenging gods, its personal ritualistic devotion to chosen deities, its notions of *karma*, *dharma*, and *maya* as providing explanation for present suffering, motivation for present action, hope for future good. The end result of popular religion, as Anand portrays it, is fatalism, passive acceptance of present evils as somehow divinely ordained and best endured without revolt. Such an attitude is viewed as radically discouraging to social change and productive of what one character describes as 'the abjectness into which the gentleness of their religious faith and the power of their priests... had schooled them.'¹⁹

After Reggie's assault on the coolies in *Two Leaves and a Bud* and Sajani's death from malaria induced by polluted water, the coolie Gangu's 'religion of fatalism' leads him 'to remain silent, to suffer and to stifle the bitterness of his experience, to forgive, to cut the cancer of resentment out of his heart.'²⁰ The Mohammedan friend of Maqbool in *Death of a Hero* shares with his Hindu neighbours, 'the traditional fatalism of the villager, who had accepted all kinds of tyranny as the inevitable punishment of the poor, as the evidence of his guilt in the eyes of Allah.'²¹ Begum Mehtab Jilani of the same work philosophizes:

'Life is cruel. As a woman I have known this truth. We have to accept because, in the eyes of Allah, we deserve punishment. The only way, son, in which the cruelty can be affected is by obedience to destiny. What is written in one's fate will be... We have to take our refuge in our love for our family and in our belief in God.'²²

The women of *The Big Heart* reflect Anand's version of popular Hindu thinking:

'But the damp Fate which envelops the dark corners, the nooks and crevices of the festering lane, the Destiny which had played havoc with

the mouldering walls of the houses, reasserted itself as the two fatalists, Karmo and Blagu, began to moan over their misfortunes, resuscitating their belief in *Karma*, recognizing and accepting their role on earth as due to faults they and theirs had committed in their past lives and, overcome by self-pity, they shed tears and cried: 'This life is not worth living! All we can do is to do some good deeds and prepare for the next.'²³

Count Rampal Singh of *The Sword* rehearses the common charge against the peasant 'that if the ryot is evicted or beaten by the landlord or his hut burned down, or he falls ill, he sits patiently... thinking it is the will of God.'²⁴ Such peasants are seen to scatter 'at the faintest gesture of disapproval from the priests,' and so 'God appeals to the imagination of the peasant and can still be exploited.'²⁵

Anand thus portrays the lower classes as resistant to change because of religious fatalism. The upper classes, on the other hand, he depicts as paying allegiance to the Vedic religion of the Arya Samaj and, in that capacity, equally averse to revolutionary change. Anand's Samajists, educated, middle class men, generally aspire to wealth and status, work for independence chiefly for the market's sake, condemn the lower classes, oppose Communism, defend Capitalism, and decry violence as disruptive to Indian interests. Krishan's father in *Seven Summers* becomes a Samajist to improve his social position; Murli, in *The Big Heart*, invokes the Samaj as a status symbol. Anand's most prejudiced version of the Samajist Congressman is Tiwari of *The Sword and the Sickle*, whose speeches reveal his biases:

'I meet the peasants in the courts every day; they are a difficult people. They have grievances against the landlords, but they are grasping with each other. Almost all the cases I have handled for some time have been between tenants who have a little land which they plough patiently, and farm labourers who are jealous of the tenants, even though they have themselves lost their property through sheer negligence and sloth... I have no faith in the morals of this mob of lazy farm labourers who really want to evade work. Look at the hundreds of them who sit in the roads of Allahabad, preferring to beg rather than to do an honest day's work.'²⁶

The ryot has tended to become a crude, stupid earthserf, a boor, an uncivilised hater of all beauty, a slave of the soil... his vision is narrowed, his soul is filled with superstitions and he remains at the mercy of his own nature, taking things for what they are, accepting everything as fate.'²⁷

Our ancient rishis thought out all these modern western ideas hundreds of years ago, so we shouldn't slavishly copy Europe. And our ancestors understood not only the whole of organic life but the way it transcends itself and becomes super-organic, God.'²⁸

As in other respects, *The Big Heart* offers more rounded portraiture. In contrast to Tiwari, Mahasha Hans Raj here represents an Arya Samajist humanely and sincerely religious, if by Anand norms unenlightened. Like the important wisdom figure of the same novel, Purun Singh, Hans Raj has endured imprisonment and legal persecution for nationalist activities. On the debit side he is priggish and ascetic (usually a bad quality in Anand's view), anti-Western, anti-machine, anti-Communist, anti-Modernist, anti-violence, a defender of 'religious' Capitalists, and an unswerving Gandhian. In urging his program, Hans Raj appeals to the mystical sense of religion which Anand deprecates:

'The Western ethos has made machinery the New Messiah. The source of all higher and better life comes to man from his spiritual mind, but they are for abolishing personality. Mahatma Gandhi has said that it is every man's duty to resist the Sarkar and the evils of Europe which are flooding into the country. Only the evil, remember, not the good. And the sage knows that our happiness lies in the acceptance of our duty which is greater than all petty considerations of want and family demands. We are men, and men owe obedience to some God of Higher Power like Duty. We must, therefore, submit and sacrifice everything to this higher thing which lives and acts through us, otherwise we are doomed. Our land has been known for the greater value it has placed on this higher power, on this something which is superior to us all.'²⁹

Attempting realistic characterization, Anand notes the tension of the Mahasha who, believing 'in the ancient spiritual splendour of the Vedic Age' yet knows that 'most of the other members of the revivalist Arya Samaj, as well as the Congress, were the very men who, contrary to their religious ideals, were hastening the industrial revolution in India for profit.' These betray, according to Hans, the ideals of the true Samajists, who seek 'to purify life by giving charity and honouring the duty they owe to their *dharma*.'³⁰

A foil for Hans Raj is Satyapal the student, a fanatical Sanatanist who, to the religious views of Hans Raj, adds hatred of foreigners, craving for revenge, and determination to burn and destroy the enemy as quickly as possible in the name of the Eternal Law. It is Satyapal, with his accomplice Professor Mejid, who precipitates final tragedy by inflammatory speech.

One of the indirections by which Anand attacks religion is the use of holy men, sadhus or ascetics. A few of these are merely escapists, like Sitalgar the Good who ministers to the Mahant in *The Village* and Dayal Singh of the same novel, who has always lived psychologically in another world. Many are touched with villainy. In Bakha's dream they stand in a cremation ground 'pouring the ashes of the dead into their hair, drinking hemp and dancing in an orgy of destruction.'³¹ In *The Coolie* Munoo observes naked ascetics

'growing lean by pyres of burning wood, surrounded by devotees with offerings of food, fruit and flowers; and yellow-robed, clean-shaven mystics, with clouded eyes intent on something which people called God, but which for the life of him Munoo did not know and could not understand.'³²

In *The Sword and the Sickle* holy men provocateurs, engaged by Capitalist-hired police, effectively disrupt the organizational meeting of the proposed Kisan Sabha.

The 'man of religion' par excellence in Anand's novels is Mahatma Gandhi. His name and philosophy are never far from the heart and lips of the characters, high and low alike. As in *The Untouchable*, Gandhi figures importantly in *The Sword and the Sickle*, when the peasants approach him in Allahabad to ask help in redressing grievances. He encourages them to patience, non violence, all-embracing love; he does nothing to help them concretely.

Anand's portrayal of Gandhi is mostly negative. Along with adverse remarks, the first novel pays tribute to his campaign against untouchability, to his exhortation against fear, to his promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, to his ability to unite the nation in its fight for independence. Later novels, however, pay more attention to what Anand portrays as Gandhi's pernicious effect on India. Referring to the Mahatma, Anand's 'approved' characters use phrases like absurd cow protection activities, exaggerated humility, taste for flattery and for power over others, faked smiles of courtesy, detached, remote, bloodless asceticism, stress on sin, futile and apathetic doctrine of *ahimsa*.³³ It is, however, Gandhi's lack of concrete interest on behalf of the peasants, his basic defense of most Indian social institutions, and his fight against technology that evoke strongest attack in *The Big Heart* as well as in *The Sword and the Sickle*. In one of the milder passages Purun Singh answers the question why Gandhi, 'a worshipper of truth,' maintains friendship with the rich:

'Because Gandhiji always worshipped the kind of truth which was orthodox, though it was [not?] dynamic, because he really accepts the system of private property, the vicious circle of the old order, which can never last in India if it has made such a mess of things in other parts of the world. We have a floating population of thirty million unemployed, expropriated peasants and handicraftsmen without enough industry to absorb them. So here in this country only an overturning of the old social order will bring the healing balm of love among men, only a revolution will complete the reformation and the renaissance that is going on among us and produce the new community with a new morality in which and through which men can live creatively... Gandhiji may have been innocent, but he certainly never realised the meaning of the Russian Revolution for our country and went on believing in an unplanned individualist competitive profit-making industrialism, the like of which has thrown these brothers out of their jobs. The more fierce the competition the more use is made of the unskilled slave labour and the greater the insults levelled at the human being, be it in Britain, Japan or America.'³⁴

- While Anand's novels show sympathetic acceptance of much Western thought in social as well as political and economic spheres, towards Christianity they display little understanding or sympathy. When Christianity does appear, as in Colonel Hutchinson's preaching of the Gospel, Lal's interview with the Bishop in *Across the Black Waters*, the love interests of Clara Young of *The Old Woman* and of Dorothy Thomas and June Withers of *The Private Life*, it is quickly dismissed as a religion productive of narrowness, easy toleration of war, self-indulgence, arrogance, stress on sin, and hostility to sex. A single vivid image in *Death of a Hero* is drawn from the life of Christ. Indian troops entering Baramula find

'the body of Maqbool Sherwani tied to a wooden pole in the stables, with the word 'Kafir' written on the lapel of his shirt... The body looked almost like a scarecrow, but also like that of Yessuh Messih on the cross.'³⁵

Anand's attack on conventional religion through his characters intensifies through the years. The earliest protagonists do little more than vaguely question religious belief and practice. Bakha puzzles over Gandhi's prayer for God to help the lowly endure 'to the end.' Mystified by temple ceremonies and yogic practices, Munoo ceases to pray. Gangu only momentarily cries out that God does not intend human suffering. Nur wonders whether his hemorrhages come because he has given up prayer.

54 Anand attacked conventional religion. His earliest protagonists vaguely question religious belief and practice.

Beginning with *The Village* (1938), Anand's literary attacks on religion are more direct. Faced with group famine and individual tragedy, Lal reflects of the peasants:

"They did not want to think, to feel, to do anything, but relegated the responsibility for all their misfortunes, as well as their blessings, on *Karma* and a God who didn't exist apart from his disciples. If he exists, if he really can punish people for not saying prayers and violating the laws of religion, let Him come and strike me dead as I am walking along now."³⁶

By the close of *Across the Black Waters* (1940), the challenge has become mockery. Lal mimics the Padre's prayer:

"O Lord Yessuh Messih, we pray you to teach us to hate the enemy and help us to tear out his guts! We join our hands to you and pray to you, son of God, intercede on our behalf to God who is your Father, to allot us nice graves with little brass plates with our names inscribed on them. We kneel before you and pray you to destroy the enemy, to help us to annihilate him."³⁷

Lal's mockery of religion persists through *The Sword and the Sickle*; he 'spits' on the idea of God. Ananta in *The Big Heart*, takes up the theme of futility: 'God won't help us because, as far as I have known him, He has always preserved a discreet silence in the affairs of men.'³⁸

The most direct attack against Hindu religion is spoken by Dr. Mahindra of *The Old Woman and the Cow* (1961). To Laxmi, excusing the selling of her daughter on the grounds of her debt, her *dharma*, the physician replies:

"I am not blaming you. I am blaming your *dharma*--according to Jwala Prasad you are immoral if you do not pay the interest on the debt. To be sure, these hypocrites and the priests are together -- Brahmin dogs! In our village in Gurgaon, the pure, pure Hindus have turned out all the untouchables. And this happens in the Gandhi raj, All those dhotiwalahs [Congressmen] pronouncing half truths! Partial prophets! Compromising! Compromising with the big Seths while they talk of a socialist pattern. They talk while the people are helpless. It is socialism or nothing! Not *Dharma*. Where is the *Dharma*? ...

"Our *Dharma* is feeding the Brahmins and paying interest to the Banias. And illtreating the untouchables. And Vinoba can convert a good man here and a good man there... [But] how many have joined him, and how many have become shareholders of the Rama Rajya, earning dividends for once following Gandhi and going to jail? They are the city folk,

fool, and they don't understand that all India is still a village. They make money as middle men, from bribery and fraud, while you folks join hands to them...'

'The idea of deserving a higher birth, as a reward for good or bad deeds is, to my thinking, a myth promoted to keep men and women at work for the slave drivers... The salvation of men requires socialism and not the profit system. There is no question of rebirth.'³⁹

It is religion, in Anand's view, which really perpetuates the worst evils in India, those that undermine a man's right to develop to full capacity, or so the Poet maintains:

'Men were not born evil, as the followers of Yessuh Messih say, or as say those in our country who believe that men earn a higher or a lower caste for their good or bad deeds in the previous life... Those who say that men are born evil... do so because they want to assume the power to rule over men in order to keep their violent instincts within control, the high-caste and high-class people who want to justify their privileges.'⁴⁰

In his novels Anand thus attacks Indian religion, especially the notions of *dharma* and *karma*, as the center round which Indian institutions gravitate and from which they cannot get free. One of the areas in which this religion, this *dharma* operates most adversely for the individual, as portrayed by Anand, is that including women, marriage and family life.

Women -- marriage -- the family. Anand's single novel with a female protagonist, *The Old Woman and the Cow*, carries as its epigraph a quotation from an epic of Nicholas Necrassov, nineteenth-century Russian poet, which, in part, says: God himself has lost the keys to the welfare and freedom of women.

Only once does Anand give sustained attention to this theme, but certain abuses against 'the welfare and freedom of women' recur frequently in his novels. Women as workers in factory and field are seen as subjected to greater cruelties and deprivations than men. Low-caste girls are portrayed as easy prey for upper-caste lust, as with Sohini of *The Untouchable* and Leila of *Two Leaves and a Bud*. In *The Big Heart* Ananta reports that 'in Bombay you could buy a young girl and run a brothel for what you and I eat here for a midday meal.'⁴¹ Young wives are depicted as easily cast off, like Bhogat Mai of *The Sword*, deserted by a priest husband and left by relatives to beg in

56 God himself has lost the keys to the welfare & freedom of women. epigraph. The old woman and the cow.

the streets; or Lakshmi of *The Private Life*, raped by a Muslim, rejected by her mate, found homeless and hungry by a procurer.⁴² Gauri of *The Old Woman*, cast out by her husband, is sold by her mother and uncle for remittance of a mortgage debt. 'Widows are fair game in our parts,' says the Count of *The Sword*, 'where so many of them only turn whores.'⁴³ Society considers Janki, as a widow, one 'who should be dead to all impulses and live only to worship the memory of her lord and master.'⁴⁴ The widow Amrit Kaur of *Seven Summers* is accused of being inauspicious for her husband and family.⁴⁵

In 'the hapless country where the place of women is still governed by *Manu Smriti* and the Hindu Mitakshra Law,' a host of tribulations, as pictured in Anand's novels, begins with the arranged marriage. Here the partners are, 'like oxen,' sold or given in marriages arranged by their parents.⁴⁶ Maya of *The Sword* and Janki of *The Big Hart*, prior to their liaisons with Lal and Ananta, are victims of arranged marriages. Barbers and astrologers connive in parent's schemes to further wealth and status by trading with their marriageable young. About his arranged marriage, the dying Nur of *The Lament* reflects:

'Iqbal was as much a pawn in the game which her father was playing with mine as I was in the game my father was playing with hers; her father thought that I would get into Government Service with my first class degree, and my father thought that the daughter of a respectable veterinary surgeon would bring a good dowry. And both the players were deceived in deceiving each other. I could not get into the exalted service, and she only brought the prestige of her father's position and her own self for dowry.'⁴⁷

Such a marriage, Nur believes, gives rise to hatred and hypocrisy. He, for example,

'had cruelly and deliberately detached himself from her [Iqbal] because she was restrained by the conventions, because she wasn't a fashionable woman... and he had kicked her when... she had yielded to him the perplexing knowledge of her pregnancy... had frowned on her, refused to talk to her and ignored her utterly.'⁴⁸

To Panchi of *The Old Woman*, the bride is 'the girl whom he could fold in his arms at night and kick during the day.' He is 'inspired by the Hindu code that it was the duty of the husband to chastise the wife.' Gauri, his wife, follows 'the centuries old Indian custom in which the wife was to take no initiative.'⁴⁹

In the joint family system the young brides are, in Anand's portrayal,

subject to the malice and persecution of the mother-in-law. Even good Hindu mothers, in other respects ideal, are seen as showing this meanness to the wives of their sons: thus Gujri of *The Village* towards Kesari, and Ishwar of *Seven Summers* towards Harish's bride, Draupadi. Other difficulties appear. On removing Gauri from the family home, Panchi is denied credit: 'Since you have left him [your uncle], your status in the joint family has gone. And who is going to trust you?'⁵⁰ In *Two Leaves* Gangu's land and home are seized because of his brother's debts.

But what could he have done to avert its being confiscated, since the hut as well as his three acres were part of the joint family property, and Lalla Beli Ram, the vakil, had told him that the debt incurred by one brother of a family was binding on another.⁵¹

In short, conventional Hindu marriage and family life, as Anand sees it, is a matter of self interest and not for love. 'Parents breed children, not for others, but to serve them in their old age.'⁵²

Besides negative ideas about love and marriage, however, Anand has some positive views, expressed directly only in the late *Private Life of an Indian Prince*. Here Doctor Shankar, a wisdom figure, after reviewing the days when women were taken without consultation or consent, looks to an ideal time when

'woman stands on the same footing as man, and love becomes a reciprocal business, embracing the whole of the man-woman relationship, and not [merely]... sex, which is only one part of the relationship. Then men and women might live together more intensely, and their relationships might become more enduring and non-possessive, and separation might begin to seem to both partners in a marriage a great misfortune. And through this, new values would arise, in which it would not be necessary to ask whether a couple lives within or without the marriage tie, but whether the relationship is a creative one, based on shared work and mutual love and respect. At the moment people only pretend to accept this new basis in our bourgeois society, but really ignore it, while in a new kind of society...'⁵³

'In free choice the woman has to stand on the same footing. And then, if she reciprocates the love, the relationship may grow. In fact, when this happens the bonds are more real, because the ideal of such a relationship becomes the attainment of the deepest and most loyal friendship.'

'And any breakup or separation becomes the greatest calamity. And

men and women may then risk the highest stakes to preserve the relationship.⁵⁴

'in a marriage of love, both the parties have entered more or less equal and free. Otherwise, the one who loves will be hurt and destroyed by the other who doesn't love deeply... It is best in such a situation to let the promiscuous one run wild until the fascination of adultery is exhausted by misuse of body and mind, and depth returns to the wild one.'⁵⁵

'in a wise marriage the ordinary life is transformed from trivial detail to some exalted purpose which is the secret wish of both partners. And then the couple see their reflection in the mirror of the higher personality to which they are always aspiring.'⁵⁶

Anand's attack on conventional Hindu marriage is also re-inforced by his approval of 'free love,' as it is exercised by the lovers of *Two Leaves and a Bud*, *The Sword and the Sickle*, and *The Big Heart*. These partners are portrayed as enjoying a basically true and good union outside conventional marriage. Only reluctantly does Lal, in *The Sword*, condescend to 'political' interests and have his union regularized by an Arya Samajist ceremony.

Still, even a true union of man and woman can, in Anand's eyes, damage the Revolution: the heroes must learn to subordinate the one to the other. 'Do I come before the Revolution or after it?' demands Barbara of John de la Hayre. 'After,' he replies.⁵⁷ Lal 'cannot easily relate himself to his feelings about Maya, but only to the Revolution.'⁵⁸ Ananta, 'in his love for the cause, in the service of the trade union movement,' has often forgotten and neglected Janki: 'Having eaten the full fruits of her love, he had plunged into the work for the Revolution and left her bereft, alone, helpless, consigned to the subtle despair of her inevitable doom.'⁵⁹ Anand's solution to the problem is clear. The Revolution is first; personal love second. Barbara responds to her dilemma by leaving de la Hayre and resuming her superficial life. In more conventional Indian fashion Maya comes round to her husband's view and assumes her role as his helper, as does Dhooli Singh's wife, similarly circumstanced in *The Road*. After Ananta's death, Janki takes up his work in the service of the Revolution at the charity house of Sant Harnam Das. In only one case is the Indian wife shown as rejecting identification with her husband's interests in favor of a 'revolutionary' ethic. Emancipated by her experience with the 'enlightened' Doctor Mahindra, Gauri of *The Old Woman* leaves her husband for good, presumably to take up a life of dignified independence as a nurse in a modern clinic.

The average Hindu woman, as Anand portrays her, does not develop freely as an autonomous human being with a unique fund of human creativity. However honored her role as mother and wife, she is depicted, apart from these functions, as a subordinate, to be controlled and used for male comfort and advantage. Bound by innumerable customs and taboos, she is strictly subject to men in the disposition of her life and talent.

Gauri's self-directed liberation from Indian conventions surrounding women and marriage is portrayed by Anand as a direct result of indoctrination by those devoted to helping India. 'Education,' Gauri says, quoting Doctor Mahindra, 'will make us masters of our destiny, not religion.'⁶⁰ Such learning, according to Anand, should be the goal of the educational system in India; unfortunately, as his novels indicate, he did not find this to be the case.

Education and the intellectual life. Considering the severity of Anand's non-fictional attacks on pre-1947 Indian education, it is surprising that the novels pay relatively little attention to the subject. On the one hand, all the protagonists, except Gangu and Gauri, have or aspire to have learning as a means of wisdom. Bakha hungers for the ability to read. His 1963 counterpart, Bhikhu, does in fact, from a fellow untouchable, learn to read and also to write poetry. Munoo the coolie yearns to advance his knowledge of machines; he is taken out of school to do menial work. The peasants of Lal's village ridicule his 'eighth-form' education; such acquirement 'spoil the boys and enfeebled them, and made them useless for work in the fields by giving them the airs of babus.'⁶¹ Still, the villagers resort to Lal for problems of accountancy. Ananta, of *The Big Heart*, schooled mostly by experience, is painfully aware of his academic ignorance: 'In spite of his utter faith in the Revolution, his sense of inferiority arising from his non-possession of much book knowledge made him regard Satyapal as a redoubtable adversary.'⁶² Along with his protagonists' felt need of education, however, Anand points out, especially in *The Lament* and *Seven Summers*, abuses in Indian education. Brutality, perversion, favoritism, extortion, are typically attributed to schoolmasters, along with rote learning devoid of understanding and a deadening curriculum. Higher educational levels are marked by caste snobbery, inculcated in Indian homes, and by development of scorn for common work:

'Any kind of manual labour was bad, was low and unworthy. It wasn't respectable to exert one's hands... the only *izzat* was in Government

service... And it wasn't only that the outside world believed this; the trouble was, if one was honest, that one had begun to believe in the snobbery oneself and was ashamed and embarrassed.'⁶³

Exaggerated respect for degrees, ridiculed in many of the novels, is rooted, according to Anand's portrayals, in paternal ambition for advantages to be secured by educating sons for employment in government offices. The catch to this, as *The Lament* points out, is an alarming oversupply of degree-d young persons, and frustrations resulting, not only from unemployment, but also from alleged corruption in government bureaucracy, shown as awarding jobs largely on the basis of caste, gratuity, and 'political' recommendation. None of these charges, however, is quite so relevant to Anand's Marxist message as the indictment of academic and intellectual persons for non-involvement in social reform. In some cases the inaction is viewed as the result of excessive research and balancing of evidence; in others as cowardice. Professor Verma, worker for the Revolution in *The Sword and the Sickle*, combines the two faults:

'Verma seemed to shut himself up in the world of his books, he seemed to withdraw and shrink from all contact with men; and to suffer from the futility of the intellectual who had read so much, thought so much, and canceled out each thought and belief against each other so thoroughly, that he had no belief left at all... It took him a long time to make decisions, as if he were afraid of something happening, even though he had allied himself to a movement which meant to do things, as if he were really afraid of change and secretly clung to the old life through sheer fear of action, always hesitating, doubting, uncertain and pitiable in all his wisdom, alone...'

'Verma had not been designed by nature for the rough and tumble of the platform, but to be a teacher of youth at some University, where he could have been cloistered in comfortable apartments, with all the wisdom of the ages about him... his whole training as a detached scholar had made him constitutionally incapable of taking sides actively.'⁶⁴

As with the Arya Samajist Congressman, *The Big Heart* offers a more complicated version of the intellectual, the poet-scholar Purun Singh. Purun cites the horrors of the machine as an instrument of war and of industrial exploitation of the poor. He concludes, nonetheless, that man's salvation lies, not in rejection of the machine, but in mastery of it for human ends. Even then, however, the poet cannot get away from the weighing of pros and cons; to him Anand declares:

'You force yourself to fear the truth by talking aloud to yourself... And all the time you want to evade action! The trouble with you learned folk is that you spend so much of your time making your own feelings the final test of everything that at the end you are too weak to act.'⁶⁵

Verma and Purun Singh are older intellectuals. Anand presents, too, younger men, student intellectuals: extremists like Razwi of *The Sword* and Satyapal of *The Big Heart*; the idealist poet political-reformer, Azad of *The Lament*; the idealist! poet Kashmerian-nationalist, Maqbool Sherwani of *Death of a Hero*; and the Cambridge-bred Jamal, the Nawab's son of *The Sword and the Sickle* who, ignorant of men, believes science and technology to be the panaceas for all rural ills.

One of the most specific of Anand's attacks on education occurs in *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*. Leaving little room for 'an enlightened will' in Viktor to have overcome his handicap, Anand clearly blames the prince's tragedy on faulty education. The narrator refers to 'the shameless schooling through which his [Viktor's] childhood in his father's zenāna and his boyhood and youth in the hands of the Angrezi Sarkar had put him.' The prince's learning experiences at Queen Mary's College, Lahore; at Bishop Cotton School, Simla; and at Chief's College, Lahore, are said to have been chiefly Boy Scouting, ceremonials for the Viceroy, cricket and polo, speech-making, power-wielding over the poor, profligacy, and, generally, all those 'Indo-European contradictions acquired in an English public-school tradition with a home background of darkest superstition and the most obscurantist ideas.'⁶⁶ Viktor, through his education, becomes the 'useless man' described in Socialist realism as 'incapable of finding a meaning in his life... without any deep unity... necessary to no one. He is generally of a meditative disposition; prone to introspection and self-flagellation. His life is full of unrealistic projects. his fate is sad, slightly ridiculous... a woman... has to play the part of fate in his life.'⁶⁷

The ill-sorted amalgam that is Viktor leads Anand, through his wisdom character Doctor Shankar, to diagnose the ill of many Indians as rootlessness induced largely by the educational system. Schooled in British-Indian academies, exposed to liberal Western ideals at home and abroad, challenged in their basic world views by science and technology, they have cut themselves off in principle from the basic traditions of their forefathers, from fundamental religious and social beliefs. Still, bound by ancient external forms and conventions, they have no new community in which to sink their roots,

'so that the 'free' individual wanders about suffering from the *mal the*

siècle, unable to discriminate between one thing and another... unable to use his 'freedom' ...guilty, unhappy, tormented, sad... only in a new community can man probably find the roots which he has lost.'68

That new community, by means of which men may realize their human dignity and their creative potential. Anand believes to be the Socialist society, destined to replace the doomed society of Capitalism. This is the vision of the future novels seek to transmit.

B. *The Economic Order: The Struggle for Socialism*

Anand's attack on the Capitalist system is executed in the novels by direct and indirect presentation of the evils of private ownership, private enterprise, and the profit motive in business. Even in the first novel, *The Untouchable*, Sarshar the Socialist calls for a casteless and classless society. In depicting the road to such a society, Anand does more than dramatize the issues with plots, themes, and settings. His 'approved' characters boldly expound the Socialist program and, with dialectic and oratory, confound their opponents--villains, 'respectable' compromisers, and sincere but unenlightened men. This method of direct presentation dominates *The Sword and the Sickle* and *The Big Heart*, though important passages occur, too, in *The Untouchable*, *The Coolie*, *Two Leaves and a Bud*, and *The Old Woman and the Cow*. Propaganda effects are heightened by anarchists, rabid student nationalists, and reactionaries lacking the dialectic and perspective of wisdom figures like Sarshar, Sauda, de la Hayre, Mahindra, and Purun Singh. H e v e r e

The Sword and the Sickle presents the Socialist revolution in rural India, pitting evicted tenants against landowners. *Two Leaves and a Bud* portrays tea-plantation coolies against a British management. *The Big Heart* and *The Coolie* view the city struggle, in which factory workers struggle with magnates of industry. In all these books a major theme is the need for the proletariat first to unite, through Kisan Sabhas and trade unions, and then to pursue a rational but unrelenting plan to take over the means of production. In addition, *The Sword and the Sickle* stresses the need for complementarity of rural and urban efforts. In all cases the struggle for freedom from British rule is seen as the first goal only, in a long-range plan.

Specific settings are used to provoke anger and moral indignation. *The Coolie* offers the strongest examples: detailed accounts of the Tata steel works at Jamshedpur, the pickle factory in Daulatpur, cotton mills in Bombay--all

complete with female and child labor and dangerous and disease-ridden environment. To its minute account of the horrors of home and field, Two Leaves and a Bud adds statistical reports of contemporary economic sociologists. In most of the novels, streets, crowded by day with starved, virtuous poor and fat, gloating rich and by night with wretched hordes of sleepers, are common scenery.

Anand's Marxist aesthetic required him to present 'a true, historically concrete representation of reality in its evolutionary development.' This policy Anand scrupulously observes. The Nationalist movement provides characters more or less involved in the novel plots, like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Jinnah, Joshi, and Bhave. Conservative, moderate, and extremist groups oppose or infiltrate labor associations. Newspapers and radios are referred to by name. Strikes in Jamshedpur steel works and Bombay cotton mills are cited as precedents for workers to observe. The Battle of Flanders, the worldwide 'money famine' of the thirties, famines in the Punjab and the Oudh, communal riots at time of Partition, the dissolution of the princely states, the Kashmirian struggle for identity, government action on behalf of the untouchables, Community Development activities—such historically true and concrete events are the stuff of which Anand's plots are made and out of which his characters emerge.

The characters most of all carry the burden of Anand's attack. These 'personify economic categories' and 'embody class relations.' The most crassly propagandistic are the British Capitalists and the oppressed coolies of Two Leaves and a Bud. More subtlety is achieved in some of the characters of The Sword and the Sickle. The oppressive land baron, the Nawab of Nasirbad, for example, is not all black. Shrewd, courteous, humorous, warm-blooded, he exercises his villainy chiefly in delegating to others the planning and execution of methods for maintaining power. Others are caricatures. Like all Anand's police, Captain Effendi epitomizes unrelieved brutality. His henchman, Bhoori Singh, is of the Gurkha tribe, people who, like Anand's Pathans, are the hatchet men of the establishment. Tiwari is the Arya Samajist Congressman, well-meaning, sincere, ignorant of peasant life and contemptuous of peasant character. On the left is Count Kanwar Rampal Singh, one of Anand's best developed characters, a maverick aristocrat, wealthy, cultivated, vain, comic, generous, dynamic, ultimately a dilettante and a coward in his conduct towards the Revolution. Razwi is a two-dimensional anarchist; Verma, an academicist who withdraws from the reality of Revolution; Sarshar, the hard-core Communist, deeply appreciative of all the issues, but cold in human relations and intolerant of dilettantism and

cowardice. Lal is the ideal young man, of peasant stock, somewhat educated, seasoned by suffering, combining strength of body with acuity of mind, knowledge with action, self-sacrifice with passion, pity with adverse judgment.

Like *The Sword*, *The Big Heart* offers personifications of Capitalists, laborers, and respectable compromisers. Some characters, however, are conceived in a little different temper, are touched with a spirit of doubt, pessimism, and foreboding not completely attuned to Socialist propaganda. Of the two main Capitalist figures, Murli is the lascivious, socially ambitious hypocrite; Gokul, the moderate man, ready, in the interests of business at least, to consider new relations with the workers. The contrast between partners has been anticipated in Prabh and Ganpat of *The Coolie*. Channa, the vicious overseer of the Murli-Gokul factory, had likewise been foreshadowed by Jimmy Thomas of *The Coolie* cotton mills and by Neogi of the *Two Leaves*' tea plantation.

Prominent among the workers of *The Big Heart* are Viroo, the fierce Gandhian, anti machinist and anti socialist; Dina Tamer Lane, the moderate; and Ralia, the frustrated worker and husband, fixing all his hatreds on the machine as the root of all his ills. Confronting the misery of the workers are the converted Capitalist, Khusal Chand; the extremist student, Satyapal; the compromising, reactionary Congressman, Mahasha Hans Raj; and the man of wisdom and compassion, the poet Purun Singh. Ananta is the Whole Man, the idol of Amritsar youth, the ideal of maturity as Lal had been the ideal of the young adult, combining excellence of body and mind, yielding life itself to the cause of Revolution.

A direct and detailed presentation of the Socialist program first appears in *The Coolie* (1936). There, opposing the static, Congress-dominated All-India Trade Union administered by the opportunist Lall Onkar Nath, Sauda speaks for Red Flag Union workers:

'We are human beings and not soulless machines.
We want the right to work without having to pay bribes.
We want clean houses to live in.
We want schools for our children and crèches for our babies.
We want to be skilled workers.
We want to be saved from the clutches of the moneylenders.
We want a good wage and no mere subsistence allowance if we must go on short work.
We want shorter hours.
We want security so that the foreman cannot dismiss us suddenly.
We want our organizations to be recognized by the law.'⁶⁹

The Socialist program of *The Sword* seeks 'to knit the small landholders, the tenants and labourers together and to formulate their immediate and local demands.' To this Sarshar the Communist adds that the revolutionaries must be conscious of the India-wide workers' movement, must coordinate rural with urban developments, and must operate, not on sporadic, militant outbursts, but on sound political education rising slowly to the heights of collective strength before major revolt begins.⁷⁰ Sarshar's advice is echoed by Comrade Joshi in *The Big Heart*.

Another approach to Socialism is taken by Ananta in *The Big Heart*. Indian Socialism, as he sees it, must grow out of Indian tradition. The caste bonds of the Thathiars must become a brotherhood of labor, sophisticated enough to cope with the new technology. The union thus formed will secure for the workers 'a proper wage until they are strong enough to displace their exploiters and seize the factory, which by all the rights of humanity is theirs.'⁷¹ Total dedication to this end, Ananta suggests, would be a new living—out of an ancient Indian ideal, *bhakti-yoga*.

The Socialist revolutionaries of Anand's novels use various means: small meetings with the agitators, jathas, mass meetings with mob oratory, marches and processions, strikes, songs, slogan-shouting, newspapers. But, warns the arch-Communist Sarshar, if such activities are merely permeated with sentiment, they will culminate in terrorist tactics fatal, in the long run, to the movement:

'If you folk remain absorbed in the details of day to day work, hearing grievances about illegal exactions, about quarrels among peasants, about forced labour and evictions, mortgages and debts, and then go making fervid assertions and obstinate denials among yourselves, concocting ingenious and fantastic hypotheses... without reading a book, without conducting a study circle, without trying to understand and apply the lessons of previous experience [the Russian Revolution] to your struggle, without making any effort to unite the peasants by explaining to them their true position in relation to the factory workers who are the vanguard of the movement — if you become what Comrade Lenin has called 'the pure and simple labourites,' believing in the spontaneous recognition by the peasants of their plight... the heroism of individual great men will be substituted for the struggle of the people.'⁷²

This approach, declares Sarshar, in underestimating intelligent organization and solidarity among the workers, 'betrays not only a lack of confidence in the revolutionary movement of the people, but almost a kind of unconscious contempt and hatred of the masses.'⁷³

"The emergence of an economic order calculated to free the masses from a life of grinding labor and abject poverty and effect more equitable distribution of wealth is bound up, in Anand's novels, both before and after Independence, with the power structure of India, with the political establishment.

*C. The Political Order: The Attack
on the Establishment*

For pre-Independence India, Capitalism was identified with colonialism; the great political enemy was the British. Anand's pre-1947 novels quite naturally attack the English Sarkar at every turn, as the major source of India's ills, the preserver of corrupt social institutions, the exploiter of Indian labour and wealth, the tyrant over civil liberties. The most detailed direct accusations occur in *Two Leaves and a Bud* and in *The Sword and the Sickle*. De la Havre, the wisdom character of *Two Leaves*, thus summarizes the English Government's 'trusteeship' in industrial India:

'The big bosses sought to be nearer the source of raw materials and cheap labour, for the artisans of India who used to produce the textiles were unemployed by Britain's cut-throat competition and had sought to return to the land, where the peasantry was already highly taxed and strained.'

'So the Britons, who never, never shall be slaves, went and enslaved the millions of Asia, and built grandiose Gothic homes for themselves in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and barns for the coolies to work in, barns, or rather two-, three-, four-storied sheds. These were ostensibly good enough for the niggers...'

'When the Georgians put money into an Indian business, when they fought like bulls and bears on the Stock Exchange and on the London Mall, they didn't see the oppression of the black, brown and yellow coolies that was necessary to produce the dividends.'

'And when, after enjoying the monopoly of Indian trade for generations, our Britons, who never, never shall be slaves, found they had cut their own throats by introducing the steam engine into India, not only because their home manufacturers competed with their colonial manufacturers, but also because the Indian monied classes were pressing for a share in the industry of their country, they began to bully the coolies and to bleed them as they could before the judgement day arrived.'

'The Burra Sahib now thinks that Britain's trusteeship of India is betrayed. He will no longer be boss. He blames the whole affair on education abroad and sentimentalism at home [England]... And the Indians who have got a share in the industry wear top hats, though they keep their wives enslaved in the Purdah. But the poor bloodless coolies sweat their guts out, working for four farthings a day, to the tune of Reggie Hunt's whip. Hurrah for the Britons, who never, never will be slaves. Three cheers for the man who imprisons old Gangu on the plantation by false pretenses, keeps him well guarded and refuses to give him a strip of land which he was promised by contract. But what's a contract with a slave? Less than a scrap of paper! And that's your [British] system.'⁷⁴

What de la Havre alleges about British control of Indian industry, saying that a single cup of tea contains 'the hunger, the sweat and the despair of a million Indians,'⁷⁵ Count Rampal Singh, in *The Sword*, matches in his account of British political maneuvering in rural areas. By establishing the landlord system, Rampal charges, England became responsible for the major sorrows of the Indian peasantry:

'The exalted tribe of landlords has not been sedulously cultivated for generations on this soil for nothing by that remarkable force of history, the Angrezi Sarkar. The Sarkar knows how to use us.

'When they were conquering the country, the English believed that the well-being of the State would be furthered, and peace and order ensured, if the cobbler stuck to his lathe and the warrior to his sword, if the peasant was an obedient servant of his lord and the lord was the gracious master of the peasant -- so long as they themselves, the white overlords, were left undisturbed to smooth over the intricate and subtle problems of managing finance. And for this exalted purpose, they found it necessary to create us, the new exalted squirarchy, like their Barons of former days, us grandees, who could, for the public good, be granted a right of property in the soil of Hindustan in lieu of a share of the fixed revenue.'

'The experiment succeeded beyond the worst dreams of the originators... The British Government in India made no declaration of the Rights of Man! No, it only decreed the permanent settlement! And this, though faulty in some respects, for instance where the price of honest brokerage was a little too high, had one great advantage in that it created a body of rich landed proprietors, deeply imbued with the British ruling class tradition of keeping the lower orders where they belonged -- in the mire! and it was the greatest security against any hanky-panky tricks of the peasantry.'⁷⁶

Besides such direct attacks, Anand designed situations, settings, and characters to show the 'wickedness' of the British. At the top are the 'prestigious,' more or less remote persons who leave the 'dirty work' of implementing orders to lower associates. Sir Reginald White, president of the Bombay cotton mills in *The Coolie*, appeals to the Government for protection of his interests:

'I am going to the Viceroy with a delegation recommending a high tariff on foreign goods. But the Government is well aware of the position... Britain must go through with the Singapore arrangement and make the Indian ocean safe for our ships. But the trouble is that these Indians are getting more and more restive, and the socialists at home, you know... it is all very difficult what with the Quakers and the Gandhists.'⁷⁷

The head planter of the Macpherson Tea Plantation in *Two Leaves*, Mr. Croft Cooke, calls in Royal Air Force bombers to strafe a peaceable assembly of coolies. In his total aloofness from the human realities of coolie life, he is almost more obnoxious than the sadist Reginald Hunt, who is at least personally involved with the workers, however horribly. After such persons come Anand's piddling minor English officials, alternately pretentious and toadying. Then, vulgar, brutal extortioners in supervisory positions, like Jimmie Thomas of *The Coolie*. Perhaps most contemptible of all, in Anand's view, are 'respectable' Englishmen, Clubbers, like Hitchcock and Tweetic of *Two Leaves*, who see the vast human evils and, by inactivity, assent to them.

In contrast with such men Anand presents a few English characters who struggle to alleviate the lot of the exploited. The poet-physician John de la Havre of *Two Leaves* is one. The deputy-commissioner Hercules Long of *The Village* flouts the orders of the Sarkar, is labeled by it dangerous, and subjected to unusual restrictions. Captain Robert Owens of *Across the Black Waters*, a character rather hinted at than developed, is a third wise and benevolent English official. In general, Anand portrays no meaningful human relations between the races, as his wisdom character Doctor Shankar observes:

'The Englishman in India has always remained, in his role as the superior white sahib, an unknown quantity. He was silent, remote, non-human, and his behavior in any given situation was unpredictable, being inalienably mixed up with the hauteur of authority. Also, he was for so long the symbol of the unlimited power of the Sarkar.'⁷⁸

The color factor as a sign of political as well as social distinction is played up throughout the novels. The White man, the *Gora*, is seen as the Power controlling India. Next in rank are the Brown skins, the upper castes, intent on prompt seizure of power relinquished by the English. At the bottom are the Black (and sometimes the Yellow), who are the Powerless oppressed.

The English Club, to which not even a Brown Indian M.D. might be admitted, is often a target for Anand's barbs. To Chuni Lal, medical assistant to and guest of de la Havre, Reggie Hunt directs the observation, 'Niggers aren't allowed in this Club.'⁷⁹ Most of Reggie's ideas come, in fact,

'from the perennial cliches which were paraded with such regularity at the Club... 'a lot of sedition about the place, you know... a coolie must be kept at a safe distance... [besides] those bloody Chatterjees and Bannerjees, inciting the coolies to riot and kicking up such a devil of a row in the Legislative Assembly... Why didn't the Government put its foot down?'⁸⁰

In addition to general tyranny and political skulduggery connected with industry and agriculture, the British are accused of shining up to Indians in time of war, using Indian men as cannon fodder in battles not their own. The World War I novel, *Across the Black Waters*, is in fact, an indictment against such British chicanery as well as a tract against war.

Political evil, however, in Anand's novels, is not limited to the British. India's dominant political power, the Congress Party, is attacked for vices including contempt for peasants and workers, self interest, and Revivalist and reactionary attitudes toward industry and modernization generally. Particularly as profiteers does Anand castigate them, here through the words of Razwi, the fanatic student of *The Sword*:

'And our Congress leaders, wah! what to say! They are so glad to see these peasants, who have crawled about like worms on the countryside, prey to disease, famine, flood, bellyache, no longer blaming God for their misfortunes, but understanding how scarcity is caused by the dirty intrigues of British big business, that they go thumping the tubs of their stomachs as if they were pregnant with a new conception of liberty! And when you ask them what they are going to do when they get control of the state, they look blankly at you for a moment, smile, pat your head... And then they dismiss you, and go about vaguely with the fig leaf of non-violence covering their naked lust for power, mendicants devoted to the new religion of capturing power of which Gandhi is the chief apostle! And we wander the roads and form our own conclusions: When the Badeshi state goes, there will be the Swadeshi state - a mere change of names and labels!'⁸¹

Following Independence Anand's attack on the Congress Party continued unabated. Viktor, of *The Private Life*, sees 'Congress and the Praja Mandal crowd' as desiring, not relief for the poor, but the opening of 'backward areas to investments by the big monopolists.'⁸² The appeasing of displaced princes by positions of honor and responsibility draws from Shankar the exclamation: 'Strange indeed the ways of the Congress democrats in our country! ... Treachery, betrayal, nepotism, complacency and corruption... [are] the order of the day.'⁸³ Political machinations possible under Congress rule are described as almost unlimited.

'The neat little captions under which this change was wrought were 'Democracy', 'Freedom', and 'Responsible Government,' the ever ready stock in trade of the money loving state. And the erstwhile 'selfless,' 'non violent' and 'truth loving' workers of the various Praja Mandals, having got into office, had begun now to attend to the 'self' which had been so long neglected, by a kind of overt corruption, which was so bare-faced in its nepotism, netting of money and exercise of unlimited power to stifle opposition by the use of firearms that one was left gasping.'

'Meanwhile, however, men of good will could only draw consolation from the ancient saying that 'the fire arising out of popular discontent caused by misgovernance does not cease until it has reduced to ashes the whole family, glory, wealth and life of the bad rulers.'

'Nosooner had the new setup in the state been ordained than it began to reveal contradictions among the various forces in Sham Pur life. The course of democracy, when it is merely a convenient disguise for maintaining the privileges and powers of a group does not run smoothly. It was true that the bulk of the power was allotted by Sardar Patel to the Praja Mandal party, which had shown democratic predilections; and the feudal chieftains had only one portfolio given them; while the Socialists were kept out; and the Communists were beyond the pale.'

'But the potential for the balance of power and, therefore, for mischief, remained in the hands of Srijut Popatlal J. Shah... Not only did Srijut Shah display blatant dictatorial tendencies all round, and announce an anti Left campaign to keep the Socialists at bay and to crush the Communists, but he manoeuvred and intrigued with the different groups to split them in order to implement his own stranglehold in Sham Pur.'⁸⁴

The problem of political prisoners immured under such circumstances and,

despite appeals to the Government, the appalling conditions of their detention, is the subject of a detailed letter sent Doctor Shankar in *The Private Life*.

As late as 1960, in *The Old Woman and the Cow*, Anand's opposition to Congress politics appears in Panchi's reflection that India's miseries are due, not to

'fault of his or of any other peasant, but to their *karma*, fate, which brought drought after drought. Bah! what lies the Brahmin dogs told – *Karma!* The white sahibs were aliens and had only sucked the blood of the country, as Gandhi said. The Congress Sarkar could have damned up the rivers, or dug new wells and given the villagers the gift of water. But the White Caps were in the big thief bazaar. And their big, big schemes for giving water and power were affording bribes, so that by the time all the money was eaten away by the contractors, there would be many more mouths to feed – that was *karma*. The wisdom of the landed gentry lay in not killing the peasants directly. They and the moneylenders gave loans even on mortgage of jewelry, so that they could suck the life blood slowly, invisibly.'⁸⁵

Anand's attacks on political, as well as social and economic institutions, are carried out mainly on behalf of India's poor, in the effort to destroy forces inimical to their development, and to build a world of freedom and equality where human potential can flourish. That service Anand believed to be founded on the ancient Indian ideal of *bhakti-yoga*.

D. The Integrating Factor: *Bhakti-Yoga*

Anand's novels look outward to institutions and systems involving groups of people, and inward to the psychology of the individual person and his interpersonal relations. If these views be labeled respectively Anand's socialist and his humanist views, then the inevitable third term arises: the relation between the two. For Anand the third term is *bhakti*, the relation of personal, efficacious love between the members of the units of society – family, community, nation, or world.

It is the maintenance of this relationship of loving service which constitutes the 'wholeness' of Anand's ideal man. It is, indeed, as clearly pointed out in *The Big Heart*, a new religion, i.e. a new value system supplanting 'superstitious' personal devotion to God by rational devotion to man, which Anand proposes to his countrymen. The traditional religion of India, he maintains, made men indifferent to ills on this earth. The new religion of *bhakti* requires

Anand's Socialist & humanist views are related & interrelated through the third — *Bhakti* —

impassioned, practical effort to remove, not only external signs of ill – filth, poverty, pain, disease, hunger, ignorance – but the roots of it in social, political, and economic institutions. There is no other world, Anand's wisdom characters repeatedly proclaim; therefore, if they are to find it at all, men must find happiness here. The condition for human progress is the fullest possible freedom and equality for all; *bhakti* strives toward such a condition. Thus, as the critic Jack Lindsay points out, Lal, the protagonist of *The Village* trilogy, comes to realize

'something of the way in which the *bhakti* of the peasants (man-to-man service) can truly become a political force, overthrow the existing system and beget a free, unified India... [In *bhakti*] Lal has found his living relationship with the village commune after all, his reconciliation, but on a new and more powerful level.'⁸⁶

Most of Anand's novels, contain a character whose role is to speak the 'wisdom' for which the novel is the vehicle. In order of appearance they are: the first Sarshar, the poet-editor of *The Untouchable*; Sauda, the professional revolutionary of *The Coolie*; de la Havre, the poet-physician of *Two Leaves and a Bud*; Azad, the poet-political reformer of the *Lament*; the second Sarshar, the hard-core Communist of *The Sword and the Sickle*; Purun Singh, the poet scholar of *The Big Heart*; Doctor Mahindra, the physician of *The Old Woman and the Cow*; and Doctor Shankar, the physician of *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*. Four of the other novels have characters who, though they exemplify the appropriate wisdom, enunciate it in only a minor way: Hercules Long of *The Village*; Lachman Singh of *Across the Black Waters*; Dholi Singh of *The Road*; and Maqbool Sherwani, Kashmirian poet-nationalist of *Death of a Hero*. *Seven Summers* has no character clearly related to the figures here represented. Of the wisdom characters it is clearly Purun Singh who voices Anand's highest and most mature conception of value in human life: *bhakti*, dedicated personal service of man individually and socially, a doctrine and way of action that the poet calls a religion:

'Having been a Yogi myself I believe that some faith is necessary. If men trust in themselves and in the other men with whom they live together, and they are dedicated to building and creating something by breaking down dead habits and evil customs and shams, I think that there can emerge a new kind of brotherhood, a new sense of devotion, like the *bhakti* which our saint Kabir preached and practised. I have seen glimpses of this religion already in my travels.'⁸⁷

Bhakti: A new kind of
fraternalism, a new sense of devotion
as preached by Kabir – devotion
11

Purun's dedication is carried out chiefly in the dharamsalla Sant Harnam Das, a charity house overlooking Amritsar's Golden Temple:

{ [The charity house had] a new Sikh society, attached to the place in a spirit of *bhakti*, devotion through work and service... [and] a new warden [the poet]... a devotee of a new kind, had led to the place becoming a centre of the city's political organizers and workers... and led to some pouring of the old wine of the Sikh ideal of service and devotion into the new bottles of the minds of men, who came there robbed of all content of belief in the holy books without being filled with another belief.'⁸⁸

Long passages of reflection by Ananta as well as by Purun Singh, conversations between them, and speeches made at meetings develop Anand's conception of *bhakti*, an ideal lived out 'unto death' by Ananta. *Bhakti* becomes, in fact, the keystone arching Anand's Socialist and humanist views. It is concerned at once with personal, individual happiness and fulfillment and with the building up of more satisfactory social institutions.

Anand's doctrine of *bhakti*, exemplified in Purun and Ananta, has a number of characteristics. It is related to the Sikh religion and associated with political activity. It is simultaneously concerned with building on an ancient, still dynamic Indian tradition, at least as old as the *Gita* and carried forward by saints of medieval India, and with replacing old forms with new. Besides substantial dedication of time and energy, it demands courage, heroic self-sacrifice, freedom from self-seeking, and universal tolerance and compassion, with special care for the poor.

The poet's religion of *bhakti* is founded on his humanism, on reverence for man:

{ 'if we can have any religious faith, morality or code at all today, it must arise from the reassertion of man's dignity, reverence for his name, and a pure love for man in all his strength and weakness, a limitless compassion for man, an unbounded love especially for the poor and the down-trodden, so that those who have been left to rot on the dusty roads can be raised from their degraded position and given the *izzat* which is theirs by the miracle of their birth in this world, so that the lost and damned of every country, religion and creed can stand erect in the knowledge of their own self-respect and in the enjoyment of bread, water and free air.'⁸⁹

Elsewhere Purun deplors the loss of compassion for individual man and insists that the new community of Socialism must be achieved 'with dignified individuals as its base.'⁹⁰ Even the murderous deeds of infuriated workers,

denounced by the widowed Janki, only emit from him compassionate forgiveness. 'They are not louts, sister. They are frightened, suffering, hopeless men... we must forgive them and try to understand them.'⁹¹

On the other hand, he considers Satyapal's narrow nationalism threatening, and declares the necessity of an international society:

'--Surely there is no question of Hindustan and Inglistan in this shrieking world whose every corner is affected by war and revolution. Our destinies are linked up with the ferungis and with everyone else, for good or for evil. And we sink or swim together, or shall all be drowned by the deluge. There is no escape in isolating oneself.'⁹²

Purun's tolerance extends even to love of the English people, though he deplores their tyrannical Sarkar.

The dedicated, universal compassion and tolerance of the *bhakti*, at the cost of personal renunciation and sacrifice, is often portrayed by the doctors of Anand's novels. The earliest example is John de la Havre, the English physician of *Two Leaves and a Bud*, who renounces home, wealth, status, security, and love to serve, in Assam, the tea-plantation poor. The twenty-years-later *Old Woman and the Cow* reproduces this character as the Indian Doctor Mahindra.

The young peasant, too, may be a devoted one. In *The Sword and the Sickle*, Lal, schooled by deprivation, treachery, war, death, imprisonment, labor, and misunderstanding in love, risks all again for the workers' Revolution. Dhooli Singh, the enlightened landlord of *The Road*, becomes an outcaste, with his family, out of pity for the untouchables. Janki, Gauri, and Shankar, of the last three full length novels, review the futility of their past careers and seek redemption in dedicated, personal service to others – especially in the conquest of pain, in nursing and medical careers.

The best as well as the best-executed of Anand's *bhakti* characters is Ananta of *The Big Heart*. The depth and intensity of this character's self-questioning, self-recrimination, and self-doubt provide a dimension to his suffering and to his service of others that is, for Anand, unusual. In what may be the best, because the most untouched by propaganda, of the conversation scenes, Ananta winces under Janki's challenge to his *bhakti* faith. Referring to the poor whose miseries Ananta has just rehearsed, she demands: 'Are you really sure that you respect them as men or is it your inflated ego that desires pride and satisfaction and power through this *bhakti* and service? ... I am rather sceptical of everyone's sincerity – including yours.'⁹³

Ananta having died for his devotion, Janki is herself invited to live wholly for

others. 'What a great thing it would be,' reflects the Poet, 'if women like you who possess such gifts of sincerity and grace give themselves to *bhakti*, devotion, to working for others.' Acknowledging the reality of her fears, he answers only: 'One has to take risks in order to prepare for revolutionary life. That is the only way in which we shall learn to become new men and women.'⁹⁴ Here, as elsewhere, *bhakti* is, for Purun as for Ananta, identified with the Socialist revolution, the movement in which they see the salvation of individual man.

Purun Singh's *bhakti-yoga* exemplifies the two classical Hindu disciplines, *karma-yoga* and *jnana-yoga*: Ananta practices the way of action; the poet, the way of knowledge, associated with learning, writing, and teaching. Each becomes guru to the other. Each stands, at times, accused and conscious of partial failure, the one by excess of passion, the other by defect of it.⁹⁵ The poet, nevertheless, conceives his role as a special kind of action – 'pen-pushing' for the Socialist cause, an employment often associated with Anand's 'good' characters, others being the first Sarshar, John de la Havre, Azad, Verma, and Maqbool Sherwani.

The concluding pages of *The Sword and the Sickle* offer an important passage in which, like a prologue to *The Big Heart*, a 'hymn' sung by the imprisoned Lal voices the triple themes of Anand:

'As the bhagats, the devoted ones in the past... we have to give, give, give of ourselves. For he who gives himself to the service of others is blessed, is enriched.

And once one has made up one's mind to give, once one has devoted oneself to others, one must learn to master oneself, to discard one's family and caste egoism, to banish all the lies of religion and to break the narrow walls that separate man from man.

For the Revolution is a need for togetherness, Comrade, the need to curb malice among men, the need for men to stand together as brothers.

There has been no time like the present... such unrighteousness that hundreds and thousands of men in our land should be mortgaged up to their loin cloths, that almost every mud hut, every fruit tree, every bedstead and every bullock should be mortgaged, while in the houses of the landlords stand milch cows, fine bulls, red calves, white horses, and granaries well stocked.

But it is only after the fight against those who enslave... that we shall

rest and sing of the seasons... Now is the time to change the world, to fight for life and happiness.'⁹⁶

It is significant that the passage occurs in *The Sword and the Sickle* (1942), written at the height of Anand's Socialist fervor. Here there is no question, no doubt, no uncertainty. The time is dawn; the hero, exultant in his suffering, renders the appropriately glowing canticle of faith in the Revolution. In this Lal eminently fulfills the description of the Positive Hero of Socialist literature:

{[The] qualities of the positive hero are... ideological conviction, audacity, intelligence, strength of will, patriotism, respect for women, readiness to sacrifice himself... the most essential, of course, are the clearness and definiteness with which he sees the End and strives toward it... He knows unshakably what is good and what is bad, he is either 'for' or 'against', and never mistakes black for white. Interior doubts, hesitations, insoluble questions or unfathomable secrets do not exist for him; and in the most entangled problem he finds the solution quite easily, by going straight to the End.'⁹⁷

In contrast with *The Sword and the Sickle*, *The Big Heart*, in which no fewer than fifteen passages point up qualities of searching, wavering, and doubt, ends at dusk. The evening crow has 'cawed his last message of doom,' and darkness has obliterated the objects in Janki's room. To be sure, she lights a lamp, but no sun shines, not even a moon, and the poet only 'spread the shadow of his protective arm around her and, groping in the dim light, led her away.'⁹⁸

Anand here escapes for a moment his doctrinaire aesthetic; humanism, Socialism, and *bhakti* convincingly blend.

IV

EVALUATION

Asked for his estimate of Mulk Raj Anand's achievement as a novelist, an unidentified research associate of C.D. Narasimhaiah, editor of Mysore University's *Literary Criterion*, responded that much admiration was due Anand for 'his sense of responsibility as an artist, his concern for the health and sanity of human beings, and his faith in man and his true dignity.' Sidestepping the point at issue, however, he concluded: 'The extent to which he has succeeded in harnessing [these qualities]... in the interest of art should determine Anand's place in the history of Indian writing in English.'¹ Not much effort has been made, in a scholarly way, to measure this success, despite the relative fame of the novels and their wide distribution across the world. This chapter seeks to fill the need. It will first consider available critiques of Anand's novels as they relate to his Socialist and humanist goals, and then offer the writer's own evaluation.

Certain difficulties arise in a consideration of the reviews and critiques of Anand's novels. Most are brief and unsatisfying; some are mere clippings from unidentified sources.² Those of length and substance are at times the work of Leftists or of writers for *Contemporary Indian Literature*, of which Anand has for some years been editorial-board chairman. Examples are the laudatory 'When Translating Mulk Raj Anand' (1966) by the Russians E. Borovik and V. Makhotin; four articles in the Winter, 1965, issue of *Contemporary Indian Literature* commemorating Anand's sixtieth birthday; and two articles by K.V. Suryanarayan Murthi (related to Sri P. Suryanarayan Murthi of the *Contemporary Indian Literature* editorial board?). Discussions from such sources cannot be free from suspicion of bias.

An overview of Anand's critical reputation comes from Anand himself in letters to me this fall:

'Apart from a few Negro readers of my books in America,³ you are one of the two or three discriminating critics who have taken me seriously.

The German writer, D. Riemenschneider, in *Indian Literature*, January-March 1967, did attempt... [an analysis] of my novels and the re-actions of the main characters. A few other students, one Dr. Cowasjee in Canada, and two or three young people in Indian universities are trying to find out if I have brought out any significance through my attempted synthesis...

Edward Thompson and Bonamy Dobrée greeted this first novel of mine (*The Untouchable*) and there was no lack of genuine response from even politically hostile ex colonials. Since then the book has appeared in more than twenty languages of the world and is being estimated with a fair degree of approximation to the intentions of the author.

Only, in my own country, although translated into nine languages, the book has been mostly dismissed as 'Communist propaganda'. Mr. Gowda's attack is fresh in my mind and the *Writer's Workshop* as well as the *Illustrated Weekly* often write two-line dismissals of everything I have written.

Many British critics responded to my early novels and short stories with cordiality and warmth and an objectivity completely devoid of the swagger of the ruling race... reviews were enthusiastic though pointing out certain technical blemishes in the book [*Two Leaves*], criticism from which I learnt much and with which I mostly agreed.

I am much misunderstood in America, for reasons which have nothing to do with my novels...

European critics think that there may be some deeper humanist currents behind my novels, but don't know the background of my philosophical quest or the Indian experience; whereas the Indian colleagues are so callow, malicious or Brahminist as to dismiss the novels with a patronising word or two. The contemporary Indian writers in the vernaculars also cannot stand the fact that my novels have gone into so many of the world languages.

The recent ban on my book *The Village* in my home state (Punjab) shows that the bulk of the seemingly advanced intelligentsia is really orthodox, fanatical and re-actionary – perhaps from the insecurity of their hold on modern knowledge and therefore hits back against western liberal thought and neo-emancipatory philosophies by reviving the old fiction that the ancient epics are enough and no one should write anything contemporary which might renovate consciousness.

In actual life, the average Hindu wears a necktie, but he has choked himself inside with conformism so as to repudiate any spiritual progress which might have been made by the experimentalists. The several theses written [on me] are mainly mundane doctoral perpetrations. Only a Russian woman, Kalenkova, got hold of my dim suggestions about the human truth in her encyclopedia article, though the editor cut her interpretation of my criticism of religion.¹⁴

Most of the available reviews, if they notice Anand's Socialism at all, do so by way of praise. The Englishman V.S. Pritchett, for example, reviewing *The Coolie*, writes:

'The propagandist intention of all Mr. Anand's work is digested completely, as those who have read his other novels will know. He is an artist... Reading Mr. Anand's work one is brought into contact with a humane sensibility of the first order, and the crudity of thought or feeling which leaves one dissatisfied in the majority of politically-conscious novels and makes most of them half-baked and pretentious is entirely absent.'⁵

C. Day Lewis, referring to Anand's first two novels, says: 'Mr. Anand indicts social conditions, yet he is no melodramatic doctrinaire; he does not try to gloss over the helplessness and servility of the coolies.'⁶ Srinavasa Iyengar, too, believes that

'Anand is artist enough not to make his novels mere tools of propaganda; his characters are recognizable human beings, not formulæ, and his apprehension of the interplay of characters is neither partisan nor unusual, but essentially just.'⁷

A *London Mercury* writer calls the book 'a rare example of the manner in which material that lends itself to propaganda can be so treated as to produce a pure effect of art... in simply telling the story and drawing the picture, it moves us as no didactic work could.'⁸

A single article by Anniah Gowda, editor of Mysore *University's Literary Half Yearly*, challenges such views. Of Anand's novels he declares forthrightly that they are propaganda, though 'as such they stand quite high.'⁹ Acknowledging Anand's innovation of theme, Gowda proceeds to charge the novelist with falsifying his proletarian characters. These, the critic maintains, are not, in real life, naturally rebellious or questioning. Their women do not, typically, shrink in horror from the advances of upper caste men. Like all Marxist literature, Gowda concludes, Anand's novels do not 'ring true.' Why then, the critic inquires, have Anand's novels 'been so influential and never adversely criticized?' The answer, he submits, is sentimentality, an overdose of *kanina rasa* 'which may be unavoidable in politics, but should be avoided in literature.'⁹

Humanist aspects of the novels noticed by reviewers and critics are the 'new theme' of the dignity of the poor and oppressed, character development, and synthesis of East-West values.

Sajjad Zaheer, chief founder of the All-India Progressive Writers Association and for three decades closely associated with the Communist cause on the sub-continent, sees Anand as a pioneer in the subject matter of the Indian novel. Zaheer's statement is typical of other reviews.

'For the first time in our literature the most down-trodden and the most exploited section of Indian humanity was depicted with pitiless realism and deep sympathy as the central figures of Indian life... Since then, of course, during the last thirty years many more novels and short stories have been written by Indian progressive writers, which have the life of the working people - the peasants, workers, lower and middle class as their themes... But these two books (*The Untouchable* and *The Coolie*) remain, the first and among the best in this new people's trend in Indian literature. To Anand belongs the honour of being the pioneer, the first in launching modern Indian literature on this new road.'¹⁰

The discussions of Anand's characters, while generally disparaging to portrayals of the English and some capitalists, generally-Gowda's excepted-find his peasants true. Summarizing Anand's literary reputation in England, H.G. Rawlinson, in the popular *India: A Short Cultural History*, writes: 'In the realm of fiction, one of the most significant writers is Mulk Raj Anand whose studies of Indian peasant life have been described as the most important and promising books ever written in English by an Indian.'¹¹ Iyengar in several places compares Anand in this respect with Dickens:

'As a writer of fiction Anand's notable marks are vitality and a keen sense of actuality. He is a veritable Dickens for describing the inequities and idiosyncrasies in the current human situation. Of Anand's early novels at least it can be said that they come fresh from contact with the flesh and blood of everyday existence. He has no laborious psychological or ideological preoccupations, and he is content to let his characters live and speak and act. In this work (*The Coolie*) there are no merely sentimental portraits, and generally he presents his characters with a lively curiosity and a deep compassion. Some of his English characters, no doubt, are no more than caricatures, but then there are others whose words ring true and whose actions seem natural...

Anand makes the individual -- Bakha or Munoo -- assert his uniqueness without ceasing to be the universal. There is a 'case', an implied point of view; but the novel is more than the case, for it is humanity that finally triumphs.'¹²

Contrasting Anand with R.K. Narayan and Raja Rao, S. Menon Marath, too, dwells on Anand's characterizations:

82

Central problem in Anand's novels is individual self-realisation within a particular society. Recognition of individuality.

... almost as a scientist, with
detachment of a realist... (omitting) nothing, neither a
life outlook, nor their deep fatalism

[Anand is] the most gifted and easily the most outstanding of the three... the first to portray the Indian peasant... [to probe] deep into the sources of the Indian life, almost as a scientist, with the detachment of a realist ... [omitting] nothing, neither the crudeness of their life and outlook nor their deep fatalism... seeing them, not as types, but as individuals, human beings coarsened by oppression. ... [Anand presents] intimate and complete pictures of the Punjabi... foul-mouthed, ignorant, superstitious, servile, victims of selfish landlords and unscrupulous moneylenders. But below their abject fatalism he sees their humanity, their relations with their friends, their rugged sense of humor... It is in... truthfulness of characterization that Anand's superiority over other Indian novelists becomes striking.'¹³

The 'sweep of Anand's vision,' maintains Marath, 'is wider and deeper than Narayan's... seeing the deepest sources of the peasant's makeup, the complex elements that shape his character.' Where, in *Kanthapura*, Raja Rao failed, according to Marath, Anand succeeds: in the depiction of the collective emotions of the peasants and the use of minor characters to represent the various forces pulling at their lives.

Jack Lindsay, too, sees characterization as Anand's strong point: 'He has the power to seize on the essentials of character. That is his outstanding virtue, and it is a virtue possessed only by the writers to whom we give the name of great.'¹⁴ Lindsay had earlier called attention to a change in Anand's characterizations occurring about 1944, a movement toward 'European psychological realism, a clearer emphasis on the individual.'¹⁵ That change is seen by D. Riemenschneider as occurring earlier. In one of the few available long articles on Anand's work, he develops the thesis that the central problem of Anand's novels is individual self-realization within a particular society. Riemenschneider submits that in the 'first trilogy' (*The Untouchable*, *The Coolie*, *Two Leaves*), Anand shows individuals acquiescent toward their situation and their society; and that, in the second trilogy (*The Village*, *Across the Black Waters*, *The Sword and the Sickle*), he assumes 'a very new approach to the whole problem, a reconsideration of what man really is and how he can determine his destiny.'¹⁶

Besides the novelist's own growth in understanding, Riemenschneider believes that by 1938 Anand had found 'the all too low status of his former heroes... a [technical] handicap which prevented them eventually from shaking off their bondage of slavery and from working out their own destiny.' For this, the critic conjectures, Anand needed a more sophisticated and socially advanced character. Lal is such a figure, as concerned with achieving personal liberty,

... complete freedom of Punjab
... ignorant, superstitious, servile,
... unscrupulous moneylender
... Anand saw more clearly than these

control over his own destiny, conquest of his own weaknesses, as he is with altering social institutions. Riemenschneider then sees Anand's new humanistic perspective advancing from the Lal trilogy to the greater maturity of *The Big Heart*, thence to an interesting variation in *The Old Woman and the Cow*, and, finally, to what he considers Anand's finest, because most humanistic work, *Death of a Hero*.¹⁷ Curiously, Riemenschneider omits any mention of *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, one of Anand's major novels and certainly his most humanistically oriented creation.

Many of the reviews and critiques credit Anand's novels with bridging East and West in cultural attitudes as well as method. Kumar Dutt remarks that Anand has been more fortunate than other Indian writers in that, not renouncing the Indian tradition, he has been able to acquire all that is best in European culture. In that respect his work is more significant than that of many other Indian novelists.¹⁸ Lindsay believes that the Anand novels are significant, not only for their intrinsic merit, but also [for] the wider issues they raise of the relations between the new Asian cultures and European traditions.'

'About 1925 he [Anand] started off on a series of novels, planned on Balzacian lines, in which, when it was completed, was to be revealed the invivid [sic] pattern of Indian life, its movement into new unities, new complexities, under the pressure of history. His European view gave him a strong sense of the general contours of human complexities and revolutions, his Indian sensibility enabled him to express this general scheme of movement without losing his whole-hearted sympathy with people as they were, people with a long, rich tradition...

In the trilogy Anand has validly extended the method with which he began in *The Untouchable*. He has rediscovered the Indian epical tale in terms of the contemporary struggle... [fusing] the methods of Chatterjee, Tagore, Prem Chand and the methods which Anand had learned from his study of the European novels. The result is one long experience in adapting the Indian folk elements to Western eyes and the European elements to Indian eyes. In stabilizing and extending the Indian novel, Anand is also adding to the tradition of the European novel.'¹⁹

The Englishman J.D. Bernal writes:

'Anand has been... the greatest interpreter of Indian culture and life that we have had in this age of liberation. Through his novels we in Europe and especially in Britain have come to learn something of the experience, feelings and spirit of the new India and after liberation.'²⁰

Nicolai Tikhonov, leader of the Russian Writers' Association, observes that Anand, in his novels, 'is the pioneer of a synthesis between the East and the West. He takes a tragic view from the West and gives it the compassion of India. Perhaps he is an Indian Balzac.'²¹

As Dutt summarizes it, Anand adds to Tagore's aloof humanism the element of engagement:

'Anand has an unquenchable faith in the essential goodness of man. But his humanism is somewhat different from the all-pervading humanism of Rabindranath. Throughout his experience he [Tagore] maintained an outlook of lofty detachment. Anand believes in the universal brotherhood of man, but he cannot sidetrack the agonies of our complex earthly existence. He had to experience, with suffering humanity, all their frailties and shortcomings. And in a more realistic sense. This is the essential difference between the humanisms of Tagore and Anand.'²²

Only one of the available criticisms takes note of the role of *bhakti* in Anand's novels. Jack Lindsay writes: 'Lal [of *The Village* trilogy] realizes how the *bhakti* of the peasants can truly become a political force, overthrow the existing social system, and beget a free, unified India.'²³ Riemenschneider, while recognizing the phenomenon, fails to see in it Anand's attempt to recapture an ancient Indian ideal.

Obviously much of the material here reviewed is indiscriminating and even patently untrue. Valuable insights offered by Marath, Iyengar, Riemenschneider, and Lindsay are undermined by exaggeration, idealizing, wishful thinking, induced it may be by personal, patriotic, or party loyalty.

More just appraisal of Anand's work might begin with a definition of what constitutes excellence in the novel. The following original definition is offered: A good novel presents interesting and believable human beings in reaction with their environment so as to suggest richly and intensively the universal experiences of man. That intensity, writes Henry James, cannot exist

'unless there is freedom to feel and say. The tracing of a line to be followed, of a tone to be taken, of a form to be filled out, is a limitation of that freedom and a suppression of the very thing that we are most curious about... To what degree a purpose in a work of art is a source of corruption I shall not attempt to inquire, the one that seems to me least dangerous is the purpose of making a perfect work.'²⁴

The matters of particular concern in this evaluation are covered by four questions:

- 1) Are Anand's characters interesting and believable?
- 2) Do the novels, from their particulars, evoke the universal experiences of man?
- 3) In what way are these questions related to Anand's Socialism, his humanism, and his ideal of *bhakti-yoga*?
- 4) What, finally, is the value of Anand's novels?

Are Anand's characters interesting and believable? Characters, like novels, are interesting 'in proportion as they reveal a particular mind, different from others.' They command attention

'only in proportion as they feel their respective situations; since the consciousness, on their part, of the complication exhibited forms for us their link of connexion with it. But there are degrees of feeling – the muffled, the faint, the just sufficient, the barely intelligent, as we may say; and the acute, the intense, the complete, in a word – the power to be finely aware and richly responsible. It is those moved in this latter fashion who 'get most' out of all that happens to them and who in so doing enable us, as readers of their record, as participators by a fond attention, also to get most. Their being finely aware – as Hamlet and Lear, say, are finely aware – makes absolutely the intensity of their adventure, gives the maximum of sense to what befalls them.'²⁵

The corollary to this proposition, as Henry James presents it, is that the 'leading interest of a novel should be provided by a consciousness subject to 'fine intensification and wide enlargement. It is as mirrored in that consciousness that the gross fools, the headlong fools, the fatal fools play their part for us – they have much less to show us in themselves.' Only on such a consciousness,

'capable of feeling in the given case more than another of what is to be felt for it, and so serving in the highest degree to *record* it dramatically and objectively... can [we] count not to betray, to cheapen, or, as we say, give away, the value and beauty of the thing.'²⁶

This theory of 'centers of consciousness' or point of view is crucial to Anand's achievement as a novelist.²⁷ As D. Riemenschneider has suggested, Anand seems, after the first three novels, to have felt 'that the all too low status of his former heroes was indeed a (technical) handicap.'²⁸ Where, for example, the main character Bakha is indeed intelligent and sensitive, he is

not altogether believable, for there is insufficient explanation of how, given his background, he acquired the range of knowledge and experience by which, reacting to his environment, he expresses those qualities.

Still, Bakha is relatively successful – in the unity of his outlook, in the link between what he is and what he does, in his varied moods, in his experience of small, authentic joys along with rooted sorrows, in the gradualness with which he comes to even a small new realization.

The protagonists of the next two novels, especially the second, do not fare so well. Munoo of *The Coolie* is a 'center of consciousness,' a pair of spectacles through which are viewed Indian village, town, city, metropolitan, and resort life. But Munoo is himself imperceptive, dull, colorless, static, mostly apathetic, created only to follow the Marxist pattern, to endure the cruelties of the rich and the powerful. What he is has little connection with what he does or with what happens to him. His reflections are not always justified by his background. The rich pageantry and panorama through which he passes compensate only partially for his failure as an observer.

The least successful of Anand's protagonists as a center of consciousness is Gangu of *Two Leaves*. For him there is neither the fine consciousness nor the variety of stimuli, only the blatant message: The rich and the powerful are the enemies of the poor and the weak.

The 'new kind of character' noted by Riemenschneider begins, not with Lal, as he supposed, but with Nur of the *Lament for the Death of a Master of Arts*. Here Anand experiments with an educated and socially respectable, correspondingly more intelligent and sensitive 'center' – Nur, the dying, frustrated intellectual. As in *The Untouchable* a single point of view dominates the story. In a half delirious reverie Nur reveals his bitterness toward caste and class, arranged and child marriage, the joint family, the educational system, the government bureaucracy, above all toward religion as somehow responsible for persisting human ills. Anand's predilection for 'body-soul' expressionism leads him in this small novel to coordinate well-known physical effects of tuberculosis – limpness, cough, sweat, dizziness, nausea, bloody sputum – with emotional depressions, self-pity, fantastic imaginings mingling memory and desire, irrational emotional spasms, and sober philosophical reflection. In Nur's consciousness are seen Azad, one of the early *bhakti* characters, the man of compassion, sacrifice, vision, and prophecy; and Gama, the illiterate, kindly practical worker, ripe for revolution. The novelette should be good. Its partial failure is the viewer's lack of discrimination between tragedy and self-pity, a sentimental effusion of language, and the overlooking of ironies inherent in the situation; for

The rich and the powerful are
the enemies of the poor and the weak's
message conveyed through Gangu's
eventual selection in Two Leaves

example, the possibility that things are not really what they seem to Nur's diseased mind. The oversight conceivably results from the author's prepossession with attacking social institutions; the human wholeness suffers.

The *Lament*, nevertheless, gave Anand a new tool, a center of consciousness 'finely aware and richly responsible.' In *The Village* trilogy, the one day glimmerings of new awareness in Bakha and the one hour coordination of faculties in Nur grow into a several years' narrative witnessing the development of a healthy, socially respectable, high-spirited peasant boy into, successively, a soldier, a fiery, disillusioned rebel, and a joyously disciplined Socialist revolutionary. Of the three novels *The Village* rings most true: *Across the Black Waters* is almost devoid of merit; *The Sword and the Sickle*, despite many good things, is essentially two-dimensional, propagandistic. As F.J. Brown has pointed out, the trilogy views successively Lal's rejection of his traditional society, his experiment with life in the West, his return to a changing Indian society, and his alliance with the forces of change in a spirit of *bhakti yoga*.²⁹ The theme is attractive. Its implementation depends on the quality of Lal's mind. That mind reacts keenly, insightfully, and credibly in *The Village*. Educated in a British-Indian, Christian school 'through the eighth-form,' Lal early questions his society about its religious taboos, the village priest's dishonesty, the moneylender's glib talk, the farmers' stupidity and naivete, the shopkeepers' cleverness, waste of money on marriage ceremonies, the landlord's chicaneries, sexual restraints. 'They are always forbidding you to do this and that, these elders, always curtailing your liberty. Always frustrating your desires.'

Anand's success with the Lal of *The Village* and, to lesser extent, of *The Sword* rests on the fact that Lal's awareness is never more than the circumstances justify, that it takes into account the fears, doubts, misjudgments proper to human experience, that, drawn to the new, it yet feels something of the value of the old. What happens to Lal is largely dependent on Lal's own decisions. These, in turn, rest on his personal qualities — manifest in what he thinks, does, and says. Lal's views change in response to new experiences. His life extends, potentially, beyond the close of *The Sword*, because he is a real, developing character. His unrelenting urge to master his own destiny unifies the three novels.

In *The Sword and the Sickle*, Lal's efficacy as a center of consciousness is undermined by intensified propaganda. A good 'problem novel' ought to present both sides of the case. Its characters, settings, situations, and events ought not to be slanted; extraordinary elements ought to be strictly

accounted for. Things are not black and white. It is precisely the function of the center of consciousness to perceive or to reflect the differences. The Lal of *The Sword* does not always succeed in doing this. He is not sensitive, for example, to the profound ease that can be made for religion and for private property. Yet neither does he totally fail. For example, through his consciousness the two propertied aristocrats, the Nawab of Nasirabad and Count Rampal Singh, come through as real human beings, complex, capable of doing the unexpected believably, conjuring up a life beyond the facts of the book.

It is difficult to understand why, among Anand's novels, *The Big Heart* has received so little notice, in comparison, for example, with *The Coolie* and *Two Leaves and a Bud*. From almost any point of view *The Big Heart* improves on preceding Anand novels, and in nothing more than in its main character, its center of consciousness. Of all Anand's protagonists, Ananta best perceives and reflects the true complexity of the situation in which he is caught. More than Lal, by an intense inner life and by his reactions to persons and events, he reveals the multi-dimensional reality of things. From his view an Arya Samajist Congressman may be a good and even a noble man. Capitalists may be likable, have the good of the workers at heart, and be open to change within their system. He himself may be deluded. The revolutionary Socialist point of view is maintained in this novel with possibly greater strength than ever. Its context is more human and credible, largely by reason of the objective view of Ananta provided by his mistress, Janki. Ananta brings troubles on his own head by pranks, impetuosity, glorying in his powers of persuasion, by self-pity and self-righteousness. In conversations with workers, Capitalists, the Poet, and Janki, Ananta's consciousness operates to reveal the complexities of his situation. Ironies and ambiguities are, for the first time, an integral part of Anand's art.

After *The Big Heart* came the long delayed first volume of a projected seven volume autobiographical novel, originally drafted in 1926, with a child as its center of consciousness. Precocious and sensitive, Krishan Chander Azad of *Seven Summers* succeeds even more than Ananta in reflecting a complex environment. Certainly he is freer of overt propagandizing. One of the most humanistic of all the novels in its concern with persons more than with systems, *Seven Summers* is justly described by its publishers as 'a kind of private history' projecting the experience of a whole generation.

'Confused by outside events, and the inner torments of growth, yet ardent and always searching, Krishan Chander Azad, who speaks in the first person singular, in this book records the passage from innocence

to experience – thus revealing a process in which the history of our people is symbolized in the story of one individual, who becomes an archetype of a human being, wishing to inherit, not only a regional culture, but the meaning of the comprehensive forces, which have shaped the destiny of man in our time.’³⁰

1 Following *Seven Summers* came another first-person narrative with pronounced humanist content, *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*. As in *Seven Summers*, the speaker or ‘center of consciousness’ is not the protagonist, but an observer, a doctor, who, in this instance, by intelligence, education, and sensitivity is eminently suited to tell the story. If Krishan is Anand himself as a child, if Lal and Ananta suggest him at the height of his Socialist fervor, it is fair to suppose that Doctor Shankar, the narrator of *The Private Life*, represents the deeply humanist interests and activities of Anand following his return to India. A contemporary of Anand writes: ‘The book records an important phase in the life of Anand. The Indian prince is not entirely regal and feudal, but he is also partly Anand. Many people who have been associated with Anand in Bombay will recall Gangi and her glamour.’³¹

What is distinctly new about this novel is the attention of the narrative to problems of abnormal psychology, especially schizophrenia and nymphomania. Since the *Contemporary Indian Literature Chronology* speaks of a nervous breakdown of Anand in 1948 and of the publication of *The Private Life* in 1950, the clinical tone of the references would seem prompted by first hand experience. The emphasis on a real individual’s personal life, concomitant with his involvement in social change, had been anticipated in *The Untouchable*, the *Lament*, the trilogy, and *The Big Heart*. It here constitutes the central theme of the observer-narrator in a way unique among the Anand novels, overshadowing sociological and political interests, as Ananta’s life never does. The novel is different, too, in that the narrator traces, not growth toward positive goals, but progressive deterioration, here of a psychotic character. Through Shankar’s eyes Viktor emerges as ‘the useless man,’ lacking a center or roots in family, religion, love, or career. His state taken away, no integrating force remains. As Viktor progressively fails, the narrator steadily improves, growing more conscious that the people are to be pitied more than the prince, determining at last to begin a life of *bhakti*.

Through Shankar, too, Anand tries with special care to carry out his artistic desire ‘to understand, not to judge.’ Nevertheless, despite numerous labored analyses and protestations of ‘shifting the value judgments to psychological understanding of the causes,’ and despite denial of traditional morality --

'There is no such thing as good and evil in the ordinary moral sense of those words' -- Shankar protests too much. He has in fact prejudged and condemned Gangi Dasi, Bool Chand, and others. Moreover, in the case of Viktor, Shankar tries to have it both ways with freedom and determinism. In this most unevenly drawn character (Viktor), the narrator confuses his view of Viktor as the victim of bad upbringing with his view of him as the chooser of his own destiny. A similar unacknowledged inconsistency obtains in his presentation of love. On the one hand he maintains a monist, materialist, this-worldly position: on the other, he speaks of such 'spiritual' goals as that the lovers 'see their reflection in the mirror of this higher personality to which they are always aspiring.'³²

Jack Lindsay sees the particular power of *The Private Life* in an irony made possible by the center of consciousness, Doctor Shankar, who is sensitive to and appreciative of all the story's clashing forces:

'There is a complicated fusion of old and new, of medieval and bourgeois elements, of ancient tribal survivals with their strong communal outlook on village life and the first stirrings of social consciousness; history has conspired to produce a hurlyburly of an engrossing interest, diversity, humour, pathos, agony, and heroism. The obstructive forces are compounded of high antiquity and of up to date bureaucratic corruption or incompetence. Hence the new method of *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, in which the earlier ironic elements are brought to a head, detached, strengthened afresh with a sense of pathos and compassion. The extraordinary contradictions of Indian life are educed with a clear-eyed humour which at the same time never strays into mere derision; a deep sympathy, impish and yet solidly based in an unflinching sense of common humanity, pervades all the lucid ironies and its moral judgments.

'Not that this remarkable novel can be reduced to a study in irony. It is a psychological work on a grand scale; its scope is Dostoevskyan. The psychological revelation of the torments of the Maharaja never loses touch with the social situation. As the Maharaja weakens in his grip on reality, the novel's definition of that reality grows fuller and broader. Here is the powerful dialectic of the book, with the narrator as the focal point on which the two worlds -- of social struggle and of neurotic withdrawal -- are all the while impinging. The result is a complete movement of two spirals, one going up and broadening out, the other narrowing down, and coming to rest on a point of total collapse. The ironic focus, as in Dostoevsky, enables a strange fusion of humour and tragedy. The tragic becomes comic without losing its

pathos and anguish; indeed it is heightened. We feel the conflict of the old and the new in India with an evocative force that marks this book as a most impressive sustained performance. If Anand had written nothing else, his place in the history of the novel would be secure – his place as a profound interpreter of Indian life in a phase of pervasive crisis.’³³

Lindsay’s praise is excessive. Anand’s promising novel falls short of its potential. The mind of the narrator, indicated as a center of wisdom as well as the source of the tale, is prone to offer as reality farce and melodrama. The artistic situation required an objective view of Doctor Shankar, a perspective which might have been provided, for example, by a minor character. That view does not appear.

Almost ten years intervened between publication of *The Private Life* and Anand’s next novel, *The Old Woman and the Cow*. Despite the new theme of the sufferings of women, the novel is a labored and lugubrious narrative unrelieved by the insights, the humor, or the historical relevance often found in *The Private Life*. The reason for *The Old Woman*’s failure is not far to seek. There is no sustained or satisfactory center of consciousness. The five or six characters who ‘vibrate to their surroundings’ do so in a disjointed, unexplained, stereotyped, sentimental, and ludicrous way. This is a ‘tired’ book. *The Road* suffers from a similar lack of a satisfactory center, though its shorter, less pretentious, more strictly dramatic form saves it from the total dullness and unreality of *The Old Woman*.

Anand’s last published work, a novelette called *Death of a Hero: Epitaph for Maqbool Sherwani*, bears some resemblance to the *Lament*. The ‘center of consciousness’ is an intelligent, sensitive, educated young man soon to die, and caught up in reveries about the meaning of life. As a poet and political reformer, Maqbool resembles rather Azad than Nur. Physical, emotional, and rational experience here achieve the same simultaneity apparent in the *Lament*. The hero is confused, unsure of everything, lacking in mature judgment, haunted by fear; he is, to that extent, a more complex and believable character than Azad. Still, despite his praise of conscience, poetry, and pity, and his questioning attitude toward life, Maqbool suffers from the same defect as Doctor Shankar of *The Private Life*. He is offered as a wisdom figure; yet he does not see life in the round. The bravery of the Pakistanis, for example, he labels ‘just gangster pride.’ The novel comes across mainly as a tract against the new Indian nation–state. No provision is made for an objective view of the protagonist–narrator.

✓ Do the novels, by their particulars, suggest the universal experiences of man? Do characters, places, events and things have multi dimensional, universal, or symbolical meanings beyond themselves – as, for example, have Ahab, Daedalus, and the stranger of Camus; Hardy's Stonehenge, Conrad's sea, and Sartre's room; Kafka's trial and Durrenmatt's journey; Hawthorne's scarlet letter?

By his own testimony Anand strives for such imaginative creation. But, to the extent that his propagandist goals are too clear cut and dogmatic for the ambiguities and ironies indispensable to imaginative art, he does not succeed. Nevertheless, some instances in the Anand novels reveal better than others the author's hope to transcend social realism and lay hold on truths beyond the empirical.

The Untouchable offers moments, for example, when Bakha becomes mythical, becomes an idealized and symbolical representation of all Indian sweepers and even of the universal poor. The mythical quality vanishes however, when Bakha indulges thoughts, words, and actions not justified in terms of his history. *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, attempting a profound psychological study, suggests that it but shadows forth the larger reality of India itself:

'And though the fear of the new threw people back into the shell of the past, there were set up, in consequence, violent resentments in each soul against the brutishness of the awkward feudal self, which resulted in bitterness and chagrin and frustration, until the whole world was rejected, personal escapes made or eccentric habits developed, which led to neuroses or madness. In a way the whole of India was a kind of lunatic asylum, part of the larger lunatic asylum of the world, in which only those who struggled against the status quo and gave battle to the authority seemed to find some sense of values. Only, how many were there who asked themselves where they were going and what was the meaning of human existence, and how one could become aware of anything real in the midst of this great, unformed, uncreated, undiscovered world and the wretchedness of the atomic age?'³⁴

Repudiating then the existentialist view of the world as ultimately absurd, and offering humanism as the means of ordering it, Anand thus imaginatively transcends the story with which he deals. The hunting scenes of *Two Leaves* and *The Sword* similarly offer imaginative analogues for the struggle of the classes in the jungle of social, political, and economic entanglement. In India flourishes, the author seems to say, 'a deliberately preserved, festering jungle' like that kept for aristocratic hunters on the Nawab's estate.

The Coolie has an imaginative spatial broadening through hills, village, town, city, metropolis, hills again, suggestive of human broadening into a modern technological society. In it, increasingly complex human relations steadily lose in security and intimacy what they gain in variety and extent. *The Road*, in a passage previously cited, uses a similar device. The road figure contributes importantly, also, to *Seven Summers*, where Krishan's curiosity to examine the unknown, to embrace all possible experience, becomes epitomized in the street beyond the home. As a frequent setting for events, reflections, conversations, Anand uses the train effectively to suggest the accelerated movement of twentieth-century life and the kaleidoscopic changes surrounding men even as they struggle to master their destinies and to communicate with others.

The imaginative element in Anand's work often appears in shadow plays, frequently involving animals. Reggie's brutality to his horse in *Two Leaves* is prelude to his cruel use of Neogi's wife. The python attacking Leila in the fields adumbrates the human reptile Reggie, who attacks her later in her home. In the pickle factory Munoo sees 'a monstrous python (Capitalism) sitting over the fuel in a deeper chamber of the grotto facing the ovens... [and later] the coiled bodies of two snakes which had apparently died quarrelling.' The latter episode symbolizes Hindu-Muslim hatreds and foreshadows the disruption of the workers' cause by internecine quarreling. Crows swoop down to snatch bread from the hands of children, underscoring the predatory nature of the oppressor. Sparrows peck about futilely for something to eat as starving peasants observe them. Lal's child, 'kicking in Maya's womb,' suggests Lal's other unborn, the Kisan Sabha in the womb of the Oudh, and liberation in the womb of India. The small lamp Janki lights in the deep shadows of evening is, too, the *bhakti* ideal beginning to illuminate India.

As in other respects, so in imaginative treatment *The Big Heart* offers Anand's best. The themes of the simultaneity of past and present and the perennial struggle of men to adjust to flowing, dramatic change is poetically sounded in the opening paragraphs:

'Outwardly there is nothing to show that Kucha Billimaran, in the center of Amritsar, has changed very much since the 'Age of truth' except that the shadow of the tall Clock Tower built by the English falls across it from a hundred yards away, and an electric bulb showers light from a post fixed by the municipality in the middle of the lane. But of course a lot of water has trickled through its open drains since the 'Age of Truth': the pure holy water (if it ever was pure?) of the ceremonies of the 'Age of Truth'; the dirty water of the 'Middle Ages';

the slimy asafetoid water of the 'Iron Age' and many other waters besides. The fact about water, like Time, is that it *will* flow: it may get choked up with the rubbish and debris of broken banks; it may be arrested in stagnant pools for long years: but it will begin to flow again as soon as the sky pours down its blessings to make up for what the other elements have soaked up; and it will keep flowing, now slowly, now like a rushing stream.'³⁵

The Thathiars of *The Big Heart* are located between the Kaseras' lane, 'the ancient world,' where, under the patronage of the goddess Kali, the smiths' utensils are sold, and the new Ironmongers' Bazaar, with its worship of the machine. Over all looms 'the gigantic, four-faced English clock' on its steep needle, 'where wealthy families in three-storeyed houses may read the movement of the two hands of the new god, Time.' If, as Roderick Seidenberg in *Posthistoric Man* proposes, the Industrial Age was born when timekeepers were invented,³⁶ Anand's great clock aptly symbolizes the coming of the industrial age to India. In the dawn-to-dusk narrative, its face and voice measure out the destinies of individuals and of groups.

The dream device, too, is effectively used in *The Big Heart*. The usual images for India's plight are there: the dead mother burning on the cremation grounds; the foster mother (England) standing by; the loved one summoning; the railway station; the clock tower; masked figures with bloody hands, pursuing the dreamer; the goddess Kali, trident in hand, dancing on a heap of massacred men and shrieking for revenge. Ananta's dream foreshadows the tragedy of the workers' revolt and his own death. By its recurrence throughout the novel, it intensifies the foreboding and pessimism which make this novel contrast so strongly with the crassly joyous assurances of *The Sword and the Sickle*.

What is the relation of Anand's Socialism and of his humanism to his art? Anand is technically unable to cope with the dangers to art of 'writing for a cause.' If the first requirement of the good novel, springing from its characters is to be interesting, then the Socialist stereotyping of so many kinds of people – Brahmans, schoolteachers, Capitalists, moneylenders, landlords – becomes intolerable. The same holds of situations, settings, and actions. Such stereotyping fatally betrays a 'center of consciousness' lacking in discernment and in emotional responsibility. Anand himself, discussing the failures in characterization of *Two Leaves*, blames them, not on Socialist bias, but on his lack of compassion at the time of the writing. This lack is probably less relevant than the defective insight attendant on an exclusively Marxist

aesthetic and the substitution of easy banalities for the hard work of the imagination. Thackeray, for example, is not really a compassionate novelist, but he is a powerful one.

On the other hand, Anand's novels vary in merit. When Socialist prescriptions are forgotten, suspended, or relaxed, and the freedom of the artist asserts itself, Anand can produce a *Village*, a *Big Heart*, or a *Seven Summers*.

In such cases Anand's humanism gives effective formal expression to the dignity of the individual person in the lowest ranks of society, struggling to realize his potential – though in doing so the author often forgets the dignity and the value of persons who are rich. Because humanism resists dogmas, serves no system, delivers no patterns of procedure, it opens the doors to artistic freedom, as Socialism closes them. To Anand's humanism is due the good things in his books: the more particularized characters, the more authentic interplay of persons and environment, the occasional 'centers' of keen awareness and rich response, effective imaginative passages.

In *The Big Heart* Anand approaches most nearly to a balance between his humanist insights and his sociological zeal. Regrettably he does not fully achieve the goal. What finally spoils that work is that what should have been the most humanist of emphases, *bhakti*, is, in this novel, made the tool of a political cause.

In his theory of the novel Anand demanded of the writer simultaneous detachment and engagement. Engagement Anand had, in high degree. Unfortunately for his novels, he did not achieve the detachment, disinterestedness, freedom from commitment to causes which might have enabled him to create 'centers of consciousness' more authentic, penetrating, and finely responsive to the nuances of human behavior and the complexities and depth of human affairs. In this matter he is the polar opposite of R.K. Narayan, about whom Naipaul writes:

'He seems forever headed for that aimlessness of Indian fiction which comes from a profound doubt about the purpose and value of fiction – but he is forever rescued by his honesty, his sense of humour and above all by his attitude of total acceptance. He operates from deep within his society... It is a negative attitude, part of the old India which was incapable of self-assessment. It has this result: the India of Narayan's novels is not the India that the visitor sees. He tells an Indian truth. Too much that is overwhelming has been left out; too much has been taken for granted. There is a contradiction in Narayan, between his form, which implies concern, and his attitude, which denies it; and in this calm contradiction lies his magic which some have called Tchekovian...

96 Anand could not create authentic centres of consciousness which could

The younger writers in English have moved far from Narayan. In those novels which tell of the difficulties of the Europe—returned student they are still only expressing a personal bewilderment; the novels themselves are documents of the Indian confusion... Their new self-awareness makes it impossible for Indians to go back; their cherishing of Indianness makes it difficult for them to go ahead.³⁷

What, finally, is the value of Mulk Raj Anand's novels? It is the witness they offer of India's agonizing attempt to break out of massive stagnation and create a society in which men and women are free and equal, in which they can, therefore, live dynamically and creatively.

It is the testimony they give of a generation of Indians familiar with the best and the worst of the West and with the best and the worst of India.

It is the evidence they afford of the modern educated Indian's struggle to identify himself and his country in the context of modern world society and to find roots that yet live in a mouldering heritage.

It is the search they pursue for a center, a principle of unity, which the West, theoretically, has found in the virtue of charity and which Anand knows as *bhakti*.

The critic can only regret that with such noble matter, Anand's considerable talents and energies should so early and so long have operated in the restrictive climate of a doctrinaire aesthetic.

FOOT NOTES

I

¹ *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, p. 303.

¹ Mulk Raj Anand, *Apology for Heroism* (2d ed., 1957), pp. 47-48. The first edition of this work was subtitled *An Essay in Search of Faith*. (See Srinavasa Iyengar, *Indian Writing in English*, p. 419.)

² *Apology*, p. 9.

³ Sahitya Akademi, *Who's Who of Indian Writers*, p. 10.

⁴ *Seven Summers*, p. 233. See also H.A. Rose's *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, III, 465. There are seeming discrepancies between Rose's account of the Thathiars and that given by Anand, who grew up among them, e.g. function, varna, and religious affiliation.

⁵ *Seven Summers, passim*. Other biographical details in this section are from the same work.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹¹ *Apology*, p. 12.

¹² *Seven Summers*, p. 191.

¹³ *Apology*, p. 14.

¹⁴ *Seven Summers*, pp. 64, 96-99. The attraction to Western clothing is a striking feature in many Anand characters, notably Bakhu of *The Untouchable*.

¹⁵ *Seven Summers*, p. 238.

¹⁶ 'Mulk Raj Anand: Chronology,' *Contemporary Indian Literature* (hereinafter referred to as *CIL*), V (December, 1965), 42-47. Most of the following details are from this source.

¹⁷ *Apology*, p. 53.

¹⁸ 'Chronology,' p. 42. Anand's projected seven-volume series of autobiographical fiction, to be known as *The Seven Ages of Man*, is based on this narrative. The first volume, *Seven Summers: The Story of an Indian Childhood*, appeared in 1951. The second, *Morning Face*, is due from Kutub Publishers, Bombay, this fall, 1968.

¹⁹ *Apology*, p. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68, 72. Anand published his own *Letters on India* in 1942, prefaced by a sharp exchange of correspondence with Leonard Woolf, debating Anand's nationalist bias.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²⁴ 'The Story of My Experiment With a White Lie,' an unpublished lecture-essay sent me this past November by Dr. Anand. It tells of an extended personal experience with Mahatma Gandhi and reports their conversation on the novel as a literary form.

²⁵ *Ibid.* See *Bhagavad Gita* 3.9.

²⁶ 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 11. Anand says the condition of publication was that E.M. Forster write a preface 'to protect the book against being called "dirty" because it dealt with dung.' Forster complied.

²⁷ Preface to the second edition of *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1951), p. 5. The first edition had appeared in 1937.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-7.

³⁰ The Anand Commemorative Issue of *CIL*, V (December, 1965), 18, notes Anand's

divorce from Kathleen Van Gelder in 1948 and his present marriage to 'the famous dancer, Shirin Vajifdar.' By his first wife he has a daughter, Rajani, now married and living in London.

30 Letters 4 and 5.

31 Jack Lindsay, *Mulk Raj Anand: A Critical Essay*, p. 31.

32 Anand discusses the main groups in *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 140-149. *Marg* records numerous relevant activities, e.g. Anand's participation on the International Jury in the sculpture contest of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, 1953, reported in VII, 73.

33 K. Natwar-Singh, ed., *Tales from Modern India*, p. 93.

34 *Lines Written to an Indian Air*, p. 7.

35 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 156-157.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

37 *Apology*, p. 103.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 52.

39 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 158-161.

40 *Apology*, p. 95.

41 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 152-155. In the much earlier *Golden Breath of Poetry*, Anand discusses also the 'humanism' of the Dravidians.

42 *Apology*, pp. 50, 62.

43 Letter 6.

44 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' pp. 3-4.

45 Letter 6.

46 William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 303.

47 *Apology*, p. 72.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 107

50 Matthew Arnold, 'The Study of Poetry,' *Modern Criticism*, ed. by Walter Sutton and Richard Foster, p. 94. Anand does not refer to Arnold often but the Anand writings are laced with phrases reminiscent of the Victorian writer: literature as a criticism of life, touchstones, seeing things steadily and seeing them whole, knowing the best, making it prevail.

51 *Lines*, pp. 5-6.

52 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, p. 207.

53 *Apology*, pp. 106-107.

54 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 200, 203.

55 Letter 6. Also, in numerous other passages appearing below.

56 *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume*, p. 323.

57 Acharya Vinoba Bhave, *Revolutionary Sarvodaya*, trans. by Vasant Nargolkar, p. 36.

58 *Swami Vivekananda*, p. 323.

59 *The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology*, ed. by Louis Fischer, p. 229.

60 *Revolutionary Sarvodaya*, p. 18.

61 Letter 6.

62 *Apology*, p. 18.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

64 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 80-81.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

68 *The Golden Breath*, p. 44.

69 *Apology*, p. 78.

70 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, p. 91.

- 71 *Apology*, pp. 112, 118, 139-140.
 72 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
 73 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 9. Lindsay writes: 'About 1930 he (Anand) started off on a series of novels, planned on Balzacian lines, in which, when it was completed, was to be revealed the involved pattern of Indian life, its movement into new unities, new complexities under the pressure of history.' (p. 8) Anand writes me that he sent a paper on Balzac some time ago, but this has not yet reached me.
 74 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 17, 123.
 75 *The Road*, p. 11. *The Untouchable*, p. 25.
 76 *Apology*, p. 57.
 77 *Ibid.*, p. 136.
 78 For example, *The Road* (1961) refers twenty-five times to *karma* and *dharma* against three references to them in *The Untouchable* (1935). Both novelettes deal with a short period in the life of a sweeper.
 79 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 12.
 80 *Apology*, p. 134.
 81 *The Untouchable*, p. 126.
 82 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 118-120.
 83 *Apology*, p. 124.
 84 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, p. 121. See also *Bhagavad Gita* 3.20, 25.
 85 *Contemporary Indian Civilisation*, pp. 120-121, 193.
 86 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120. Also 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 13.

II

- 1 *The Golden Breath*, p. 7.
 2 *Ibid.*
 3 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. The influence of Eric Gill, with whom Anand was friendly in the early thirties, is evident in such passages.
 5 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
 7 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 8 Quoted (admiringly) by Herbert Read in a review from an unidentified journal.
 9 *A Hindu View of Art*, pp. vii-viii.
 10 *Apology*, pp. 45, 72.
 11 Hafeez Malik, 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan,' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI (August, 1967), 652.
 12 *Ibid.*, p. 659.
 13 Sajjad Zaheer, 'Mulik Raj Anand,' *CHL*, V (December, 1965), 11.
 14 Malik, p. 651.
 15 Undated clipping (about 1939) from the *Indian Civil and Military Gazette*.
 16 Malik, p. 652.
 17 *Ibid.*, p. 649.
 18 'Socialist Realism,' *Quest*, No. 23 (1959), p. 53.
 19 Sen Gupta, *Towards a Theory of the Imagination*, pp. 91-118.
 20 Jack Lindsay, *Mulik Raj Anand: A Critical Essay*, p. 26.
 21 *Asiatic Review*, N.S. 39 (July, 1941), p. 248.
 22 *Apology*, pp. 78-79.
 23 'Is Universal Criticism Possible?,' *The Literary Criterion*, VII, No. 1 (Winter, 1965).
 24 *Apology*, p. 141.
 25 'Mulik Raj Anand: Chronology,' *CHL*, VII (Winter, 1965), 46.

- 26 'Is Universal Criticism Possible? ,' p. 75.
- 27 *Apology*, p. 85.
- 28 'A Note on Modern Indian Fiction.'
- 29 *Apology*, p. 84.
- 30 Letter 5.
- 31 Letter 6.
- 32 Letter 7.
- 33 Letter 4.
- 34 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 3.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Letter 7.
- 37 'Is Universal Criticism Possible? ' p. 71..
- 38 'The Task Before the Writer,' *Indian Literature*, VI, No. 1 (1963), 72.
- 39 'The Role of Creative Writers and Artists in the Developing Countries of Afro-Asia,' *Afro-Asian and World Affairs*, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), 19.
- 40 'The Task Before the Writer,' p. 75.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 43 'The Role of Creative Writers,' p. 20.
- 44 'The Task Before the Writer,' pp. 75-76.
- 45 'A Note on Modern Indian Fiction,' *Indian Literature*, VIII, No. 1 (1965), 53.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 54,57.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- 51 'Homage to Rabindranath Tagore,' *Lines Written to an Indian Air*, pp. 26-27.
- 52 Letter 7.
- 53 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 7.
- 54 Undated clipping (about 1939) from the *Indian Civil and Military Gazette*.
- 55 'New Bearings in Indian Literature,' *The Literary Review*, Summer, 1961, p. 456.
- 56 Introduction to *Indian Short Stories*, ed. by Mulk Raj Anand and Iqbal Singh, p. 8.
- 57 *Apology*, p. 139.
- 58 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
- 59 'The Role of Creative Writers,' pp. 18-20.

III

- 1 'Mulk Raj Anand,' *CIL*, V (December, 1965), 12.
- 2 'Bibliography of the Novels and Stories by Mulk Raj Anand in Various World Languages,' *ibid.*, pp. 35-42.
- 3 *Apology*, pp. 76-77.
- 4 *Two Leaves and a Bud* (2d ed.), p. 1.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 6 Myrdal, p. 303.
- 7 See p. 236.
- 8 See p. 281.
- 9 *The Untouchable*, p. 69.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.
- 12 *The Road*, p. 111,

- 13 *The Coolie*, p. 134.
- 14 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 39.
- 15 See p. 31.
- 16 See p. 56.
- 17 *The Big Heart*, p. 157.
- 18 'My Experiment With a White Lie,' p. 2.
- 19 *The Sword and the Sickle*, p. 206.
- 20 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 144.
- 21 See p. 9.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 23 See p. 112.
- 24 See p. 131.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 26 See p. 149.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- 29 *The Big Heart*, p. 132.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 31 *The Untouchable*, p. 58.
- 32 See p. 72.
- 33 *The Sword and the Sickle*, pp. 191-205 *passim*. Occasional references in other novels.
- 34 *The Big Heart*, p. 178.
- 35 See p. 91.
- 36 See p. 155.
- 37 See p. 281.
- 38 *The Big Heart*, p. 240.
- 39 *The Old Woman and the Cow*, pp. 241-242.
- 40 *The Big Heart*, p. 280.
- 41 See p. 18.
- 42 See p. 223.
- 43 See p. 223.
- 44 *The Big Heart*, p. 210.
- 45 See p. 201.
- 46 *The Old Woman and the Cow*, pp. 13, 83.
- 47 *Lament for the Death of a Master of Arts*, p. 41.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 *The Old Woman and the Cow*, pp. 5, 76.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 51 See p. 11.
- 52 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 94.
- 53 *Private Life of an Indian Prince*, p. 303.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 57 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 109.
- 58 *The Sword and the Sickle*, p. 366.
- 59 *The Big Heart*, pp. 29, 165-166.
- 60 *The Old Woman and the Cow*, p. 258.
- 61 *The Village*, p. 28.
- 62 See p. 137.
- 63 *Lament for the Death of a Master of Arts*, p. 53.

- 64 See pp. 313, 319.
 65 *The Big Heart*, p. 102.
 66 *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, p. 52.
 67 'Social Realism,' *Quest*, No. 23 (1959), p. 59.
 68 *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, p. 253.
 69 *The Coolie*, pp. 225-226.
 70 *The Sword and the Sickle*, pp. 335-338.
 71 *The Big Heart*, p. 184.
 72 *The Sword and the Sickle*, p. 338.
 73 *Ibid.*
 74 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, pp. 118-119. In the Preface to the second edition of *Two Leaves and a Bud*, Anand speaks of living for a time near an Assam tea plantation and observing the lives of its inhabitants. The critic Anniah Gowda ('Mulk Raj Anand,' *Literary Half-Yearly*, VI [1965]) questioned Anand's familiarity with tea plantation life.
 75 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 25.
 76 *The Sword and the Sickle*, pp. 211-214.
 77 See pp. 216-217.
 78 *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*, p. 23.
 79 *Two Leaves and a Bud*, p. 91.
 80 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
 81 *The Sword and the Sickle*, pp. 315-316.
 82 See p. 259.
 83 *Ibid.*, p. 334.
 84 *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217, 249.
 85 See p. 82.
 86 Lindsay, p. 25.
 87 *The Big Heart*, p. 185.
 88 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
 89 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
 90 *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 185.
 91 *Ibid.*, p. 282.
 92 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
 93 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
 94 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
 95 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
 96 *The Sword and the Sickle*, pp. 368-369.
 97 'Social Realism,' p. 56.
 98 *The Big Heart*, pp. 285-286.

IV

- 1 Unpublished remarks written in a letter, December, 1967.
 2 The file of clippings (Xeroxed) was sent me by Saros Cowasjee, a professor of humanities, at the University of Saskatchewan Regina Campus. Cowasjee himself has published a long article, 'Mulk Raj Anand: Princes and Proletarians,' in *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, June, 1968. At this time he is in London researching materials for a book on Anand, expected to be published in 'two or three years.'
 3 In view of some strong points of resemblance between the Indian social revolution and the present Black revolution in the United States, this point is interesting and ought to be pursued in future discussions of Anand's work.
 4 Letters 1, 7, 11. G.S. Balarama Gupta, Dharwar College of Agriculture, Mysore State, is currently doing a doctoral dissertation on Anand's work.

- 5 Unidentified clipping.
- 6 *Daily Telegraph*, undated.
- 7 *Indo-Anglian Literature*, p. 44.
- 8 Undated.
- 9 *Literary Half-Yearly*, VI (July, 1965), 51-54.
- 10 Zaheer, p. 11.
- 11 See p. 418.
- 12 *Indian Writing in English*, p. 278.
- 13 S. Menon Marath, 'Three Indian Novelists,' *Life and Letters*, LIX, No. 134 (December, 1948), 187-192.
- 14 Unidentified clipping, later than Lindsay's pamphlet on Anand.
- 15 *Mulk Raj Anand: A Critical Essay*, p. 26.
- 16 'An Ideal of Man in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels,' *Indian Literature*, X (January, 1967), 37.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-51.
- 18 Prabhat Kumar Dutt, 'Mulk Raj Anand in Relation to Tagore, Prem Chand and Sarat Chatterji,' *CIL*, December, 1965, pp. 19-20.
- 19 *Mulk Raj Anand*, p. 26.
- 20 Congratulatory letters, *CIL*, December, 1965, p. 44.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 22 'Mulk Raj Anand,' p. 19.
- 23 'Mulk Raj Anand: A Study,' *CIL*, V (December, 1965), 26.
- 24 'The Art of Fiction,' *Modern Criticism: Theory and Practice*, ed. By Walter Sutton and Richard Foster, pp. 112, 120.
- 25 'Centers of Consciousness,' *The Modern Tradition*, ed. by Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson, Jr., p. 711.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 712;
- 27 It may be argued that point of view in the Jamesian sense is, not the central issue in Anand's novels since they are Indian works. I believe, on three scores, that it is: 1) that the norm is universal, applies to all novels; 2) that, in any case, Anand often refers to the novel as a basically Western form and specifically proposes 'Western techniques,' e.g. the interplay of character and situation; and 3) that even those 'most Indian' of novels, the works of R.K. Narayan, actually depend for their magic on a center of consciousness achieved by the juxtaposition of 'two halves,' i.e. characters representing the Real (the abstract, the ideal, the transcendental, the absolute, the static) and the *Lila* (the play, the passing representation, 'the concrete and factual,' the empirical, the dynamic and transient). The subject is discussed by Edwin Gerowe in 'The Quintessential Narayan,' *Literature East and West*, Spring, 1967.
- 28 See p. 37
- 29 *Bharat Jyoti*, 1945 (clipping).
- 30 *CIL*, December, 1965, p. 12. Succeeding autobiographical novels projected for the seven-volume series are entitled: *Morning Face, Confession of Love, The Bubble, And So He Plays His Part, A World Too Wide and Last Scene*.
- 31 *CIL*, December, 1965, p.33.
- 32 *The Private Life*, p. 123.
- 33 'Mulk Raj Anand: A Study,' p. 30.
- 34 See p. 324.
- 35 See p. 1.
- 36 See p. 77.
- 37 V.S. Naipaul, *An Area of Darkness*, pp. 337-228.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

** Novels by Mulk Raj Anand*

- Across the Black Waters.* First Indian Edition. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1955. (First edition, London, 1940.)
- The Big Heart.* Madras: Chetty and Company, 1945.
- The Coolie.* Second Edition. London: Hutchinson Company, 1947. (First edition, London: Wishart Company, 1936.)
- Death of a Hero: Epitaph for Maqbool Sherwani.* Bombay: Kutub, 1963.
- Lament for the Death of a Master of Arts.* Lucknow: Naya Sansar, 1938.
- Morning Face* (sequel to *Seven Summers*). Bombay: Kutub Publishers, scheduled for release October, 1968.
- The Old Woman and the Cow.* Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1961.
- The Private Life of an Indian Prince.* London: Hutchinson Company, 1953.
- The Road.* Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1961.
- Seven Summers: The Story of an Indian Childhood.* London: Hutchinson Company, 1951.
- The Sword and the Sickle.* Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1942.
- Two Leaves and a Bud.* Second Edition. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1951. (First edition, London: Wishart Company, 1937. First Indian edition, Bombay: Kutub, 1946.)
- The Untouchable.* Second Edition. London: Hutchinson Company, 1947. (First edition, London: Wishart Company, 1935.)
- The Village.* First Indian Edition. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1954. (First edition, London: Hutchinson, 1939.)

* *Short Fiction by Mulk Raj Anand*

The Barber's Trade Union and Other Stories. London: J. Cape Publishers, 1944.

Indian Fairy Tales, Retold by Mulk Raj Anand. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1966. (First edition, 1946.)

Indian Short Stories. Selected and edited by Mulk Raj Anand and Iqbal Singh. London: New India Publishers, 1946.

The Lost Child and Other Stories. Privately printed by Eric Gill. High Wycombe, Bucks: Piggotts, 1935–1936.

More Indian Fairy Tales. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1961.

The Power of Darkness and Other Stories. Bombay: Jaico Company, 1959.

Reflections on the Golden Bed and Other Stories. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1953.

The Tractor and the Corn Goddess and Other Stories. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1947.

* *Non-Fiction Books by Mulk Raj Anand*

Apology for Heroism: A Brief Autobiography of Ideas. Second Edition. Bombay: Karnatak Press, 1957. (First edition, subtitled *An Essay in Search of Faith*, London, 1945.)

The Bride's Book of Beauty. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1947.

Curries and Other Indian Dishes. London, 1932.

The Golden Breath; Studies in Five Poets of the New India. London: J. Murray Company, 1933. (Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Iqbal, Puran Singh, Sarojini Naidu, and Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya.)

A Hindu View of Art. Second Edition. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1957. (First edition, London, 1932.)

Homage to Khajuraho. Text by Anand and Stella Kramrisch. Bombay: Marg Publications, 195--.

India in Color. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1958.

The Indian Theatre. New York: Roy Publications, 1951.

Is There a Contemporary Indian Civilisation? Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963.

Kama Kala: Some Notes on the Philosophic Basis of Hindu Erotic Sculpture. Geneva, New York: Nagel Company, 1962.

The King-Emperor's English. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1948.

Letters On India. London: Labour Book Service, 1943.

Lines Written to an Indian Air: Essays. Bombay: Nalanda Publishers, 1949.

On Education. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1947.

Persian Painting. London: Faber Publishers, 1932.

The Singing Line (words by Anand to accompany sketches by Krishna Kumar Hebbar). Bombay: Pohikar Press, 1964.

The Story of India. Bombay: Kutub Publishers, 1954.

The Story of Man. Amritsar: Sikh Press, 1952.

** Articles and Miscellaneous Writings by Mulk Raj Anand*

'The Concept of an Asian Mind.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, IV (October-November, 1964), 6-7, 8-9.

'English Novels of the Twentieth Century on India.' *Asiatic Review*, N.S. 39 (July, 1941), 244-251.

'The Great Delight.' *Evergreen Review*, IX (Summer, 1959), 172-190.

'How I Became a Writer.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 13-15.

'Is Universal Criticism Possible?' *The Literary Criterion*, VII (Winter, 1965), 68-75.

'Kipling and Forster.' *Quest*, No. 47 (1965), 41-55.

Letters, unpublished correspondence written between September 20, 1967, and April 30, 1968. Thirteen items.

Marg, a Magazine Devoted to Indian Arts and Crafts. Many editorials, articles, and reviews are by Anand. 1945-.

'National Integration and Indian Creative Writers.' *Indian Literature*, V, No. 1 (1962), 50-59.

'New Bearings in Indian Literature.' *Literary Review* (India Number), Summer, 1961. Anand was guest editor for this issue. Published by Fairleigh-Dickinson University.

'A Note on Hemingway.' *Indian Writing*, ed. by Iqbal Singh. London: Library of the High Commission for India, n.d.

'A Note on Modern Fiction.' *Indian Literature*, VIII, No. 1 (1965), 44-57.

'Rabindranath Tagore,' in *New Spirit*, ed. by J.W.L. Martin. London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1946.

Introduction to Rice and Other Stories by Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. Bombay: International Book House, 1947.

'The Role of Creative Writers and Artists in the Developing Countries of

110 The Role of Creative Writers and Artists in the
Developing Countries of Afro-Asia

Afro-Asia.' *Afro-Asia and World Affairs*, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), 18-21.

'The Sources of Creative Writing.' *Indian Literature*, VII (September, 1967).

'The Story of My Experiment With a White Lie,' an unpublished lecture-essay.

'The Task Before the Writer.' *Indian Literature*, VI, No. 1 (1963), 70-77.

'What Shakespeare Means to Me.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (May-July, 1965).

**. Other Sources*

Anand Commemorative Issue. *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965).

Arnold, Matthew. 'The Study of Poetry.' *Modern Criticism*, ed. by Walter Sutton and Richard Foster. New York: Odyssey Press, 1963.

de Bary, William Theodore, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Bhave, Acharya Vinoba. *Revolutionary Sarvodaya*, trans. by Vasant Nargolkar. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1964.

Bibliography of the Novels and Stories by Mulk Raj Anand in Various World Languages.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 35-42.

Borovik, E., and Makhotin, V.: 'When Translating Mulk Raj Anand:' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, VI (January, 1966).

Clippings (about 100 partially or completely unidentified Xeroxings from Anand's collection of articles and reviews covering chiefly the decade 1935-1945).

Derrett, M.E. *The Modern Indian Novel in English: A Comparative Approach*. Brussels: Eds. d l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1967.

Dutt, Prabhat Kumar. 'Mulik Raj Anand in Relation to Tagore, Prem Chand and Sarat Chatterji.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 19-20.

Fiske, Adele M. 'Karma in Five Indian Novels.' *Literature East and West*, X, Nos. 1, 2 (June, 1966), 98-111.

Gandhi, Mahatma. *The Essential Gandhi: An Anthology*, ed. by Louis Fischer. New York: Random House, 1962.

Gowda, Anniah H.H. 'Mulik Raj Anand.' *Literary Half-Yearly*, VI ((July, 1965), 51-60.

✓ Gupta, S.C. Sen. *Towards a Theory of the Imagination*. Oxford University Press, 1959.

✓ Iyengar, K.R. Srinivasa. *Indian Writing in English*. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962.

✓ Iyengar, K.R. Srinivasa. *Indo-Anglian Literature*. Bombay: International Book House, 1943.

✓ James, Henry. 'The Art of Fiction.' *Modern Criticism: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Walter Sutton and Richard Foster. New York: Odyssey Press, 1963.

James, Henry. 'Centers of Consciousness.' *The Modern Tradition*, ed. by Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Jamil, Maya. 'Indian and Pakistani Writers of English Fiction.' *University Studies* (Karachi), I (April, 1964), 61-68.

✓ Lindsay, Jack. *Mulik Raj Anand: A Critical Essay*. Bombay: Hind-Kitabs, 1948.

- Lindsay, Jack. 'Mulk Raj Anand: A Study' (an expanded, updated version of the *Critical Essay*). *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 21-33.
- Malik, Hafeez. 'The Marxist Literary Movement in India and Pakistan.' *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI (August, 1967), 649-664.
- Marath, S. Menon. 'Three Indian Novelists.' *Life and Letters*, LIX, No. 134 (December, 1948), 187-192.
- 'Mulk Raj Anand: Chronology.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 42-47.
- Murthi, K.V. Suryanarayana. 'The Motif of Virtue in Dr. Mulk Raj Anand's Novels.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, VI (January, 1966).
- Murthi, K.V. Suryanarayana. 'The Theme of Salvation: Mulk Raj Anand and R.K. Narayan.' *Triveni*, XXXIV (October, 1965), 50-59.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. *Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations*. New York: Pantheon Company, 1968.
- Naipaul, V.S. *An Area of Darkness*. New York: Macmillan, 1964.
- Narayan, R.K. (interview). *Illustrated Weekly of India*, June 23, 1963, p. 43.
- Natwar-Singh, K., ed. *Tales From Modern India*. New York: Macmillan, 1966.
- Pant, M.C. 'Mulk Raj Anand: The Man.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 16-18.
- Rawlinson, H.G. *India: A Short Cultural History*. 2d rev. ed. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1952.
- Riemenschneider, D. 'An Ideal of Man in Mulk Raj Anand's Novels.' *Indian Literature*, X (January, 1967), 29-51.

Rose, H.A. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1911.

Ruben, Walter, *Indische Romane: Eine ideologische Untersuchung*, Berlin: Akademik-Verlag, 1967.

Sahitya Akademi. *Who's Who of Indian Writers*. New Delhi, 1961.

Seidenberg, Roderick. *Posthistoric Man: An Inquiry*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

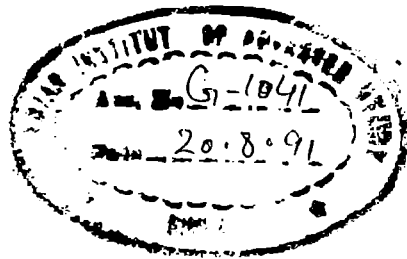
'Social Realism.' *Quest*, No. 23 (1959), 53-63.

Spencer, Dorothy Mary. *Indian Fiction in English: An Annotated Bibliography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

Vivekananda, Swami. *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume*. Calcutta: Sarasivaty Press, 1963.

Wadia, A.R. *The Future of English in India*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1955.

Zaheer, Sajjad. 'Mulk Raj Anand.' *Contemporary Indian Literature*, V (December, 1965), 11-12.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges permission to quote from the following sources:

The works of Mulk Raj Anand, from Mulk Raj Anand; *The Art of Fiction* by Henry James, from Alexander R. Jones; The Preface to *The Princess Casamassima* (The Art of the Novel) by Henry James, from Charles Scribner's Sons; *Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations* by Gunnar Myrdal, from the Twentieth Century Fund; *An Area of Darkness* by V.S. Naipaul, from the Macmillan Company; *A Short History of India* by H.G. Rawlinson, from Praeger Publishers; and *Indian Writing in English* by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, from the Asia Publishing House, Inc.