LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

TRINITY COLLEGE

C.S. LEWIS : THE ARTIST AS EDUCATOR

BY

ROSALYN BRADY

TRINITY COLLEGE
0 8 FEB 2001
LIBRARY DUBLIN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY

JUNE 2000

To the memory my former tutor, Dr. Daniel Murphy who still remains my guide and friend

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that it is entirely my own work.

I agree that the Library may lend or copy this thesis upon request.

Signed..Rosalyn Brady.....

Date:.....JAN 5TH 2001.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend warm thanks to Professor Valentine Rice and the staff of the School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin, for their help and encouragement during the M.Ed. Course. Of my former tutor, Dr. Daniel Murphy, I can only reiterate what C.S. Lewis once said of his own Oxford tutors, that he enlarged my conception of what the learned life should be. I was privileged to have had him as my tutor. I thank my supervisor Dr. Pat Wall for his valuable advice and help.

To C.S. Lewis's friends, I owe a great debt of gratitude for their generosity and help. In particular I thank Walter Hooper, Dr. Francis Warner, and Professor Derek Brewer, whose warmth and joie-de-vivre made my research a delight. Most especially, I thank C.S. Lewis's stepson, Douglas Gresham, who I am fortunate now to call 'friend'. His sparkling wit and penetrating insights made for stimulating and illuminating discussion. To his wife, Merrie, I also extend warm thanks for welcoming me into their home.

For their help in locating obscure references, I thank the library staff of Trinity College, Dublin, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the staff at Wheaton College, Illinois. In particular, I thank Charles Benson in Early Printed Books, and Jane Moriarty in Inter-Library Loans at Trinity College, Dr. Judith Priestman at the Bodleian Library, and Stephanie Gillis at Wheaton College.

I thank Brian and John for accepting the onerous task of proof-reading the work and for their support and advice. Finally I thank Annabelle for allowing me study time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... (i)
ABSTRACT ..... (vi)
INTRODUCTION ..... (vii)

CHAPTER ONE

THE EDUCATION OF THE ARTIST

1.1 Educational Decisions 1
1.2 Childhood in the Golden Age 7
1.3 Boyhood in the Dark Ages 14
1.4 Puberty in the Classical Age 20
1.5 Mid-Adolescence in the Age of Imperialism 25
1.6 Towards Adulthood in the Age of Reason 36
1.7 Adulthood in the Age of Idealism 44

CHAPTER TWO

KEEPER OF THE FLAME: LEWIS'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

Part I: Criteria of Education

2.1 Establishing Perspectives
(a) *A Thematic Approach* 56
(b) *The Socio-Political Milieu* 59
(c) *The Educational Milieu* 61
2.2 The Normative Aspect of Education 70
2.3 The Cognitive Aspects of Education
(a) *Knowledge and Cognitive Perspective* 74
(b) *Training, Education, and Learning* 80
(c) *Criteria of Educational Processes* 84
2.4 Liberal Education
(a) *Curriculum Principles* 92
(b) *Liberal Education in Action : Academic English* 96
(c) *In Defence of Old Western Culture* 101

Part II: Educating for Democracy

2.5 On Equality and Egalitarians 105
2.6 On Culture and the 'Cultured' 108
2.7 On Democracy and Democrats 114
2.8 Democratic Education : Egalitarian or Meritocratic? 118

Part III: Education in a Brave New World

2.9 The Abolition of Man 130
2.10 Conclusion 141

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPROBABLE GURU: LEWIS AS PEDAGOGUE

3.1 A Reasonable Tutor 143
3.2 Arguing to Truth 146
3.3 The Improbable Guru 157
3.4 The Master of Exposition : Lewis as Lecturer 165

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

Part I: The Case for Imagination

4.1 The Argument for the Defence 171
4.2 The Contributions of Owen Barfield 177
4.3 Developing a Theory of Imagination 186
4.4 Imagination Defined 194
4.5 The Horns of Elfland 200
4.6 Imagination "Baptized": The Influence of George MacDonald 205
4.7 A Matured Vision of Imagination : The Educational Implications 217

Part II: Reviving Old Forms: Myth in Education

4.8 A Philosophical Perspective : Ernst Cassirer 227
4.9 C.G. Jung : Bad Science or Good Poetry? 235
4.10 The Sacredness of Myth : Mircea Eliade 245
4.11 J.R.R. Tolkien and the Elfish Craft 246
4.12 Towards a Definition of Myth 254
4.13 Extending Ideology to Artistic Practice 259
4.14 The Pedagogic Potential of Myth 274

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES

Part I: Defining Relationships

5.1 The Trinitarian Model.....284
5.2 Aspects of God's Nature.....289
5.3 Man as Derivative Being.....294
5.4 A Virtuous Rational Faith.....298

Part II : Building Relationships. The Sacred Paradox

5.5 The Doctrine of Transposition
(a) First Principle - The Lower Reflects the Higher..... 305
(b) The Sacramental Relationship between Mediums.....307
(c) Transposition and Man's Destiny..... 310
(d) Transposition -The Formula of Reality..... 311

5.6 Christ as Archetypal Man.....315
5.7 Salvation as Enablement.....316
5.8 The Self and True Personality.....320
5.9 The Tempered Will.....322
5.10 The Glory of the Unveiled Self.....325
5.11 Personality versus Individuality.....327

CHAPTER SIX

THE PASTORAL PEN : LEWIS AS RELIGIOUS EDUCATOR

Part I: Lewis as Apologist

6.1 Defining the Role..... 334
6.2 Critics and Critiques..... 336
6.3 Explicating His Role..... 338
6.4 Establishing Parameters..... 342
6.5 A Distinct Apologetic Style..... 345

Part II: Lewis as Religious Artist-Educator

6.6 Striking Parallels..... 351
6.7 An Education Conceived in Freedom..... 352
6.8 A Holistic Approach..... 355
6.9 Legitimising a Liberal Education..... 357

CONCLUSIONS 361

APPENDIX 373

ENDNOTES 406

BIBLIOGRAPHY 544

ABSTRACT
C.S. LEWIS : THE ARTIST AS EDUCATOR

C.S. Lewis has received the critical attention primarily of theologians and literary critics who have focused on his work as a scholar, critic, novelist and apologist. This thesis offers a new focus for his writings. It examines biographical details of his life and the educational ideas and beliefs implicit in his work with a view to demonstrating the manner in which they comprehend and unify Lewis's fundamental impulses as artist and educator. The study suggests that if Lewis's vision of and for education is established through a philosophic explication of the entire Lewis oeuvre, if his pedagogic practices are established, if the educational implications of his theory of imagination and myth are explored, and if all are placed within the framework of his religious beliefs, then a deeper understanding of Lewis's writings and ideologies will emerge.

Chapter One focuses on Lewis's formative experiences as a child and adolescent up to his undergraduate years at Oxford University. Particular attention is paid to his experiences of various educational institutions, both private and public, which coloured his later views of education.

Divided into three parts, Chapter Two establishes Lewis's theory of education. Part One explicates his criteria of education as deducible from his letters, diary, critical, apologetic and imaginative writings. Part Two explores the implications of these criteria for his vision of democratic education, while Part Three focuses on his *The Abolition of Man,* with its vision of the future of education.

Using material primarily from correspondence and interviews conducted by the author with a number of former Lewis students and with Lewis's step-son, Douglas Gresham, Chapter Three attempts to establish the manner in which Lewis's educational beliefs were reflected in his tutorial and lecturing work at Oxford and Cambridge universities.

Part One of Chapter Four establishes Lewis's theory of imagination and its implications for his theory of education. Analogies are drawn with the views of contemporary educationalists whose writings confirm the relevance of Lewis's theory of imagination to the contemporary debate on the place of the arts in education. Part Two explores the manner in which Lewis came to perceive myth as a much neglected, but vital, pedagogic aid in man's educational and spiritual development. Comparative studies of prominent writers on myth establish a context for, and give philosophical precision to Lewis's theory of myth. Analogies to Lewis's theory of myth and its relevance to education are traced within the writings of Peter Abbs, Jerome Bruner and Bruno Bettleheim, amongst others.

Chapter Five examines Lewis's religious vision of God and man in order to establish the fundamental compatibility between the ruling principles of his educational philosophy and his religious views.

In explicating Lewis's role as apologist and religious educator, Chapter Six contends that as apologist Lewis employed a teaching style wholly consistent with his educational philosophy. Part Two of the chapter establishes the extent to which his religious beliefs determined but did not subvert the guiding principles of his educational and aesthetic philosophy.

INTRODUCTION

> The very play of mind, I think, is birth-controlled to-day.
> It flows, I say from Scott; from Coleridge too
> A bore? A sponger? A laudanum-addict? True;
> Yet Newman in that ruinous master saw
> One who restored our faculty for awe,
> Who re-discovered the soul's depth and height,
> Who pricked with needles of the external light
> An England at that time half numbed to death
> With Paley's, Bentham's, Malthus' wintry breath.
>
> "To Roy Campbell",
> *Poems,*
> C.S. Lewis.[1]

C.S. Lewis has been variously described as a "visionary and . . . moralist", "combative Christian apologist", "Christian remythologizer par excellence", "propagandist for Anglo-Oxford and for the Old things it defends", "unsystematic psychologist", and "representative of philosophical absolutism".[2] He has received the critical attention primarily of theologians and literary critics who have focused on Lewis as a scholar, critic, novelist and apologist. Scant cognizance has been taken of the fact that Lewis was by profession a lecturer and tutor, and that almost forty years of his life were spent in that capacity at Oxford and Cambridge universities.

This thesis will suggest that if Lewis's vision of and for education is established through a philosophical investigation of the entire Lewis oeuvre, and if Lewis's own educational practices are established (mindful of the limitation imposed by historical distance and retrospective student recollection), then a deeper understanding, not only of Lewis's writings, but also of Lewis's most cherished ideologies will emerge, and will contribute something fresh and telling to

contemporary reader's understanding of what Lewis's close friend, Owen Barfield, has described as a "highly individual mind".[3] A comparative study will be made of those particular contemporary educational philosophers, psychologists and writers whose educational views amplify or are analogous to Lewis's views on education and in particular to his view of imagination as a vital pedagogic and spiritual aid in the life and education of man. His views on education will then be set within the framework of his religious beliefs. It is hoped that such a study will reveal, what to many may be the unexpected modernity of Lewis's educational views and their relevance to particular contemporary educational theories on the validity of the imagination within an educational process which promotes free enquiry and liberal attitudes.

Happily such a study has been welcomed by a leading authority on Lewis's work, Walter Hooper, who for some time before Lewis's death was his private secretary, and who has been solely responsible for the task of editing many of Lewis's writings[4]. In a letter to the author, Hooper observed : "I can't think of anything much to say about the topic for your research on C.S. Lewis except that I certainly do welcome it. Lewis wrote and talked so much about the 'power of the imagination', but it doesn't look as though many educators have listened to him".[5] Hooper's view was confirmed in a somewhat unexpected way by the Oxford C.S. Lewis Society whose secretary stated in a letter to the author that "as far as I know we have never heard a talk on 'Lewis and Education'".[6]

Lewis's educational views as explicated in his writings have failed to attract the attention of the critics who have focused on the moral, religious, literary and philosophical aspects of his work. In the last twenty years, however, notable critical exegesis on Lewis's thoughts and work has served to focus attention on the much neglected area of Lewis's imaginative art. Works such as Peter J. Schakel's, *Reading*

with the Heart : The Way Into Narnia; Lee D. Rossi's, *The Politics of Fantasy : C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien*; Donald E. Glover's, *C.S. Lewis: The Art of Enchantment;* Martha C. Sammons's, "*A Better Country*": *The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Thomas Howard's, *C.S. Lewis: Man of Letters: A Reading of His Fiction*, and the earlier Robert Houston Smith's, *Patches of Godlight : The Pattern of Thought of C.S. Lewis* and R.J. Reilly's, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien* all confirm Hooper's observation in his *Companion and Guide to C.S. Lewis* that Lewis's "ideas as well as his own works of the imagination are attracting the attention of many serious scholars, and some of the best and most useful work in Lewis's studies might be done in this area".[7]

This thesis offers a new focus for Lewis's work. It proposes to examine biographical details of his life and the educational ideas implicit in his work with a view to demonstrating the manner in which they comprehend and unify Lewis's fundamental impulses as artist and educator. In attempting such a shift in perspective, one is faced with the task of establishing Lewis's theories of education and imagination. He eschewed developing any explicit theory of either, and thus one has to search out his views throughout the entire Lewis oeuvre. One engages in such a task mindful of an observation by Barfield in "The Five C.S. Lewis's", that what Lewis "thought about everything was secretly present in what he said about anything".[8] In attempting to establish Lewis's pedagogic practices one is also mindful of another observation by Barfield in "C.S. Lewis" that "Lewis could not help trying to live by what he thought".[9]

The investigation of Lewis's life and work will therefore involve a philosophical explication of Lewis's theories of education and imagination and a critical exposition of both within the context of his religious beliefs with a view to

establishing Lewis's vision for education and its relevance to contemporary educational thought. In considering the need to establish the manner in which Lewis employed his theoretical educational beliefs in his own pedagogic practices, interviews with a number of Lewis's former pupils, acquaintances, and his step-son, Douglas Gresham, were conducted by the author. The insights gleaned from these interviews were central in determining the nature of Lewis's pedagogic practices. They also clarified inconsistencies in published testimonies of several former students and acquaintances of Lewis.

Although many of Lewis's writings have been published and are readily available, some of his writings and private letters remain unpublished. This necessitated completing research at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where originals and photo-copied material of originals, now housed in the Wade Collection, Wheaton College, Illinois can be found. While this thesis will focus almost exclusively on primary sources, since no research has been completed in the area of Lewis on education, (except of course in the numerous biographies, the finest of which is George Sayer's *Jack : C.S. Lewis And His Times*), attention will be paid primarily to those literary critics who have employed philosophical explication in developing their theses on Lewis's work.[10]

Chapter One will be largely biographical, focusing on Lewis's formative experiences as a child and adolescent up to his undergraduate years at Oxford University. Particular attention will be paid to Lewis's experiences of various educational institutions, both private and public which coloured his view not only of education, but his entire outlook on man as a social animal. In Chapter Two Lewis's theory of education will be explicated. Setting his educational views within the socio-political and educational milieu of the day, attention will be paid to the formative

philosophical influences on his educational thought. A comparative study will be made of those particular contemporaneous educational theorists whose views are analogous, or sharply diverge from Lewis's own. Part One of the chapter will explicate Lewis's criteria of education as deducible from his letters, diary, critical, apologetic and imaginative writings. Part Two will explore the implication of those criteria for his vision of democratic education, while Part Three will focus on *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of schools.*[*] This work explicitly reveals Lewis's apocalypic vision of future education. It is a valuable and telling work since it offers Lewis's correctives for what he perceives as modern education's formidable failings.

Using material primarily from interviews, correspondences, and telephone conversations conducted by the author with Lewis's former students, Chapter Three will attempt to establish the manner in which Lewis's educational beliefs were reflected in his tutorial and lecturing work at Oxford and Cambridge universities. The explication will involve the use of two major secondary sources; general essay and reminiscences by Lewis's former students and colleagues in James T. Como's *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*, and Stephen Schofield's compilation of interviews on general aspects of Lewis's life and work in *In Search of C.S. Lewis.*[12]

Chapter Four, divided into two parts will attempt to establish Lewis's theory of imagination and its implication for his theory on education. It will examine the manner in which Lewis perceived myth, (in his view, one of imagination's primary products), as a much neglected, but vital pedagogic aid in man's educational and spiritual development. In Part One, "The Case For Imagination", it will be

[*] Hereafter referred to as *Abolition.*

demonstrated that Lewis was influenced in no small way by the writings and personal friendship of Owen Barfield and by the writings of the nineteenth century writer, George MacDonald in according a validity to the imagination within the process of knowing. It is hoped that such an examination will reveal that Lewis's insights are topical and pertinent to the contemporary debate on the place of the arts in education. It must be admitted however, that any analogies drawn will be tentative and brief, since it is partly the business of this study to establish the grounds for further detailed work in the area of Lewis's to-date unacknowledged contributions to the development of contemporary educational theories pertaining to education, imagination and myth.

Part Two entitled "Reviving Old Forms: Myth in Education", will seek to establish Lewis's theory of myth and the educational implications of such a theory. Comparative studies on the work of Ernst Cassirer, C.G. Jung and Mircea Eliade in the area of myth studies will establish a context and give philosophical precision to Lewis's own views which are scattered throughout his writings. Dangerous superficial similarities between the writers will be exposed, but influences upon Lewis's theory of myth will be acknowledged. His imaginative writings will then be examined to establish the manner in which they reflect aspects of Lewis's matured vision of myth. Prior to this examination, J.R.R. Tolkien's notable contribution to Lewis's recognition of the Christian implications of his myth theory will be established. The chapter will end by briefly tracing analogies to Lewis's theory of myth and its relevance to education within the writings of Peter Abbs, Jerome Bruner, and Bruno Bettleheim amongst others.

Chapter Five will bring the ruling principles of Lewis's educational philosophy sharply into focus by establishing the nature of Lewis's religious view of man and

God. It will suggest that the full import of his philosophy of education cannot be comprehended unless it is placed within the framework of his religious beliefs. Declaring that the greater part of Lewis's religious writings centre on his explication of the relationships which should exist between God and man, the chapter will focus on Lewis's interpretation of that relationship as one which should involve love, faith and active obedience. Such a relationship which results in the growth of a free individual carries serious implications, in Lewis's view, for those who would promote a liberal system of education.

Chapter Six will explore those serious implications by attempting to establish Lewis's concept of a truly liberal holistic education with reference to his educational, aesthetic and religious beliefs. It will demonstrate how even in his role as apologist Lewis consistently attempted to free the mind of his readers rather than indoctrinate them. It will suggest that the role he adopted as apologist was prompted by his educational belief that to know involves the development of a virtuous mind aware of its ethical imperatives, free from prejudices, misunderstandings and false assumptions,. The chapter will conclude by arguing that while Lewis's aesthetic and educational philosophy was permeated by his ethico-religious beliefs, those beliefs never subverted the autonomous status he assigned to both education and art. It will suggest that Newman's statement that "that which is necessarily subordinate has nevertheless its own relative autonomy and its own proper excellence" perfectly encapsulates Lewis's attitude to education and art.[13]

CHAPTER ONE

THE EDUCATION OF THE ARTIST

1.1 Educational Decisions

> He was after all and remained an Irishman of Ulster. ... He was generous-minded, on guard against all prejudice, though a few were too deep-rooted in his native background to be observed by him.
>
> J. R. R. Tolkien.[1]

Clive Staples Lewis was born on 29 November 1898 into an upper middle class Ulster Protestant home. The education he was to receive over the next twenty six years would reflect the social, cultural and educational expectations of his family. If Lewis, as he himself suggests, is the "product of long corridors, empty sunlit rooms, upstairs indoor silences, attics explored in solitude", he is equally the product of both the formal and non-formal educational processes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland and Britain.[2]

Biographers such as George Sayer and A. N. Wilson have recognised that Lewis was "obsessed throughout his life by dark memories of his schools".[3] R. L. Green and Walter Hooper in *C. S. Lewis: A Biography* have stated that the teaching of his private tutor, William T. Kirkpatrick, had to have more far-reaching effects on C. S. Lewis than anyone else with whom he came into contact.[4] Their observations contribute to the view that to examine Lewis's early educational experience is to gain an insight into his fundamental impulses as an artist and an educator.

Lewis's autobiography, *Surprised by Joy,* validates such an examination. *Surprised by Joy* is more tellingly subtitled *The shape of my early life*, the author intending that: "the reader may understand what sort of person my childhood and adolescence had made me".[5] Lewis dedicated almost half of his autobiography to his educational experiences and one can surmise that he was distinctly aware of the significance of education in the shaping of his life and thought.[6] In an interview with Lewis's stepson, Douglas Gresham, conducted by the author on 27 May 1994, Gresham revealed that Lewis viewed education as a continuous process which only ended in death. He commented that "I know Jack didn't regard education as something that stopped with children. . . . He regarded life as an educative process. He regarded education as something which should proceed throughout life".[7] In view of his comment it is doubly appropriate to explore as fully as possible those formal and non-formal educational experiences which can be interpreted as contributing significantly to Lewis's work. If misguided evaluations are to be avoided, it is essential to an understanding of the type and quality of Lewis's education that it be placed within its historical cultural milieu.

The Protestant Belfast into which Lewis was born was a privileged if uneasy one. As the son of a moderately prosperous solicitor Lewis could expect the attention of a nurse and governess in his childhood, the advantage of a preparatory and public school education in his youth, and the possibility of a university or other professional career in his adulthood. He would not have to endure the primary and intermediate education afforded to the poor Catholic or Protestant.[8] Many of the educational establishments of late nineteenth century Ireland were informed by utilitarian ideologies and had much in common with the infamous establishment of

Mr. Gradgrind in Charles Dickens's *Hard Times*.[9] Working upon the payment-by-result principle, Irish schools by 1905 were little more than "cramming establishments", many in poor physical condition, characterised by "curricular rigidity".[10] Lewis was unaffected by a system of education where "no layman wilfully takes up teaching as a permanent occupation".[11] His education was unequivocally a privileged one.

Lewis was accorded many educational privileges because such privileges were condoned and encouraged by the élite society into which he was born. As J. J. Lee in *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* has observed, Ulster at the turn of the century was a "state of mind" where Ulster Protestants "laboured to sustain a sense of racial superiority" to Irish Catholics.[12] In an Ulster threatened with a "slave revolt" of the two Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 racial élitism sustained and nourished the psyche of the conservative Ulster Protestant.[13] If Protestantism was, as Lee suggests, a symbol of Protestant superiority then one can safely assume that a Protestant education was considered as a means to sharpen and define that superiority.[14]

And Lewis's education was to be wholly Protestant. Through his Protestant nurse, Lizzie Endicott, he struck his roots deep into the peasantry of County Down.[15] He considered a long lecture by his Presbyterian governess Annie Harper as "the first thing I can remember that brought the other world to my mind with any sense of reality".[16] When the time came for his public school education, Lewis attended Malvern College, a British public school characterised by the fact that it was numbered among an élite group of public schools such as Eton and Harrow which were exclusively Anglican.[17]

Lewis was well aware of his Ulster Protestant heritage. He recalled in *Surprised by Joy* how as a young boy at private school he had reacted to the

compulsory high Anglo-Catholic church services.[18] He wrote, "on the conscious level I reacted strongly against its peculiarities - was I not an Ulster Protestant".[19] His brother, Warren Lewis, was also aware of his distinct heritage. In the *Lewis Papers* one finds this passage written by Warren:

> the religious, political and social cleavage between the Protestant Unionist and the Roman Catholic Nationalist was as deep and rigid as that which separates the Moslem from the Hindu. I for instance had never in my life spoken to a Roman Catholic with my own social background until I entered Sandhurst in 1914.[20]

Lewis also recognised that Ulster Protestantism was synonymous with Ulster Unionism. When he wrote in a letter dated 25 March 1953 that "almost all the crimes which Christians have perpetrated against each other arise from this, that religion is confused with politics", he was expressing a view which he had acquired from personal experiences during his early life.[21]

Both Lewis and his brother Warnie (Warren) have attested to their father's passion for politics. In his memoir Warnie observed that "in the upper-middle class society of our Belfast childhood, politics and money were the chief, almost the only subjects of grown up conversation".[22] Warnie shrewdly added that the innumerable political conversations which occurred in the drawing room of Little Lea (their suburban Belfast home) were conducted by his father exclusively with men of his own persuasion.[23] He recalled how he and Lewis had to sit in silence and endure "an endless and one-sided torrent of grumble and vituperation" rather than the "discussion and lively clash of minds".[24] As a supporter of the Unionist Party, one can only speculate on the degree to which Albert Lewis subscribed to a particular brand of sectarian Unionism and allowed the education of his sons to be dictated by religious and political prejudices.[25]

If the choice of education that Lewis received was affected by the degree to which it confirmed (however unconsciously) Lewis's racial superiority as an Ulster Protestant gentleman, the choice was also affected by the degree to which his education might 'civilise' him. An Anglo-Irish dynamic was operant within the Lewis household which dictated in no small degree the quality of Lewis's education. While Lewis's father, Albert, was descended from Welsh farmers, his mother, Flora was, in Lewis's words, "a Hamilton with many generations of clergymen, lawyers, sailors and the like behind her; on her mother's side, through the Warrens, the blood went back to a Norman knight".[26] Flora's mother, Mary Warren Hamilton, belonged to the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.[27] J.J. Lee has distinguished the Anglo-Irish culture as having "a patrician veneer tinged with condescension towards Catholics but pervaded with a faint sense of noblesse oblige".[28] Lewis's ascendancy relations belonged to that particular type of Anglo-Irish whom Lee has noted "could count socially as no more than respectable middle class" but who were "well leavened by the landed gentry ... and the more affluent mercantile classes".[29]

Lewis was sensitive to his parent's contrasting cultural heritages. In *Surprised by Joy* he considered that "the contrast of Lewis and Hamilton dominated my whole early life".[30] He recognised that contrast as one of temperament noting that the Lewis strain was "sentimental, passionate and rhetorical" with "not much of a talent for happiness".[31] The Hamilton strain was, in his view, cool, critical and ironic with "the talent for happiness in a high degree".[32] The cultural contrast is explored in Chapter Three of *Surprised by Joy* when he attributed to his Anglo-Irish relations (the Hamilton/Warren strain) the "heroic work" of "civilising" himself and his brother.[33]

In Glenmachan House, the ascendancy mansion of his cousin Lady Mary Ewart, Lewis and Warnie were exposed to a society with a set of social and cultural

mores quite different from the conservative Ulster Protestant mores of Little Lea. The exposure became more pronounced following the early death of Lewis's mother when Glenmachan became a second home, "but with this great difference that a certain standard of manners had to be kept up".[34] "What I know (it is not much) of courtesy and savoir faire", Lewis confessed in *Surprised by Joy*, "I learned at Mountbracken [Glenmachan]".[35]

Lewis's life and character was affected inadvertently in another regard by the society of the Great House. By Anglo-Irish standards, to civilise a boy one had to give him the best possible education and, as Wilson has noted, "the best" in this context meant an English private school.[36] The choice of education for the Lewis brothers was tempered by the social expectations of the Hamilton Anglo-Irish strain in his mother. Sayer in *Jack* has observed that evidence existed that Flora had valued the social advantages of a good education more highly than Albert.[37] If Flora wished her sons to receive a good education, it was not, as Wilson suggests in response to "the urge to gentrify itself which is endemic in the British middle-classes".[38] Rather the desire for a proper education reflected the natural claims and expectations of her own Anglo-Irish genteel background.

Lewis has claimed in *Surprised by Joy* that "two very different strains" had gone into his making.[39] However diametrically opposed on social, cultural or political grounds, both the Hamiltons and the Lewiss were unanimous in the type and quality of education which the Lewis brothers should receive. Both held (for somewhat different motives) the desire for their sons "to attain and preserve the status of gentlemen, to sound and look right, to talk without an accent".[40] (Ironically, Lewis in his turn extolled the virtues of a gentlemanly education. However, the mainspring of his argument was neither political nor social.) Lewis's education, like many upper-

middle class Ulster Protestants at the turn of the century, began at home where the task of acculturation and socialisation was undertaken principally by his nurse and governess.

1.2 Childhood in the Golden Age

> My childhood was at unity with the rest of my life.
>
> *Surprised by Joy,* 61,
> C. S. Lewis.

Once during a conversation with Nevill Coghill, Lewis rather mischievously commented that he could not imagine anything more delightful than to remain like a six year old boy all his life. [41] Although the comment was promptly qualified, Lewis was not being wholly disingenuous, for he had a deep abiding respect for childhood. Writing to his friend Arthur Greeves, in 1917 he admitted that, "descriptions of childhood and gradual growing up are very fascinating I think".[42] Lewis remembered his childhood principally as a period of "humdrum prosaic happiness".[43] However, he also considered that his childhood "was at unity with the rest of my life".[44] Many experiences and thoughts which he felt or believed as a child remained valid for him in his adult life. Lewis's imaginative childhood experiences, which were recognised both by Lewis and Warnie as having a major influence on his artistic vision, will be examined in Chapter Four. In this chapter, however, the more "prosaic" and practical educational experiences will be explored.

Lizzie Endicott, Lewis's nursemaid may be considered as his first teacher. He counted her among the "blessings" of his early life.[45] She was in his view a lady "in whom even the exacting memory of childhood can discover no flaw - nothing but kindness , gaiety and good sense".[46] As previously noted, Lizzie was a Protestant

from a lower social class through whom Lewis "struck his roots into the peasantry of County Down".[47] Garnered from Lizzie was a "lifelong immunity from the false identification which some people make of refinement with virtue" and a love of folk and fairy-tale.[48] Following in the tradition of a seanachaí, Lizzie exposed Lewis to the rich folklore of his own province.[49] She instilled in him a love of the myths and sagas of Ireland; of the sidhe of the Mythological Cycle, of Cuchulainn the hero of the Ulster Cycle, and of Fionn of the Fine Cycle.[50]

Lewis's 'official' education began with Miss Annie Harper, his Presbyterian governess. Wilson infers quite erroneously that Lewis seemed to dislike Miss Harper because she was a Presbyterian.[51] If Lewis disliked his governess (and this is debatable), it was due merely to her occupation and not to her religion. A comment in Lewis's first autobiography, *My Life*, written when he was nine, serves to clarify this point, "I have yet left out another important person who plays a large part in my life, namely 'Miss Harper' who is my governess. She is fairly nice for a governess, but all of them are the same".[52] In *Surprised by Joy* Lewis remembered her as an excellent governess, although he admitted to making "rather a bugbear of this mild and modest little lady" as a child.[53] That Miss Harper was, as Walter Hooper suspects in *Boxen: The Imaginary World of the Young C.S. Lewis,* a woman of serious disposition is evidenced in a 1908 Lewis drawing of her with a speech bubble which read "Don't say can't to me Jacksie".[54] The hint of her temperament is reinforced by her "strongly-worded discourse" in Lewis's notebook on the theme "Do as you would be done by".[55]

Lewis had lessons with Miss Harper each morning. All subjects excluding French and Maths were covered.[56] Those subjects were taught by Lewis's mother Flora.[57] Flora was quite unusual in the fact that she had attended Queen's University, Belfast, obtaining a first in Logic and a second class honours in Mathematics.

(Unfortunately her talent for Mathematics was not imparted to Lewis who failed elementary Maths in Responsions at Oxford). An entry in Lewis's diary for 1908 records a typical day: "I rise. The lawn is white with frost. I have breakfast. Get my coat and cap and see Papy off [to the office]. Miss Harper comes. Lessons [a translation of the first line of *De Bello Gallico*]. Dinner. I am carpentring at a sword".[58]

While Lewis's early education was quite typical for the average well-to-do Ulster Protestant child, his home environment and a slight physical handicap encouraged and promoted his literary bent. Both of his parents were avid readers, and Lewis considered himself the product not only of "empty sunlit rooms" but also "of endless books".[59] He recounted in *Surprised by Joy* how "there were books in the study, books in the drawing room, books in the cloakroom, books (two deep) in the great bookcase on the landing, books in a bedroom, books piled as high as my shoulder in the cistern attic".[60] Nor were any books forbidden him, Lewis recalled how he took volume after volume from the shelves on the endless rainy afternoons.[61] Interestingly, Lewis wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that many of the books that pleased him as a child pleased him as an adult.[62] He noted that they had never quite faded from his memory.[63] Amongst his favourites were the serialised stories of E. Nesbit in *Strand Magazine*, *Gulliver's Travels,* and the Beatrix Potter books.[64] It is small wonder that Lewis as a voracious reader of nine could write in his diary "I read "Paradise Lost", reflections thereon".[65] Nor is it unexpected to read in *Surprised by Joy* that "reading much and mixing little with children of my own age, I had, before I went to school, developed a vocabulary which must (I now see) have sounded very funny from the lips of a chubby urchin in an Eton jacket".[66]

Lewis's literary inclinations were also promoted by the fact that he had inherited a physical handicap from his father. He lacked an upper joint in his thumbs, a defect which resulted in his "extreme manual clumsiness".[67] Lacking the manual dexterity and co-ordination of an ordinary child, Lewis often turned away from a manual craft activity in a flood of frustrated tears.[68] He was careful to record in *Surprised by Joy* that this was a defect which occurred in solitude.[69] Not having to compare himself with other boys (Warnie suffered from a similar handicap), Lewis maintained in *Surprised by Joy* that the defect never became an inferiority complex.[70] However, he did attribute his early philosophical pessimism to this physical handicap.[71] He wrote that it bred in him "a deep (and of course, inarticulate) sense of resistance or opposition on the part of inanimate things".[72] Reiterating his belief in the power of childhood experiences he added: "it was perhaps just these early experiences which are so fugitive and to an adult so grotesque, that gives the mind its earliest bias, its habitual sense of what is or is not plausible".[73]

Lewis soon learned, however, to compensate for his defect. He was propelled to the writing desk where he learned that "you can do more with a castle in a story than with the best cardboard castle that ever stood on a nursery table".[74] His defect prompted him to create Boxen, the best of his early invented worlds.[75] His parents encouraged Lewis's compensatory actions. (Before he could write for himself, Albert Lewis allowed Lewis to dictate stories to him).[76] Later they had a small writing desk measuring two feet square by twenty-three inches high specially built for him.[77] 'Jack's desk' was housed in his "little end room" in the attic.[78] Lewis maintained that it was upon this desk that his apprenticeship as a novelist began.[79]

Lewis's juvenilia are best considered in this section. It is, in Lewis's own words, "almost astonishingly prosaic" and lacks the romance, poetry and imaginative

power of his adult fiction.[80] Green and Hooper consider his early work "immensely dull" with "hardly any foreshadowing of what was to come".[81] These early works are simple apprenticeship pieces written between 1906 and 1913, comprising plays, stories, histories, journals and diaries.[82] From an educationalist's perspective the work is interesting. It reveals Lewis's precocious ability with words and demonstrates that even at eight "the mood of the systematiser was strong in [Lewis]".[83]

In his first stories Lewis attempted to combine what actually became life long literary pleasures - "dressed animals" and "knights in armour".[84] These characters inhabited the medieval world of Animal Land, a world which was not a fantasy in the sense of reverie, make-believe or wish fulfilment.[85] It was a world of "bustle and humour" dictated by political concerns.[86] Warnie maintained that the political framework of Lewis's early stories reflected Lewis's experiences of adult conversation in Little Lea where adult conversation was synonymous with political debate.[87]

The earliest of Lewis's juvenilia is *The King's Ring*, a comic drama written circa 1906.[88] What is exceptional about the play is Lewis's deliberate attempt to craft the language in order to establish an historical perspective:

> Herald: Be it now told that Archabald hit hath been made a member of the order of Knight. Ye reason why be not told ye public.
>
> King Bunny: Come hither friends and list to me.[89]

There are also examples in the work of Lewis's early pleasure with word-play:

> Mr. Icthus-Oress: All right, this the way
> I sing (sings)
> the owl and the pussy cat went to sea.
>
> Dormie: To see what?
>
> Mr. Icthus-Oress: To the sea.
>
> Dormie: O, was it the see of, what Bishop?[90]

By aged ten the enthusiastic author had compiled his bibliography which included, "*Building of the Promenade (a tale), Man Against Man (a novel), Town (an essay), Relief of Murry (a history), Bunny (a paper), Home Rule (an essay), Trade (an essay), My Life (a journal)*".[91] Lewis attempted to craft his style to the demands of the genre. *Animal Land (New History)* for example was prefaced: "It is not my aim in writing this book to compile a full manual of Animal History but merely to set forth in consecutive order some more important facts".[92] In reviewing his *History*, the Lewis of *Surprised by Joy* recalled with some pride his realisation as a young boy that "a historian should adopt a critical attitude towards epic material".[93] He had written in his *History* that "these records, however useful, are often impossible and many of them must be legends".[94]

Boxen or Scenes from Boxonian City Life is the most vivid of Lewis's early work.[95] It is an imaginary country which Warnie noted "proliferated hugely and became our solace and joy for many years".[96] Indeed, he observed that "almost to the very end Boxonian remained for Jack a treasured tongue in which he could communicate with me and only me".[97] *Boxen* clearly demonstrates that in his juvenilia, politics rather than romance was the central concern. *Boxen* is a world teeming with political intrigues and hyperbolic political characters. The protagonist Lord John Big of Bigham is modelled on Lewis's father.[98] He is also, in Lewis's view, "a prophetic portrait" of Sir Winston Churchill.[99] Chad Walsh in *The Literacy Legacy of C. S. Lewis* "senses the influence of cheap adventure and mystery books" in some of the more sinister Boxen characters.[100] Lee Rossi in his illuminating *The Politics of Fantasy: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien* observes that the themes of ethical and

personal choices so important to his adult fictions is absent "in the copious domains of Boxen."[101]

Sayer considers *Boxen* "an odd work for a sophisticated boy of thirteen".[102] He suggests that the work reflects Lewis's desire to escape to a lost childhood paradise.[103] This view is questionable. Lewis's literary impulses, even as an adult, were never towards escape. As previously noted, Lewis was careful to distinguish between wish-fulfilling fantasy and the prosaic invented worlds of his juvenilia.[104] Wilson's criticism may be more judicious in his attention to the stories' fluency and their revelation of Lewis "as a precise attentive reader".[105] There is merit in his suggestion that the juvenilia are the apprenticeship pieces of Lewis the critic rather than Lewis the novelist, the stories being at their liveliest when Lewis is parodying a writer or dramatist.[106]

In whatever manner the juvenilia are interpreted, Lewis's early writings bear testimony to a precocious sensitivity to the functional nature of language and literary genres. Undoubtedly, the interests of the critics are best served by directing their attention to the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspects of Lewis's early writing. Prompted by his physical defect and encouraged by his parents, Lewis from the age of eight was acquiring the habit of writing. It is perhaps wisest to evaluate the juvenilia with a comment of a young Lewis's uppermost in one's mind "it doesn't matter what we write (at least this is my view) at our age, so long as we write continually as well as we can".[107]

During the period of his early writing Lewis had gone beyond the pale of Little Lea and his governess Miss Harper to the world of the British private school. From the age of nine Lewis had attended Wynyard School, Hertfordshire, a school which Warnie had been attending since 1905.[108] Lewis's premature departure to Wynyard

was precipitated by the early death of his mother. Flora had died of cancer at the age of forty six.[109] The entire Lewis family had been traumatised by the event.[110] Unable to cope with the presence of his sons, Albert had arranged for Lewis to join Warnie on his return to Wynyard.[111] Lewis's formal education was about to begin.

1.3 Boyhood in the Dark Ages

> People are wrecked at those filthy private schools long before they get to public school age.
>
> George Orwell.[112]

Over fifty years after Lewis first entered Wynyard School, he wrote in a letter to a young child: "I was at three schools (all boarding schools) of which two were very horrid. I never hated anything so much, not even the front line trenches in World War I. Indeed the story is far too horrid to tell anyone of your age".[113] Lewis did recount his school experiences in *Surprised by Joy* and in an earlier essay entitled "My First School".[114] It is in the former that one discovers that the two very horrid schools referred to were Wynyard School, Hertfordshire, and Malvern College, Worcestershire. His experiences at both schools were analogous to the experiences of contemporary writers such as Alec Waugh, Graham Greene, Osbert Sitwell and George Orwell. All had been exposed in varying degrees to the types of independent schools which were prevalent in England at the turn of the century - the private, preparatory, and public school.[115] Lewis had experience of all three types of school. His bitter antipathy to and resentment of two of them is matched by the sometimes ferocious and virulent feelings expressed by the aforementioned authors concerning their negative school experiences.

Lewis first attended Wynyard School in Hertfordshire. Aptly named Belsen in *Surprised by Joy*, Wynyard was a private school, whose prototype can be found in the

"private adventure schools" of the early and mid-nineteenth century.[116] These were schools run for profit by a company or as in the case of Wynyard, by an individual.[117] The entrepreneurial motives of such owners is well captured by Lewis in his portrayal of Rev. Capron's motives in running Wynyard as "a wicked old man's desire to make as much as he could out of deluded parents and to give as little as he could in return".[118]

Wynyard qualified as the type of school condemned in the report of the Newcastle Commission in 1861.[119] The Report railed against the conditions of many private schools, pointing out that there was no legal obstacle to the opening of a private school and no procedure whereby such schools could be inspected.[120] The physical conditions of Wynyard were appalling. Lewis wrote in "My First School" of "the inky walls, the stinking shed which served both as a latrine and as a store for our play boxes".[121] Warnie in his biography wrote that "even in 1905 any Sanitary Inspectors would unhesitatingly have condemned these places, their stench in summer is one of my most abiding memories".[122]

Like many other bad private schools, Wynyard was immune from public censure. The school could only be closed by very circuitous methods.[123] Until the Education Act of 1902, Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 was extant.[124] Ironically, under the act a parent rather than a school was charged with parental neglect should a school's conditions prove detrimental to the child. The ensuing scandal resulted in pupil withdrawal by the embarrassed parents and the eventual forced closure of the school owing to falling numbers.[125] The case of Wynyard School's closure in 1910 was analogous but not parallel to cases of the period. In 1901 the father of a pupil brought a High Court action against the Rev. Capron for physical child abuse.[126] Although the case was settled out of court, the school's reputation was sullied.[127]

When Warnie attended the school in 1905 only fifteen pupils remained. By Lewis's time the numbers had dwindled to nine. The closure of the school in 1910 proved very auspicious for Lewis.

Albert Lewis was obviously unaware of Wynyard's notoriety. His choice like many other parents was probably determined by the schools past academic reputation.[128] Lewis recalled in *Surprised by Joy* that "Oldie [Rev. Capron] could boast an impressive record of scholarships".[129] While he was at school Warnie conveyed nothing of the horrors of school life. (Sayer suggests that Warnie's letters may have been censored - a common practice at the time).[130] An entry in his diary for 19 March 1933 reveals Warnie's true impressions "if there is anything in Kipling's theory of an abstract haunting that is to say that a house where someone has experienced great misery is one in which no one will ever be happy again - Wynyard would be tenantless to this day for no one could resist the accumulated weight of over twenty years of collective juvenile and adult suffering".[131]

By 1908 when Lewis enrolled, Wynyard had degenerated into a close replica of Dotheboy's Hall of Charles Dickens's *Nicholas Nickleby* with Rev. Capron resembling Mr. Squeers.[132] When Lewis joined he must have felt rather like Squeer's pupils: "there was childhood with the light of its eye quenched, its beauty gone, and its helplessness alone remaining; ... lonesome even in their loneliness".[133] Lewis's isolation was compounded not only by the burden of his mother's death, but also by a deep sense of cultural alienation. England was a world to which Lewis reacted with "immediate hatred".[134]

Ostensibly, Wynyard was "an academy for young gentlemen".[135] Like the private schools discussed by Isobel Quigly in *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story,* it aped the manners of public schools.[136] In the tradition of some good

preparatory schools, Wynyard should have taken on a familial role, giving Lewis the stability and permanence which he lacked at home.[137] Unfortunately, such a role was unimaginable with its principal Rev. Capron (Oldie) at the helm. Oldie was a clergyman of the Church of England. Lewis considered him a man who "lived in a solitude of power".[138] Warnie declared that he was "the most complete domestic tyrant I have ever met with or ever read of".[139] He remembered him "lift a boy of twelve or so from the floor by the back of his collar and holding him at arms length as one might a dog, proceed to refresh the unfortunate youth's memory by applying his cane to his calves".[140]

Lewis's early portrait of Oldie in "My First School" refers to him as: "the bellowing and grimacing old man with his threats and his ogreish fractiousness".[141] Being rather a "pet" and "mascot" of Oldie's, Lewis escaped his worst brutalities.[142] He was fortunate in Oldie's special favour since geometry was the master's "great flogging subject" - a subject in which Lewis far from excelled.[143]

Lewis was far from excellent in any subject at Wynyard. In spite of the cruelty and the reign of terror no real learning took place. Lewis suggested that the only stimulating element in the teaching consisted of a few well-used canes.[144] Oldie's code of discipline, though excessively severe, was not atypical of the masters of the day. Gillian Avery in *Childhood Patterns: A Study of the heroes and heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770 - 1950*, has stated that "the private schools relied on the gaoler-like supervision of ushers to maintain discipline; the unreformed public schools of the old days kept order by flogging the boys".[145] Oldie however, did not discipline the boys in order to enhance his teaching. Lewis maintained that he did not teach at all, a view confirmed by Warnie: "I cannot remember one single piece of instruction

that was imparted to me at Wynyard and yet when I first went there, I was neither an idle nor a stupid boy".[146]

It is most unlikely that the brothers' reactions are exaggerated. Pedagogic practice in many private and public schools at the turn of the century had altered little from the didactic and utilitarian practices of the nineteenth century. Brian Simon's descriptions in *Studies In The History of Education 1780 - 1870* of the teaching which occurred in the unreformed grammar and public schools of the early nineteenth century are comparable to Warnie's descriptions of the teaching at Wynyard.[147] Simon writes that there was "no genuine teaching, no conception of the processes of education or learning; nothing but continuous memorising of a series of classical texts whose content was rarely expounded or understood".[148] Warnie, in like fashion, described the teaching at Wynyard as "brutalising and intellectually stupefying".[149] Lewis provided an insight into the Wynyard classroom procedure: sums were done on a slate at nine; a lesson was "said" for the master; more sums followed interspersed with science and the other arts; little assistance was given and no progress was made.[150]

While the educational privations of Wynyard are well documented, so also are the attitudes developed by Lewis and his fellow pupils in reaction to Oldie's brutality. In "My First Essay" Lewis declared that Oldie was "sore against his will, a teacher of honour - a bulwark of freedom".[151] Rather than the ubiquitous prep. school bullies and 'sneaks', the pupils at Wynyard joined together in solidarity to confront their oppressor.[152] Just as Lewis and Warnie had huddled together to ward off the irrationalities of their grief stricken father, so in Wynyard was the defence pattern of their home life repeated.[153] Lewis acknowledged in *Surprised by Joy* that the second

occurrence of this pattern so early in his life had unduly biased his "whole outlook".[154] He conceded that "to this day the vision of the world which comes most naturally to me is one in which "we two" or "we few" (and in some sense "we happy few") stand together against something stronger and larger".[155]

In this essay Lewis also wrote of a "darker miracle" at Wynyard.[156] From the first day of each term Lewis and his peers lived in "unbelievable" anticipation of the end of term.[157] To realise the end of term was as difficult to realise as heaven.[158] This experience of not taking at its face value "the apparent importance of present things" had serious implications for his future philosophical studies.[159] More importantly for the Christian Lewis the art of living by hope and longing was in his view a good preparation of the Christian life.[160] He stated in *Surprised by Joy* that "in all seriousness I think that the life of faith is easier to me because of my memories".[161]

Wynyard was for Lewis analogous to Osbert Sitwell's "places of dreary internment"; to the "place of imprisonment and terror" referred to by Edward Lucie-Smith; and to James Lucie-Smith's "grim institution as unlike home as could be devised".[162] Its concentration of misery and privation was comparable to that found in Crickton House of F. Anstey's *Vice-Versa* - in Lewis's view, the truest school story ever written.[163] All of these analogous experiences were, as Quigly suggests in *The Heirs* "intolerable to human dignity".[164] Lewis and his peers resolved their experience of oppression in a unique way. Their solidarity inculcated in each of them a sense of dignity and strength of purpose. Wynyard served to develop Lewis's character and enhanced those traits of inner fortitude and sense of self which proved invaluable to him at public school.

Nonetheless, Lewis had spent eighteen months at Wynyard. From an educational and intellectual perspective, he decried those eighteen months as the time

"almost entirely wasted".[165] He was convinced that had he been a pupil there for a further two years, "it would probably have sealed my fate as a scholar for good".[166] However, in the Summer of 1910 those "wasted and miserable years" came to an end when Wynyard owing to falling pupil numbers closed and "sank unlamented".[167] Oldie retired to the rectory of Radstock, Hertfordshire. There, "stripped of his Lilliputian autocracy" he was certified insane and died two years later.[168] Lewis left behind the "raw and sordid ugliness of school" and returned to the "warmth and softness and dignity of his home life".[169] In retrospect Lewis commented on his experience of Wynyard that "if the parents in each generation always or often knew what really goes on at their sons' schools, the history of education would be very different".[170] Happily for Lewis, his next foray into formal education was a much more pleasant and enriching experience. On this occasion he found himself among "his own people" in the recently founded Campbell College, Belfast - the new public school for Northern Ireland. His half-term sojourn there proved short but memorable. His subsequent stay at Cherbourg Preparatory School, though not so short as Campbell, proved equally memorable.

1.4 Puberty in the Classical Age

> I fancy that most of those who think at all have done a great deal of thinking in the first fourteen years.
>
> *Surprised by Joy,* 50,
> C. S. Lewis.

Founded in 1894, Campbell College was situated but a mile from Little Lea. Lewis declared that it had been founded "for the express purpose of giving Ulster boys all the advantages of a public school education without the trouble of crossing the Irish Sea".[171] In retrospect Lewis recognised in Campbell particular features which

distinguished it from British Public Schools. The prefectorial system was nominal; the pupils were socially "mixed"; there was no trace of the rigid hierarchy that governs the British public school, and athleticism as an educational and moralistic ideology had not gained ground.[172] These were the positive features for which Lewis praised Campbell. When bullying occurred it was "honest bullying" not the bullying which was endemic to and authorised in "the maison tolereé of the prefectorial system" of British public schools.[173] His only real criticisms of the college were of its denial of privacy to its pupils, and its failure to stimulate communal feeling.[174] The college afforded few places of solitude or places where small groups could congregate. Attending Campbell was, in Lewis's view, "very like living permanently in a large railway station".[175]

Yet Lewis seems to have been happy there. It was at the college that he met the first of his formal teachers who exercised a positive influence upon his intellectual and aesthetic life. His form master Octie (whom recent research by Keith Haines in *Neither Rogues nor Fools* has discovered to be Lewis Alden rather than James McNeill) in his reading to the class of Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustrum" awoke in Lewis an enduring love of heroic poetry.[176] Lewis wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that the reading of Arnold's poem was, "much the most important thing that happened to me at Campbell".[177]

Evaluating the experience in *Surprised by Joy*, an adult Lewis deduced that a chronological approach to the study of European Literature was not an imperative.[178] In his view, his deductions had clear implications for pedagogic practice and curricular planning. He urged the reader in *Surprised by Joy:* "only keep your ears open and your mouth shut and everything will lead you to everything else in the end - ogni parte ad ogni parte splende".[179]

Halfway through the term Lewis fell ill and returned home for a brief period before his enrolment at Cherbourg Preparatory School. Cherbourg was selected primarily because it was adjacent to Malvern College, the public school which Warnie was attending. Lewis was thirteen when he enrolled. He remained there from 1911 to 1913. As he wrote in *Surprised by Joy,* the classic period of his school days was about to begin.[180]

Cherbourg bears the pseudonym of Chartres in *Surprised by Joy*. Set in the great Victorian spa town of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, Cherbourg was a small school with less than twenty pupils and three assistant masters.[181] The school was a small regency style building surrounded by beautiful countryside which did much to heal Lewis's quarrel with England.[182] In many ways it was the ideal preparatory school. The surroundings were pleasant; Lewis was well nourished and cared for; his peers were amicable, and the teachers were, in Lewis's estimation, so good that he confided in *Surprised by Joy* that "here indeed my education really began".[183]

Curtis and Boultwood in *An Introductory History* have observed that the majority of prep. schools in the twentieth century were very efficient establishments.[184] They noted that the existence of the prep. school depended on their success at obtaining places for their pupils in public schools.[185] In this regard Cherbourg was highly effective. That Lewis, the product of such a pitiable school as Wynyard, was raised beyond public school entrance to scholarship standard within two years of attending Cherbourg bears testimony to its efficiency. It must be acknowledged however, that Cherbourg was not solely responsible for Lewis's academic success. Wilson maintains that the masters at Cherbourg must have considered him a "child prodigy" - an easy appraisal to make when one reads Lewis's fine essay on Wagner written at aged thirteen.[186] Wilson perceptively considers the

essay "the most remarkable production of his early years".[187] One is struck by its fluency and insight when one reads such statements as: "once having grown to love his [Wagner] peculiar richness of tone and the deep meaning of his music and the philosophy of his dramatic poems, all other composers seem but caricatures and ghosts".[188] The masters at Cherbourg must have been pleased to have a young pupil of the calibre of Lewis who would in time bring academic prestige to the school. Attending to a classical curriculum which was strongly influenced by the requirements of public school, Lewis was looked on as a promising candidate for a public school scholarship.

Lewis divided his time at Cherbourg into two distinct phases. In the first he places the positive influence of the master Sirrah and the matron Miss Cowrie; in the second he recorded his deterioration into intellectual priggery by the adverse influence of 'Pogo' the master who replaced Sirrah. Lewis recalled that Sirrah had been "an admirable influence".[189] He was "a boisterous boyish, hearty man, well able to keep his authority while yet mixing with us [pupils] almost as one of ourselves".[190] Lewis found a much needed warmth not only in his master but also in the matron, Miss Cowrie. She seems to have treated him as a young helpless orphan. Lewis admitted that "by awakening my affections she had done something to defeat that anti-sentimental inhibition which my early experience had bred in me".[191] Miss Cowrie's influence extended beyond the affective to the philosophical realm. A theosophist by inclination, Miss Cowrie exposed him to "the whole Anglo-American Occultist tradition".[192] Unintentionally, she succeeded, in Lewis's view, in helping to undermine his Christian faith.[193] At the very least, he admitted to her starting in him a "passion for the Occult" - a passion with which he was to wrestle for much of his life.[194]

With the departure of Miss Cowrie and Sirrah from Cherbourg, the new master, Pogo, helped to awaken earthier passions in Lewis. Pogo was "A wit", "a man about town", "a very minor edition of a Saki".[195] Through his vulgarizing influence Lewis "began to labour very hard to make myself into a fop, a cad, and a snob".[196] Pogo's gossip about actresses found its way in *Boxen*, where there are descriptions of nights on the town with music hall actresses and characters marked by the affectations of the theatre set.[197] Lewis was probably correct in his suggestion in *Surprised by Joy* that Pogo was not suited to having the care of adolescent boys.[198] He recalled that Pogo was "only an adolescent himself" and was "still immature enough to be delightfully "grown up" and naive enough to enjoy our greater naiveté".[199] For a pubescent thirteen year old Pogo's influence was certainly inappropriate. Without a master's or indeed a headmaster's counselling and guidance, the young Lewis made heavy weather of his puberty. He "underwent a violent and wholly successful assault of sexual temptation".[200] He attributed the violence of his masturbations to his age and to his loss of faith.[201] Undoubtedly, his highly volatile emotional state was exacerbated by the absence of sympathetic councillors.

The Lewis of *Surprised by Joy* looked on the boyhood years at Cherbourg as "greedy, cruel, noisy and prosaic".[202] There, amidst the theosophy of Miss Cowrie, the vulgarity of Pogo and his own sexual fantasies the "most unideal senses and ambitions have been restlessly, even maniacally, awake".[203] In retrospect he regarded his boyhood years as the "dark ages".[204] Academically however, Cherbourg was a success. While ill, Lewis took the entrance examination to Malvern College and won a Junior Scholarship.[205] Warnie commented on Lewis's success "I am inclined to rate his winning of a scholarship under such circumstances as the greatest triumph of his career".[206]

Cherbourg too accounted for what Lewis termed in *Surprised by Joy* a 'Renaissance' of his imagination, a renaissance which Lewis felt effected a split between his outer and inner life.[207] Lewis wrote that his two lives became so distinct that "I almost have to tell two separate stories".[208] Here one must leave Lewis's imaginative life to later examination and continue with the examination of his outer life. Following his largely positive experiences of prep. school, Lewis looked forward to attending Malvern public school. He suggested in *Surprised by Joy* that, "going to the Coll. [Malvern] was the most exciting thing that had yet happened in my outer life".[209] His excitement, however, was to be replaced by "abject terror, misery and hopelessness".[210]

1.5 Mid-Adolescence in the Age of Imperialism

> The best reason I have for opposing Fascism is that at school I lived in a Fascist State.
>
> W.H. Auden.[211]

Lewis attended Malvern College from September 1913 to July 1914. His experiences there left him with what can only be considered as complex even paradoxical views of public schools. While he praised the quality of the classical education one might receive there, he decried the ethos of such institutions, and had in his own words an "imperfect sympathy" with their aims and ideals.[212] Strangely, Lewis did not consider such views irreconcilable. However, their paradoxical nature has been misunderstood and misconstrued by such critics as Sayer who have taken Lewis's detestation of the public school "ethos" as a carte blanche attack on public schools.[213]

To untangle the nature of Lewis's views one must first gain an historical perspective of the British public school as an institution. Such a perspective is particularly relevant in Lewis's case since he attended what must correctly be termed a Proprietary Boarding School - a type of boarding school which laboured hard to acquire a public school veneer. If one is to comprehend with any degree of sympathy Lewis's disaffection with such institutions, one must become cognisant of the aims and ideals which characterised them. One can then more keenly evaluate Lewis's mixed views and comprehend what Wilson in *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* had termed Lewis's "bitter-sweet" experiences of Malvern College.[214]

David Newsome in *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*, has observed that the rise of the British public school in the mid-nineteenth century was a middle class phenomenon.[215] Simon in *Studies in the History of Education 1780 - 1870* had noted that the middle classes had turned to boarding schools as a result of the development of the railways and the changing political and social scene.[216] The burgeoning middle classes quickly established "new" public schools which in the view of the Tauton Commission of 1861 served the upper-middle and professional classes and those "who needed a relatively cheap form of education which was also socially acceptable".[217]

As early as 1836 the *Leicester Journal* in an article reporting on the establishment of Leicester Proprietary Boarding School noted that the great public schools were "more particularly the resort of the young members of the noblest and wealthiest classes".[218] It declared that "we of the middle classes, must strive to hold our own, we will labour to maintain our proportionate rank - to support our middle station, and if possible to elevate that station. This school will doubtless have that powerful tendency".[219]

Many proprietary boarding schools were established from the 1840s onwards. Simon has noted that such schools were run on business-like lines.[220] They were founded to provide "relatively efficient education in preparation for professional, even business careers".[221] Organised on the public school model, some schools quickly acquired the status of a public school. Established in 1862, Malvern College was one of the more successful new proprietary boarding schools. It imported from Rugby its aims, ideals and administrative structure. It attended closely to the views on public schools expressed by Gladstone, who, in a letter to the Clarendon Commission of 1861, declared that while public schools should be marked by business efficiency in organisation and modernisation of studies, they should nevertheless maintain their exclusiveness and concern themselves with producing "that small proportion of the youth of any country who are to become in the fullest sense, educated men".[222]

Malvern unashamedly strove to appropriate the role assigned to public schools by the Clarendon Commission and become one of "the chief nurseries of our statesmen".[223] Four years after its founding the Arnoldian prefectorial system was firmly established.[224] So also was the cult of athleticism which had in the view of J.A. Mangan in his essay "Athleticism: A Case Study of The Evolution of an Educational Ideology", had become by the mid-Victorian period a powerful though not exclusive ideology in public schools.[225] Indeed, J.R. de S. Honey has remarked in "Tom Brown's Universe" that schools like Malvern were designated public school status, not exclusively by the criterion of academic success, but also by the degree to which they interacted (largely through games and competitions) with the older public schools.[226]

De S. Honey's is an interesting observation since it helps to confirm the view held by Simon and other educational historians that the study of the cult of athleticism, which replaced the religious, moral Arnoldian influence which characterized public schools in the early and mid-Victorian era, "must be of central importance to the examination of public school purposes and achievements".[227] The understanding of the cult of athleticism is doubly important to this study since Lewis believed it to be one of the vices of public school. His prejudiced views of games as "one of the necessary evils of life, comparable to Income Tax or the Dentist", can be attributed only in part to his lack of athletic prowess.[228] One must consider his intense dislike of sport and the esprit-de-corps sport sought to inspire as a vehement reaction to the all-pervasive cult of athleticism which was prevalent in the Malvern of his day.[229]

In the high age of British Imperialism from 1850 to 1914 the cult of athleticism or philathleticism became a moralistic ideology in public schools.[230] It encouraged "a heady aggressive patriotism" - a quality which Norman Vance in his essay, "The Ideal of Manliness" has attributed to the public school's ideology of manliness.[231] It produced what Quigly in *The Heirs of Tom Brown* has termed, "honest, patriotic, unthinking young men" who would "man Britain's outposts around the world".[232] Equally, it was instrumental in supplying for home consumption, a public service élite whose pupils were "specialized into recognizable behavioural norms which served as guarantors of acceptable personal qualities, attitudes, and mannerisms; and these in themselves were important job qualifications".[233] Analogous, however, to the prefectorial system which had been established to foster the correct degree of public responsibility and individuality essential to public leaders,

philathleticism very quickly degenerated into a potent means of social control which left little room for individual development.[234] Simon in *An Educational Institution* suggests that it "sounded the death-knell for individuality in favour of conformity to stereotype".[235] For a young Lewis, poor at games and cherishing what his father considered to be "a morbid desire for isolation and seclusion", a public school dominated by the cult of athleticism was wholly inappropriate. His father recognized a problem in Lewis remaining at Malvern writing to Kirk that "he is simply out of his proper environment and would possibly wither and decay rather than grow if kept in such surroundings".[236]

In *Surprised by Joy* Malvern was presented as an institution where philathleticism and its corollary anti-intellectualism were the essence of school life, where the sublimation of team passions and energies resulted in the diminishment of the individual.[237] A young Lewis who was characterised by his "deep-seated hatred of authority, my monstrous individualism, my lawlessness", must have suffered grievously.[238] Warnie intuitively understood his brother's predicament.[239] He explained it very clearly in his memoir when he wrote:

> already at fourteen, his intelligence was such that he would have fitted in better among undergraduates than among schoolboys; by his temperament he was bound to be a misfit, a heretic, an object of suspicion within the collective-minded and standardising Public School system. He was indeed lucky to leave Malvern before the power of this system had done him any lasting damage.[240]

The young Lewis had no preconceived prejudices against public schools. He looked forward to integrating into the Malvern school system. Of the athletics and the prefects - the "Bloods of the College", Lewis wrote that "no boy ever went there more prepared to worship these than I".[241] The "Bloods", in young Lewis's eyes, were the "embodiment of all worldly pomp, power and glory".[242] In the Malvern of Lewis's

memory, philathleticism as an educational ideology was in the ascendant. The Bloods, who were the "single governing class in whom every kind of power, privilege and prestige were united", were selected by the criterion of athletic prowess.[243] This criterion extended to the prefects who, in Lewis's recollection, were nearly all Bloods.[244] So pervasive and powerful was the ideology that in Lewis's view the Bloods, who embodied philathletic ideals, became as mortal gods, the entire school becoming a great temple for their worship.[245]

However, in Lewis's case, they remained as gods but a short time. He soon came to despise what he considered to be their oppressive tyranny.[246] With the fagging system operant in Malvern the many brutalities and perversions of the Bloods could proceed unquestioned.[247] Lewis must have had the fagging system in mind when he wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that "hardly any amount of oppression from above takes the heart out of a boy like oppression of his fellows".[248] Yet it was not the fagging system which Lewis considered to be the chief evil of Malvern, brutal and wearisome though it was.[249] Nor was it the system whereby certain boys nicknamed "Tarts" acting as catamites to the seniors enjoyed "all the flattery, unofficial influence, favour and privileges which the mistresses of the great have always enjoyed in adult society".[250] The sufferings of the fags, the privileged arrogance of the Bloods, and the pederasty were in Lewis's view only "symptoms of something more all-persuasive".[251] Lewis believed that the essential evil of Malvern was the "social struggle" which was an inevitable derivation of the schools social hierarchical structure.[252]

Seated at the apex of the social hierarchy, the Bloods were the ideal to which every junior boy aspired. It was an ideal which was tainted, corrupt and corrupting. Lewis was convinced that Malvern's social hierarchy bred a class of boys who strove ceaselessly to gain admittance to the Bloods.[253] The struggle was as compelling as it

was inexorable, for as he wondered in *Surprised by Joy* "can any adult aristocracy present the world to us in quite such an alluring form as the hierarchy of a public school"?[254]

The Malverian pupils, Lewis decided, were the "least spontaneous" he had ever known.[255] Even games, he disclosed in *Surprised by Joy,* were played solely to win applause, to display athletic prowess and thereby gain a rung on a social ladder whose prize was Bloodery.[256] He believed that the school life of Malvern was "a life almost wholly dominated by the social struggle: to get on, to arrive, or having reached the top, to remain there was an absorbing occupation".[257]

Cynically, Lewis observed that the social struggle was a preparation for life since "as in the outer world those on the fringes of the privileged class can and do try to worm their way into it by all the usual acts of pleasing"[258] It also prepared the student for the great social struggle which Lewis believed dominated British society.[259] He wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that "it [the social struggle] is often, of course, the preoccupation of adult life as well ... And from it, at school as in the world, all sorts of meanness flow".[260] (Lewis voiced his abhorrence of that social struggle more vehemently in *That Hideous Strength,* "The Inner Ring", and *The Screwtape Letters*.[261] In *That Hideous Strength*, he satirised society's coteries of inner circles and the avaricious and covetous desires such élitist circles provoked in the common man.[262] His essay "The Inner Ring" is, as Chad Walsh suggests in his essay" "The Man and His Mystery", Lewis's most trenchant attack on the theme of insiders.)[263]

Lewis's recollections of his Malvern days leaves one in no doubt of his disaffection with its public school ethos. His "social struggle" theory may be overcharged, but in reviewing the history of public schools in general, Lewis would

not appear to have been a traducer. His theory embodies his own peculiar reaction to something very real, very powerful and very persuasive. In the Malvern of Lewis's day philathleticism was an essential educational ideology employed by its masters to articulate school ideals and aims. Like other public school ideologies such as manliness and the ideal of the Christian gentleman, philathleticism in its procrustean emphasis aimed at conformity.[264] It was the demand for conformity, the submersion of self in a common (and in Lewis's view an unworthy) identity, which the young Lewis must have found intolerable. The testimony of ex-Malvern pupil Derek Verschoyle helps one to appreciate Lewis's reactions.[265] He wrote that "physique, intellect and religion are cultivated in the light of a prescribed formula ... the Public Schoolboy abandons or suppresses the normal impulses and energies of childhood. Actions, thoughts, beliefs (and, after the preliminary conditioning, feelings) are standardised to the requirements of the market".[266]

Lewis refused to conform. He was, in the words of Sir Donald Hardiman, (Lewis's Malvern contemporary), "a bit of a rebel".[267] He soon became "a marked man", characterised for his unintentional insolence and truculence, and by the "smack-inviting signature" of his face.[268] In a place where "eccentricity is severely penalised" an unorthodox fellow student became a kind of anti-hero for Lewis.[269] Unnamed in the retrospective portrait in *Surprised by Joy,* Lewis seems to have held a sneaking regard for the "untameable" and "anarch in grain" young Irish Earl whom "no society could iron out".[270] One might conjecture that aspects of this much admired Earl found its way into Lewis's own literary anti-hero in his opera libretto *Loki Bound* written during the Malvern years.[271]

In *Surprised by Joy* Lewis has suggested that *Loki Bound* can be interpreted loosely as a symbolic working out of his own position at Malvern. *Loki Bound*

reveals Lewis's preoccupation with the theme of just revolt. The play concerns the revolt of a "sad Loki" against the authoritarianism and "brutal orthodoxy" of Thor.[272] In *Surprised by Joy* he recognised that Loki was a projection of himself while Thor was "the symbol of the Bloods".[273] Loki's rebellion against the injustice of Odin and the other gods reflects Lewis's rebellion against the injustice of the Bloods. As Sayer observes in *Jack*, Loki is very similar to Lewis's view of Milton's Satan: both are proud, defiant, scornful, self-righteous and resourceful.[274] A defiant reply by Loki to the charge of disrespect for the Gods epitomises what must have been Lewis's own reaction to the anti-intellectual bias of a philathletic Malvern, "I pay respect to wisdom not to strength".[275] Loki's reactionary defiance testifies to Lewis's rhetorical observation in *Surprised by Joy* that "where oppression does not completely and permanently break the spirit has it not a natural tendency to produce retaliatory pride and contempt".[276] A young Lewis's contempt came in the form of intellectual priggery.[277] He became in his own view, the very thing which public school "promised to prevent or cure".[278] Lewis's priggery is revealed in a letter written while at Malvern to his friend Greeves "how dreary it all is! ... But what irritates me more than anything else is the absolute lack of appreciation of anything like music or books which prevails among the people whom I am forced to call my companions".[279]

Lewis was saved both intellectually and emotionally by a master whose lessons Wilson suggests Lewis must have considered as "little outposts of civilisation in an otherwise barbarous world".[280] The master was Harry Wakelyn Smith. He was Lewis's Upper Fifth form master and taught him Classics and English for fourteen hours per week.[281] Nicknamed "Smewgy" he seems to have been an inspired and inspiring teacher.[282] Lewis eulogises him as a teacher who was "beyond expectation, beyond hope".[283] "Amidst all the banal ambition and flashy splendour of school life",

Lewis recalled in *Surprised by Joy that* Smewgy "stood as a permanent reminder of things more gracious more humane".[284] Lewis found in him a "perfect courtesy": he had a "perfect manner" where there was "no familiarity, hostility, no threadbare humour", but only "mutual respect; decorum".[285]

Smewgy's teaching was unobtrusively pupil-centred. Evidence by former pupils recorded in Sayer's *Jack* reveals that Smewgy on occasions would move around the classroom sitting for one or two minutes with each pupil to offer words of encouragement.[286] Sayer cites an ex-Smewgy student who stated that "these were the high spots of all my years at Malvern ... He seemed to understand me better than anyone else had ever done and could pack into those few minutes a great deal of advice and encouragement".[287] Smewgy apparently understood Lewis and recognised his precocious literary abilities. A.F. Lace, a study companion of Lewis, recalled for Sayer a moment during a class when "Smewgy turned to Lewis and made a remark about the poem that indicated to me that when it came to that sort of thing he and Lewis were able to appreciate it at a level far beyond the rest of us".[288]

Smewgy not only developed self-esteem and mutual respect in his pupils, but also inspired and enchanted them with his teaching style. Lewis recalls that in his reading of Greek and Latin verse he was "honey-tongued". "Every verse he read", Lewis observed "turned to music on his lips".[289] Smewgy imparted two life-long literary skills to Lewis. He made him critically sensitive to the rhythm of poetry and to aesthetic pleasure which comes from a study of a poem's syntax.[290] Smewgy made Lewis and his fellow students realise that, "the scholar's demand for accuracy was not merely pedantic ... but rather a niceness, a delicacy".[291]

Lewis was well aware of the debt he owed to the first of his great teachers. He often stated in conversation with Sayer that "his own style of reading poetry was based

primarily on his memory of Smewgy's reading".[292] Unconsciously perhaps, Lewis may also have emulated Smewgy's teaching manner of "mutual respect" and "decorum", for later testimonies of his own teaching by some of his ex-pupils bear a startling resemblance to his own portrait of Smewgy.[293] Lewis's respect and admiration for his old form master remained with him all his life. On the 4 February 1919 on hearing of his death he wrote to his father, "I suppose I am very inexperienced but I had come to depend on his always being there".[294] On another occasion when he re-visited Smewgy's old classroom, he commented to Sayer that "there are some experiences that paralyse you. You feel so much that you can't speak".[295] Whatever the extent of the debt, one can be sure that Smewgy served to cushion Lewis from the worst excesses of Malvern. Both Smewgy's classroom and the college library - The Guerney - proved to be sanctuaries for Lewis.[296] There he reaffirmed his individuality and succeeded in counter-balancing what he considered to be the pernicious and insidious drive towards conformity which found its most forceful expression on the playing fields of Malvern.

Lewis left the "Coll" disenchanted with a public school ethos that was perpetuated largely through philathleticism. He decried the jingoistic, unthinking young men whom he, like other writers, believed the public school produced. He decried the perpetuation in British society of that inbred commitment to the social hierarchy and the social struggle which the public school system had engendered.

Yet Lewis was not wholly disenchanted with the system. The excellent teaching of his classics form master Harry Wakelyn Smith, while contributing much to Lewis's future literary and intellectual life, also served to establish firmly in Lewis's mind ideas about education, particularly second-level education. As a fifth former in

Smewgy's class, Lewis had concentrated almost exclusively on the Classics. Of this particular curricular practice, he commented in *Surprised by Joy:*

> I think this was wise; the greatest service we can do to education today is to teach fewer subjects. No one has time to do more than a few things well before he is twenty, and when we force a boy to be a mediocrity in a dozen subjects we destroy his standards, perhaps for life.[297]

As Gresham confirmed in his interview, Lewis would undoubtedly include the classics among those "fewer subjects".[298] Whatever nefarious ethos public school like Malvern sought to develop, history reveals that they did adhere to a strong educational belief in the efficacy of the Classics.[299] One suspects that for Lewis this was and would remain one of their essential redeeming features.[300] By July 1914 Lewis was released from what he termed in a letter to Greeves "the well known sorrows of my old school".[301] He was shortly to come in contact with a man whom many believe was the most formative and formidable influence in his life - a private tutor, one William T. Kirkpatrick.

1.6 Towards Adulthood in the Age of Reason

> I at least owe to him in the intellectual sphere as much as one human being can owe another.
>
> (Lewis on Kirkpatrick)
> C.S. Lewis to Albert Lewis,
> 28 March 1921, *Letters*, 126,
> C.S Lewis.

Ex-headmaster of Lurgan College, Co. Armagh; private tutor in Great Bookham, Surrey; atheist; dialectician; "Rationalist of the old high and dry nineteenth century"; William T. Kirkpatrick by Lewis's own admission left an indelible stamp on his mind.[302] In retrospect Lewis in *Surprised by Joy* considered Kirkpatrick the second of his greatest teachers (Smewgy being the first).[303] Critics have followed Lewis in recognising the formidable influence of the private tutor nicknamed Kirk,

Knock, or the Great Knock by the Lewis family.[304] William Luther White in *The Image of Man in C.S. Lewis* contends that Lewis "never ... escaped from the influence of the Great Knock and his exacting teaching methods".[305] Green and Hooper in *C.S. Lewis* write that the two and a half years with Kirk were "among the most important in forming the C.S. Lewis who was to be", adding a previously noted comment that Kirk had more far-reaching effects on Lewis "than anyone with whom he came in contact". [306] John Peters in *C.S. Lewis: The Man and His Achievements* comments that "it was to his undisguised relief and for his profit" that Lewis came under Kirk's influences.[307] "None of Lewis's Oxford tutors", declares Wilson in *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* was to make an impression upon him [Lewis] which was comparable with the impression made by Kirkpatrick".[308] Sayer in *Jack* observes that Lewis "thrived under Kirkpatrick's tutelage" and Lewis's brother Warnie, in "A Memoir", observes that the stimulation of Kirk's sharp and vigorous mind was a key factor in developing Lewis's particular gifts and determining his future.[309]

While critics largely concur on the degree of Kirk's influence, some critics have been censorious of its effect on Lewis. Chad Walsh in his essay "The Man and The Mystery", complains that at times in Lewis's writings "Old Kirk's logic-chopping" is "carried to the point where it renders Lewis blind to the possibilities [of new ideas]" and makes him "inadequately aware of the paradoxes of the Christian Life".[310] Donald Glover in *C.S. Lewis: The Art of Enchantment* notes that Lewis "was a rational man, at least from the time of his indoctrination by Kirkpatrick".[311] John Lawlor in his essay "The Tutor And The Scholar" contends that Kirk's meeting with Lewis was perhaps "one of the least fortunate in intellectual history".[312] An observation by Clyde Kilby in his essay "The Creative Logician Speaking" serves to balance Lawlor's view. Kilby writes that "the taut rationality and devastating dialectic

he [Lewis] had learned from his tutor was largely the means of his salvation".[313] Most critics would tend towards Kilby's view and regard Kirk's influence as salutary. They would concur with Lewis when he wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that from Kirk he learned something of "the honour of the intellect".[314]

While at Malvern Lewis had pleaded with his father to allow him to "read for the University with Mr. Kirkpatrick".[315] The precedent had already been set by Warnie. Following his somewhat forced departure from Malvern in 1913, Kirk had successfully prepared him for the entrance examinations at Sandhurst.[316] Albert well aware of Lewis's dissatisfaction with Malvern, eventually acceded to Lewis's request and asked Kirk to accept Lewis as a private student. Albert was undoubtedly grateful for Kirk's letter of acceptance. The letter gave assurances on the fittingness of Albert's decision: "We all know the Public School of this country turns out boys so completely moulded in the same pattern that they suggest productions from an automatic machine. Individuality is discouraged or rather finds it impossible to take root in such a soul. Yet the genius of the younger Pitt was nursed in solitude".[317] Kirk was predisposed to accept Lewis as his pupil. In reviewing a poem "Carpe Diem - After Horace" written by Lewis in his first term at Malvern he had commented in a letter to Albert, " it is an amazing performance for a boy of his age-indeed for a boy of any age".[318] While Kirk's initial impressions of the precocious literary ability of the young Lewis were confirmed and enhanced during Lewis's stay, Lewis's initial impressions of Kirk radically altered his pre-conceived notions of his tutor. He had been led by his father to expect an "arch - sentimentalist".[319] Instead, as vividly recorded in *Surprised by Joy* he found a man who "came near to being a purely logical entity"; who had he been born a little later "would have been a Logical Positivist"; and who maintained that the voice should be used solely to communicate or discover truth.[320] Within the

first three and a half minutes of his initial meeting with Kirk, Lewis had learned to his cost that in the presence of Kirk the most casual remark became "a summons to disputation".[321]

Happily, Kirk's dialectic was "red beef and strong beer" to Lewis for, as Sayer has observed, he had inherited from his mother "a strong feeling for logic".[322] Lewis admitted that he did not resent Kirk's "ruthless dialectic" since he believed it to be innate and not merely employed as a "pedagogic instrument".[323] Lewis came to admire Kirk's dialectic technique and slowly adopted it himself.[324] In the Bookham atmosphere of "unrelentless clearness and rigid honesty" Lewis was cured of his "defensive Malverian priggery" and acquired some authentic "intellectual muscle".[325] On 14 October 1914 he wrote to his father that "we have at last struck the real thing in education in comfort, in pleasure and in comparisons. I could almost believe that Malvern had never existed or was merely a nightmare which I am glad to forget".[326] He came to view Kirk as a "unique personality with nothing inconsistent about him".[327] He admired "his dry humour, his imperturbable good temper and his amazing energy".[328] Ultimately he considered Kirk "more like some ancient Stoic standing fast in the Roman decadence than a modern scholar living in the home counties".[329] (Critics have been quick to perceive that Kirk's character is lovingly and affectionately reproduced in the flinty though loyal and courageous McPhee of Lewis's *That Hideous Strength.*[330])

While Lewis stated that his old Malverian master, Smewgy had taught him Grammar and Rhetoric, he maintained that Kirk had taught him Dialectic.[331] Dialectic however, was learnt incidentally from Kirk, for the tutor attended almost exclusively to the business of the classical curriculum.[332] In the two and a half years at Bookham, Lewis, in Kirk's view, read "more classics in the time that any boy I ever had, and that

too very carefully and exactly".[333]Lewis grew to love the classics and he read the Odyssey entire "till the music of the thing and the clear, bitter brightness that lives in almost every formula had become a part of me".[334]

Kirk's pedagogic method seemed in retrospect "an odd method of teaching" to the Lewis of *Surprised by Joy*.[335] He recounted how he was thrown into Homer's *Iliad's Book One* within two days of his arrival at Bookham.[336] In *Surprised by Joy* he described Kirk's methodology: approximately twenty lines were read aloud in Greek followed by their translation, a hundred lines followed with "a very few explanations"; a lexicon was then passed to Lewis and he was told to "go through again as much as I could of what he had done".[337] Difficult initially, Lewis found Kirk's method effective and efficient. He soon crossed what he considered in *Surprised by Joy* to be "the great Rubicon ... in learning a language" - he began to think in Greek.[338] The same method was employed by Kirk in his teaching Lewis Latin, Italian and German, and by Kirk's wife in her teaching him French.[339]

It is a tribute to Lewis's prodigious abilities that as Sayer suggests he needed only enough guidance to teach himself.[340] Worth noting also is Green and Hooper's conjecture that Kirk's "sink or swim" method "may have been applied intentionally" to a pupil whose "unusual capabilities and capacity of learning" were recognised immediately by his tutor.[341] Nor was Kirk slow to praise his exceptional student. In a letter to Albert, Kirk declared that Lewis was "the most brilliant translator of Greek plays I have ever met".[342] Later, having successfully taught Lewis Italian in seven weeks, he wrote again, "none but a quite exceptional student could have attempted it, much less succeeded in it".[343]

It was while at Bookham that Lewis adopted a daily routine which he states "has ever since served in my mind as an archetype".[344] "Daunting" in Peter's view,

"for a modern adolescent", Lewis's timetable consisted basically of a day of study and reading interspersed with walks, tea and meals, the late evening being given over to leisurely reading.[345] What is interesting in reviewing the timetable is that Lewis did not consider his English reading as work (though his reading at Bookham could comprise an honours English syllabus at any university).[346] Lewis held the life-long view first expressed in his Bookham letters to Greeves that literature was not " a subject to be learned like algebra".[347] Rather it was something experiential whereby "one thing would lead him to another and he would go through the usual mistakes and gain experience".[348] (This view was inherited unconsciously by his stepson Douglas, who revealed in his interview that from a young age he had read prodigiously for pleasure - never one work but rather the entire corpus of an author.[349] Interestingly he recalled that Lewis never dictated his reading material, but rather "steered me to [books] which he would probably think I would enjoy reading, rather than things I should read", never recommending a particular novel but rather an author, "as if each author had a right to be respected for the corpus of his work rather than individual examples of it". Among the authors Douglas recalled being recommended by Lewis were Mark Twain, William Morris, Sir Walter Scott, E. Nesbit, and John Buchan.[350])

Kirk had attempted to direct Lewis's English reading for the first two weeks but quickly gave him absolute freedom.[351] "He soon guessed", wrote Lewis in *Surprised by Joy,* "that as with his writing he was already only too proficient in that art".[352] A letter from Kirk to Albert confirmed Lewis's observation. Not only had Kirk recognised Lewis's literary ability but he had tellingly anticipated those critical qualities which would characterise the best of Lewis's critical writings: "He [Lewis] was born with the literary temperament ... It is the maturity and originality of his literary judgements which is so unusual and surprising. By an unerring instinct he

detects first rate quality in literary workmanship, the second rate does not interest him in any way".[353]With the "unerring instincts" of a good teacher, Kirk also recognised that "a critical and original faculty, whatever may be its promise for the future, is as much a hindrance as a help in the drudgery of early classical training. Clive has ideas of his own and is not the sort of boy to be made a mere receptive machine".[354]

Appreciative of Lewis's literary temperament, Kirk was, as Sayer has observed, unable to share it.[355] That honour went to Lewis's recently found Belfast friend Arthur Greeves. The voluminous letters which Lewis wrote to him during this period are contained within *They Stand Together*.[356] They bear testimony to the extent of Lewis's reading and reveal his first self-conscious attempts at literary criticism. For Warnie these letters were charged "with the intoxication of literary discovery".[357] They record untrammelled literary discoveries, for, as Lewis admitted, "there was a humility in me (as a reader) at that time which I shall never recapture".[358] "In a world of cheap and abundant books" Lewis was afforded the opportunity of obtaining for nominal sums copies of any books which struck his fancy.[359] Among the authors discovered at this period were Malory, Chaucer, Sidney, Milton, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley; very particular favourites being William Morris, George McDonald and W. B. Yeats.[360] He read few modern novels, writing to Greeves that "if modern novels are to be read at all, they should be taken like this at one gulp and then thrown away - preferably into the fire".[361]

From Greeves he gained an appreciation of such "classic English novelists" as Walter Scott, Jane Austen, the Brontes, Elizabeth Gaskill and Anthony Trollope.[362] He admired in these novelists what Greeves had termed their "Homeliness" and what he had interpreted as their "rooted quality which attaches them to all our simple experiences".[363] Lewis's life-long taste for what Greeves had called "the good solid,

old books", was attributable almost completely to Greeves's influence.[364] "In literature", wrote Lewis in *Surprised by Joy,* Greeves "influenced me more, or more permanently that I did him" adding that the very qualities which had deterred him from such books "Arthur taught me to see as their charm".[365] Sayer is probably correct in assuming that Lewis was "more open and responsive to Arthur's guidance than he was to anyone at all in later life, except his wife and Charles Williams".[366]

Lewis's literary taste altered little after Bookham. Of the novels and poetry read by Lewis there, Green and Hooper consider them "landmarks of importance when viewed in the light of his future career"; Sayer considers them "favourites for life", Peter's observation encapsulates most critic's views when he writes that at Bookham Lewis's "conservative literary tendencies so marked in later life, are firmly fixed". [367] Lewis was undoubtedly reaping a "rich harvest" at Bookham.[368] Particularly in the reading of Spenser and Sidney he lay the foundations for the finest of his mature critical writings. It was also at Bookham that a great imaginative 'epiphany' occurred. His reading of George McDonald's *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance* resulted in the momentous "baptism" of his imagination - an experience which will be fully explored in Chapter Four of this study.[369]

At Bookham the world of literature had opened up to Lewis. As his friend Greeves nourished Lewis's new found imaginative and literary world, so also did Kirk his tutor nourish a world equally important to Lewis, the world of rationality and dialectic. While Kirk's dialectic and his rationalist views may very well, as Sayer suggests, have acted as a vital foil to "an excess of romantic sensibility", they did equip Lewis with a dialectical technique which he used (some would say excessively) in his future personal, professional and literary life.[370] Wilson's evaluation is apt and succinct. He observes that with Kirk, Lewis "felt the romance of ideas and the

excitement of dialectic".[371] Not only had Kirk provided Lewis with life-long skills, but he had confirmed unequivocally Lewis's hopes of a literary career. In the role of a true teacher Kirk had quickly evaluated Lewis's literary potential and with indefeasible authority had recommended to Albert that "you may make a writer or a scholar of him but you'll not make anything else".[372] Kirk, the second of Lewis's greatest teachers had contributed much to the education of the young scholar. In retrospect, Lewis's tribute to Kirk in *Surprised by Joy* does not appear indulgent or sentimental, "my debt to him is very great, my reverence to this day undiminished".[373]

1.7 Adulthood in the Age of Idealism

It is well that there are palaces of peace,
And discipline and dreaming and desire,
Lest we forget our heritage and erase
The spirits work - to hunger and aspire;
. . . . . .
. . . . . *to us remains,*
A clean, sweet city lulled by ancient strains,
A place of vision and of loosening chains,
A refuge of the elect, a tower of dreams.

"Oxford",
Spirits in Bondage, 57.
C.S. Lewis.

Between the 4 December 1916 and 23 June 1923 Lewis obtained a scholarship to Oxford; fought and was wounded in World War One; embarked upon a controversial relationship with a woman over twenty years his senior, one Janie Moore; obtained three firsts ("Honour Mods., "Greats" and English) and the Chancellors Essay Prize at University College, Oxford; established the majority of his life-long friendships; shifted philosophically from Atheism and "popular Realism" to Idealism and thence to Theism; and had published at the age of twenty his first volume of poetry *Spirits in Bondage: A Cycle of Lyrics*.[374] Excepting the short

interlude of the war, all these events and experiences occurred while Lewis attended Oxford University.

If, as Cardinal Newman in *The Idea of a University* has observed the "business of a University" was through the medium of liberal education to cultivate the intellect that it might "apprehend and cultivate truth", then Oxford succeeded with Lewis.[375] By Newman's criteria Lewis was close to being a model university student. University certainly developed and enhanced those particular qualities in Lewis which Newman attributes to a liberal education namely "a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgements, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them and a force in urging them".[376] More importantly, Lewis strove himself for the cultivation of a virtuous mind which was implicit in Newman's idea of a liberal university education. He attempted to emulate his Oxford friends whom he characterised in *Surprised by Joy* as men who "believed and acted on the belief that veracity, public spirit, chastity and sobriety were obligatory".[377] In reviewing his letters and diary of the period one can surmise that Lewis's education depended as much on his friends as on his Oxford tutors. From them he gained what Newman has articulated as "a special illumination and largeness of mind and freedom and self-possession".[378]

On 4 December 1916, Lewis aged eighteen, attended Oxford to sit the entrance examination in classics. He suspects in *Surprised by Joy* that "I was outshone in pure Classics by many of my rivals and succeeded in my general knowledge and dialectics".[379] Nonetheless, he obtained (along with two of his future friends, Owen Barfield and A. C. Harwood) a scholarship to University College, Oxford.[380] To gain admission to the University he had to pass Responsions. The matriculation examination was held 20-21 March 1917. Owing to his weakness in Arithmetic, Lewis failed. However, he came up to 'Univ.' (University College) in the Trinity

Term of 1917 expecting to pass the examination in June. (He never passed, but happily for Lewis, Responsions was waived for ex-service men after the war).

When Lewis arrived, Oxford was bereft of most of the student body who were then fighting in the trenches of Flanders and France. With only twelve undergraduates Lewis wrote to Greeves that Univ. was "only a shadow of the real Oxford", adding however that "I never was happier in my life".[381] Lewis joined the Union, the debating society and the club.[382] In particular he enjoyed the library - not for its books but rather for its pre-Raphaelite paintings.[383] His pleasures were short-lived. Exempt from conscription, Lewis chose to join the British Army.[384] Though technically remaining a student, Lewis became a member of the O.T.C. (Officer's Training Corps.). By June 10, he had given up his rooms in 'Univ.' and was billeted in Kemble College to begin his army training.[385] There he was commissioned as a second Lieutenant in the Somerset Light Infantry. After the briefest of trainings he found himself on his nineteenth birthday (November 1917), in France in the front line trenches. On 15 April 1918 he received a "Blighty" wound and was effectively out of the war.[386]

Superficially at least, war seems to have been something of a non-event for Lewis. In *Surprised by Joy* he stated that "it is too cut off from the rest of my experience and often seems to have happened to someone else".[387] He preferred to remember the war for those "imaginative moments" when he discovered such writers as G. K. Chesterton and Bergson.[388] Both these writers, in Lewis's view, proved more influential in his life than the horrors of the trenches.[389] The war years also saw the final compilation and editing of his first poetry volume, *Spirits in Bondage: A Cycle of Lyrics.*[390] While *Spirits* is, as Carpenter suggests in *The Inklings*, "not particularly good as poetry", the volume proves enlightening for the Lewis scholar.[391] It

incorporates themes which Lewis developed in his late fictional and philosophical writings.[392] *Spirits* was published in March 1919 when Lewis had already returned to Oxford. Although the volume received indifferent reviews, Lewis still held out hopes for a career as a poet.[393]

Back at Oxford in January 1919 Lewis was sorely grieved by the years of learning lost during the war. Writing to his father, he decried "the absolute suspension and waste of these years".[394] He worked hard and earnestly to compensate for lost time gaining the nickname "Heavy Lewis" for his efforts.[395] He took the "Honour Mods" course in Greek and Latin Literature followed by the "Greats" course in philosophy and ancient history. Of his tutor for "Hon. Mods", A.B. Poynton, Lewis wrote to his father that "after Smewgy and Kirk I must be rather spoiled in the way of tutors, but this man comes up to either of them, both as a teacher and as a humorous "card"" .[396] If, as Green and Hooper suggest, a student's success at Oxford "can often be made or marred by his tutors" then Lewis's success was virtually guaranteed by having what he himself considered to be excellent tutors.[397] In *Surprised by Joy* he said of them that they "enlarged my very idea of what a learned life should be". The eulogy continued when he added that in his early fellowship days at Magdalen he "inhabited a world where hardly anything I wanted to know needed to be found out by my unaided efforts".[398]

While studying for "Hon. Mods." Lewis attended a series of lectures by Gilbert Murray. He wrote to Greeves that Murray was "a real inspiration - quite as good as his best books."[399] (Sayer suggests that Lewis was reactionary and conservative in his admiration for Murray's romantic approach to Greek drama, an approach which was derided by the more fashionable students).[400] Lewis's time-table for his year at Oxford remained to some degree similar to that at Bookham.[401] He confined his "ordinary

reading" to the weekends, interspersing his study periods with meals and conversation. He missed the security and impetus of his old tutor, writing to Greeves that "another thing that bothers me is the terrible independence with which you have to work here. I only see my tutor once a week and at other times it is very trying to reflect after a long days work that you may have been simply wasting your time ever since you got up".[402]

However, in the literary club of University College, the Martlets, Lewis discovered a new audience who would appraise his intellectual and literary endeavours. The Martlet meetings involved the reading of a paper, followed by a discussion. Lewis found excellent sparring partners in his fellow members, many of whom were well read in philosophy.[403] He must have relished what Carpenter in *The Inklings* has described as the intellectual pyrotechnical discussions which followed many of the readings.[404] So also must he have relished the unaffected and healthy attitudes of the society members. Walter Hooper in his very informative essay "To The Martlets", cites P. C. Bayley who said of the society that it "had always a faint and attractive sense of the absurdity of being self-consciously literary and authentic".[405] Nonetheless, Lewis took his papers very seriously. Writing to Greeves of his presentation of his first paper on William Morris, he declared that "I really have read all his important works - which is a very rare qualification in people that read papers at college societies".[406]

Between his undergraduate and fellowship days Lewis read papers to the Martlets on William Morris, Narrative Poetry, Edmund Spenser, James Boswell, James Stephens, "The Personal Heresy in Poetry", "Is Literature an Art?", "Psycho-analysis and Literature", and "The Kappa element in romance".[407] Most of these papers found their way into later books and essay collections. They were, for the most

part, reactionary papers, where Lewis took up the challenge of defending particular literary genres against what he considered to be the prejudice of contemporary critics.

Lewis demonstrated his reactionary spirit more forcibly in his attempt with two of his University friends (Cyril Harman and Rodney Pasley) to publish a volume of poetry, *The Way's The Way,* which would act as "a kind of counter blast to the ruling literary fashion".[408] The volume comprised poems on "sane subjects", where fashionable free verse would be notable for its absence.[409] (The project fell through due to publishing problems).[410]

Not all of Lewis's friends were reactionary. In a letter to his father he observed that "I am apt to regard my own set which consists of literary gents with a smattering of political, musical and philosophical - as being central, normal and representative. But step out of it into the athletes on one side or the pale pot hunters on the other and it [Oxford] is a strange planet".[411] Lewis acknowledged A. K. Hamilton-Jenkins as the first of his great friends, declaring in *Surprised by Joy* that Jenkins continued his education "as a seeing, listening, smelling receptive creature".[412] From him Lewis learned, Hopkins-like, to rub his nose "in the very quiddity of each thing".[413] Of Jenkins he wrote in *Surprised by Joy* that he was his "alter ego" "the man who first reveals to you that you are not alone in the world by turning out (beyond hope) to share all your most secret delights".[414]

The second of his great friends was Owen Barfield, a man who would play a central role in Lewis's intellectual life. Lewis later dedicated *The Allegory of Love* to Barfield with the words, "Wisest and Best of My Unofficial Teachers".[415] He considered Barfield his "anti-self", a man who was more like a mutual respectful enemy than a friend.[416] Yet, Lewis admitted that out of their perpetual dogfights "a community of mind and a deep affection emerge[d]".[417] Francis Joseph Moris in a

much neglected doctoral study, *Metaphor and Myth: Shaping Forces in C.S. Lewis's Critical Assessment of Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, has effectively evaluated the influence of Barfield's thought on Lewis's writings and in particular on the origins of Lewis's central concepts of criticism. [418] He refers to "the intensely symbiotic intellectual relationship" which existed between the two men.[419] While Barfield's influence was more pervasive during Lewis's early fellowship years it was perceptible in his undergraduate days.

Among the other close undergraduate friends were A. C. Harwood, - "The sole Horatio in this age of Hamlets" and Nevill Coghill, "a good man quite free from our usual Oxford flippancy".[420] This coterie of friends quickly abandoned the "buns and coffee" of freshman days and became "old disillusioned creatures" who "cease[d] to play at being the undergraduates of fiction".[421] With their discussions on Art, Literature, Music, Theosophy and a myriad of other topics they prompted each other to become the Newmanesque ideal of an educated man who has "learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse, who has refined his taste and formed his judgement, and sharpened his mental vision".[422]

While most of his friends may have been archetypal undergraduates, Lewis certainly was not. He commented in an understated letter to Greeves that he combined, "the life of an undergraduate with that of a country householder".[423] Since the death of his friend Paddy Moore during the war, Lewis had taken upon himself the care of Paddy's mother Janie and her daughter Maureen.[424] The controversial relationship with Janie Moore so relentlessly dissected by the Lewis critics certainly altered Lewis's undergraduate life.[425] Whether surrogate mother or lover Lewis made a home with Janie Moore in his second year at University.[426] There he acted as cook,

cleaner and gardener, his study periods being interrupted by interminable household chores.

Amidst the turbulent domesticity with the Moores (which served to aggravate the deep estrangement with his father) Lewis still managed to obtain a first in "Honour Mods." receiving a prize of five pounds. On 24 May 1921 he also won the Chancellor's English Essay Prize for his essay on "Optimism".[427] He had not expected to win the prize, writing to his father that he had "made it too literary for the philosophers and too metaphysical for the dons of English literature".[428] Further academic success was to follow when Lewis obtained a first in "Greats" (Literae Humaniores or Ancient History and Philosophy) in June 1922. With these successes behind him Lewis tried for a classics fellowship by examination at Magdalen College, Oxford. He failed to be elected, one examiner later confiding that though Lewis was "probably the ablest man for it", his answers suffered from "a certain excess of caution" or timidity in letting himself go.[429] Undaunted by this failure Lewis wrote to his father that he was aware of his career limitations. Echoing Kirk he declared that "an academic or literary career is the only one in which I can hope to go beyond the meanest mediocrity".[430]

The Oxford Honours School of English Language and Literature beckoned. Historically, English as an academic discipline was held in low esteem by Oxford dons during Lewis's undergraduate years. It would not be until the 1950s that suspicion and disdain for the subject would be dispelled.[431] Lewis, aware of academia's bias, justified his choice of attending the course. In a letter to his father he wrote that "his Greats subjects were something of "a doubtful quantity" in the educational world; that English literature was "a rising subject"; that substantial alterations had taken place in the syllabus, and that he would begin the course,

"knowing more of the subject than some do at the end".[432] Lewis's initial reaction to the English school was however, closer to the conservative, sceptical dons. In a diary entry for 16 October 1922 he declared disdainfully that the atmosphere of the school was much inferior to that of Greats. "Women, Indians and Americans predominate", he wrote, adding that "one feels a certain amateurishness in the talk and look of the people".[433] Nor had he much regard for the rude and pedantic lecturers, confiding in his diary that he began to understand why the Greats school was called "Literae Humaniores".[434]

Nonetheless, Lewis found in one of his lecturers, Professor George Gordon "an honest, wise, kind man.[435] While Lewis's opinion of him had been rather low initially it had risen steadily.[436] Particularly stimulating were Gordon's discussion classes.[437] Parts of the more stimulating discussions were recorded by Lewis in his diary.[438] He also enjoyed his Anglo-Saxon tutorials with Edith Wardale. She confirmed Lewis's opinion that a knowledge of grammar was a necessary introduction to the study of language (a view passed on to Douglas Gresham).[439] In learning Anglo-Saxon Lewis stated that he was "realising a dream ... which dates from my Bookham days".[440]

In his second term Lewis found a further stimulation in his friendship with Nevill Coghill. Long hours were spent on walks having "thunderous disagreements and agreements" on such subjects as Milton, Restoration drama and the Augustan poets.[441] Coghill in his essay "The Approach to English" said of these walks that they must have been, "among the commonest, perhaps among the best of undergraduate experiences".[442] He recalls that with Lewis they "fed their imaginations on all the best that had been written in our language; for it wonderfully illuminated, for both of us, the other subjects we have been studying up till then".[443]Coghill's essay also gives an

insight into the amount and quality of work covered by the two friends who were both completing the two year course in a concentrated one:

> we shared the good fortune of having F. P. Wilson for our tutor in English literature and all that year we lived at the rate of eight or ten working hours a day pressing forward under his unerring guidance, over the terra incognita ... of English poetry and prose. It was a continuous intoxication of discovery.[444]

It would come as no surprise that both Coghill and Lewis were among the six students who obtained a First Class Honour in English on 16 July 1923.

Lewis's undergraduate career was coming to an end. His tutor F.P. Wilson, urged him to pursue his English studies, planting the seeds for a doctoral thesis which would in time become *The Allegory of Love*. Later the prospect of a philosophy fellowship encouraged him to consider a thesis on Bertrand Russell.[445] Financial pressures however, forced him to seek employment.[446] Unsuccessful for over a year, Lewis in 1925 was finally elected for an English fellowship at Magdalen University, Oxford. It was a fellowship he would hold for most of his working life.[447] For Lewis, his education was only beginning.

The Oxford of Lewis's undergraduate days had surpassed his "wildest dreams".[448] There, he had found "Glenmachan turned male and intellectualised".[449] As Glenmachan had educated the outer man, so Oxford had educated the inner. Wilson has given the nicest analysis of Lewis's undergraduate career. He writes in *C.S. Lewis : A Biography* that "Honour Mods." had confirmed Lewis's knowledge and love of Greek and Roman texts; "Greats" had sharpened his wits to the point where he was convinced that life could be explained solely by cerebral means; and English had restored to him "the knowledge that human life is best understood by the exercise not only of wit but also of the imagination".[450] Retrospectively one can suggest that Lewis's academic and literary career was be infused by that knowledge.

At Oxford too, Lewis had found many life-long friends, intellectuals in the broadest sense, with those qualities he greatly admired - wisdom, imagination and humour.[451] In his tutors he had found enlightened and enlightening men. Through dint of hard work and ability he succeeded in fighting his way into "that unassuming yet impregnable fortress, that modest unremovability, that provokingly intangible stone wall" that was Oxford Academia.[452] All of his education had prepared him for that academic success. His parents and early teachers had anticipated it, his later tutors had expected it.

Lewis marked his educational success by the quality of his teachers, happily noting that, "except for Oldie I have always been blessed both in my official and my unofficial teachers".[453] He appreciated the importance of good teaching, particularly for children since, "a child if easily discouraged is also easily satisfied and his powers grow with his ideals".[454] While he extolled the virtues of a classical and liberal education one might receive at private and public educational institutions, he was distinctly aware of the inherent dangers within such educational systems. His own educational experience had been far from favourable, and yet in one regard it had been highly successful. It had confirmed for Lewis a belief in the power and creativity of the individual. Against the procrustean ideologies of educational institutions an individual could stand, unshaken and immune. In his essay "My First School" Lewis, with blistering emphasis, trumpeted his claims for an individual's independence within any educational system. He wrote:

> while we are planning the education of the future we can be rid of the illusion that we shall ever replace destiny. Make the plans as good as you can, of course. But be sure that the deep and final effect on every single boy will be something you never envisaged and will spring from little free movements in your machine which neither your blueprint nor your working model gave any hint of.[455]

Such claims would be of vital importance when Lewis turned a critical eye on education. His specific educational writings are not extensive, but they are marked by the forceful incisive persuasiveness of his apologetic writings. They derive much of their strength and tone of conviction from Lewis's personal educational experiences. They owe much of their incisiveness to a mind which J.A.W. Bennett in "The Humane Medievalist" suggests, comprised the most "novel" part of Lewis's "equipment". It was, in his view, a "philosophical mind, sharpened at an early age by a rigorous tutor and tempered in the fires of "Greats"". [456] Such a mind which saw few virtues in the educational system which emerged in post-war Britain, was not slow to communicate its concerns.

CHAPTER TWO

KEEPER OF THE FLAME: LEWIS'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

Part 1: Criteria Of Education

> Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude: and she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits . . . the law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the Lord.
>
> The Lamentations of Jeremiah,
> The Holy Bible,
> 1:3, 2:9.

2.1 Establishing Perspective

(a) A Thematic Approach

During the period of the second world war while ensconced at Magdalen College, Oxford, as fellow and tutor, Lewis simultaneously turned his imaginative eye towards the heavens, producing his science fiction trilogy, and turned his critical eye towards an examination of the state of society, and in particular the state of education. While his heavenly views delighted him, his views of the educational processes, of the teaching methodologies, and of the curricula which informed much of modern education displeased him immeasurably. In short provocative essays and a short book, Lewis tackled such issues as democratic education, equality in education, and education and social control. His views on the issues are reiterated and developed in later works, notably "Lilies that Fester", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* and *An Experiment In Criticism.*[1]

Many of the educational views expressed in these works are reactionary; some are alarmist; some unfortunately are undiscriminating. On occasion, Lewis

disarmingly presents extreme educational ideologies and practices adopted by some modern educators as the norm, thereby establishing false antitheses to buttress his own arguments. Occasionally he argues from unsupported assumptions. Nevertheless, Lewis's spirited attacks upon what he considers to be the complacent assumptions of modern educationalists demand critical attention and response. Many of the charges Lewis levels against modern education are as pertinent today as they were fifty years ago.

Indeed, a comment by Douglas Gresham that "Jack had the great disadvantage of having to say these things in the 1950s and 1960s" is an ironic realization that while Lewis's views were once highly controversial and polemical, some of his views have gained favour with particular educationalists in the nineties.[2] Some would acknowledge that Lewis's fears concerning trends in modern education were not unfounded. Others, however, would still find much in Lewis's educational writings that offends against their democratic - egalitarian aspirations.

Interestingly, when one turns to review the educational writings of Lewis's British contemporaries, educationalists such as Sir Richard Livingstone and Sir Eric James, one becomes acutely aware that Lewis was not the solitary iconoclast that Gresham may imagine him to have been.[3] Lewis can quite happily be placed within a school of educational thought which Curtis and Boultwood, in *An Introductory History,* state "flourished at the turn of the half-century".[4] This was the school of the British idealist educators, educationalists who sought a rehabilitation of education along Platonist lines.[5] They urged the establishment of educational systems informed by Platonist rather than Deweyan ideologies. Such systems, it was hoped, would produce citizens who would resolve the ethical, moral, and social problems of the age.

Lewis makes no mention of those educationalists in his writings. Indeed, the names of John Dewey and the progressive educationalists who declaimed against traditional systems of education are all conspicuously absent. As in his apologetic works, Lewis presents himself as a layman talking to men, qualified to speak as a result of his own personal and professional experiences. His writings therefore, present certain problems, since the contemporary reader must labour to establish the educational milieu out of which Lewis wrote. Only by reviewing the socio-economic, political, and educational conditions prevalent in the England of the inter-war and immediate post-war period, can one begin to assess Lewis's reactionary views on education with any degree of sympathy and impartiality. (Such an exercise would please Lewis himself, as it eliminates what Lewis in another context he has termed the "grosser illusions of perspective").[6]

Having established an historical perspective, the chapter will establish Lewis's criteria of education. This will be followed by an evaluation of the three educational issues which were of central concern to Lewis, namely, education and the transmission of culture, education and equality, and democratic education and social control. Since Lewis did not noticeably alter his view on education (except in the area of myth and education) between 1939 and 1963, a thematic rather than a chronological approach to his educational writings is employed. The thematic approach is particularly appropriate since one often finds Lewis vigorously discussing educational issues in essays on such disparate subjects as literary criticism, old books, bicycles or psycho-analysis.

It is a difficult enterprise to isolate Lewis's insights on education from his general writings. Ultimately, Lewis held out a religious aim for education, but as he himself noted in another context in *Arthurian Torso* (but equally appropriate here) that

while a non-Christian reader may not credit his insights with the same degree of 'truth' which a Christian reader might find in them, "yet both readers will grow in Wisdom by contemplating them".[7] It must also be noted however, that while his educational insights owe much to his Christian convictions, they owe an equal debt to the Hellenic/Judaic tradition.

Bearing these considerations in mind, and prompted by Lewis's supposition that "a study of the past does indeed liberate us from the idols of the present", this examination of Lewis's educational writings will begin with a sketch of the socio-political milieu of the twenties and thirties.[8] Although Lewis was little interested in politics, he was immensely interested in the principles of governing, and his reactions to political events will be cited where appropriate.

(b) The Socio-political Milieu

> Every period has its dominant religion and hope, and "Socialism" in a vague and undefined sense was the hope of the early twentieth century.
>
> Arthur Koestler.[9]

Nineteen twenties Britain saw the growth of Trade Unionism, the founding of the Communist Party, and the election in 1923 of the first Labour Government under Ramsey McDonald.[10] The anti-socialist panic or "red scare" of 1924, and the General Strike of 1926 aroused the fears of many middle-class Britons that the old order was de-stabilizing.[11] Oswald Mosley's expulsion from the Labour Party in 1930, and his subsequent founding of the British Union of Fascists intensified growing public concern among the Middle Classes.[12] Lewis's view of fascists and socialists is made clear in a letter to Dom Bede Griffiths, dated 1 January, 1940. "Fascism and Communism, like all other evils, are potent" he wrote, "One of the things we must guard against is their penetration of both into Christianity"[13]. Lewis's concerns, like

those of the public in the twenties were largely unfounded, for as A.J.P. Taylor in his superb *English History 1914-1945* observes, "most socialists talked class war, though without any serious intention of using more violent weapons than the strike and the ballot box".[14]

However, for many middle-class young men who manned the trains and buses during the General Strike of 1926, class war must have appeared a distinct possibility. Lewis, a recently elected Magdalen Fellow at the time of the strike, noted rather whimsically in his diary that the strike might afford him the opportunity to "realize a boyish dream and drive railway engines".[15] Also recorded in his diary was a suggestion by the Fellow and Dean of Divinity at that time in Oxford, the Rev Anthony William Chute. Chute articulated the more general response of the educated middle-classes. He suggested that "some of the miner's leaders ought to be cut up in small bits".[16] Lewis's more mature views on trade unionists did not deviate far from Chute's suggestion. In "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", an essay written over thirty years after the general strike, Lewis was vitriolic in his condemnation of trade unionists.[17] He characterized the trade unionist as a man who "not quite unknowingly, worked for bloodshed, famine, the extinction of liberty".[18] His life, Lewis suggested was marked by "toeing the party line, self-importance, and above all mere routine".[19]

Lewis was equally vitriolic in his attack on the Proletariat. In his essay "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", he characterized the proletarian as a strict Marxist or "vague" democrat, who was "self-satisfied to a degree - perhaps beyond the self-satisfaction of any recorded aristocracy.[20] He conceived of God's duty to him, Lewis continued, "not in terms of salvation but in purely secular terms - social security, prevention of war and a higher standard of life".[21] (These were the

very issues which brought election success to Clement Attlee's Labour Party in 1945).[22] The Marxist maxim of the working class for itself, is as Rossi in *The Politics of Fantasy* suggests, parodied in Lewis's, *The Last Battle* where the slogan of the myopic and self-centred dwarfs is "The Dwarfs are for the Dwarfs".[23] While Lewis despised what he considered to be the collectivist face of the proletarian, he did celebrate the individual working-man's essential role in the preservation of a healthy democracy; a democracy, however, which should be led by an educated middle-class.[24]

In an era when, as Taylor observes in *English History 1914 - 1945*, "the strength of the trade unions, and the apprehension of strikes counted for much", Lewis's championing of the middle classes appears more understandable.[25] Fears for the stability of the nation were exacerbated for the monarchist Lewis by the abdication of Edward the Eight in 1937, and the emergence of left-wing intellectuals in a Labour Party which by the late thirties was consciously socialist.[26] Undoubtedly, Lewis's vision of democracy, and by association his vision of democratic education, was coloured by: the activities of militant trade unionists, the growth of a powerful Labour Party in the twenties, and the emergence of an articulate, and in many cases, Oxford-educated left-wing socialist supporter in the thirties[27].

(c) The Educational Milieu

> The air is full of discussion on reform of education.
>
> Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster,
> Letter to the *Times*,
> 2 November 1942.[28]

Developments in education in Britain during the nineteen twenties and thirties proved equally alarming and distasteful to Lewis. In *An Introductory History*, Curtis

and Boultwood state that during the nineteen twenties, John Dewey and the "new psychology" produced widespread revolt in British schools against traditional methods.[29] Although certain English educators were cautious to adopt Deweyan educational principles, there were, in Curtis and Boultwood's view, "signs of strengthening of quasi-Deweyan social theories among English educators" during the mid-thirtes".[30]

The rise of progressive education led to radical and sensational educational experiments which the English press eagerly published and denigrated. Ironically, while press attention focused on the sensational experiments of Bertrand Russell, William Kirkpatrick and A.S. Neill, a major revolution was occurring in nursery and infant schools.[31] Informed by the work of Dewey, Froebel and Montessori, many infant schools had, by the late thirties, adopted the principles of active participation, free activity and expression. Margaret and Rachael MacMillan initiated reforms with their founding of the Nursery School Association in 1923.[32]

For many, however, educational experiments during the inter-war years were condemned as perverse experiments which "pandered to self-expression . . . and encouragement of spontaneous egoism in children".[33] Lewis's educational writings reveal that experiments in education did not go unnoticed by him. His denigration of the progressive principles which informed many of the sporadic educational experiments of the twenties, thirties and forties infuse much of his writing, and no more blatantly than in his untypical crude intermittent satire on progressive schools in the Narnian Chronicles.[34] (See Criteria of Educational Processes). Lewis recognized however, that the real threat to education came not with haphazard educational experiments, but with the systematic intervention by the state into the area of education and educational provision.

Committed government interest in state education came early in the 1920s with the rise to power of the Labour Party. C.P. Trevelyan's *Secondary Education for All*, a Labour policy statement drafted by R.M. Tawney, and published in 1924, provided much of the inspiration for the Hadow Report of 1926[35]. The "socialist-inspired" report was, in Taylor's view, "a clear recognition . . . that the entire population and not merely a privileged minority were entitled to some education beyond the three R's".[36] The 1939 Spens Report, the 1943 Norwood Report, and the Education Act of 1944, all acknowledged the social function of education.[37] All unanimously mooted forms of state control of education.

While major reforms in educational provision had been inhibited by the economic depression of the twenties, economic recovery after 1933 made educational planning a realistic endeavour.[38] By the mid-forties state intervention in the area of education was welcomed by a public who had benefited during the war from state collectivist and interventionist policies.[39] The surprise success of Clement Attlee's Labour Party in the general election of 1945, confirmed that public opinion had shifted noticeably to the left, and that the nation was now ready for the creation of the welfare state.[40]

To men such as Lewis and his friend J.R.R. Tolkien, the welfare state was perceived negatively as a form of enslavement to a tyrannical state. Lewis's and Tolkien's fears of state interference and servile public compliance were expressed by many others. G.H. Bantock in "The Social and Intellectual Background", in *The Pelican Guide to English Literature* has noted that in George Orwell's *1984*, Karl Popper's, *The Open Society and its Enemies*, and F.A. Hayel's, *Road to Serfdom,* warnings were sounded against "the totalitarian implications of state interference".[41] The Conservative manifesto, *Set the People Free* which won for them the general

election of 1951, was one which Lewis and Tolkien would certainty have endorsed.[42] Lewis's letters and writings reveal however that he was sceptical of a positive outcome for the Conservatives. In a 1954 letter to I.O. Evans, Lewis remarked, "There was a grain of seriousness in my sally against the Civil Service. I don't think you have worse taste or worse hearts than other men. But I do think that the State is increasingly tyrannical and you, inevitably, are among the instruments of that tyranny".[43]

Lewis's educational writings reveal that he believed that modern education was moving inexorably towards adopting a functional role assigned by the state. Certainly by the mid-forties the state had clearly recognised the unexploited potential of education. The 1942 Beveridge report stated, "In the development of education lies the most important if not the most urgent of all tasks of reconstruction. The needs of civilized man are illimitable".[44] In *Education in the Post-War Years : A Social History*, Roy Lowe observes that by the forties it was clear to all political parties that education would play an important role in post-war reconstruction.[45] The 1944 Education Act, although promoted by the conservative R.A.Butler, was endorsed by a 1945 Labour Government intent upon educational reconstruction and the development of the welfare state.[46]

The 1944 Education Act implemented a segregated tripartite system of education which Michael Hyndman in *Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History*, states was to "dominate English administration and political policy on secondary schools for almost forty years"[47]. However cynical and socially divisive educationalists such as Brian Simon believe the tripartite system to have been, many conservatives during and after the war felt that the new educational

system would undermine rather than maintain the status quo.[48] Their fears centred on the possible demise of the public school. In *Rab, The Life of R.A. Butler*, Anthony Howard reveals that as early as 1942, concern for the survival of public school had extended as far as the office of the then Prime Minister, Winston Churchill[49]. In a meeting on 4 February, 1942 between Chuter Ede and Churchill, Ede recalled: "The Prime Minister was glad to know that the public school was receiving our attention . . . We must reinforce the ruling class though he disliked the word "class" ".[50]

Even within Conservative circles however, some politicians had begun to question the validity of the public school as an indispensable educational institution. R.A. Butler, the very promoter of the Education Act, had what Howard suggests in *Rab* was an "agnostic attitude" towards the status of public schools.[51] Howard cites a letter written by Butler in April 1943, where Butler bluntly stated: "I do not personally think that the whole of the public school system is necessarily the best form of education, particularly where there is too much worship of games and the herd spirit".[52] While Lewis would have agreed unequivocally with the latter part of Butler's statement, he would also have disagreed rather strenuously with the former part. Moreover, Lewis would have been deeply alarmed to note that even within the bastions of the Conservative Party doubts and fears existed concerning the perpetuation of the public schools; these were the very institutions which, aided by the fast-growing élitist Grammar Schools, produced, in Lewis's view, the future leaders of the nation.

By the early fifties, many Labour members were disillusioned by a tripartite educational system which had exacerbated rather than alleviated social and educational injustices.[53] The call on the government at the Margate Conference of the British Labour Party in 1950 to implement a comprehensive system of education

which would uphold the principles of equality and democracy, eliminate class and intellectual élitism, and contribute to social understanding, was for Lewis the call to the destruction of a nation.[54]

The clarion call of the "modernists" and 'progressives' roused other men besides Lewis to the defence of traditional education and traditional educational institutions. These were the post-war idealists. Less radical than the absolute idealists who were led in America by Herman Harrell Horne, the British idealists were led by the classical scholar Sir Richard Livingstone[55]. Their idealism reflects the influence of Plato and Plotinus, rather than the nineteenth century Hegelian idealism which was so influential in the development of the American post-war absolute idealism[56]. However, they shared with the absolute idealists the belief that education should be directed towards the search for true ideas; that such a search demanded personal discipline and strength of character; and that a dialectic method (in the Platonist sense of serious enquiry) was the most appropriate learning methodology.[57] They diverged from the absolute idealists in rejecting the theory of self-realization, and in refusing to accept the views propounded by Hegel and later, by Giovanni Gentile, that the individual self could only have meaning within the larger context of the State.[58] Lewis was undoubtedly closer to British traditional idealism: he had rejected absolute idealism very early in his career.[59] Of his debt to classical wisdom he remarked in his essay "The Idea Of An 'English School'", "to lose what I owe to Plato and Aristotle would be like the amputation of a limb".[60] One is left in little doubt as to whom Lewis believed he owed the greater allegiance, when, towards the close of *The Last Battle*, (the final book in the Narnian Chronicles), Lord Digory expostulates to his friends on their inability to comprehend their experience of an ascent into heaven.[61]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Digory exclaims; "It's all in Plato, all in Plato: bless me what *do* they teach them at these schools"![62]

Sir Richard Livingstone, the champion of the idealist revival in Britain during the post-war period, was as perturbed as Lewis's Lord Digory by what qualified for education in the modern world.[63] By sheer coincidence, Livingstone was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University from 1941 to 1947.[64] Strangely, Lewis does not refer in his writings to this idealist educator whose views were so compatible with his own. In his *Education for a World Adrift* (1943), *Some Tasks for Education (*1946) and *Education And The Spirit of The Age* (1952), Livingstone articulated his fears of a "world adrift", a modern world marked by a loss of the wider and more philosophic Greek view.[65] In a world "with uncertain standards and vague values, with many virtues but no clear philosophy of life", Livingstone considered it a major task for education to give everyone "an intellectual attitude to life and a philosophy of life".[66] While "science, economics and sociology, industry and commerce" would, in Livingstone's view, "provide us with the frame of our society and satisfy its material needs", he was quick to emphasize that "unless we have the knowledge of good and evil, their use and excellence, will be found to have failed us".[67] That knowledge, he believed, could only be obtained through a liberal education informed by the Platonist ideals of "goodness, beauty, reason."[68]

In *Education and the Spirit of the Age* he observed that education's first task must be "to find the studies which will bring the spirit into touch with values, and develop the habits of mind which analysis does not develop".[69] Among the subjects which he deemed valuable in this regard were art, music and poetry.[70] Believing modern education to be defective because it lay too exclusive a stress on analysis and prioritized the injunction to 'teach students to think critically', Livingstone argued

that it was more important to teach people to see and feel : "The soul has two eyes and both need developing fully; if either is short-sighted, the vision is imperfect. There is the critical, analytical eye which measures and assesses and protects men from illusions and delusions. But there is also the eye which enables them to contemplate, enjoy; and adore".[71]

Livingstone was severely critical of the secondary school curriculum which he maintained was unbalanced and favoured scientific enquiry. Moreover, he derided what he considered to be Dewey's inordinate concern with education as the promotion of habits which aided socialization.[72] His concerns were echoed by William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury who wrote that while schools should be concerned with developing "social instincts, the development of the mind in relation to human beings, their needs and problems, comes by study of what we call the humanities".[73] Temple wrote of the subjects of history and literature that "an education which does not give great place to one or both of these, is dangerously unbalanced".[74]

While the British idealists stressed the importance of a balanced curriculum which gave due regard to the humanities and encouraged the study of ancient philosophy as a means to "guide intelligent men in the practical business of living", they did realize that twentieth century man lived in "the Age of Science".[75] In *Education For a World Adrift,* Livingstone stated that "it was essential to have enough scientists and technologists". He considered it "equally necessary that our politicians, civil servants, business men and general public should appreciate the value and uses of science".[76] He argued that there must be "systematic provision" for the study of science, economics, and sociology, but warned that an advanced scientific society could have "a civilisation of little value", unless it preserved and promoted moral values through an appropriate liberal education.[77]

The British Idealists also argued that one of the primary aims of education must be to train for citizenship. Livingstone defined citizenship in *Education For A World Adrift* as "the art and virtue of living in a community".[78] He maintained that it was only in public schools that an adequate education in citizenship could be acquired.[79] A public schoolboy in his view, was a 'citizen', who instinctively imbibed "the fundamental principles of good citizenship" which were essential for future leaders of the nation.[80] Livingstone maintained that, for the most part, 'day schools' taught rather than educated.[81] Nevertheless, he argued that all schools should attempt to train the students in the art of living with others "as a member of a community whose life and responsibility he shares".[82] He believed that a truly democratic education which trained good citizens would eventually arrest the moral degeneracy and materialistic commercialism which characterized the spirit of the age.

Charges of moral degeneration in modern society were not exclusive to the post-war idealists, nor were the idealists alone in suggesting that moral regeneration could be effected through a liberal education. A 1949 Ministry of Education pamphlet acknowledged that society needed to rediscover its moral bearings and its sense of purpose, and proclaimed that "one central purpose of the schools was the moral regeneration of the nation".[83] However, the position of the post-war idealists was an unfavourable one. Unable and unwilling to accept new realist and pragmatic principles of education, they were, as Curtis and Boultwood in *An Introductory History* aptly suggest, "faced with the task of keeping alive the flame of the old idealism".[84] It was in this climate of adverse political, social, and educational change that Lewis as one such keeper of the flame, formulated his criteria of education and fought the good fight for an education which he considered befitted a true democracy.

2.2 The Normative Aspect of Education

He thought the reverence owed to boys was Truth.

C.S. Lewis.[85]

Lewis declared in *Mere Christianity* that "Most of us find it difficult to want Heaven at all . . . One reason for this difficulty is that we have not been trained: our whole education tends to fix our minds on this world".[86] For Lewis, the primary aim of education must be the contemplation of the Good. Having its roots in Platonist idealism, Lewis's aim was diametrically opposed to the "modern" view held by Dewey and his followers who had abandoned the idealist's vision of man's potential second nature in favour of a biological naturalism which had growth as its primary aim.[87] Lewis believed that in order that his aim for education be pursued, education must divorce itself from aims which focused on self-improvement and self-advancement.[88] If, for example, the development of individual potential was presented as an appropriate aim, Lewis could only consider it worthwhile, if it affected what he described in *An Experiment In Criticism* as, a "going out of self to correct its provincialism and heal its loneliness."[89]

While analogies may be made between Lewis's idea of education as enlargement and Newman's view in *The Idea of a University* that knowledge effected enlargement and development of the self, Lewis's idea had a distinctly modern dimension.[90] In a sense, he held out an existential aim for education, for he suggested in *An Experiment In Criticism* that man through the processes of knowing, worship, love and moral action, must seek to know himself; must seek an "enlargement" or "temporary annihilation of self" in order that he might transcend himself and his own "tiny" world.[91] He described the outcome of such an endeavour thus, "I become a thousand men and yet remain myself. Like the night sky in the Greek poem, I see

with a myriad eyes, but it is still I who see . . . I transcend myself and am never more myself than when I do".[92]

Lewis's discussion of the transcendental function of education is never fully developed and is limited largely to a section in *An Experiment In Criticism* where he comes some way to elucidating the process in terms of its affects rather than the manner in which the process occurs. However, one can deduce from his writings that Lewis was committed to the idea that through the process of education man was able to transcend the limits of his own rational view, and was, through the workings of both the rational and imaginative faculties within his own nature, able to apprehend reality as others perceived it, and thereby expand his own consciousness.[93]

Implicit in Lewis's view is the commonly held belief that knowledge enlarges the self. However, Lewis recognized a spiritual dimension which attended upon but did not subvert this particular function of education. He believed that through the workings of the imagination, (when properly educated), man could transcend his own vision of reality, could come to apprehend higher truths and glimpse divine absolute reality.[94] In order to understand how Lewis could assign such a function to education it will be necessary to examine his theory of imagination, his perception of myth, and his religious vision of God and man. This examination will occur in Chapters Four, Five, and Six respectively. However, apart from the spiritual dimension of this function, there was the more purely cognitive dimension, whereby man in his pursuit of learning expanded his own consciousness through his interaction with the knowledge and wisdom of others. Accordingly, the pursuit of learning, in Lewis's view, carried huge implications for the growth of a fuller and more disinterested self, capable in time, of receiving the glimpses of absolute truth. These implications can

only be properly understood in the context of Lewis's religious beliefs. They will be fully explicated in Chapter Six.

Lewis believed that if this aim of transcendence was to be effected, man must pursue learning. However, in a very early essay, "Our English Syllabus", he declared that only when a student had been humanized by character and intellectual training could he proceed to the business of learning.[95] Herein lay Lewis's second aim of education - the development of character and intellect. Since such training preceded learning, training, in this instance, gained educational value. That is not to say that Lewis did not distinguish sharply between education and training (- a distinction which will be explored in the next section). However, he did admit in "Our English Syllabus" that "our ideal must be to find time for both education and training".[96]

These two central aims, the pursuit of knowledge to effect transcendence and real freedom and the development of character and intellect, are the two moral requirements or criteria which Lewis assigned to education. In Chapter Six these aims will be fully explicated in the light of Lewis's religious beliefs. Some critics have misinterpreted Lewis's aims and vision of education. Colin Duriez, for example, in his 1990 *The C.S. Lewis Handbook,* incorrectly declares that Lewis nowhere more clearly put forward his vision of education than in his "Our English Syllabus".[97] He cites this passage from the essay to illustrate what he supposes to be Lewis's vision of education: "That is why education seems to me so important: it actualizes that potentiality for leisure, if you like for amateurness which is man's prerogative".[98] Duriez may well have overlooked a letter written by Lewis to his friend Dom Bede Griffiths in 1940 in response to Griffith's appraisal of this very essay.[99] Lewis confided to Griffiths:

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

> I think your criticisms on my Aristotelian idea of leisure are largely right. I wouldn't write that essay now . . . a good deal of the high sounding doctrine of leisure is only a defence of that [i.e. Lewis's laziness] . . . There was a good element in it-the recognition, badly needed by modern commercialism, that the economic activities are not the *end* of man: beyond that, they were probably wrong.[100]

Of course, there are other "good elements" in the essay which Lewis developed in later writings, notably the distinction between learning and training, the idea of a university and a university syllabus, and his concept of knowledge.[101] It is to Lewis's concept of knowledge that one must turn to establish the first of Lewis's formal requirements of education.

2.3 The Cognitive Aspect of Education

(a) Knowledge and Cognitive Perspective

> But the proper glory of the masculine mind, [is] its disinterested concern with truth for truth's own sake.
>
> "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought",
> *Present Concerns,* 63,
> C.S. Lewis.

In *The Republic* Plato declared that knowledge is "a capacity which is innate in each man's mind", something possessing a divine quality which "never loses its powers but whose effects are useful and salutary or again useless and harmful according to the direction in which it is turned".[102] While Lewis did not view knowledge as innate, he did declare in his essay "Learning in Wartime" that an appetite for knowledge (and beauty) is innate in every man.[103] It is an appetite created by God who "makes no appetite in vain".[104] Lewis again stressed in "Our English Syllabus" that "knowledge is the natural food of the human mind: that those who specially pursue it are being specially human".[105] Following Plato, he did not consider knowledge inert. He maintained, like Plato, that knowledge was virtue, and man was transformed by knowing. Plato stated that the disciplined mind "must be turned away from the world of change until its eye can bear to look straight at reality and at the brightest of all realities which is what we call the good".[106] Lewis considered that "We can therefore pursue knowledge as such, and beauty, as such, in the sure confidence that by so doing we are either advancing to the vision of God ourselves or indirectly helping others to do so".[107]

In "Learning in Wartime", he reiterated Plato's and John Henry Newman's claim that the pursuit and cultivation of knowledge leads to truth.[108] Newman

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

proclaimed in *The Idea of a University* that "truth of whatever kind is the proper object of the intellect; its cultivation then lies in fitting it to apprehend and contemplate truth".[109] Like Newman, Lewis developed this idea by suggesting that the contemplation of truth through the pursuit of knowledge must be the objective of a man engaged in education.[110] The "proper glory of the masculine mind", he insisted in his essay "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", is the "disinterested concern with truth for truth's own sake."[111]

No doubt Lewis felt compelled to reaffirm this classical view in the light of the challenge from twentieth century scientists and empiricists. Bantock, in "The Social and Intellectual Background", stated that by the early fifties scientists and empiricists "increasingly dominated the native philosophical scene, bringing with them an element of scepticism".[112] He cites a statement from Karl Popper's *The Open Society and Its Enemies* which reveals the extent to which Lewis's philosophical view of truth and knowledge was being eroded by modern science: "in science there is no knowledge in the sense in which Plato and Aristotle understood the word, in the sense which implies finality".[113] Rather than accepting that certain knowledge, for example, an *a priori* moral postulate was absolute, modern scientists were adopting a revisionist stance towards all knowledge and reality itself. They were abandoning their claim to depict 'reality and 'truth' as something independent of the conceptual system adopted for the purpose of interpretation.[114] Lewis could never concede even to the possibility that truth was relative. Revisionist attitudes towards knowledge also seemed to mark the theories of modern educationalists. Dewey in *Education and Experience* and *Democracy and Education* revealed that he had abandoned the idea of knowledge as a permanent objective structure by declaring that knowledge was formulated in active relation to an empirical world.[115]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Lewis feared that his view of knowledge was being debased by a modern society and an educational system which increasingly regarded knowledge as something external rather than internal. In his novel *The Great Divorce : A Dream,* Lewis has Dick, a spokesman of truth, and one of the "Bright People", state that there are "sins of the intellect" - high-bound prejudice and intellectual dishonesty and timidity and stagnation".[116] Rather than establishing standards for themselves through dint of rigorous scholarship, Dick maintained that many modern men had "simply found ourselves in contact with a certain current of ideas and plunged into it because it seems modern and successful".[117] University, for example, was a place, Dick argued, where "we just started automatically writing the kind of essays that got good marks and saying the things that won applause".[118]

Lewis suspected in his essay "The Parthenon and The Optative", that modern education was fallaciously qualifying men to be "intellectual without intellect".[119] He confided in his essay, "On the Reading of Old Books", that as a teacher he had attempted to correct this false tendency in modern education and society.[120] Students, in his view, should not mindlessly adopt the second-hand views of critics, but should examine the primary sources in order to develop an independent and therefore honest and valuable view.[121] Sceptical of modern scholarship, he observed that modern students studying Plato, for example, would "rather read some dreary modern book ten times as long, all about "isms" and influences and only once in twelve pages telling him what Plato actually said".[122] In the light of such research patterns he declared that "it has always been one of my main endeavours as a teacher to persuade the young that first-hand knowledge is not only more worth acquiring than second-hand knowledge, but is usually much easier and more delightful to acquire".[123] On a

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

moral note, he declared in *The Great Divorce* that "honest opinions fearlessly followed - (they) are not sins".[124]

Lewis reluctantly felt compelled to admit in "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought" that modern men are "simply not interested in the question of truth or falsehood".[125] He regretted that Church members were "coming to be almost the only people who appeal to the buried (but not dead) human appetite for the objective truth".[126] Accepting "ready-made truths" which put an end to intellectual activity", modern man was restricting knowledge to what was "comforting, inspiring or socially useful", and was thus "becoming as narrowly practical as the irrational animals".[127] This constriction of knowledge reflected Newman's view in *The Idea of a University,* that "knowledge in proportion as it tends more and more to be particular ceases to be knowledge".[128]

Lewis was committed to the belief that only through "free unprejudiced enquiry" which was guided by hard-won internal rather than external standards of appraisal could man come to know what is good; and as Dick rhetorically insisted in *The Great Divorce:* "The free wind of inquiry must always continue to blow through the mind, must it not?".[129] Implicit in Lewis's educational writings is the view that the pursuit of knowledge must be akin to the exercise of good criticism as defined by Matthew Arnold and cited by Lewis in *An Experiment In Criticism.*[130] Essentially, the pursuit of knowledge like good criticism must be an exercise of curiosity prompted by a "disinterested love of free play of the mind on all subjects for its own sake".[131] (Lewis applied Arnold's criterion to his definition of literary criticism and to his justification of the curricular content of the Final Honours English syllabus at Oxford).

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

However "pure and disinterested" Lewis declared the pursuit of knowledge should be, however much he praised the principle of knowledge for its own sake, he qualified these formal criteria of knowledge with a Christian ethical caveat.[132] He stated categorically in "Learning in Wartime", that "knowledge must be pursued for its own sake, but in a sense which does not exclude its being for God's sake".[133] In his view, the humble man should not be unduly concerned with the ultimate relevance of his knowledge to a vision of God.[134] If he could "keep the impulse [for knowledge] pure and disinterested" then his pursuit of knowledge and his life of learning "humbly offered to God" would "in its own small way, [be] one of the appointed approaches to the divine reality and the divine beauty which we hope to enjoy hereafter".[135]

In integrating the criterion of knowledge as its own end within a larger set of first principles, Lewis developed a concept of knowledge akin to Newman's in *The Idea of a University.*[136] For Newman and Lewis alike, knowledge became a condition of mind tempered by intellectual virtues wholly Christian in ethos rather than a collection of external facts imposed on the mind.[137] Newman anticipated Lewis's position when he wrote that knowledge was not a "mere extrinsic or accidental advantage" but was rather "an acquired illumination, it is a habit, a personal possession, and an inward endowment".[138] Newman could thus logically assert that true knowledge could never be associated with instruction, whose rules and exercises had, in his view, "little or no effect upon the mind itself . . . and bear upon an end external to themselves".[139] The knowledge gained from instruction, was in a sense, 'cognitively adrift', and Newman, like Lewis believed "that the vision of man limited to a specialized competence could never be deemed an educated vision".[140]

It is for this very reason that Lewis could not apply the term knowledge to the outcome of many modern educational practices. It was because he believed that true

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

knowledge could never be cognitively adrift that he could logically claim (like Newman) that one particular type of education could effectively educate all men. Newman had argued:

> The man who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse, who has refined his taste and formed his judgement, and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed at once be a lawyer, or a pleader . . . but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of the sciences or callings I have referred to.[141]

During his interview, Douglas Gresham revealed that he believed Lewis to have held a similar view: "He [Lewis] would extol the virtue of a basic classical education (and basic physics, biology, the sciences) - it is a jumping off point in any direction you want".[142] Lewis insisted in all his educational writings (and indeed his critical writings) that a man could only have true knowledge if he received an education which was liberal and preferably classical. Since his criteria of a classical liberal education will be discussed later, it is sufficient to note here that Lewis was convinced that it was only through a study of the past that man could objectively evaluate present ideas. In "De Descriptione Temporum", Lewis's inaugural lecture as Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English Literature in Cambridge University, he declared unequivocally that "To study the past does indeed liberate us from the present, from the idols of our own market-place. But I think it liberates us from the past too."[143] Lewis maintained throughout his writings that a true knowledge was not easily won. It could only be acquired through rigorous free enquiry. Such an enquiry should, in Lewis's view, be preceded by a rigorous education.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

(b) Training, Education, and Learning

> Schoolmasters in our time are fighting hard in defence of education against vocational training, universities . . . . are fighting against education on behalf of learning.
>
> "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 87, C.S. Lewis.

Lewis's arguments against vocational training in favour of education and learning were couched in the high-sounding doctrine of the classical liberalist. He stated in "Our English Syllabus" that "education is essentially for freemen, and vocational training for slaves."[144] Education, Lewis suggested, should focus on: teaching "civil behaviour by direct and indirect discipline", awakening "the logical faculty by maths or dialectic", and producing "right sentiments."[145] Vocational training however, should prepare a man for work. Its objective was not to produce a good man but to produce a good banker, electrician, surgeon, etc.[146] It lacked the cognitive perspective essential to the development of the learned man.

Lewis's view of training can be equated with Newman's view of instruction as presented in *The Idea of A University.* As previously noted neither men considered that instruction or training bore any relation to true knowledge or education since it had "little or no effect upon the mind itself".[147] Lewis however, displayed a profound ignorance of developments in modern vocational education and in a most uncharacteristic fashion arrogantly dismissed it as something connected with trade and crass commercialism.[148] His arguments against training are theoretical and abstract and 'training' is never examined in the light of contemporaneous vocational education.

Accepting the unfortunate and perhaps unintentional prejudice against and misunderstanding of modern vocational training, Lewis's argument against training

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

does merit attention. In the light of contemporaneous efforts to promote universal equality in the area of education, Lewis feared that a secondary school curriculum might emerge which would be dictated solely by the requirements of industry and commerce.[149] While he conceded that "our ideal must be to find time for both education and training", he feared that the demands of industry and the growing demands for equality would result in a school curriculum which meant "training for all and education for none".[150] He feared that in a bid to promote equality, the school curriculum, reflecting the needs of the many, might fallaciously pursue the aim of a uniform curriculum for all, and replace such subjects as Latin with commercial French, Geometry with book-keeping and great literature with Social Studies.[151] If such a curriculum, which he believed was related solely to training and not to true education, were to be accepted by all, he warned that "if education is beaten by training, our civilization dies".[152] One can only conjecture that Lewis's vehement attack on vocational training in "Our English Syllabus" was partly, if not wholly, in response to the popular educational theories of the day promoted by Dewey, Thomas Nunn and Alfred Whitehead, all of whom refused to recognize a dichotomy between training and education, and maintained that intellectual activity developed from practical skills.[153]

While Lewis stressed the distinction between education and training, he also distinguished between education and learning. In his view, the educational process should be primarily concerned with the training of character.[154] In his view, the young secondary school student was merely a "candidate for humanity", since he was little more than "an unregenerate little bundle of appetites" which needed to be "moulded into human shape" by an educated master.[155] While it was the duty of the student to

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

be an "obedient patient", it was the duty of the master to "improve the boy's character and open his mind".[156]

Lewis in his advocacy of a secondary education which promoted character development, endorsed both Plato and Aristotle's view that education in its early stages must be concerned with developing a virtuous man.[157] In *Educating the Virtues,* David Carr observes that for Socrates and Plato, "the proper route to human freedom and happiness lies . . . through the reasonable self-control and discipline of moral virtues in the light of some principled conception of how it is right and proper for an individual to live".[158] Lewis endorsed such a view, and certainly promoted the idea which Carr attributes to Socrates and Plato that it was "only through the moral virtues or by their help that a man may become truly free to assume something like genuine control of his own life".[159] Lewis believed that it was only through the development of moral virtues at secondary level, that any man could proceed to the advanced stage of learning where he could at last, attempted to discover truth for himself.

(When Lewis in "Our English Syllabus" stated that in an education system, properly conceived, the pupil should accept the role of "obedient patient", while the master should adopt the role of "agent", it is all to easy to take the statement out of context and read it as a facile promotion of non-interactive passive learning as advocated in certain utilitarian educational methodologies of the nineteenth century.[160] Such a reading is given by L.C. Knight in "Mr. C.S. Lewis and the Status Quo" who found Lewis's concept of education "so obviously silly", and failed to recognize that Lewis in the patient \ agent analogies was attempting to emphasize the huge gap, intellectually and morally, between student and teacher.[161] Ironically, perhaps, one wonders what Knight's response might have been to the Behaviourist educationalists

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

who would certainly have accepted Lewis's view of a young schoolboy as "an unregenerate little bundle of appetites".)

When the student was educated in the moral virtues, and was in Lewis's view, trained "in the Aristotelian sense [to be] a better man", he was then ready to embark upon true learning.[162] Once again Lewis does not satisfactorily elucidate the clear distinctions between education and learning. He argues for the abstract principle rather than explicitly explicating the issue. Clear however, is the fact that his distinction between education and learning is a classical one, that he followed Plato, Aristotle, and later Newman, in contending that learning can only be pursued by virtuous men. Learning, in Lewis's view, had "no connection at all with education". It was an activity pursued by young men rather than boys.[163] No longer "candidate[s] for humanity", these real "human[s]" pursued knowledge without compulsion.[164] They pursued it for its own sake in institutions specially designed for such a pursuit.[165] Lewis contended that when students arrived at university it was assumed that they were already virtuous men who were possessed of "the specifically human virtues and above all the great virtue of curiosity".[166] He claimed that the learning should be unrelated to self-improvement in the materialist sense, and should be wholly concerned with exposing the undergraduate to the nature of reality.[167] He further claimed that in this intense and open enquiry into the nature of reality the student discovered truth.[168]

Like Plato who stated in *The Republic* that "only men of steady and disciplined character shall be admitted to philosophical discussion", Lewis maintained that only virtuous men were equipped to engage in the philosophical and theoretical discussions which characterized the learned life of universities.[169] He followed Newman's view that a university was "a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous, and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge".[170] He defined universities as "institutes for the support and encouragement of men devoted to learning", where the tutor was not a teacher but a fellow companion along the road of learning.[171] While Lewis attempted to preserve his ideal of a university, he was forced to concede in "Our English Syllabus", that Oxford, like other universities, had succumbed to modern pressures and was now "very largely a place of teaching".[172] He cleverly redeemed his argument however, by suggesting that "a temporary immersion in the life of learning has been found to have an educational value", arguing that although learning was not education, it could, in certain instances be "used educationally" by those who do not propose to pursue a life of learning".[173]

Lewis's great defence of the learned life came in "Learning in War-Time" when he argued that the activities of a scholar had a legitimate place in the modern, war - torn world.[174] In this essay he reiterated the view that "a university is a society for the pursuit of learning", and assigned to the undergraduate a role similar to the medieval clerks.[175] In advocating a programme of education which developed character and intellect at second level schools, and a programme which allowed for free and rigorous enquiry at third level universities, Lewis, by implication, placed specific demands on the type of educational \ learning processes which were appropriate at both stages.

(c) Criteria of Educational Processes.

> Nothing is so obvious in a child as its great and undistinguished pleasure in being praised.
>
> "The Weight of Glory",
> *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 103,
> C.S.Lewis.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

In the light of Lewis's later educational writings, his polemical assigning of a passive-receptacle role to pupils in "Our English Syllabus" is a misleading one.[176] Lewis probably made the statement in reaction to the growing tendencies in schools to emphasize a child-centred approach with its criteria of non-interference, free play, and self-expression. He denigrated any system of education which emphasized method at the expense of matter. There is a tension in his writings as he attempts to balance simultaneously two seemingly contradictory notions against each other: respect for the child, and reverence and respect for the authority of the teacher who is, in his view, central to the educational process.[177]

His own experience of good teachers had demonstrated that within a traditional system of education a teacher could achieve the tasks assigned to a progressive teacher. When Bertrand Russell in *Principles of Social Reconstruction* wrote that a teacher if he is "to educate really well, and is to make the young grow and develop into their full stature, must be filled through and through with the spirit of reverence", Lewis could have pointed to his Malvern teacher, H.M. Smith (Smewgy), as one such teacher.[178] Smewgy, in Lewis's view, could have actualized Russell's claim that the teacher who is reverent towards his pupils "can wield the authority of an educator without infringing the principle of liberty".[179] "Reverence", Russell wrote, "requires imagination and vital warmth", and Lewis's eulogies of Smewgy reveal unequivocally that he believed his fifth form master to have had an abundance of both.[180]

In his unfinished autobiographical poem, written while at Malvern, Lewis praised Smewgy's sensitive and courteous approach to his pupils, and his creation in the classroom of an atmosphere of mutual respect:

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

And dulcet grows the firmament of world within
. . . All these an old man with a honey- sweet and singing voice
had me among; an innocent old man whose choice
Once made to dwell with beauty and melodious thought
Unchanged from early youth to sad old age, had brought
The Spirit gently ripening onward to the place
Where courage drop
Gentlemen (for his chose to call us urchins so)
Let us not rest save where the spring of beauty flow.[181]

Smewgy's classroom methodology is commented upon in an official Malvern College headmaster's handbook: "H.W. Smith was perhaps the most remarkable character on the staff. An excellent scholar, and a particularly competent teacher, . . . Smith combined rigorous drill in points of scholarship with the power of arousing real keenness about the subject matter of the author studied".[182] Warren Lewis noted in the *Lewis Papers* how in a mixed class of "future scholars and much older and less intelligent boys on the Classical side", Smewgy, "kept both sections of the form alert" - a "considerable achievement" in Warren's estimation.[183] In a letter to the author, George Sayer, an ex-headmaster of Malvern College, commented that "Smith was an eccentric genius. I wish I had enough material to write a book about him. He was so respected throughout the school".[184] Lewis had, in his better teachers, empirical evidence which answered affirmatively to Russell's guarded aspiration, that "Authority in education is to some extent unavoidable, and those who educate have to find a way of exercising authority in accordance with the spirit of liberty".[185]

Douglas Gresham also confirms that Lewis prized respect and a degree of independence for pupils very highly indeed. He remarked during his interview:

> I think Jack was very aware that children are all individuals, and therefore need to be approached individually. The child who excels with the cricket bat might not necessarily excel at the piano and shouldn't be forced to do one or the other . . . Jack would be very insistent that children be approached on their own merits, and directed rather than pushed in the direction which they find most suitable to them, with guidance of course, and knowledge from the teacher.[186]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

When questioned as to whether Lewis had ever discussed the merits of Lapley Grange (Gresham's cramming school, somewhat equivalent to Pre-Leaving Certificate educational institutes) Gresham replied in the affirmative: "I think I told Jack exactly why I was happy there, (the reasons I've told you). I think he was very pleased to hear it because it would have fallen into line with his theories of education - no - his knowledge of the *fact* of education. These are not theories - these are *proven*".[187] Douglas Gresham enumerated the reasons for the success of his cramming school as follows:

1. Each individual at the school was a gifted teacher . . . male and female teachers were dedicated.
2. The class sizes were very small only five or six students, and very individual tuition, so that the teacher formed a personal relationship with the child . . . on the level of the child's needs.
3. The teacher managed to make me understand that it wasn't simply because they said so that I had to learn . . . (that's not sufficient reason to an intelligent child). They managed to let me know that there were good and valid reasons why I should learn.[188]

While Douglas Gresham would be the first to admit that the views he presents as representative of Lewis may be influenced by his own interpretation of events and experiences thirty years old, they are nevertheless very valuable, since they confirm views often implicitly rather than explicitly expressed by Lewis in his writings. Wider implications can, without impunity, be drawn from many seemingly simple, even innocuous statements, such as Lewis's comment in "The Weight of Glory" that "nothing is so obvious in a child - as its great and undistinguished pleasure in being praised".[189] Wider implications for the educational process can be drawn from Lewis's statement in "High and Low Brows" that students should not be presented with pre-ordained standards to classify good or bad literature, but should, with good

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

teaching and criticism be allowed to establish their own internal standards of merit in the light of their own experience.[190]

Lewis was convinced of the necessity to relate the study of a subject to the experience and cognitive maturity of the student.[191] This idea is very much in accordance with the views of his fellow British idealists. Sir Richard Livingstone in *The Future in Education* declared that "If our education is to be really fruitful we must recognise a principle which has been almost wholly ignored in education - the cross - fertilisation of theory and experience".[192] Lewis's plea for student freedom within a traditional system, and his insistence on the correlation between subject and cognitive maturity, ironically pre-empted Dewey's complaint against traditional education in *Experience and Education* that it "imposes adult-standards, subject-matter, and method upon those who are only growing slowly towards maturity. The gap is so great that the required subject - matter, the methods of learning and of behaving are foreign to the existing capacities of the young."[193]

While Lewis pleaded for respect for the student he nevertheless maintained that it was within a traditional system of education that mutual reverence and respect between pupil and teacher must be established and maintained. In "The Parthenon and The Optative", he distinguished two types of education, the Optative, which is informed by traditional educational processes, and the Parthenon, which is informed by principles of progressivism[194]. The Optative style student was "taught what knowledge is like"; he was taught to exercise his memory and reason[195]. The Panthenon style student was taught appreciation; he was encouraged to examine his responses, to paw and dabble in his soul, to evaluate "the adventures of the soul among books". His sensitivities were not to be degraded by anything as "coarse and mechanical as paradigms, black boards, marks and examinations papers".[196]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Lewis's acerbic condemnation of progressive educational practice was most concentrated and vitriolic in his presentations of progressive schools and their products throughout the Narnian Chronicles. While Lewis perceptively and prophetically recognized the intrinsic faults and fallacies of progressive education in such essays as "The Parthenon and The Optative", "High and Low Brows", and *Abolition,* it is unfortunate that it is upon the most flagrant educational excesses of the progressives system that Lewis levels his attacks throughout the Narnian Chronicles.

In the light of Lewis's portrayal of progressive schools in *The Silver Chair* and *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader,* L.C. Knight's rebuking of Lewis for his "complete inability to envisage any point of view other than his own except in the most ludicrous forms" does seem justified.[197] In *The Silver Chair*, Lewis remarks on the "curious methods" of teaching at Experiment House (a progressive school): "one did not learn much French or Maths or Latin or things of that sort; but one did learn a lot about getting away quickly and quietly."[198] Experiment House is a "mixed school", which the narrator suggests was "not nearly so mixed as the minds of the people who ran it".[199] It is portrayed as the type of progressive school which enforced a purely negative freedom. The children are "allowed to do what they liked".[200] This results in bullying and the narrator notes that "All sorts of things, horrid things went on which at an ordinary school would have been found out and stopped in half a term".[201]

While the progressive principle of education as a fostering of growth is attacked, so also is the progressive educator's emphasis and utilization of the "new psychologies". The narrator observes that when some pupils commit brutal and horrible acts, they are regarded as "interesting psychological cases", and are spoken to by the Principal for hours.[202] Release is inevitable, for "if you know the right sort of

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

things to say to the Head, the main result was that you became rather a favourite than otherwise".[203] The pupils at Experiment House characterized by "meanness, conceit, cruelty and sneakishness", eventually suffer the wrath of Aslan (the God-like \ Christ-like Saviour of the Chronicles).[204] By the end of the novel the Principal has begun to behave like a lunatic.[205] With a further sardonic flourish, the author has the Principal promoted to the Inspectorate, and she eventually reaches the real seat of corrupt power - The Parliament.[206] In *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, Eustace Scrubb, the character of the novel who undergoes a difficult penance before he is redeemed as a true person, is the product of a very progressive and "up-to-date home" and a school where corporal punishment does not exist.[207] Both Rossi in *The Politics of Fantasy* and David Holbrook in *The Skeleton in the Wardrobe: C.S. Lewis's Fantasies : A Phenomenological Study* recognize the relish with which Lewis denigrates modern progressive education.[208]

If Lewis's declamatory attacks on progressive education in the Narnian Chronicles are discounted, a more balanced view of his criteria of educational processes can emerge. Implicit in his educational writings is his first criterion that method should not be emphasized at the expense of matter. (This criterion is clearly illustrated in his discussion of the curricular content of the English syllabus at second and third level education). While such a criterion would seem to suggest a traditional approach, Lewis, paradoxically, combines it with another that favours a child-centred approach. He insists that interaction with the pupils should be marked by respect. He suggests that with a patient and careful teacher the student should learn at a level appropriate to his/her needs[209]. Lewis qualifies this second criterion somewhat, by conceding that initially learning must involve a system of external rewards. Initially,

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

the pupil must be encouraged to learn by motivation through extrinsic ends. This view is expressed in "The Weight of Glory":

> The schoolboy beginning Greek grammar cannot look forward to his adult enjoyment of Sophocles . . . He has to begin by working for marks, or to escape punishment or to please his parents or, at best, in the hope of a future good which he cannot at present imagine or desire. His positions therefore, bears a certain resemblance to that of the mercenary . . . Of course he gets it [reward] gradually; enjoyment creeps in upon the mere drudgery . . . But it is just in so far as he approaches the rewards that he becomes able to desire it for its own sake.[210]

Ironically, this passage reveals Lewis to be in complete agreement with Bertrand Russell who in *Education and the Social Order,* declared that the idea of "difficult success" should be instilled into children since the acquisition of abstract knowledge is a task upon which they will not naturally or easily embark.[211] A double irony lies in the fact that Lewis diverges sharply from Plato in his advocacy of compulsion. Plato declares in *The Republic* that the teacher "mustn't exercise any form of compulsion . . . Because a free man ought not to learn anything under duress . . . compulsory learning never sticks in the mind".[212] Lewis's criteria of educational processes are informed as much by what passes for progressive educational principles as for idealist principles. While he stresses the importance of the centrality and authority of the teacher in second-level schools, he stipulates that such authority must be tempered by reverence for the child. While education must be connected with 'educare', it must equally be connected with "educere".

When in Chapter Three, the learning methodology employed by Lewis as tutor at Magdalen is examined, it will be clearly seen that Lewis conceived of the tutor's role in very different terms from the teacher's role. No longer teacher per se, the tutor, Lewis declares in "Our English Syllabus", should cast himself in the role of "fellow student" whose mutual pursuit of knowledge is "helpful to the junior partner."[213]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Lewis's adds however, "No doubt the older, of his charity, may go a little out of his course to help the young, but he is then acting as a man, not a student".[214] In stressing the potential equality between tutor and student at university level, Lewis surprisingly echoes the views of an educationalist whose educational theories are, in most regards, fundamentally different from his own. In *The Pedagogy of The Oppressed,* Paulo Freire's vision of students as "critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher", exactly reflect Lewis's vision for the ideal tutor \ undergraduate relationship.[215]

2.4 Liberal Education

(a) Curriculum Principles

Do not be deceived by talk about the narrowness of the specialist.

"Our English Syllabus",
Rehabilitations, 95.
C.S. Lewis.

An examination of Lewis's criteria of liberal education might appear superfluous when his distinction between vocational training, education and learning, and his criteria of educational \ learning processes, have already been established. One can equate Lewis's criteria of education with those generally offered by philosophers of education as appropriate criteria by which to measure a liberal education. However, any examination of Lewis's criteria of liberal education would be incomplete without an appreciation of the extent to which he protested against what he considered to be the illiberal tendencies of modern curricular planners to constrain student studies along narrowly conceived and doctrinaire lines. He developed his argument through highlighting developments in the subject of English at second and third level. His argument was bifurcated. He defended academic English as the "most liberal and liberating" of the Humanities, and he established his criteria of

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

curriculum selection at secondary school and university level.[216] Finally, he strongly advocated a knowledge of the past which he deemed essential to any true education.

Since Lewis conceived of education at secondary school as a training of character and intellect, it comes as no surprise that in "Our English Syllabus" he advocated a curriculum which was narrow and selective.[217] As a curriculum for a schoolboy, Lewis believed that a selective or "composite" syllabus "could be no more liberal and edifying for a school boy", for it would be composed of "selections of reality selected by your elders - something cooked, expurgated, filtered and generally toned down for your [student's] edification".[218] It would train the mind, but would have little to do with real knowledge.[219] The selections of the curricular planners would be "guided by their idea of what would do the students good - that is by a purely educational idea".[220] The curriculum would be a "nicely balanced encyclopaedic arrangement".[221] Lewis suggests in "The Idea of 'An English School'" that it would be a "construction" which was natural and necessary.[222] It would give the student "the keys to some four or five chambers of knowledge which we think the best".[223] While the curriculum would be selective, it would and should in Lewis's view, have a narrow base. In *Letters to Children*, he wrote to a 'young boy' "You seem to be doing a pretty wide curriculum, too wide in my opinion. All schools, both here and in America, ought to teach far fewer subjects and teach them far better".[224]

Those "fewer subjects" would not encourage the student to "venture to look on reality in the raw" precisely because Lewis was convinced that a young student's mind lacked the cognitive maturity to engage upon critical enquiry.[225] This conviction is most clearly presented in Lewis's exhortation in "The Parthenon and The Optative" to adopt an optative style secondary education.[226] Such an education which exercised memory and reason would nurture the growth of factual knowledge.[227] Since he

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

believed that a secondary school pupil was not yet sufficiently mature (on a cognitive level) to offer authentic evaluative responses to literature, for example, he maintained that any appreciative 'Parthenon' approach to literature at secondary level could only result in the borrowing of ideas and views from secondary sources, or in the formation of premature, uninformed views.[228] The 'Parthenon' system of secondary which demanded evaluative responses from its students was, in Lewis's view, perverting the true course of education which should be concerned with leading its students, after a long apprenticeship at secondary level, to formulate their own mature and informed ideas and beliefs at university level.

While the secondary school curriculum should be governed by the principles of selection, the university syllabus should be governed by the principle of free and open enquiry. Vital though "selected highlights" would be for the secondary school pupil, an undergraduate, in Lewis's view, should take "a given area of reality" and "explore it thoroughly, following the natural structure of that area".[229] This specialization, which Lewis was careful to declare was a freedom rather than a confinement, would result in the undergraduate attending to the subject rather than the preconceptions of "a committee of four or five dons brought up in a particular tradition".[230] Lewis reiterated his defence of university specialization in "Our English Syllabus" where he wrote that one should "not be deceived by talk about the narrowness of the specialist".[231] "The opposite of the specialist", he claimed, "is the student enslaved to someone else's selection".[232]

Lewis denounced the principle of a selective curriculum at University level as "a kind of propaganda, concealed unconscious, and omnipotent".[233] He abhorred the fact that following such a syllabus an undergraduate's "whole reading in its scope and proportions would bear the impress neither of reality nor of your own mind but the

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

mind of the committee".[234] He suggested in "The Idea of 'An English School'" that a selective university curriculum would dictate "the course of future knowledge and taste on the authority of existing taste and ignorance"[235]. A discipline so formed, he explained "could be incapable of growth".[236] It would, he concluded in "Our English Syllabus", "be an effort to bind the future within our present knowledge and taste: nothing more could come out than we put in".[237]

Lewis's clear defence of an optative - style curriculum at second level and an open, liberal and specialized curriculum at university level was written in direct reaction to the 1943 government report on curriculum and examination in Secondary Schools. This report, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools : Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council Appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941* in Lewis's view, advocated a 'Parthenon' - style 'appreciation' curriculum for secondary schools.[238] He acknowledged in "Is English Doomed?" that within a balanced scheme of education the curriculum planners must consider the needs of non-academic students.[239] While he agreed that a secondary school curriculum should not be governed by the demands of university entry requirements when designing a curriculum which attends to the needs of all its students, he argued that secondary school curriculum planners should not attempt to interfere with the liberty of the University by "allowing the requirements of schoolboys to dictate its form of study".[240] He believed that the writers of the *Norwood Report*, in their recommendations for academic English, were overreaching themselves in their attempt to dictate to Universities the content and design of a University subject.[241] Lewis's criteria of curriculum structure are clearly revealed in his discussion of academic English as a second and third level subject when he analyzed the implication of the Norwood Report recommendations.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

(b) Liberal Education In Action : Academic English

> We must look for artists and craftsmen capable of perceiving the real nature of what is beautiful, and then our young men living as it were in a healthy climate, will benefit because all the works of art they see and hear influence them for good like the breeze from some healthy country.
>
> *The Republic,* 401f,
> Plato.

In "Is English Doomed?" Lewis hailed the English faculties at universities as "the chief guardians (under modern conditions) of the Humanities".[242] He defended English as "the most liberal and liberating" of all the humanities.[243] He praised literary studies as a discipline which lifted "the student out of his provincialism by making him "the spectator" if not of all, yet of much "time and existence".[244] The literary student, he proclaimed, was "taken out of the narrowness of his own age and class into a more public world".[245] He learned, in Lewis's view, "the true Phaenomenologie des Geistes; discovering what varieties there are in Man".[246] In stressing the centrality of literary studies, Lewis was in accord with contemporaneous writers such as F. R. Leavis and T.S. Eliot in what G.H. Bantock in *Studies in the History of Educational Theory,* has described as "the implicit belief that their literary penetration constitutes an especially valuable form of understanding".[247]

Most of the statements in "Is English Doomed?" were made primarily to correct what Lewis had interpreted as a dangerous misapprehension on the part of the writers of the *Norwood Report* concerning "The real nature of English scholarship".[248] Lewis's concerns were not unfounded. In Chapter Four of the report, the committee state:

> We take the view that from its own nature the teaching of English literature is limited as regards objective and method in a particular way; it is dependant upon special qualities in teacher and pupil and upon a special relation between them and with values which must be caught

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

rather than taught. If English literature is made the subject of direct frontal attack the value of the teaching is destroyed.[249]

The committee conceived of English exclusively in terms of training in grammar, usage and appreciation. It made the following observations and recommendations in regard to English:

a) All teachers should be made responsible for teaching English "in so far as the subject gives opportunity".
b) Such "English subjects" as Natural Science, Geography, History should be valued as a vehicle for training in English usage rather than for the specific value inherent in the subjects themselves.
c) Training in English needs a subject - matter and a motive, and we regard it as an essential that part at least of the subject matter and the motive should derive from a source other than a self-contained study of English.
d) Stress should be placed on the importance of drama as a vehicle to promote spoken English.
e) External examination in English literature is unnecessary since
    1. English Literature examinations are beset with every difficulty.
    2. The examination is productive of much harm in its influence on the teaching of English Literature.
    3. Internal evaluation is superior to external evaluation.
    4. The external examination can only examine "the course fringe of so sensitive and elusive a thing as successful literary teaching".
f) A degree in English is a dispensable qualification for an English teacher, for "a teacher who has read Classics or Modern Languages can be and often is an excellent teacher of English . . . a degree in pure English is wasteful and is better accompanied by a second or third degree subject".[250]

Lewis was in no manner alarmist when he state that the implementation of the Norwood proposals would have meant "the end of English as an academic discipline".[251] In "The Parthenon and The Optative" he railed against the report's definition of English literature as a study in appreciation, provokingly suggesting that "there is a good deal to be said for excluding literature from school curricula altogether" since the best way to encourage a love of literature might be to forbid it to students while simultaneously allowing them ample opportunity to gain access to it[252].

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

He also defended the principle of external examinations in English as they allowed "an impartial criticism from a learned outsider".[253]

Lewis's defence of academic English as an invaluable subject in its own right, drew few salvoes from the more radical elements within the English faculties of academia. However, his defence of the Honours English Schools Syllabus at Oxford University was vilified by Q.D. Leavis, and L.C. Knight, for defending what Q.D. Leavis in an article for *Scrutiny* had termed "a bankrupt and decrepit tradition".[254] Lewis's polemical advocacy of a traditional English syllabus which studied no literature after 1830, counters the more radical advocacy by a number of his Cambridge counterparts to develop a syllabus which Q.D. Leavis believed would be the result of "fresh conducts and cross-fertilization". In a concentrated manner it epitomizes Lewis's fight with modern education.[255]

A brief outline of Lewis's involvement with the structuring of the English Literature and Language syllabus will aid a clearer understanding of the controversy. Upon his arrival at Oxford in 1925 to take up his post as Lawlinsor and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon, J.R.R. Tolkien revived what Humphrey Carpenter in *The Inklings* considered "an old Oxford quarrel which split the Honours school of English Language and Literature ever since its foundations at the end of the nineteenth century".[256] The argument centred on whether 'English' should be based on ancient and medieval texts and philology, with a brief study of literature after Chaucer, or whether 'English' should consist of a study of post-Chaucerian literature.[257] Initially favouring the 'literature people', Lewis, through his membership of the Coalbiters, (a group founded by Tolkien to study Old Icelandic) recognized that Anglo-Saxon and Middle - English prose were the "tap-root" of English Literature.[258] "The man who

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

does not know it", he later wrote in "Our English Syllabus", "remains all his life a child among real English students".[259]

Tolkien proposed to the Faculty that compulsory papers should stop at 1830 in order to afford space for a more detailed study of the early period. In 1931 Lewis successfully campaigned for Tolkien's reformed syllabus and in 1931 that syllabus was accepted by the Faculty. In 1950 however, recommendations were again put forward to include Victorian and contemporary literature on a revised syllabus.[260] Lewis again campaigned vigorously against the revised syllabus and made what Carpenter in *The Inklings* noted was "an impassioned speech championing the present syllabus and opposing any changes".[261] Lewis was temporarily successful.

His fight for the preservation of a language syllabus was prompted by two convictions articulated in "Our English Syllabus". He believed it "an intrinsic absurdity in making current literature a subject of academic study".[262] Secondly, he felt that the study of Old French and Latin could be "reluctantly" abandoned.[263] The study of Anglo-Saxon was a study in "our own stuff and its life is in every branch of the tree to the remotest twigs".[264] The English School should, in Lewis's view, have stood for "continuity and unity".[265] What was important for the undergraduate was to take a given area of reality, explore it thoroughly, following the natural structure of that area - "neglecting all the interesting and delightful things over the frontier".[266]

To many, particularly at the Cambridge School, Lewis appeared entrenched in a classical-scholarly tradition which had a "stultifying effect on English studies".[267] Q.D. Leavis trumpeted that "English studies must be cut free from the classical - scholarly tradition in every respect and at every level; must point out firmly that the ability to edit texts and make piddling comments is no more qualification by itself for an English university than a certificate of librarianship".[268] L.C. Knight in "Mr. C.S.

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Lewis and the Status Quo", questioned the validity and adequacy of Lewis's application to literary studies of his criteria of knowledge as its own end, declaring that true literary scholars would not find "learning for its own sake a very substantial positive".[269] He continued, "What learning for its own sake is likely to mean in practice is simply useless learning, the study of origins, forms, and influences".[270] Knight declared that the new critics were those who "unashamedly seeking to educate their pupils as well as themselves, direct their efforts to the development of genuinely individual taste and critical intelligence, to the sharpening of tools that can be used outside any limits that the teacher may impose".[271] Q.D. Leavis proclaimed that the "new order" of criticism would comprise "new and uniquely equipped specialists . . . whose centre in literary criticism and training in the methods and disciplines of other specialisms would enable them to work further and further into adjacent fields of knowledge with the most fruitful results".[272]

The Cambridge critics, were, in fact, advocating an approach to English which was diametrically opposed philosophically and critically to Lewis's approach. In their plea for diversity, for social relevance, and what Lewis considered to be subjective and therefore fallacious appreciation, they were, in his view, distorting and perverting the course of true learning, setting the student adrift from his cultural heritage, and offering him no standards by which he might evaluate contemporary ideas.[273] In *The Personal Heresy*, "Christianity and Literature", and *An Experiment In Criticism*, Lewis offered the possibility of an alternative critical school based upon what he considered were "objective (and ultimately Christian and traditional) criteria".[274] While literary history reveals that victory fell to the Cambridge school, there were aspects of Lewis's literary criticism which anticipated modern trends.[275]

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN

Lewis's defence of the Honours English School Syllabus exemplified most clearly his commitment to a traditional and classical form of enquiry which aimed at establishing objective truth through a rigorous examination of one particular aspect of reality[276]. His *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* and later, his magnificent *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, concretely exemplify such an enquiry.[277]

(c) In Defence of Old Western Culture

Antiques exquirite matres - Seek your ancient mothers.

Lewis was equally convinced that a knowledge of the past was an essential prerequisite for a search for objective truth which is a primary aim of a liberal education. At a period in history when developments in the sciences, and the new sciences of psychology and sociology were shifting the frontiers of knowledge, Lewis appealed for the preservation of traditional wisdom as a yardstick for contemporary developments and ideas. His appeal was not only to classical wisdom, but to the wisdom acquired from past literatures. Confronted and often bombarded by diverse and often untested new ideas, Lewis felt in "On the Reading of Old Books" that "the only palliative is to keep the clean sea breeze of the centuries blowing through our minds".[278] On a stronger note, he stated in "De Descriptione Temporum" that it is not "the remembered but the forgotten past that enslaves us".[279]

Lewis was careful not to establish immoderate claims for classical wisdom for he conceded in "Learning in War-time", that "most of all, perhaps, we need intimate knowledge of the past. Not that the past has any magic about it, but because we cannot study the future, and yet need something to set against the present, to remind us that the basic assumptions have been quite different in different periods and that

much which seems certain to the uneducated is merely temporary fashion".[280] Lewis's notion of using the past as a standard against which to judge and correct contemporary ideas is reiterated explicitly in "Modern Man and His Categories of Thoughts", "De Descriptione Temporum", "De Audiendis Poetis", and "On the Reading of Old Books".[281] It is a view common to idealist educators. Livingstone in *The Future in Education* believed that the classics and great literature offered students a vision of greatness. Exposed to such great works the student would be encouraged "To learn hard facts; to exercise powers of thought and description; to store in the memory thoughts and ideas whose fuller meaning life will reveal; to live with models of excellence in life and thought - these are the fruits within the grasp of those who study literature, history and kindred subjects at school".[282]

In *The Screwtape Letters*, the notion is given a satanic and inverted twist when it is presented by Screwtape, a senior - devil, as a useless and simple-minded idea which should be rejected by the young apprentice - devil, Wormwood.[283] Screwtape remarks, "To regard the ancient writer as a possible source of knowledge - to anticipate that what he said could possibly modify your thoughts or your behaviour - this would be rejected as utterly simple-minded".[284] Screwtape stresses the importance of cutting a generation from its classical heritage, for he notes that "where learning makes a free commerce between the ages there is always the danger that characteristic errors of one may be corrected by the characteristic truths of another"[285]. He concludes his letter by thanking his God that "great scholars are now as little nourished by the past as the most ignorant mechanic who holds that "history is bunk".[286]

No longer nourished by what is described in "Modern Man and his Category of Thoughts" as "a strong infusion of the better elements of Paganism", Lewis feared,

that through a modern education man would "isolate his mind in its own age: to give it in relation to time that disease which in relation to space, we call Provincialism".[287] While he suggested in "De Descriptione Temporum" that the modern world was witnessing the "second death of ancient learning", he also suggested that it was witnessing the loss of the transmitters of that ancient learning. He declared that "In our time something which was once the possession of all educated men has shrunk to being the technical accomplishment of a few specialists".[288] Regarding the prospect that he, as one such specialist, was becoming "the spokesman of Old Western Culture", he exhorted his audience to "use your specimens while you can. There are not going to be many more dinosaurs".[289] As A.D. Nuttall in his very perceptive essay "Jack the Giant-Killer", observes, Lewis's "antic pedagogical posture was not wholly disingenuous".[290] Lewis was acutely aware that in his advocacy of objectivist ethics, an objectivist aesthetic, objectivist criticism, and objectivist education he was out-of-step with the Spirit of the Age. Nevertheless, he believed it necessary to sound the alarm for modern educators. He would undoubtedly have concurred with fellow idealist educator, Livingstone, who at the conclusion of his *The Future in Education* exhorted educators to "adapt and adopt as our motto the advice which Apollo gave to the Trojans. Seek your ancient mothers: Antiques exequisite matres".[291]

In examining Lewis's criteria of education, it is quite clear that in regard to the matter, manner and cognitive perspective of education, Lewis was at one with the traditional idealist stance (as expounded by Livingstone) in advocating a liberal education which was informed by Classical ideals tempered by Christian ethics. His stout defence of those criteria were prompted by developments in modern education which in turn reflected what Lewis considered to be disturbing trends in modern society. By turning and applying his criteria of education to his analysis of

contemporary society with its distinct cultural, egalitarian, and democratic aspirations for education, a clearer view of Lewis's concept of education will emerge. Such an examination will draw together the analysis of his criteria of education from the first part of this chapter and facilitate a more general and synthetic study of issues Lewis deemed important in the field of education.

Part II: Educating for Democracy

> The greatness of England is now all collective: individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining; and with this our moral and religious philantropists are perfectly contented. But it was men of another stamp than this that made England what it has been; and men of another stamp will be needed to prevent its decline.
>
> *On Liberty,*
> John Stuart Mill.[1]

2.5 On Equality and Egalitarians.

> All is righteousness and there is no equality.
>
> *Perelandra,* 340,
> C.S.Lewis.

It is in the explication of Lewis's vision of democratic education that one discovers Lewis as the full-blown "prescient-reactionary".[2] He declaimed against the inexorable drift of modern education towards a debilitating and dangerous mediocrity which he firmly believed was the inevitable result of a modern confusion about notions of equality, culture, and democracy. The catch-cries of the educators, educational administrators and general public since the early nineteen seventies of 'accountability', 'transparency', 'back-to-basics', and the serious questioning of the validity of the comprehensive principle, confirm that many of Lewis's worst fears concerning modern education have been realized. His educational writings reveal that Lewis would have understood, acknowledged and even anticipated such radical reactions to modern education as those of Ivan Illich and Everet Reimer in *Deschooling Society* and *School is Dead* , respectively.[3]

It is of vital importance in explicating Lewis's vision of democratic education that his precise view of culture and equality be established. Both concepts carried a deep resonance in the thirties, forties and fifties when the principle of equality in education, and the T.S. Eliot-F.R. Leavis promotion of culture and cultural values, emerged and gained momentum.[4] The emergence of the Labour Party in nineteen thirties Britain and its subsequent rise to power, confirmed, (at least superficially) that political authority was shifting to the proletariat. With the emergence of political equality came demands for equality in other areas of human endeavour.

While Lewis supported and endorsed political, legal, and economic equality, he polemically declared in "Equality" that "The man who has never wanted to kneel and to bow is a prosaic barbarian".[5] For equality, in Lewis's view, was a purely social notion.[6] It was, he stated in *That Hideous Strength*, a medicine, not a food.[7] While "it guarded life", he warned that "it didn't make it".[8] Political and economic equality were advocated by Lewis in "Equality", not because they were innately good, like wisdom or happiness, but principally because they were "necessary remedies for the fall: they protected man against the cruelty of his fellow men".[9] Lewis pushed his argument to its polemical limit by suggesting that the desire for equality was not intrinsic to man's nature. Rather, he suggested, there existed within every man an innate urge to acknowledge his inequality.[10] This "craving for inequality" was for example, revealed in man's support of a monarchy - in Lewis's view, a much more acceptable form of expression of that "craving" than the debased modern form with its adoration of film-stars, athletes and millionaires.[11]

Moreover, this "craving for inequality" was not only innate, but was a vital aspect of man's growth as a spiritual and intellectual being.[12] "God", Lewis declared, in "Membership", "had not created an egalitarian world".[13] Each man had his place in

the great hierarchical cosmic dance, and he was moving inexorably to "occupy those places in the structures of the external cosmos for which we were designed and invented".[14] In man's earthly life, Lewis stated in *Perelandra,* "all is righteousness and there is no equality".[15] While he conceded in "Membership" and "Equality" that it would be folly to re-introduce the Old Authorities which existed before the Fall (authorities which he was convinced were intrinsically as good and beautiful as the nakedness of Adam and Eve), authority such as obedience of subjects for kings, laymen for priests, sons for fathers, and wives for husbands, he did maintain that there was a "hierarchical world still alive and (very properly) hidden behind a facade of equal citizenship".[16]

In "Equality" he observed that "under the necessary outer covering of legal equality, the whole hierarchical dance and harmony of our deep and joyously accepted spiritual inequalities should be alive".[17] While he realized that inequality could not be acknowledged publicly, (for man's own protection), it should, in his view, "appear on the proper occasions".[18] It should, for example, be there "in our relation to parents and teachers - all the more because it is now a willed and wholly spiritual reverence".[19] Man, Lewis concluded, should "wear equality" but he should be careful to "undress every night".[20]

Lewis maintained that the problem for modern society lay not only in its inability to acknowledge the healthy necessity of inequalities, but also, he suggested, in its perverted desire to extend equality "from its proper political field" into "the more real, more concrete fields" within the soul of man.[21] The supplanting of that innate craving for inequality with what Lewis deemed to be spurious egalitarian aspirations of "flat equality for all" was being promoted by men "whose tap-root in Eden has been cut".[22] These promoters of flat equality, were, Lewis's believed, "men

to whom pebbles laid in a row are more beautiful than an arch".[23] They were men who could not "conceive a joyful and loyal obedience on the one hand nor an embarrassed and noble acceptance of that obedience on the other".[24] They promoted equality not as a medicine, but as an ideal which would, in Lewis's view, "breed that stunted and envious sort of mind which hates all superiority".[25] Such a mind, shaped and fashioned within a modern 'democratic' system of education founded upon that particular ideal of equality was, Lewis decided, "the special disease of democracy".[26]

2.6 On Culture and The Cultured

> For twenty years I've stared my level best
> To see if evening - any evening - would suggest
> a patient etherized upon a table;
> In vain. I simply wasn't able.
>
> "A Confession",
> *Poems,*
> C.S. Lewis.[27]

Lewis was no less damning of what he considered to be the spurious aspirations and claims for culture made by such men as T.S. Eliot, F.R. Leavis, and I.A. Richards. In "Christianity and Culture" he railed against the "present inordinate esteem of culture by the cultured", which had begun with Matthew Arnold and was been propagated by Eliot, Leavis, and Richards.[28] Their "tradition of educated infidelity" was one which he was determined to deconstruct.[29]

Their tradition, in Lewis's view, was founded upon the false premise that cultural values were innately good. Countering Eliot's supposition in *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, that "culture was not merely the sum of several activities but *a way of life*", Lewis declared in "Lilies that Fester" that "culture hypostatised, set up on its own, made into a faith, a cause, a banner, a "platform" was to him "unendurable".[30] In "Lilies that Fester", and in "Christianity and Culture", he defined

culture as "a collective name for certain very valuable activities".[31] Superficially, at least, this definition mirrored Eliot's definition in *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* of culture as "the product of a variety of more or less harmonious activities".[32]

While Lewis admitted in "Christianity and Culture" that he had once believed the life of culture (that is, of intellectual and aesthetic activities) to be intrinsically worthwhile, he declared that his conversion to Christianity had forced a re-evaluation of the status of culture.[33] He was, in the light of his Christian faith, prepared to admit that culture was "a store-house of the best (sub-Christian) values", (that is, "the highest level of merely natural values lying immediately below the lowest level of spiritual value").[34] Cultural values, were, he suggested in the same essay, "dim antepasts and ectypes of the truth", a cultured person being someone who was "almost compelled to be aware that reality is very odd and that the ultimate truth, whatever it may be, must have the characteristics of strangeness".[35] Since cultural values, were by Lewis's definition, dim "ectypes of truth", he felt justified in claiming, in Platonist fashion, that "it is lawful to rest our eyes in moonlight - especially now that we know where it comes from, that it is only sunlight at second-hand".[36] Lewis's argument with the culture-promoters was that they had mistaken cultural values for ultimate truths and were actively formulating a philosophy of life based upon shadow-truths. Moreover, in stressing the centrality of literature as a major respository of values, they were, he alleged, debasing both literature and culture.

In *An Experiment In Criticism*, he openly rejected the view that literature was to be valued for "telling us truths about life", and "as an aid to culture".[37] He condemned the new evaluative criticism for its use of literary works as "a sort of iconography by which they [critics] interpret and sum up their own experience".[38] Literature for the Vigilants (Lewis so named the Leavis school of critics, although he

never mentioned Leavis personally) was "a religion, a philosophy, a school of ethics, a psychotherapy, a sociology - anything rather than a collection of works of art".[39] Countering the Vigilants' claim that fiction was a source of knowledge, Lewis declared that a work of art was both Logos and Poiema, and had nothing to do with truth or philosophy or Weltanschauung.[40] The Vigilants were confusing life and art.[41] Dramatists, novelists and poets, Lewis claimed, were being "reverenced as teachers and insufficiently appreciated as artists".[42]

He interpreted the Vigilants' evaluative criticism as a "form of social and ethical hygiene".[43] They were "finding in every turn of expression the symptom of attitudes which it is a matter of life and death to accept or resist".[44] He concluded that if one is to accept their criticism, one must first accept their implied conception of the good life.[45] It was their vision of the good life that Lewis could not accept. It was a vision, he believed, that encouraged man to become pre-occupied with self-improvement, development of potentialities, and making himself acceptable: it was a vision which "fixed the ultimate intention on oneself".[46] (This of course, was anathema to his vision of self, of learning and of literature).

Lewis concluded in "Lilies that Fester" that the inevitable result of such a vision of life would be that culture would be conceived "as something enviable, or meritorious, or something that confers prestige".[47] No doubt, Eliot played into Lewis's hand when he wrote in *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* that " What is important is a structure of society in which there will be from 'top' to 'bottom' a continuous gradation of cultural levels . . . I incline to believe that no true democracy can maintain itself unless it contains these different levels of culture. The levels of culture may also be seen as levels of power".[48]

The implication of Eliot's argument, in Lewis's view, was that entry into the ruling class would be the reward of culture.[49] This would create what Lewis had termed a "Charientocracy"; a coalescence of the unofficial self-appointed aristocracy of the cultured, and the actual managerial rulers.[50] Accepting the fact in "Lilies that Fester" that education was "a very proper means of access to the ruling class", Lewis nevertheless was very sceptical of the criteria being used to determine that access.[51]

Using the criterion of the 'cultured aristocracy', Lewis suspected in "Lilies that Fester" and *An Experiment In Criticism*, that proficiency in simulating orthodox responses, and in explicating literary works (à la the Leavis School of critics), would become "the indispensable qualification for white-collared jobs".[52] Education, under this nascent régime of the 'cultured', would through specially designed examinations, measure the degree of culturedness of each candidate.[53] Somewhat tongue-in-check, but nevertheless with serious intent, he suggested that "somewhere there must be a kind of culture-monger's central bureau which keeps a sharp look out for deviationists".[54] (He obviously found in aspects of the *Norwood Report* the tainted influence of the "Cultured" with their promotion of a new school of evaluative criticism).[55] Moreover, Lewis argued in "Lilies that Fester", that culture was a bad qualification for the ruling class because it did not qualify men to rule. Those qualities which were essential to a ruler, such as "mercy, financial integrity, practical intelligence, and hard work", were, in his view, "no more likely to be found in cultured persons than in anyone else".[56] The subversive schemes of the cultured aristocracy were, he suggested, destructive to their delusive aims, for "culture was hard to diagnose and easy to feign".[57] The creation of a Charientocracy would

actually encourage hypocrisy, and make the disinterested pursuit of the quality the Vigilants professed to value more difficult.[58]

Secondly, Lewis maintained that by making culture "a moyen de parvenir", the Vigilants would drive culture out of the world.[59] Eliot himself had recognized in *Notes towards the Definition of Culture,* that "Culture is the one thing that we cannot deliberately aim at", for "we cannot directly set about to create or improve a culture".[60] Attaching extrinsic ends to activities which should more properly be valued for their intrinsic merits would, in Lewis's view, inevitably pervert and destroy culture. He believed that the Vigilants' attitude to culture and therefore their attitudes to life were being transmitted through the modern education system.

To avoid a possible misinterpretation of Lewis's stance on culture it is important to stress that Lewis was quite as committed as Eliot, Richards, and Leavis, to the notion that cultural transmission was one of the primary functions of education. Both Eliot and Lewis stated that there were other agencies besides education which were engaged in the transmission of culture. Eliot claimed in *Notes towards a Definition of Culture* that the primary channel of transmission of culture was the family, observing that "the schools can transmit only a part, and they can only transmit this part effectively, if the outside influences . . are in harmony with them".[61] Lewis in "On the Transmission of Christianity" stated that education was "only the most fully conscious of the channels whereby each generation influences the next".[62] He observed that a cultural gap existed, for each generation was taught by an earlier generation, who in turn transmitted the values of a former generation.[63]

Lewis drew out the implication of this supposition by stating that education was "not a closed system".[64] "Nothing which was not in the teachers can flow from them into the pupils" he observed.[65] This fact, in Lewis's view, had major

implications for government educational planning policy. "None can give to another what he does not possess himself", he declared, "hence the futility of many schemes for education".[66] Educational planning, he alleged, had "no magic whereby it can elicit figs from thistles or choke-pears from vines".[67] "As the teachers are, so they will teach", he argued.[68] While the state planned new radical innovations, interfered with existing schools, "altering curricula and the like", it was the teachers, in Lewis's view, who transmitted values, and they transmit the values of a former generation.[69]

He was content to "let the abstract scheme of education be what it will : its actual operation will be what men make it".[70] (Particular aspects of Lewis concerns with educational planning will be explored in the next section. It is sufficient to note here that Lewis, and indeed Eliot condemned the strong advocacy of educational planning in government departments in the 30s and 40s. In *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* Eliot stated that the one thing to avoid was "*universalised* planning". He argued that education could not be the instrument for realizing the social ideal of the planners).[71]

Finally, Lewis declared in "Christianity and Culture" that since modern society was marked by the "abuse of culture", it was "therefore probably better that the ranks of the culture-sellers should include some Christians - as an antidote", - an implicit justification no doubt, of Lewis's own "vocation" to a cultural profession.[72] Lewis's condemnation of what he considered to be the exaggerated and subversive claims of the "cultured aristocracy" for culture, were, for the most part, robustly good-humoured, if serious. Towards the conclusion of his essay on "Christianity and Culture" for example, he urged that "there must be no return to the Arnoldian or Richardian view. Let us stop giving ourselves airs".[73]

What did concern Lewis immeasurably, was his belief that many children were growing up in culturally deprived family environments which offered little cultural protection to the child when he ventured into a system of education which "aspires to do, and can do, far more to the pupil than education (except, perhaps, that of the Jesuits) has ever done before".[74] Lewis, of course, was referring to the system of education espoused by the Labour Governments of the thirties and forties, whose ideologies were prompted by the concept of equality of educational opportunity. The stage was set for Lewis's relentless assault on the form of 'democratic' education promoted by the 'moderns', egalitarians and progressives.

2.7 On Democracy and Democrats

> A trio such as Rat, Mole and Badger symbolizes the extreme differentiation of persons in harmonious union which we know intuitively to be our refuge both from solitude and the collective.
>
> "Membership",
> *Present Concerns, 16,*
> C.S. Lewis.

It is necessary to consider Lewis's view of democracy before considering the manner in which he applied it to education. It is a view informed in large part, by Platonist doctrine, for like Plato, Lewis was not an advocate of democratic egalitarianism. (He did, however, reject Plato's paternalistic totalitarianism). Lewis endorsed the fundamental moral principles upon which democracy rested - fair-play, liberty and the consideration of interests. However, he emphasized that these principles were imposed because fallen man, in his view, was capable of heinous cruelties.[75]

In "Membership", he declared that "the true ground for democracy" lay in the fact that "fallen men [were] . . . so wicked that not one of them can be trusted with any

irresponsible power over his fellows".[76] He suggested that it was a "false, romantic doctrine of democracy" to believe that all men were so good that "they deserved a share in the government of the commonwealth, and so wise that the commonwealth need[ed] their advice".[77] It was a view reiterated in "Equality" where he reaffirmed that he was a democrat because he believed in the Fall of Man.[78] In "A Reply to Professor Haldane", he endorsed democracy because it did not allow one man or a group uncontrolled power over others, noting that "the higher the pretensions of such power, the more dangerous I think it both to the rulers and to the subjects".[79]

A major concern for Lewis was his belief that the term democracy was being systematically corrupted and misappropriated by agencies in modern society who were using the word "for its selling power", and a "a kind of incantation".[80] While democracy was rightly "connected with the political ideal that men should be treated equally", Lewis believed that a "stealthy transition" was occurring in society whereby this political ideal was being insidiously and systematically replaced with the belief that all men *were* equal.[81] Democracy, correctly viewed as a political system, was being misappropriated to justify the fallacious claims of egalitarians.

With their ideals for a classless society supported by modern principles of collectivism, the egalitarians, Lewis alleged, had the finest instruments for "extirpating political democracies from the face of the earth".[82] Under the guise of the pursuit of the ideals of liberty and equality, the egalitarians were aiming at a collectivist future. Their collectivism, Lewis declared in "Membership", had "already conquered our secular life".[83] The modern age was one where collectivism was ruthlessly defeating the individual in every field except religion.[84] Deemed by Lewis as an "outrage upon human nature", modern collectivism in his view, was forcing man

to live "in a world starved for solitude, silence and privacy"; in a world where caucus had replaced friendship.[85]

If Lewis had read Dewey's, *Democracy and Education* he would, no doubt, have found disturbing confirmation of his views. In *Democracy and Education,* Dewey repudiated the ideal of cultivating the inner life of man, writing that, "the idea of perfecting an inner personality is a sure sign of social division. What is simply called inner is simply that which does not connect with others . . . What one is as a person is what one is as associated with others, in a free give and take of intercourse".[86]

Equally anathema to Lewis were views such as those expressed most coherently by Dewey, which clearly supported implicit egalitarian aims for democracy. Dewey wrote in *Democracy and Education:*

> A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily made of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own actions to that of others, and to consider the actions of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept man from perceiving the full import of their activity.[87]

Lewis implied in "The Necessity of Chivalry" and in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast" that views (such as those of Dewey), which emphasized collectivist - egalitarianism, which saw the democratic life as an extension of shared interests involving a socialization of mind, would inevitably lead to a classless society whose ethos would not be "a synthesis of what was the best in all the classes", but rather " a mere "pool" with the sediment of all and the virtues of none".[88]

It was for this very reason that Lewis in "The Necessity of Chivalry" endorsed and promoted the medieval ideal of chivalry as one which was relevant to a modern society which was increasingly extending the principle of democracy into

inappropriate areas of human life.[89] He stated that the vestiges of chivalric ideals had been kept alive in previous centuries by a specialized class "from whom they spread to other classes by imitation and partly by coercion".[90] In a classless and collectivist society, no such class would remain to perpetuate virtuous ideals.

Lewis's promotion of the chivalric ideal with its double demand on human nature to be brave and combative when occasion demanded and yet "meek in hall", was not an isolated or anomalous one.[91] Mark Girouard in his study of chivalry, *The Return to Camelot,* observed how during the Victorian period the ideals of chivalry were assimilated into the traditional notion of a gentleman which was promoted at public schools.[92] Bantock in *Studies in the History of Educational Theory* recognized, as Lewis had done much earlier, that the chivalric model of a gentleman, while persisting into the early twentieth century, had in the wake of World War One, suffered "an almost total eclipse".[93] In "The Necessity of Chivalry", Lewis was attempting to justify a survival of chivalric ideals as particularly pertinent and relevant to a society which apparently sought a faceless collectivism. It seemed to Lewis that his contemporaries "must either be chivalrous on [their] own resources, or else choose between the two remaining alternatives of brutality and softness".[94]

Lewis's fear that a democracy which was egalitarian in ethos would lack all the finer virtues, was articulated in a somewhat different manner in his essay "Talking about Bicycles".[95] There, he suggested that while democracy as a constitution was a just notion, the notions of the egalitarian democrats were wrong, declaring that "a society which becomes democratic in ethos as well as in constitution is doomed. And not much loss either".[96] While he admitted that "it was the merest Enchantment to suppose that aristocrats with their "standards of honour, valour, and elegance (for which alone they existed) would not soon degenerate into flash - vulgarity", it was a

"Re-enchantment" following the "Disenchantment" of the age of revolutions to realize that "the thing of which Aristocracy was a mirage is a vital necessity; if you like that Aristocracy was right: it was only the Aristocrats who were wrong".[97] Thus, while a true democracy, in Lewis's view, should be limited to its essential political role, a democratic society should shamelessly preserve the chivalric and noble ideals of an aristocracy. In order that such a society might be maintained, Lewis believed that its education should be "ruthlessly aristocratic", for such an education was, in his view, the only education which would preserve democracy.[98]

2.8 Democratic Education: Egalitarian or Meritocratic?

> An education which gave the able and diligent boy no advantage over the stupid and idle ones, would be in one sense democratic. It would be egalitarian and democrats like equality. The caucus-race in *Alice,* which all the competitors won and all got prizes, was a "democratic" race: like the Garter it tolerated no nonsense about merit.
>
> "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns,* 32, C.S. Lewis.

In his essay "Democratic Education", Lewis cited one of Aristotle's suppositions that democratic education ought to mean "not the education which democrats like but the education which will preserve democracy".[99] In the light of Lewis's acute concern over what he considered to be the impetus in modern education towards mediocrity, he might well have cited another of Aristotle's suppositions, that injustice results as much from treating unequals equally as treating equals unequally.[100] Both of Aristotle's suppositions serve to highlight the issues upon which Lewis focused when he examined the concept of democratic education in modern society. He deliberated on the desirability of an education system being democratically organized, and the desirability of the content of education being democratic.

Lewis's view of educational provision and educational opportunity was a meritocratic one. It was an orthodox view, inherited from the nineteenth century idea of the ladder of opportunity, and perpetuated in the educational policies in the thirties and forties.[101] G.H. Bantock in his essay, "Equality and Education" in Bryan Wilson's, *Education Equality and Society*, notes that as the industrial society emerged in late nineteenth century Britain with all the skills and social mobility such a society would demand, educational attainment became "a chief criterion by which the new mobility could be implemented".[102] Many nineteenth century educationalists came to believe that the most efficient way to discern and nurture talent and ability was to allow maximum access at the beginning of the education cycle, weeding out the under-achievers through a series of examinations.[103] A meritocratic educational system allowed equality at the starting point (theoretically at any rate). The education system, as it emerged in the nineteen fifties and sixties, offered pupils, in Bantock's view, " a more equal opportunity to become unequal".[104] It emphasized examination success and recognized the close relevance of school provision and occupational requirements.[105]

The meritocratic view of educational opportunity was implicitly endorsed in the tripartite system of education proposed in the 1943 *Norwood Report.*[106] With what Hyndman in *Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History* recognizes as a "significant inversion of emphasis", the report rationalized types of children rather than types of schools.[107] It divided children into three distinct groups, and assigned particular types of schools to each group, namely, the grammar, secondary modern, and technical schools.[108] Access to a particular school was to be decided by an 11+ examination coupled with intelligence tests.[109] A meritocratic view of educational provision seemed justified when presented with the research of

the psychometrists of the period.[110] As Simon in *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920 - 1940* observes, psychometrists of the thirties and forties were under the misapprehension that intelligence tests were accurate measures of innate intelligence.[111] More importantly, they maintained that the tests were 'culture-free', for as Simon explains, they assumed that intelligence was unaffected by home conditions, health or any other facets of a child's experience.[112]

Simon states that from the early thirties, "streaming [became] 'de rigeur' and the limitation of ability an article of faith among distinguished educationalists no less than at the Board of Education".[113] He suggests that even a progressive educationalist like Susan Isaacs "popularized classification as a proper means of giving to each according to his needs".[114] When Lewis in his educational writings lent full support to a meritocratic system of education he was doing no less than many educational experts of the period. He was not privy, as contemporary educationalists are, to the vast amount of research on intelligence and cultural deprivation that has been undertaken following the seminal work of Basil Bernstein in the late fifties.[115]

Lewis explicitly commended the 'Educational Ladder' and examinations as "excellent" and "admirable" things in both "High and Low Brows" and "Interim Report".[116] His support of a meritocratic system of educational provision was rooted in the belief expressed most clearly in "Democratic Education", that a democratic education system must foster excellence.[118] He wrote that the education system "must, in a certain sense, subordinate the interests of the many to those of the few".[383] "Only thus", he alleged "can it be a nursery of those first-rate intellects without which neither a democracy nor any other state can thrive".[119] A nation bereft of great men, would, Lewis suggested in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", be the inevitable result of

an education system which was governed, not by criteria of excellence, but by the principle of egalitarianism.[120]

Lewis's vision of an egalitarian system of educational provision is given cogent support in contemporary writings on the subject. In "Equality and Education" Bantock characterizes the egalitarian system of educational provision as one which seeks equality not only at the starting point but more importantly at the finishing-line.[121] Rather than using education as "a selective sieve for catching the ablest and discarding the rest", an egalitarian system as Nigel Grant in *Soviet Education* explains, provides "a basic general education, covering the same ground and on the same terms for all, regardless of background or future occupation".[122] The egalitarian, Bantock claims, "seeks to achieve the maximum sameness possible, a sameness which, at secondary level, should not only become manifest in the provision of a common school which all should attend but in a subjection to similarity of curricular requirment".[123] In short, the egalitarian, Bantock explains, seeks (in the final analysis), "a harmonisation of interests based on a reduction of all human wants and achievements to the same level".[124]

While Lewis conceded in "Democratic Education" that total egalitarianism in education had not yet been openly recommended, he observed that "a movement in that direction begins to appear".[125] He recognized that the demand for equality in education arose from two distinct sources, one valid, the other divisive.[126] While one source was noble, in its desire for fair play, the other arose out of "the basest of human emotions" - a "hatred of superiority".[127] It was, in Lewis's view, this "hatred of superiority" that characterized the egalitarian movement in education.[128] He suspected in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", that with this movement would come "the

elimination of any kind of human excellence - moral, cultural, social and intellectual".[129]

Within a so-called "democratic" system of education, the egalitarian would suspect "every mere difference of being a claim to superiority".[130] He would "resent every kind of superiority in others, denigrating it, and wishing its annhilation".[131] Within such a system the bright pupil would remain "democratically fettered to his own age-group throughout his school career", because the system refused to distinguish differences between pupils.[132] The basic principle of the new egalitarian education would be "that dunces and idlers must not be made to feel inferior to intelligent and industrious pupils".[133] Within such a system the teachers would be nurses, busy reassuring the dunces and patting them on the back, while artificially keeping back the brighter pupils for fear that the under-achievers might be traumatized.[134] Lewis's condemnation of such a 'democratic' system was forcefully restated in *The Four Loves* when he remarked on "that nationally suicidal type of education which keeps back the promising child because idlers and dunces might be "hurt" if it were undemocratically moved into a higher class than themselves".[135] In "Democratic Education" he questioned whether an egalitarian system which so iniquitously attempted to repair "the inequalities of nature" would, in fact, "breed a democratic nation which can survive, or even one whose survival is desirable".[136]

In the same essay he condemned an egalitarian educational system which, in his view, would emasculate the traditional curriculum through a need to find common ground for mixed ability groups (such tendencies, he argued, were already recognizable in society).[137] Parity of esteem was, he noted, being given to subjects which had no academic standing and which had heretofore been conceived of as hobbies.[138] (There was a drive, particularly in technical schools during the forties and

fifties, to obtain academic recognition and parity of esteem for technical subjects).[139] Moreover, there were growing demands in the forties for the abolition of certain compulsory subjects. On the proposed abolition of Latin and Mathematics as compulsory subjects, Lewis remarked:

> Both these subjects give an "unfair advantage" to boys of a certain type. To abolish that advantage is therefore in one sense democratic. But of course there is no reason for stopping with the abolition of these two compulsions. To be consistent we must go further. We must also abolish *all* compulsory subjects; and we must make the curriculum so wide that "every boy will get a chance at something". Even the boy who can't or won't learn his alphabet can be praised and petted for *something* - handicrafts or gymnastics, moral leadership or deportment, citizenship or the care of guinea-pigs, "hobbies" or musical appreciation - anything he likes. Then no boy, and no boy's parents, need feel inferior.[140]

Lewis recognized that such a system would also produce men who were unwilling to assert their superiority. He wrote in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast" that "the few who might want to learn will be prevented; who are they to overtop their fellows?".[141] This point is mooted in a somewhat different context by Bantock who in *Studies in the History of Educational Theory* remarks almost forty years after Lewis that:

> The current attack on élitism . . . has made the price to be paid for high achievement of any cultural integrity increasingly unattractive, as it carries with it the threat of discomfort within the community at large, the discomfort which arises from being at odds with the relaxed life-style of one's contemporaries.[142]

This demand for collective conformity for "Being like Folks", for being governed by the principle that "I'm as good as you", would, Lewis suspected in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", complete a tyrant's work "without any other tyranny than her own".[143] "No one" he suggested, "need now go through the field with a cane. The little stalks will now of themselves bite the tops off the big ones. The big ones are beginning to bite off their own in their desire to be like stalks".[144] (It was

just such a society which Dewey, in his prescriptive allegiance to mass values, might have created: as Bantock perceptively notes in *Studies in the History of Educational Theory*, "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the sort of society Dewey had in mind was essentially reductionist and conciliated mass rather than minority interest or 'superiorities'".)[145]

The state of mind, promoted by the egalitarians, would be characterized, Lewis stated in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", by a lack of "humility, charity, contentment and all the pleasures of gratitude or admiration, turn[ing] a human being away from almost every road which might finally lead him to Heaven".[146] The products of an egalitarian system of education would be "morally flaccid from lack of discipline in youth, full of cocksureness which flattery breeds on ignorance, and soft from lifelong pampering".[147] Lewis believed that ultimately such a system of education would result in the destruction of the individual, for men who were cut down to a uniform level would be "all slaves, all ciphers, all nobodies".[148]

While Lewis recognized that the egalitarian impetus was towards mediocrity and the interests of the majority, he feared an equally powerful impetus within the egalitarian movement which he believed had its origins in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[149] He suggested in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", that a deep hatred of personal freedom was "hidden in the heart of this striving for Liberty".[150] He pointed to Rousseau and later to Hegel for encouraging tendencies towards totalitaranism and the imposition of the party line within the democratic principle.[151] He saw within the movement towards liberty and equality "so much rejection of faith, so much materialism, secularism, and hatred".[152]

He was convinced that any education dictated by egalitarian principles would facilitate state control. Rather than encouraging independent, clear and deliberate

thought, such a system, he declared in "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", through its teaching methodology and subject content, would produce students who were "muddled in mind" and "passively responsive to environment".[153] He feared that pupils who came from what, for the most part, were culturally, emotionally, and imaginatively deprived backgrounds, would become pliant tools in the implementation of destructive state ideologies.[154] In "Lilies that Fester" he suggested that a pupil in modern society was "far more defenceless in the hands of his teachers", than a pupil in former generations.[155] "The educational machine seizes him very early" he declared, "and organizes his whole life to the exclusion of all unsuperintended solitude or leisure".[156]

Lewis maintained that indoctrination through state-controlled egalitarian education would be facilitated by a modern teaching methodology.[157] He remarked on the noticeable change in the nature of teaching.[158] While modern teaching had altered positively by demanding more of the teacher, he felt that it had also "become far more intimate and penetrating; more inward".[159] He considered this particular change devious and perverse, since it allowed the teacher, in his view, to tamper with the soul of the pupil, training him in "the (not very difficult) art of simulating orthodox responses".[160] (For a more detailed examination of this issue see the section on Knowledge and Cognitive Perspective).[161] The products of such teaching would, Lewis suspected, be "not at all reflective (they are too ignorant) nor defiant".[162]

Lewis considered defiance a vital quality to instil in certain sections of the school-going population, and he deplored an egalitarian education for its failure to foster that defiance.[163] Following John Stuart Mill's thesis in *On Liberty* that a degree of antagonism against the state was vital for the survival of a healthy democracy,

Lewis praised a truly democratic education for producing healthy antagonists.[164] (This notion may owe as much to Lewis's translation of his own school-boy experiences of authority at Belsen and Malvern into a political principle, as it does to a political theorist such as Mill.)[165] Contemporary critics may have baulked at a previously noted belief of Lewis's, that a truly democratic education must subordinate the interests of the many to the few in order that the states leaders might have first-class intellects.[166] They may, quite understandably, have interpreted the statement as clear support for the type of élitist doctrine promoted by Lewis's contemporary, Sir Eric James, who unashamedly declared in *Education and Leadership* that, "leadership in very widely different fields of activity is associated with high intelligence, and in particular with the small fraction of the population that includes the really outstanding individuals".[167]

Lewis despised élites and his statement is not an implicit support of élitist education.[168] He believed that within a democratic traditional system of education, (which avoided the inevitable levelling down of educational standards attendant upon an egalitarian education system), the high academic achievers and the dull under-achievers could, while following a common traditional curriculum, mingle to their mutual benefit.[169] In "Democratic Education", he stated that within a traditional democratic system both types of boys followed a curriculum which was drawn up, having "chiefly in view the interests of the boy who wants to know and who can know".[170] He submitted that the stupid boy who "nearly always, is the boy who does not *want* to know", "gravitates very comfortably to the bottom of the form".[171] There, Lewis suggested, he imbibes, "that playfully intransigent attitude to authority which is our chief protection against England's becoming a servile state".[172] The boy, in his view, enjoys "one priceless benefit: he would know he is not clever".[173] In time, such

a boy becomes "a pillar of democracy" for " he would allow just the right amount of rope to those clever ones [boys]".[174]

Lewis ended his essay "Democratic Education" by declaring that "democracy demands that little men should not take big ones too seriously; it dies when it is full of little men who think they are big themselves".[175] (Lewis's sheer myopia in regard to the needs of under-achievers can only be partly explained in terms of prevailing educational ideologies informed by the now discredited research of many psychometrists in the thirties and forties. His vision of the role of the sceptical dullards smacks disconcertingly of a Platonist functional differentiation of men into their appropriate functions within the state).[176]

While Lewis valued the sceptical dullards for their ability to resist authority while maintaining "a half amused respect" for political leaders, he saw in their "determination not to be interfered with . . . a valuable brake on reckless planning".[177] As previously noted, nineteen forties Britain saw the social, economic, and educational planners in the ascendent.[178] W.H.G. Armytage in *Four Hundred Years of English Education*, states that by the end of the war many supported the idea that "the best guarantee of democracy lay in applying operational research techniques developed during the war".[179] Armytage notes that the Ministry of Education, created by the 1944 Education Act, "adopted the principle of operational research with the advice and help of four advisory councils".[180] It is small wonder that Lewis, recognising in "On the Transmission of Christiantity", that "the tide flows towards increasing State Control", felt the urgent need to promote a true learning which "gives an individual a standing ground against the State".[181]

It appears therefore that Lewis encouraged antagonism against the State not only in the dullards but also in the non-rulers. His plea for the boy of "sound instinct"

and the true teacher to hamper State attempts to foster conformity or servility is most eloquently expressed in a passage previously cited, a passage particularly pertinent in the explication of this issue:

> While we are planning the education of the future we can be rid of the illusion that we shall ever replace destiny. Make the plans as good as you can of course. But be sure that the deep and final effect on every single boy will be something you never envisaged and will spring from little free movements in your machine which neither your blueprint nor your working model gave any hint of.[182]

It was in the presentation of his reactionary views to egalitarian education (as he conceived it) that Lewis established his vision of democratic education. He believed that the only education which could preserve democracy was fast becoming the education which democrats spurned and denigrated. While a truly democratic education, in Lewis's view, allowed equality of access, it did not, and could not, be governed by the Deweyan principle of equality of outcome.[183] Its standard was excellence, not a mediocrity which inevitably attended an attempt to cater for mixed ability groups. It was a system of education, to paraphrase I.K. Kandel, in an article for the *Times Educational Supplement*, where quality did not yield to quantity.[184]

Its curriculum was not emasculated by pleas for 'parity of esteem', or desires to establish common grounds suitable for mixed groups. It aimed simultaneously at producing pupils with superior insights, and pupils with sceptical attitudes towards authority, both of whom were vital to the perpetuation of a democratic state. While accepting its function to transmit culture, it refused to engender attitudes of cultural élitism in its pupils. It educated for the pursuit of truth, not for the passive acceptance of questionable ideals. Such was Lewis's vision of democratic education, and typically, it was in an inconspicuous letter to his friend Arthur Greeves, that Lewis simply articulated his ultimate hope for such an education: "but to have education

transforming people and yet leaving them with their roots in the earth (which then they will be able to appreciate) is the way to make class disappear altogether".[185] Thirteen years later, Lewis, in examining education saw that it was transforming people, but not in the manner which he had hoped. His fears and concerns are articulated in a short book entitled *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of schools,* which comprises three essays first presented as lectures to the undergraduates of Durham University.[451]

Part 3: Education in a Brave New World

2.9 The Abolition of Man

The very play, of mind, I think is birth-controlled today.

"To Roy Campbell",
Poems, 80,
C.S. Lewis.

It is in *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of school* that Lewis articulates most clearly the philosophical and ethical foundations for his vision of education. He mounts a formidable case for accepting his vision of education by demolishing the case of modern educators whose vision of education, he believes, is informed by logical positivism, naturalism and scientism. He takes as his text comments by two Australian schoolmasters, Alex King and Martin Ketley, in *The Green Book*, a school-book which attempts to teach the art of composition.[1] In a bid to teach the student how to distinguish between good and bad literature, the authors, in Lewis's view, employ (perhaps unwittingly) the philosophical stance of the logical positivists. Lewis considers the philosophical credentials of the schoolmaster's position, and attempts to explicate "its practical results on their educational procedure".[2]

Wilson in *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* comments on *Abolition* that it is "nothing less than an analysis of where and how the modern world has gone wrong".[3] It undoubtedly owes more to the tradition of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and George Orwell's *1984* that it does to the measured projections of educational and social theorists.[4] It is a work with polemical bite, highly charged and rhetorical. Ostensibly, it attacks those forces within modern society which "swollen with

madness" are attempting to wrench man from his common humanity by an insidious and perverse indoctrination conducted through the education system.[5]

Lewis is profoundly shocked by the underlying subjectivist - orientation of *The Green Book* which attempts, in his view, to debunk objective value and denigrate magnanimity, (that is "emotions organized by trained habit into stable sentiments").[6] He draws on the Platonist doctrine of the three elements in man to support his own derivative theory that these elements must be harmonized and balanced through a system of education which initially trains the "spirited element" in man, (a process presumably completed at second level schools), thus allowing man to proceed (presumably at third level universities) to the learning process which develops his "rational element".[7] It is only in the fostering of the "rational element" that man, in Lewis's view, is equipped to pursue objective truth.[8] *Abolition* draws together the fears Lewis expressed in previously examined essays concerning modern teaching methodologies, the evils of educational planning, and the pervasive intrusion of the State into the area of education.[9] While Lewis had formerly believed that the preservation of a true democracy was an adequate bulwark against corrupt and ubiquitous change, he clearly reveals his idealist tendencies in *Abolition* by looking to an education founded upon a belief in the universality of truth and goodness to preserve society from destruction.

Variously described as "a concise statement of his attitude towards values", "one of his most important ethical statements", "the best existing defence of objective values and the natural law", "a powerful essay in discursive argument", *Abolition* has engaged the interest of critics chiefly for its exposition of Lewis's views on the doctrine of Natural Law Ethics.[10] Critics, in focusing on the second essay in *Abolition* entitled "The Way", seem largely to have ignored the first and third essay,

"Men Without Chests" and "The Abolition of Man". However, Houston Smith in *Patches of Godlight*, recognizing that Lewis was "greatly concerned about the proper education of the self", suggests that in *Abolition,* Lewis "fired oblique salvoes at subjectively orientated education".[11] Nuttall in his essay "Jack the Giant-Killer" (the finest and most incisive examination of *Abolition* to date), while suggesting that an ethical theorem lay at the heart of *Abolition*, remarks that the book is, to a certain extent, "a hortatory tract to reform our educators".[12] The central concern of *Abolition* is undoubtedly a defence of Natural Law ethics. However, the book proves an effective weapon for Lewis to expose what he considered to be the fallacies of modern education, and it allowed him the opportunity to extol the virtues of an education which would ultimately "guide and convert the soul to the contemplation of true being".[13]

In the first of the three essays, "Men Without Chests", Lewis explains that if one believes (as he states many Hindu, Chinese and Greek philosophers did) that there is an eternal movement in the universe towards Good, then one's attitude to educational issues will be very different from those who do not believe in just such a movement.[14] Lewis defines this movement towards Good as the Tao, and concerns himself with differentiating between educators who believe and work within the Tao and those who do not accept the Tao and attempt to work outside it. In attempting therefore to understand Lewis's vision of education, his concept of the Tao must be examined.

Lewis defines the Tao as "the doctrine of objective value", "First Platitudes", "Traditional Morality", "The Way".[15] The Tao is the sole source of all value judgements, and these values are axiomatic.[16] Lewis asserts that objective values are always premises, never conclusions, a belief reiterated in his essay "On Ethics" when

he states that "The ultimate ethical injunctions have always been premises, never conclusions. Kant was perfectly right on that point at least; the imperative is categorical. Unless the ethical is assumed from the outset, no argument will bring you to it".[17] The belief that the Tao is a body of moral injunctions which does not need to be validated is one which Lewis is careful to stress. He writes of the Tao in *Abolition* that he is not "trying to 'prove' its validity by the argument from common consent. Its validity cannot be deduced. For those who do not perceive its rationality, even universal consent could not prove it".[18]

An addendum to Lewis's argument for the Tao is his supposition that only those within the Tao are qualified to criticize it. To buttress his point he cites Aristotle's statement that "only those who have been well brought up can usefully study ethics". He adds that "to the corrupted man, the man who stands outside the Tao, the very starting point of this science is invisible".[19] In another essay "The Poison of Subjectivism", written at the same period, he declares that "moral advances can only occur within the existing moral tradition and can only be understood in the light of that tradition".[20] Moreover, he persuasively argues in *Abolition* that any attempt by outsiders to criticize the Tao is a logical and ethical impossibility, since such a criticism presupposes a derivative system of values. Such a system, he believes, is merely composed of concealed and distorted versions of the Tao "arbitrarily wrenched from their context in the whole".[21] The argument is reinforced in "On Ethics" where he declares it an impossibility that man has the power to make a new ethical system.[22]

Lewis is not concerned with arguing for the supernatural origins of the Tao.[23] As Walsh in *The Literary Legacy* remarks, Lewis is arguing solely for an objective moral law, and absolute metaphysical order rather than a divine Lawgiver.[24] The Tao,

Lewis declares is universal and has been recognized and accepted by civilizations throughout history.[25] He draws upon accepted ethical codes among the world's greatest belief-systems as supportive evidence for the universality of the Tao as a rational consistent body of doctrine.[26] As he notes later in *God in the Dock,* "We are guided by . . . rules of moral behaviour which I think are more or less common to the human race".[27]

The problem of Lewis's concept of the Tao arises in attempting to determine whether Lewis believes the Tao to be, or not to be an innate part of man's nature. It is a problem which Lewis does not satisfactorily resolve. As Nuttall in "Jack the Giant Killer" observes, Lewis swings between a natural and non-natural explication of the Tao, caught up, Nuttall suggests, in the "subtle mutual interpenetration of descriptive and prescriptive argument which has always dogged ethical philosophy".[28] While the Tao is described as something natural, "the way in which the Universe goes on"; it is simultaneously described as something beyond Nature, "the reality beyond all predicates, the abyss that was before the Creator itself".[29] Presented as something innate and natural to man, it is also presented as something external which ought to be obeyed.[30]

Whether Lewis accepts the Tao as a non-natural concept or a "rationally ordered perception", (an issue well outside the parameters of this study to investigate and best left to ethics philosophers to resolve), Lewis is nothing but resolute and clear in his conviction that it is only through a 'just' education that young people can be initiated in the ways of the Tao and inculcated with the objective - Taoist values which alone can qualify them as 'just' members of a 'just' society.[31] In *Abolition,* he argues for the Tao and commends an objectivist - Taoist education which he deems

imperilled by modern educators who support pernicious subjectivist ideologies and philosophies.

His starting point is the Australian school text book, *The Green Book*, which Kate Filmer in *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis: Mask and Mirror* suggests postulates "a subjectivity of language".[32] In an attempt to enlighten pupils as to what constitutes good literature, the authors of *The Green Book* denigrate any literature which involves evaluative description. They attempt in Lewis's view, to 'debunk' emotions "on the basis of a common place rationalism".[33] Limiting belief to what can only be firmly established or verified empirically, they imply that statements made by people purporting to be about value, are in fact merely subjective comments and therefore unimportant.[34] Lewis reveals the absurdity of their position and exposes the fallacy of the author's subjectivist views on language by a rhetorical *reducio ad absurdum*.[35]

He then proceeds to expose the more sinister implications of their philosophical stance. He declares that a schoolboy in examining *The Green Book* must conclude that all aesthetic and moral judgements being merely emotional statements, are "contrary to reason and contemptible", and that values are "subjective and trivial".[36] The practical implementation of the educational procedure of *The Green Book* would involve the discarding of the great imaginative literature of mankind, from Brer Rabbit to Wordsworth and Lamb.[37] Lewis observes that the authors, "while teaching him [pupil] nothing about letters have cut out his soul, long before he is old enough to choose the possibility of having certain experiences which thinkers of more authority than they, have held to be generous, fruitful, and humane".[38] A young boy's soul exposed to *The Green Book* would be corrupted and subverted before he had reached the age of reason.[39] Reiterating one of his criteria of education, Lewis confirms that a true education results in a well nurtured youth who

can "give delighted praise to beauty, receiving it into his soul and being nourished by it, so that he becomes a man of gentle heart".[40]

Lewis alleges that the power of the authors of *The Green Book* lies in the fact that "they are dealing with a boy".[41] They will "condition him to take one side in a controversy which he has never recognised as a controversy at all", for they have subtly presented their logical positivism as an absolute, an imperative, not open to dialectic debate. "It is not a theory they put into his mind, but an assumption".[42] The consequence of their educational procedure is, in Lewis's view, detrimental to the growth of a young mind. It subverts the true course of education which is guided by desires to develop character and intellect and assist in the pursuit of knowledge.[43]

Lewis indicates that the authors in their desire to 'debunk' pervasive sentimental propaganda, may have misunderstood their brief and elected to debunk all sentiments.[44] Lewis asserts however, that the true defence against false sentiments is not 'debunking' of all sentiment, but rather the inculcation of "just sentiments".[45] He notes that while there are a small number of pupils who "suffered from a weak excess of sensibility", the majority of students need "to be awakened from the slumber of cold vulgarity".[46] The duty of the modern educator, as Lewis perceives it, is to irrigate those deserts of "cold vulgarity".[47] "By starving the sensibility of our pupils", he declares, "we only make them easier prey to the propagandist when he comes".[48] He finds support for his views in the works of Shelley, Traherne, St. Augustine and Plato.[49] He also cites Aristotle, noting that "when the age for reflective thought comes, the pupil who has been thus trained in 'ordinate affections' or 'just sentiments' will easily find the first principles in Ethics".[50]

Lewis postulates that it is only within the tradition of the Tao that true education can occur. The task of the Tao educator is "to train in the pupil those

responses which are in themselves appropriate".[51] Within the Tao the youth is "initiated" through "just sentiment" into manhood. In the world of subjectivist educators the youth is "conditioned" in sentiments which they believe to be of no value.[52] While the old education through the Tao would teach young students to "fly", the new education of the subjectivists would train pupils "as a poultry keeper deals with young birds - making them thus or thus for purposes of which the birds know nothing".[53] The modern education of *The Green Book* authors would cause an "atrophy of the chest", - that vital humanizing "spirited element" within man.[54]

Following the Platonist doctrine of the tripartite soul, Lewis asserts that the rational element of the soul must rule the Vegetable or Appetite soul by means of the "spirited element".[55] He states that this middle element of man is in fact the indispensable liaison officer between cerebral and visceral man.[56] It is "By this middle element that man is man: for by his intellect he is mere spirit and by his appetite mere animal".[57] It is this middle element that must be trained by the Tao educator, for "without the aid of trained emotion the intellect is powerless against the animal organism".[58] In their attempts to educate, the subjectivists would "castrate and bid the gildings be fruitful".[59] Their atrophy of magnanimity, imagination, sensitivity, their debunking of all aesthetic and moral values, is, in Lewis's view, antithetical to the education espoused within the Tao.

Lewis fears that modern educators may become conditioners who will assume power by propagating their subjectivist ideologies through the medium of education. This fear echoes Lewis's concerns regarding egalitarian indoctrination. It also reflects, in a more alarmist fashion, Lewis's fear of growing state control and its discernible move towards totalitarianism under the guise of promoting democratic egalitarianism. He declares in *Abolition* that "armed with the powers of an

omnicompetent state and an irresistible scientific technique: we shall get at last a race of conditioners who really can cut out all posterity in what shape they please".[60] Recalling his views on state educational planning, and his strong belief in the ability of men educated within a traditional democratic system to resist state control, Lewis in *Abolition* charts out the nightmarish effects of a system of education which lacks the "successful safety mechanisms" implicit within the traditional system.[61]

The traditional educator as Lewis perceives him, works within the parameters set by the Tao itself.[62] The Tao is the norm "to which teachers themselves were subject and from which they claimed no liberty to depart".[63] Teachers transmitted the truths of the Tao as they themselves had received it, their objectives being, to initiate "the young neophyte into the mystery of humanity which over-arched himself and them alike".[64] The "Conditioners" however, having abandoned a system of objective values, are free to create their own "artificial Tao".[65] Their "artificial Tao" will be the "product" rather than the "motive" of education.[66] In knowing how to produce conscience, they can decide upon the type of conscience to produce in the young pupil.[67] Their attempts to create minds untrammelled by traditional objective values, will, in Lewis's view, consist "in emerging from the state in which they were acted upon by those processes to the state in which they use them as tools".[68] In using education as a tool to fashion the kind of mind beneficial to the new order, the Conditioners are "men who have sacrificed their own share in traditional humanity in order to devote themselves to the task of deciding what "humanity" shall henceforth mean".[69]

Lewis rhetorically questions the victory of such men. He suggests that having emptied their minds of "all national and spiritual values", the Conditioners are left to validate values by the force of their impulses.[70] Their preference for a particular

value will ultimately rest upon the emotional strength of a particular impulse.[71] Lewis argues that the Conditioners, having stripped values of all spiritual and rational value, must resort to irrational and natural impulses to validate and prioritize a value.[72] Nuttall in "Jack the Giant-Killer" suggests that the ethical theorem which lies at the heart of *Abolition* is Lewis's exposition of the conditioner's error in supposing that ethical conclusions can be drawn from non-ethical premises.[73] (It is a theorem, Nuttall suggests, better known as G.E. Moore's concept of the Naturalistic Fallacy).[74]

Lewis declares that "the practical result of education in the spirit of *The Green Book* must be the destruction of the society which accepts it".[75] It is a society which having at one time allowed science to be as "a lion cub whose gambols delighted its master in private", has now chosen to deify science, thereby allowing it to taste man's blood and turn from an apparent conquest of nature to a conquest of man.[76] Lewis pleads with scientists to consider the whole rather than the parts.[77] He warns that the persistent desire for analytical understanding will finally "explain explanation away", declaring that man in his fatal endeavour to "see through things", will relinquish his sight altogether.[78] He fears that the result of scientific and analytical approaches to learning will cause a "fatal serialism of the modern imagination.[79] (It was in a bid to pre-empt such "serialization", that Lewis mooted an open rather than composite syllabus at university level).

As noted earlier, Lewis was very concerned about the defencelessness of pupils within a modern education system which was, in his view, increasingly being used as a conditioning tool of tremendous potency.[80] His fear for the precarious position of the modern pupil is explicitly articulated in *Dymer,* his poetic satire on pseudo-utopias:

The public creche engulfed him with the rest,

> And twenty separate Boards of Education,
> Closed round him. He passed through every test,
> Was vaccinated, numbered, washed and dressed,
> Proctored, inspected, whipt, examined weekly,
> And for some nineteen years he bore it meekly.[81]

Lewis praises the virtue of independent thinking which he believes subjectivist educators attempt to subvert. He maintains that independent thinking vital to survival within a modern society can only be fostered within a Taoist-democratic system of education. Within such a system, independent thought will be the natural outgrowth of an educational process which inculcates "just sentiments", and a learning process which allows the pupil, sensitized to the nature of objective truth, to partake in the universal ritualistic movement towards Good.

In *Abolition*, Lewis attempts to prove that the apprehension of moral laws exists wherever civilization exists. He demonstrates that most civilized societies have been concerned with producing good and just men through exposure to a just education. He reflects on the implications of an education as advocated by the authors of *The Green Book*. As observed by Wilson in *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* "he sketches these implications out with nightmarish clarity".[82] He attempts to counter what he deems to be the subversive influences of modern thought on society and education.

Walsh in *The Literary Legacy* states that *Abolition* is one of the shortest books ever written by Lewis.[83] However, *Abolition* is indispensable to a comprehensive appreciation of Lewis's views on modern education, and his vision of a Taoist-democratic education. It reveals, however polemically, the fundamental impulse of Lewis as an educationalist to promote a system of education which would result in a harmonisation of the three elements in man. Such an education, in Lewis's view, would simultaneously protect man from the excesses of modern society and allow

him to regard with a purer heart the "'patches of Godlight' in the woods of our experience".[84] Most importantly it would allow man to partake in the Great Taoist Dance so evocatively described in Lewis's favourite book, *Perelandra:*

> The Great Dance does not wait to be perfect until the peoples of the Low Worlds are gathered into it. We speak not of when it will begin. It has begun from before always. There is no time when we did not rejoice before this face as now. The dance which we dance is at the centre and for the dance all things were made. Blessed be He![85]

2.10 Conclusion

> If anyone tells him that some pleasures, because they spring from good desires, are to be encouraged and approved, and others, springing from evil desires, to be disciplined and repressed, he won't listen or open his citadels door to the truth, but shakes his head and says all pleasure are equal and should have equal rights.
>
> *The Republic,* 561c, Plato.

This chapter began with a citation from The Lamentations of Jeremiah, a citation which concluded with the lines "the law is no more; her prophets also find no vision from the Lord".[86] Essentially, this is how Lewis interpreted many modern educational trends. In his view, modern educators promoted a vision of man which atrophied his intellect and spirituality, and grafted upon his soul false notions of egalitarianism, collectivism, and subjectivism. Against the collectivist and reductionist model of the progressives, Lewis set a model of education informed by what he (and his fellow British Idealists) considered to be the spiritual base of European civilization - Christianity and Hellenism. He expressed similar fears to Sir Richard Livingstone who in *The Future of Education* declared that "we are losing that spiritual basis and our civilization is changing and on the way to destruction unless we can reverse the process".[87] In *Abolition*, he validated that spiritual base by arguing most effectively that its principles were universal and had been accepted by many

other civilizations throughout history. Against the images of man promoted by the planned welfare state, Lewis, like Livingstone in *Education And The Spirit of The Age* asserted that man was more than a social animal:

> It is the recognition of the dignity of the human personality, of man as something more than an animal to be fed and housed and provided with social services, as a spiritual being who must make his own choice between good and evil and who grows in stature and worth by that choice rightly made; it is a recognition of him as a creature who can think, and whose virtue is to think and decide for himself.[88]

Lewis believed that an education which nurtured 'just sentiments' in its youth and fostered a desire for objective truth in its adults would produce citizens who would preserve a just and democratic society. In all of his educational writings he exhorted educators (often by attempting to expose the logical and ethical absurdities of their philosophical positions) to rehabilitate their vision of man, society and education. He believed that in their commitment to subjectivism and egalitarianism in particular, modern educators had abandoned the very virtues which alone sustained civilization.

Lewis's educational writings were an attempt to rehabilitate those virtues and to re-direct the modern educational prophets to the true source of vision. The source of that vision was, in Lewis's view, commonly perceived by educationalists in all eras of human history. Its source was the Good, or in Lewis's case, God. The function of an educator, as Lewis perceived it, was to direct men towards the apprehension of the Good. In the following chapter an attempt will be made to establish the extent to which Lewis's own pedagogic methodology conformed to his vision of education and fostered within each pupil those particular conditions of mind which would allow him to apprehend the Good and "open his citadel's door to the truth".[89]

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPROBABLE GURU: LEWIS AS PEDAGOGUE

3.1 A Reasonable Tutor

> Set on the soul's acropolis the reason stands
> A virgin, armed, commercing with celestial light,
> And he who sins against her has defiled his own
> Virginity: no cleansing makes his garment white;
> So clear is reason.
>
> "Reason",
> *Poems*, 95,
> C.S. Lewis.

Lewis did not deem a man educated or self-disciplined until the three elements within his nature were, as Plato explains in *The Republic,* "in friendly and harmonious agreement, when reason and its subordinates are all agreed that there is no civil war among them".[1] In *Abolition* Lewis stated that it is only through a Taoist education that the well-nurtured man "can recognize reason when it comes".[2] Reason for Lewis was the organ of morality", the means by which man could learn "where and how the law was deficient", the only mode of access to a vision of the Good.[3] His high esteem for reason was clearly revealed in the poem cited above.

Following Plato, Lewis believed that it is only through the exercise of dialectic (a method of philosophical enquiry which employed question and answer analysis), which relies on reason, that man could come to know truth and apprehend the form of Good.[4] In later years, Lewis displaced reason from its exalted position when, chiefly under the influence of Owen Barfield, he hesitatingly accepted the role of imagination in the formation of knowledge. His acceptance of a philosophical tradition which was

descended from Coleridge via Goethe had much to do with his perception of the function of myth and will be examined in the next chapter. For many years however, Lewis's commitment to reason and Dialectic pervaded his pedagogic practice.

Dialectic for Lewis was a form of serious conversational interplay and was not related to dialectic in the Medieval sense of reducing an opponent to a contradiction, or to the Hegelian\Marxist sense of a theory of the nature of logic which is also a theory of the structure and development of the world.[5] Owen Barfield, a close friend of Lewis, offered a valuable insight into Lewis's use of dialectical 'play' when he suggests in "C.S. Lewis in Conversation" that Lewis employed Aristotle's maxim "paizein hopos spoudaze" - play in order to become generous or noble.[6] He observed that while Lewis emphasized the "paizien" principle, in that, Lewis expected the student to be mindful "*as if* the play were an end in itself", he also emphasized that "the play must not be of the mean kind that contradicts the *spoudazein* principle".[7]

Barfield's comments serve to illuminate a statement by Derek Brewer, a former Lewis student, who stated in a letter to the author that he found the term dialectic applicable only to Lewis's method if it were "interpreted to mean 'discussion', 'argument' (not hostile), as opposed to downright instruction or dogmatism".[8] He was however, unhappy with the applicability of the term which he felt sounded "too technical, self-conscious".[9] However, it was a term which Lewis himself employed and the author may have failed to emphasize the 'play' element in Lewis's conception of dialectic in her first letter to Brewer. Kathleen Raine, in "From A Poet" in *Light on C.S. Lewis,* duly noted Lewis's innate sense of 'play' in regard to learning, declaring that for Lewis "learning was a joyful and inexhaustible game".[10] It was this 'joy' that imbued Lewis's employment of dialectic with his tutorial students.

The examination of Lewis's pedagogic practice is based upon interviews conducted by the author with a number of Lewis's ex-pupils and his step-son. Restricted as this examination may at first appear, it proved an invaluable testing ground for views garnered from the Stephen Schofield and James Como interview compilations, and from various autobiographies, biographies and memoirs.[11] It lent credence and support to the supposition that Lewis concurred wholeheartedly with Plato when Plato declared in *The Republic* that dialectic was the "coping-stone that tops our educational system; it completes the course of studies and there is no other study that can rightly be placed above it".[12]

The examination attempts to establish the salient features of Lewis's pedagogic practice as interpreted by his ex-pupils and ex-colleagues from 1930 to 1960. Marked differences in interpretation are few. Recorded differences seem, for the most part, to be the result of differences in personal temperament. This point is noted by Derek Brewer, who, when presented with a series of diverse ex-student views of Lewis in a letter from the author, wrote that "Most of the comments you quote can be reconciled with mine, granted differences of temperament, except the first. If it is from the person I think it is he is a notorious character".[13] Before the examination begins, one further limitation of the study must be acknowledged. Many of the cited testimonies are from men who later distinguished themselves as scholars, poets, dramatists, critics, and headmasters. Thus, while the views of Lewis's more able students are well represented the views of the less-able students are hardly in evidence.

3.2 Arguing To Truth

> He was the true master, the true teacher.
>
> Luke Rigby.
>
> By no means have all Oxford tutors been as conscientious and efficient, let alone as brilliant as Lewis.
>
> Derek Brewer.
>
> As a teacher he was incomparable.
>
> Kenneth Tynan.
>
> He was easily the greatest teacher of our time in his chosen fields.
>
> Nevill Coghill.
>
> He was an ideal tutor, conscientious, brilliant, . . . always speaking from strength.
>
> R.W. Burchfield.
>
> I found him - not surprisingly - the only good tutor . . . among the men who taught me at Oxford.
>
> W.R. Fryer[14].

For most of his working life at Oxford Lewis's tutorial work-load was taxing. He tutored students individually and, after the war, small groups of students from nine o'clock to one o'clock, and again from five o'clock to seven o'clock each day except Tuesdays and lecture days, with a half-day's work on Saturday until one o'clock.[15] During the inter-war years he tutored in Political Science as well as English, and during and after the war he tutored female students from other Oxford colleges.[16] Sayer in *Jack* notes that while Lewis found his extensive tutoring difficult, he was motivated after his conversion by a "strong sense of the usefulness of his job".[17]

There is mixed evidence of Lewis's interest in his tutorial work. Peter Bayley, a post-war Lewis student, reports in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that while he had heard that Lewis had grown to dislike tutorials, he personally didn't remember Lewis showing any signs of boredom.[18] In the same book Derek Brewer, also a post-war Lewis student, states that although Lewis's "primary energy went into tutorial

work . . . He did not particularly enjoy it".[19] Brewer's view was qualified by Douglas Gresham who, during a second interview with the author, commented "Some tutorials he enjoyed enormously. Those were with men who had sharp minds and were determined to learn. Some tutorials he absolutely loathed and those were with men who had sharp minds who didn't want to learn. Some tutorials he didn't enjoy but didn't dislike either. They were with the people whose minds were not particularly sharp but did want to learn . . . they were doing their best".[20] John Lawlor, an inter-war Lewis student, notes in "The Tutor And The Scholar" that Lewis considered tutorial work a "school of patience", adding that discernible in Lewis the tutor was a "willed attention to the mediocre performer".[21] Of Lewis's "willed attention to the mediocre performer", Gresham commented, "The boy or student whose mind wasn't sufficiently powerful, who was, if you like, a stupid kid, . . . Jack would do his best with, and not necessarily not enjoy. He would be able to enjoy the association of people who weren't powerful mentally but who were trying, because . . . he could understand and appreciate their efforts".[22]

Lewis seems to have treated all his students with equal consideration and attention whether they were mediocre or above-average. His implicit attitude to tutorials may be best summarized by his Oxford colleague, Gervase Mathew, who in *C. S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* states that "I have no qualification to write on him as tutor, but, when I remember the vehemence of his belief in education as opposed to training, I find it impossible to conceive that he judged his tutorials to be a complete waste of time".[23] (Something of an understatement, no doubt, when one considers the number of eminent scholars whom Lewis tutored). During a second interview, Douglas Gresham corroborated Mathew's observation stating, "I don't think he ever felt he was wasting his time except with the students who did not want to learn, and

he felt not that he was wasting his time, but that they were wasting their [own] time".[24]

The structure of Lewis's tutorials was orthodox: the student read aloud an essay of approximately three hundred words prepared from the previous week; Lewis listened attentively; made notes; 'discussed' the essay; prescribed reading for the following week; and lit his pipe to signal the end of the tutorial.[25] Even the death of his wife, Joy Davidman, did not alter Lewis's fixed routine as this reminiscence of Frances Warner, Lewis's final research student at Cambridge University, reveals in a letter to Walter Hooper, which Warner forwarded to the author:

> There was no small-talk. When I came in he would knock out his pipe, we would each don our gowns, and he would take the leather-bound book from me and begin. Only once did I pluck up the courage to ask him a personal question. "I hope", I said quietly, as we gowned, "the black tie is not what it seems?" "You are married?" "Yes, 'I replied. "You are lucky. My wife has just died. Now, let's begin.[26]

Lewis's dialectical method in 'discussing' the essay was perhaps less orthodox, and is typified by a comment he made in a letter to his friend Leo Baker that "if you are going to argue with me, you must argue *to* the truth of your position, not from it".[27]

Lewis's tutorial students seem to have been well aware of Lewis's predilections. John Lawlor in "The Tutor And The Scholar" states that Lewis's own account in the *Preface* to *Essays presented to Charles Williams* of "the cut and parry of prolonged, fierce, masculine argument" "perfectly characterized his notion of a good tutorial".[28] Lawlor continues that in his tutor he found the Lewis of *The Personal Heresy*, a "man hungry for rational opposition", observing that "one quickly felt that for him dialectic supplied the place of conversation.[29] (Lewis has also written in *The Personal Heresy* that "To find an opponent is almost to . . . find a friend").[30] Lawlor notes that "talk was dead timber until the spark of argument

flashed", adding that the more the pupil showed a capacity for self-defence the better Lewis was pleased".[31]

E.L. Edmonds, an inter-war pupil of Lewis's, observes in Stephen Schofield's *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis was always probing, "always testing to see how far a particular student could go".[32] In a letter to the author, Edmonds recalls a particular occasion when Lewis revealed his predilection for discursive debate:

> Early on, I once quoted William Cowper's hymn, "Mark my soul . . ." I suppose he was impressed by the scope of my memory, but in answer to my 'paean of glad praise' he said, "but surely you can't like that awful hymn. There is a fountain filled with blood . . . ?" Today I should spontaneously reply "Precisely! It is awe - full". But then of course, I wavered with "Well, perhaps you're right" - when he promptly cut me off. "I don't want you to agree with me; I want you to disagree". Nevertheless, at that point in time disagreeing wasn't all that easy . . . But one learnt![33]

Peter Bayley, contrary to the general view, suggests in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that Lewis through his dialectical method attempted to convert the student to his point of view.[34] Bayley concurs with the general view in describing Lewis's method as one where Lewis posed "a series of apparently simple questions" and exposed "the folly or untenableness of your answers".[35] Peter Philip, another inter-war pupil, states in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis never disagreed openly with any opinion which Philip expressed, but that Lewis would simply require him to defend his views against "his [Lewis] penetrating criticism until my desperate defence began to disintegrate".[36] Philip observes that "very often Lewis would change his ground and point out the arguments which he should have used to support his thesis.[37] He adds that Lewis's procedure "was a most effective encouragement to clear thinking and the marshalling of lucid argument".[38]

John Wain, in his *Sprightly Running Part of an Autobiography*, declares that in a bid to survive Lewis's tutorials, he was forced to turn himself into a "a miniature

Lewis".[39] He further claims that the making of "quick-fire debaters" was the usual effect of Lewis's tutorials on a student, unless the student sank "into sullen despair".[40] In employing the dialectical method Wain suggests that Lewis was repeating the pattern of his own education with Kirkpatrick (a point reiterated by John Lawlor and Leo Baker).[41] Nathan Starr, a post-war friend of Lewis notes in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that although Lewis "used his learning dynamically, in the cut and thrust of good masculine argument", he had never heard Lewis in "a contemptuous or malicious mood".[42]

A.J.P. Taylor in his autobiography, *A Personal History*, remarks however that Lewis was "a very able man" who could be intellectually destructive while simultaneously professing "an urgent Low Church piety which he had preached everywhere except in the college common room".[43] Balancing Taylor's comment is the testimony of a Cambridge student who, in an obituary on Lewis for the *Cambridge Review*, commented that in Lewis he had found how "a continuing readiness to pursue your intellectual interests rather than his own, could not disguise the formidable range of his learning, the quickness of his wit and the penetration of his questioning".[44] Nevill Coghill in "The Approach To English" confirms that Lewis never made personal remarks in an argument, but also "never gave quarter in debate and never lost his temper", adding that "he always argued with seriousness and drew on his learning".[45]

Pupils less happy with Lewis's dialectical method were Alan Rook and Norman Bradshaw, both inter-war pupils, and both represented in Schofield's *In Search of C.S. Lewis*.[46] Rook comments that Lewis would suddenly demolish an argument "like a butcher bringing down a meat cleaver - almost to the point of rudeness".[47] Norman Bradshaw declares that it appeared to him that Lewis used his

students "as a whetstone on which to sharpen his own powers of dialectic argument".[48] Bradshaw contends that "Lewis was interested in his pupils, not as persons but by deliberate policy, as well as inclination, only so long as they baited him and allowed him to win an argument".[49] This particular view of Bradshaw's has been challenged by George Sayer and Derek Brewer. In a letter to the author, Sayer writes that Lewis "did not usually mention his other pupils, but when he did so, it was clear that he was interested in them as individuals".[50] Derek Brewer, in reviewing Bradshaw's view, (among others) enquired of the author, "why should one want to bait one's tutor, or feel the need?"[51] E.L. Edmonds in his letter to the author observes, "I am not really up with the context of the commentary of Alan Rook or Norman Bradshaw; but it does seem to me there is a case for that old maxim (suitably adapted) " Quot discipuli, tot sententiae".[52]

In the light of Sayer's, Brewer's and Edmond's response to Bradshaw's view, and in the light of all available evidence on student response to Lewis's dialectical method, Carpenter's unsubstantiated comment in *The Inklings* seems spurious and grossly unfair.[53] He writes that Lewis "rarely praised their [pupils] work, preferring to engage them in heated argument about some remark they had made. This frightened all but the toughest-minded undergraduates. A few managed to fight back and even win a point-which was just what Lewis wanted them to do - but the majority were cowed by the force of his dialectic and went away abashed".[54] Douglas Gresham's comments on the mixed reactions of students to Lewis's dialectic is helpful and illuminating. He stated during his interview:

> There are two basic schools of reaction to Jack as a tutor. There are those students who were fascinated by him and what he taught them . . . [They] became friends and went on to great things in life. There were those who resented him because they challenged him to a battle of wits when they did not have the ammunition with which to fight and got 'clobbered' . . .

> Because if you were to challenge Jack to an intellectual battle you'd better be able to carry it through.[55]

However, Brewer himself acknowledges that there was a "vein of robust insensibility" in Lewis.[56] He notes in his testimony for *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, that Lewis "had little notion of sparing one's feelings and he would not have imagined one could feel hurt, though I often did.[57] (Douglas Gresham during his interview also noted Lewis's propensity for "brutal honesty".[58] He added however, in a second interview, that Lewis "would not "clobber" people who couldn't take it. He would be very gentle with those who needed a gentle approach".)[59] Brewer's analysis of the "vein of robust insensibility" in Lewis seems fair and perceptive. He suggests that Lewis "spoke to everyone on the same terms of equality, and this led occasionally to inadvertent rudeness, as he said what he thought to those not always as robust and so totally without amour propre as himself".[60] Brewer adds however, that Lewis was careful not to hurt in his written criticism, a point confirmed by Francis Warner during his interview with the author.[61] Warner recalled that while Lewis's professional relationship with him was very formal, Lewis was warm and generous in his reviews of his poetry.[62] In his letter to Walter Hooper he writes of the Lewis tutorials:

> Over and above these marathon sessions [i.e. the three hour tutorials] (so they seemed to me) he would question me about my poetry, and write at length by letter on my sources, rhythm etc. "The general danger at present is that of becoming (like early Keats) "too darn poetical". You know what I mean? . . . I like the body of III but not its Alexandrine . . . Now for details.[63]

(Warner also felt that Lewis was more interested in his poetry than his research work).[64]

While many of Lewis's pupils were not enamoured of his dialectical method, they praised him for the long-term results of their subjection to such demanding enquiry. George Sayer in a letter to the author states that "I myself had a mind of an intuitive sort and shrank from dispute. I was shy and lacked the confidence to argue with him".[65] And yet Sayer, who later became a close friend of Lewis's, also writes that "Lewis supplied encouragement and designed a course that suited me".[66] Francis Warner informed the author that while Lewis's dialectical method of arguing to truth and clarity was hostile to his own intuitive tradition of enquiry, he believed that Lewis was the best tutor he could possibly have had for the work he was attempting to do.[67] (Warner was working on a bibliographical edition of the later text of H. Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*).[68]

He suggested to the author that the tutorial work with Lewis was very strenuous and concentrated, a point reiterated in his letter to Hooper when he elaborated on the nature of the tutorial work: "I would knock on his door at 10.30, and we would sit at an angle together, neither facing nor side by side, until 12.45. My notes show the pace at which we worked. On January 26th, 1961, for instance we stopped at the end of Chapter V. The following week on February 1st, at the end of chapter IX".[69] Warner explained that while he lived in terror of Lewis's tutorials, he was exhilarated by Lewis's daunting knowledge.[70] He recalls in his letter to Hooper that "I lay awake most of Tuesday nights aware of my shortcomings in the three languages necessary for the task (Latin, Greek and Hebrew)".[71]

For over two hours each week for one academic year, Lewis sat with Warner translating the Greek and Latin sections of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.[72] Warner explains Lewis's method very clearly in his letter to Hooper. He writes that Lewis "took the original volume in his hands, and with one finger travelling along the

buckled lines, translated 'off the cuff', having told me to stop him when he went wrong. I took this to be his polite way of saying "Make a note where we differ and correct if you are wrong".[73] Lewis's method with Warner was repeated with at least one other Cambridge student who states in an obituary on Lewis for the *Cambridge Review* that "What for any other man would have been a labour of lexicography was for him to labour of love . . . after one had stumbled through the dark places of some foreign or ancient text for half an hour or so he would take up the translation and sustain it fluently, effortlessly, illuminating it with parallels that came into his mind as he read".[74]

During his interview, Warner suggested very modestly to the author that Lewis himself translated in order to preserve Warner's dignity, a view he restates in his letter to Hooper when he comments that Lewis translated "to spare my blushes".[75] Lewis's sensitivity to his insecure student prompted Warner, he recalled, to work even harder because he did not wish to disappoint his extraordinarily generous and magnanimous tutor.[76] Warner still possessed and displayed many of the pieces of paper where Lewis, with great joy and pleasure, traced the etymology of interesting words which they encountered during their work.[77] This particular aspect of Lewis's tutorial method which delighted and inspired Warner, is clearly explained in his letter to Hooper:

> He would make me note down references neither of us knew, and in the intervening week each of us would look them up and compare our answers the following Wednesday. He was fascinated by this chasing of sources for the innumerable quotations, and was awe-inspiringly well-read . . . He cheered me on: 'Praestat difficilor lectio' he would say again and again . . . His notes made during the week showed keen zest. Often he would give the reference he had found, and the Latin or Greek quotation, together with ancillary linguistic material if needed; then a reference to English literature.[78]

Warner's letter to Hooper included examples of Lewis's notes together with comments of his own: (The handwritten notes are Lewis's, the typed, Warner's):

Echeneis 1. Adj. ἐχε-νηις. "ship-detaining". Hence used of lack of winds, or unfavourable winds. (Aeschylus Agamemnon. 144.) 2. A Noun: a shell-fish credited with the power of holding a ship back = Lat. echineis remora. For which cf. Donne, Elegy XVIII, 58; Letter to Sir H. Wotton, 8; given-ous note on the latter; Also Thos. Browne, Errors III. cap 28 last para. but two

Another note might be to educate me from my ignorance; of, for instance, how Homeric horses bred:

Horses fertilised by the Wind. Iliad XVI. 148 "Xanthus and Balius, swift sti whom Harpyia Podargé bore to the wind Zephyr, when she grazed in a meadow beside the Ocean stream.

He would add fascinating observations beyond the needs of the task in hand, always of a scholarly nature. At the end of a note on Epimenides he adds:

'St. Paul quotes a line from him in Titus i.12'[79]

While Warner had and continues to have the highest regard for Lewis's tutorial methodology, he nevertheless concurred with the view of John Wain, who in an article for the *American Scholar* stated that "Lewis had no innate sympathy with the kind of mind that shrinks away from dispute and develops its ideas best in an atmosphere of encouragement".[80]

In spite of the somewhat controversial nature of Lewis's dialectical methods their benefits were recognised by even his sternest critics. Bradshaw declares in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that while Lewis's tutoring undermined his confidence in his own judgement, he realized later that Lewis had taught him "to think or at least to think much more clearly about *how* to think clearly, and my confidence returned".[81] He declares that Lewis taught him to be suspicious of "the cliché, the glib phrase, the second-hand opinion".[82] He emphasizes the extent to which Lewis disliked cant and

had a "love of accuracy and truth".[83] Thus Bradshaw's testimony lends cogent support to Lewis's criteria of learning processes.

Lewis seems to have instilled in all his students a belief in the value of genuine personal judgements, and a desire to pursue truth. E.L. Edmonds in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* observes that Lewis's "frequent change of intellectual stance taught me one very valuable lesson, namely, that no-one should be regarded as an absolute authority".[84] He also recalls that "it was Lewis who first taught me the importance of one's own experience".[85] In the same book, Patricia Berry, a war student of Lewis's, notes that Lewis did not encourage his students to "bow to his value judgements, but to form our own".[86] She adds that he wanted "to know the facts on which we based our opinions . . . his method was Socratic. But he expected a bit more than "Yes Socrates"".[87]

In *Jack*, Sayer declares that all of Lewis's pupils of the thirties would testify that Lewis's teaching consisted largely of making students "aware of, and debunking our absurdities, inconsistencies and false sentiments".[88] While Lewis, in a letter to Dom Bede Griffiths in 1932, stated that he was content in "the honest work of eradicating false habits of mind and teaching the elements of reason itself and English literature is as good a subject as any other", he balanced that view in a revealing letter written to Arthur Greeves in the same year.[89] Writing to Greeves of the visit of an ex-student Lewis commented:

> Talking of the past, I had a really delightful experience some weeks ago. An old pupil of mine, one Wood, came to spend a night with me . . . He quoted bits of Middle English poems which he had read with me for the exam. They were mere drudgery to him at the time, but now, in memory, they delight him. Of course there was an element of vanity on my side. One liked to feel that one had been the means of starting him on things that now are standing him in such good stead. There was also a less contemptible, and so to speak, professional pleasure, in thus seeing proof

that the English School does really do some good. But in the main the pleasure was a spiritual one.[90]

Judged by the content of the two letters, it is clear that as early as 1932 Lewis had established his vision for learning at university level. It is also clear that Lewis was effectively translating his educational theories into working principles in tutorials.

3.3 The Improbable Guru

Derek Brewer suggests in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that Lewis was "an unusually good example of the ideal" tutor: the ideal Oxford tutor, in Brewer's view, being one who "conceived of learning as a way of life", and whose "reading, thinking, and writing were part of a unified life, neither "job", nor "recreation", because they were both".[91] It was an ideal, Brewer suggests, which was being steadily eroded by demands of modern life and was "increasingly hard to achieve".[92] Indeed, Brewer's portrait of Lewis as tutor strongly resembles Lewis's own presentation of tutors in his essay "Our English Syllabus".[93] He notes that Lewis did not consider his tutoring as 'teaching' a point expressed by Lewis himself in "Our English Syllabus".[94] (It was John Lawlor who in "The Tutor And The Scholar", first noted how Lewis resembled the ideal tutors he discussed in that essay).[95]

Brewer suggests that Lewis despised teaching, and conceived his tutorial role as one which aided the student in his pursuit of knowledge, and allowed him to share in the mutual concerns of the learned life.[96] Lewis's view of his tutorial role as interpreted by Brewer is endorsed by Douglas Gresham who stated that Lewis "did see himself in that role of nurturing the talents of his students . . . and he regarded it as a large part of his job to instil a love of learning - apart from anything else".[97] Brewer states that in this shared pursuit there was "a sense of fundamental equality and unity, divided, into ranks and stages", declaring that Lewis treated him as a man and not as a schoolboy.[98] This view is confirmed by Douglas Gresham who stated that:

> [Lewis] would learn from his students as he taught his students. . . . He was always delighted when someone who shouldn't have known a great deal about a particular topic was able to teach him something. He always found that refreshing and delightful when a student would come with something Jack had never seen, or never heard of, or thought of, and present it to him and say, "This is the way I believe it to be", and Jack would find he was right. He would find a great delight in that.[99]

This particular tutorial ethos of two colleagues engaged in the mutual pursuit of knowledge, is one which Lewis seems to have promoted. R.W. Burchfield, a post-war Rhodes scholar from New Zealand, stated in a telephone conversation with the author that he never felt intimidated in Lewis's presence, but rather, was exhilarated and highly motivated by Lewis's tutorials.[100] Like Brewer, he felt encouraged by Lewis to consider himself as a partner in the pursuit of knowledge; the partner, however, of a hard task-master.[101] (Burchfield was careful to stress, that as a Rhodes scholar he may have been somewhat a-typical of the general run of Lewis's students of the period, many of whom he suggested, were quite unsuited to academic life and were merely interested in obtaining a university qualification.[102] He conceded that as a war veteran like Brewer he may have had a maturity which allowed him to interact with Lewis on a more stimulating level.[103] Interestingly, Brewer hinted at a similar view when he wrote to the author "You have to remember that the general culture was very different fifty years ago, and that many of us were ex-Infantry officers, though not in the least militaristic".[104] Other students such as Bradshaw and Philip comment that they "might have gained more from him if I'd been older. I'm sure he was a better tutor to men returning from the Forces after the War").[105] Luke Rigby, a student of Lewis's in 1944, writes in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that he also found Lewis a hard task-master, but added that "that seemed good".[106] Like Brewer and Burchfield, Lewis appears to have encouraged Rigby to consider himself a co-investigator of truth rather than a lowly student, Rigby declaring that Lewis "was

always welcoming and showed total interest and concern . . . He shared his appreciation and enthusiasm and thereby instilled confidence and demanded effort".[107]

Rigby's view contradicts George Bailey's in "In the University" in Keefe's *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher* who states that "Lewis lacked the warmth to fire his students with enthusiasm. He lacked even the active interest in developing their capacities. He took his students as they came and took care only to make sure that they met the basic requirements to pass schools".[108] However, Bailey somewhat confusingly admits that while Lewis, in his view, "did not have the gift of imparting enthusiasm", he did have "his own brand of Promethean fire".[109] He recalls an occasion when he related to Lewis his dismay and bewilderment at the amount of knowledge he had acquired and the amount of knowledge he still had to acquire. Lewis responded: "Do not be [dismayed]. The human mind has no limits of capacity. It will take as much as you give it. It will stretch to embrace any amount of knowledge".[110]

While Lewis appreciated the efforts of diligent pupils he had little time for the students who were unprepared to work, as the poet John Betjeman learned to his cost. Betjeman's Oxford silliness did not amuse Lewis. Douglas Gresham offered this explanation: "Jack was very impatient with students like Betjeman for example, who would come into a tutorial and waste his and other student's time . . . It wasn't acceptable behaviour for Jack. This was a working environment. If they wanted to do silly thing in their own time - fine . . .but not in his tutorials".[111] Gresham elaborated on Lewis's reaction to 'idle prigs' when he stated:

> Jack would really dislike intensely the group of students . . . who had good minds but did not want to use them, who thought that their function at Oxford was to enjoy their parents spending money on them . . . and there were quite a number of those about . . . They were there to have a good time and to hell with the education. Jack really did not like that attitude, and found such people very hard to tolerate. He did tolerate them and tolerated them amazingly well, but he found it difficult. It was a conscious effort.[112]

All students concur on the superlative quality of Lewis's mind, many stating that they considered themselves privileged to have been Lewis's pupil.[113] Many students and colleagues, including Kenneth Tynan, Nevill Coghill, Leo Baker and Derek Brewer compare the temper of Lewis's mind to that of Samuel Johnson.[114] Kenneth Tynan's comment reflects the views of many, when he declares in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that "I found Lewis the most impressive mind I have ever seen in action. He had the breath and clarity of mind of Dr. Johnson. He had the persuasiveness of Samuel Johnson without the bullying".[115] Tynan's wife in her biography, *The Life of Kenneth Tynan,* recalls how Tynan just before his death compared Lewis to Johnson: "[Lewis] had the same swiftness to grasp the heart of a problem and the same sort of pouncing intelligence to follow it through to the conclusion".[116] "Here", Kathleen Tynan writes, "was the most impressive mind that he [Tynan] had seen in action and this improbable guru - a Tory and a High Churchman - affected and haunted him throughout his life".[117]

Both Brewer and Leo Baker recognized Lewis's Johnsonian literalism, but noted that it was a literalism tempered in later years by his romanticism.[118] Coghill, perhaps, offers the definitive view on the Lewis-Johnson analogy when he wrote in "The Approach To English" that "There were many echoes of Johnson in Lewis. Both were formidable in their learning and in the range of their conversation, both had the same delight in argument, and in spite of their regard for truth would argue for

victory. Lewis had Johnson's handiness with the butt end of a pistol if an argument misfired".[119]

Rather than being intimidated by Lewis's learning most students were exhilarated by what Brewer has described as the "generous richness" of Lewis's mind and temperament.[120] Rigby refers to Lewis's depth of learning and his "poetic and personal sensitivity"; both Nevill Coghill and Francis Warner refer to his genius; Bayley, in a balanced assessment writes in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that Lewis's "greatness lay in extraordinary powers of clarification and illumination".[121] His weakness, he suggests, "lay in this very strength: he could not resist oversimplification and beautifully neat conclusions".[122]

Bailey in "In the University" pays tribute to Lewis's ability to clarify difficult concepts. He suggests that "in discussing essays, particularly in arguing points of philosophy or aesthetics, Lewis would always use analogy - the metaphor in syllogistic harness - to solve all problems. He did this sort of thing instinctively; it was his method of 'picture thinking' which he used so extensively in his books".[123] He continues that this systematic use of metaphor and simile "became the *modus operandi* for his life work - in his speech as well as in his writing".[124] Tynan states that "as a teacher [Lewis] was incomparable", and that he found him "immensely invigorating, stimulating and inspiring".[125] W.R. Fryer, a political science student during the inter-war years, declares in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis was "superhuman in the range of his knowledge and in the height of his intellectual vision".[126] (Strangely, Sayer in a letter to the author suggests that "in the pre-war years, when there were few English pupils, he [Lewis] also tutored in political economy. His pupils in this subject did not rate him at all highly").[127]

Coupled with this deep erudition which so impressed and inspired Lewis's pupils was what Malcolm Muggeridge in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* describes as a "true humility".[128] Leo Baker perceptively notes that an initial desire in Lewis to be unpretentious later "developed into a real and profound humility, but it prevented anyone from taking him for a "great man" and often concealed his real greatness".[129] Lewis's humility was recognized by many of his students. The following statement, for example, appears in an obituary on Lewis for the *Cambridge Review:* "his "mere Christianity" was not an easy affair, . . . but a demanding life, expressing itself in hidden acts of almost quixotic generosity and kindness. Beneath the gusto and the bravura of his personality lay a deeply willed humility".[130] John Wain in "C.S. Lewis" an article for *Encounter,* recalls how Lewis while working on *English Literature In The Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* offered him a chapter of the book for a critical assessment. Wain comments, "It was like his humility to bring work of that quality, so deeply pondered and so brilliantly written, to an insignificant young man in his twenties, completely unknown then in the world of letters, and ask quite genuinely for "criticism" ".[131]

This intellectual humility no doubt helped in putting students at their ease. However, most students reveal that their relationship with Lewis, while meaningful on an intellectual level, was invariably professional, and seldom extended into the personal arena. (A.J.P. Taylor, a colleague of Lewis, records in *A Personal History* that "though I was his colleague for many years and often talked to him, I never discovered what was really in his mind".)[132] The formal professionalism of the student-tutor relationship which Lewis apparently fostered, a relationship which lacked personal or intimate interactions, is confirmed by Rigby, Brewer, Wain, Burchfield and Bayley.[133]

Douglas Gresham suggested that the quality of Lewis's relationships with his students was tempered by the personality of the student, and Lewis's own conscientiousness and sense of duty. He observed:

> There were students [with] whom Jack would always remain on a formal basis all his life and never establish a friendship. On the other hand there were men like Roger Lancelyn Green and George Sayer who became life-long friends as a result of their tuition. . . . A university don must maintain some distance from his students. . . . He also regarded the tutorial as work-time and you don't play in work-time. If you're going to have a friendship . . . and discuss things of your own interests you don't do that during tutorials. That's the time to study ".[134]

Gresham's view is confirmed by George Bailey who states in "In the University" that with few exceptions, Oxford dons had "little or nothing to do with undergraduates".[135] He noted that a don who cultivated his students socially would have little time for anything else and declared that "Lewis, as behoved a man of his well-nigh prodigious literary and scholarly production, carefully husbanded his time. He warded off private dinner invitations by pleading a glandular conditon".[136]

However, while Lewis seems to have wished to maintain a formal and purely professional relationship with his students during tutorials, there are numerous references by his students to personal discreet gestures of generosity and warmth. Francis Warner recalled that Lewis, quite unbeknownst to him, wrote to his mother expressing his high regard for her son.[137] Douglas Gresham suggested that "if a completely foolish undergraduate came to Jack with a trivial problem - Jack would have certainly taken time to consider it, looked at it from the individual's point of view and worked out some way of helping the individual concerned".[138] Wain's analysis of Lewis's personality is revealing when he writes of Lewis's outer self being, "brisk, challenging, argumentative, full of overwhelming physical energy and confidence", and his inner self being "as tender and as well hidden as a crab's".[139]

Whether or not Lewis in later years developed personal relationships with his pupils, many, like Tynan, felt heavily indebted to Lewis all their lives. Kathleen Tynan in *The Life of Kenneth Tynan* recalls how, in an acknowledgement of the extent of Lewis's influence over Tynan during his lifetime, a passage from *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces* was read over Tynan's grave.[140] E.L. Edmonds in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* attests to the tremendous effect which Lewis had upon him "as upon anyone with whom he came into a relationship, such as the Oxford Tutorial System generated".[141] John Bennett, in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English Literature at Cambridge University, stated that "Those of us who had the good fortune to call him master must feel as the prentice Hoccleve felt about Chaucer: "Fain he would me have taught / but I was dull, and learned little or naught"".[142] Perhaps Brewer's evaluation of Lewis as tutor, and of the Oxford tutorial system in general, is the most perceptive and impartial. He writes in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*:

> It is only later in life that one realizes how much a course of tutorials represents a specific approach to the subject and how much it formulates one's own attitude. I know very well that few other Oxford tutors were as thorough, conscientious, learned, or perceptive as Lewis. . . . the generous breath of interests, the concern with the English language, the lack of moralizing exclusiveness, the empiricism, the historical sense of sympathy, the jokes, seem to be generally representative of an Oxford tradition, at least, as it was then.[143]

Lewis was primarily an English Language and Literature tutor, and it is appropriate to end this examination of Lewis the tutor, with a comment from one of his greatest admirers and friends, and another from one of his severest critics on an aspect of Lewis's tutorial work which, though previously referred to, has not been stressed. Lewis was profoundly interested in words and what he perceived as their primary function to communicate meaning. His *Studies in Words* is a concrete

testimony to his intense interest in etymology.[144] In his introduction to *Studies In Words*, Lewis declares that "I should be glad if I sent any reader away with a new sense of responsibility to the language".[145] Judged by the testimony of his students, this particular aspiration of Lewis's appears to have been realized, at least in the tutorial room. Sayer, in a letter to the author, confirmed the importance which Lewis placed upon the study of words, writing that Lewis "certainly held that the imprecise use of words could blur real communication".[146] Ironically perhaps, it is Norman Bradshaw, one of Lewis's severest critics, who offers the definitive view of Lewis's success with his etymological aspirations, when he writes in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis instilled in him the belief that "it was the great mission of any educator to make others aware of how words could be, instead of communicators, the great "blurrers" of real communication".[147] (The present author believes that Lewis would have greatly appreciated and delighted in Bradshaw's comment).

3.4 The Master of Exposition : Lewis as Lecturer

While appraisals of Lewis's skills and influence as a tutor tend largely to be positive and appreciative, praise for his skills as a lecturer go virtually unchallenged. Helen Gardner in her "British Academy Obituary" for *Proceedings of The British Academy*, declares that "Lewis was not a born tutor . . . but he was a born lecturer. He was a master of exposition, illustration, and timing".[148] She explains that "his most famous Oxford lectures were the two bi-weekly courses he called 'Prolegomena to Renaissance Studies', in which he reduced to order and clarity, and illuminated with wit and imagination, a vast range of recondite reading".[149]

Like his colleague, A.J.P. Taylor, Lewis appears to have been an exceptional lecturer who, for a period during and immediately after the war, commanded huge

audiences on lecture days.[143] (Taylor notes in *A Personal History* that his own very good lecturing skills were "a gift which Oxford did not rate highly".)[151] Lewis seems to have relished his lecturing skills, a colleague, Gervase Mathews remarking in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that Lewis took "a vivid, perhaps rather sporting interest in the numbers who came to him, and he was depressed when he failed to repeat his Oxford triumphs at Cambridge".[152] Another colleague, David Hunt remarks in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that though he knew of Lewis's reputation as a "popular lecturer in the English faculty", he had never heard him personally.[153]

Carpenter in *The Inklings* states that Lewis's lectures were very well attended simply because Lewis "handed out information" and "dictated important passages word for word to his audience, while all the time he cited facts, and this is what many undergraduates wanted".[154] Carpenter disingenuously understates the nature of Lewis's lectures and their effects on his audience. His unsubstantiated comments seem to be based primarily on views presented by John Lawlor in "The Tutor And The Scholar".[155] (It is interesting to note that the only highly critical views of Lewis as tutor and lecturer are presented by Lewis's students of the inter-war years).[156] It is unfortunate that Carpenter did not have access to the interviews compiled by Schofield and Como in 1979 and 1983 respectively, interviews which might have radically altered and tempered his view.[157]

Assuredly many students including Rosamund Cowan, Derek Brewer, and R.M. Burchfield refer to the favourable note-taking nature of Lewis's lecture.[158] Cowan recalls in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis's lectures were "so carefully spoken you could take notes. He wanted you to take notes. He quoted and waited while you wrote it down".[159] However, by way of explanation of Lewis's technique, Burchfield suggested in his telephone conversation with the author that while Lewis

and his colleagues, Nevill Coghill and J.R.R. Tolkien, used their lectures as platforms for presenting new ideas, they did so because the literary industry during the immediate post-war period was still in its infancy.[160] At a time when there were only outdated reference books, Burchfield suggests that undergraduates were excited by the Lewis and Coghill lectures because new exciting literary views and ideas were being presented which would eventually find their way into major books of literary criticism.[161]

Secondly, in reviewing the testimony of pupils and colleagues such as Brewer, Burchfield and Gardner on the style and structure of Lewis's lectures, it seems manifestly unfair of Carpenter to reduce the lectures to their utilitarian function of providing information. Brewer writes of Lewis's lectures that they were "schematic, beautifully organised in a clear intellectual scheme, very precise, rich with quotations familiar and unfamiliar, which both illustrated and were illustrated by the points made. . . . they were remarkably fresh".[162] Sayer declares in *Jack* that Lewis's lectures were lively and that "he so enthusiastically discussed such topics as medieval cosmology and astrology . . . that we became converts to his views of the Middle Ages".[163] Burchfield stated to the author that Lewis's lectures were always packed, for the lectures were encyclopaedic in the breath of their knowledge.[164] Lewis was undoubtedly animated during his lectures, for Bradshaw in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* recalls that Lewis "preferred a live audience and like many shy people, he was a bit of an actor".[165]

All students attest to the powerful resonance of Lewis's voice at lectures. George Watson in "Introduction" to *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis* observes that Lewis's talk which was deliberate of pace, appeared as if slowed down to the tempo of composition itself; and his lectures, as audiences gratefully observed, were delivered

in a loud voice at dictation speed".[166] (A fine technical study of Lewis's speech patterns can be found in Carolyn Keefe's *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher).*[167] Eric Routley comments in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that Lewis "had a superbly unaffected delivery: a deep voice which went well with his cheerful and bucolic appearance. . . . It was a voice that really did vindicate the saying that the medium is the message".[168] Bailey in "In the University" observes that during lectures Lewis was:

> the consummate medium for what he had to say: he gave every word, every phrase, every sentence, every larger passage its full value. He gave full expression to his flashes of humour without obtruding his personality, as it were, between the flash and the audience. His style, I suppose, was low pressure but never conspicuously so.[169]

Criticism of his lectures are few. Brewer suggests in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* that "there was perhaps something sharp and schoolmasterly about his lectures deriving from his conviction, energy and clarity of mind, not from any desire to dominate".[170] Alan Rook's comments are singularly critical. He declares in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* that "I wouldn't say Lewis was a good lecturer. He read word for word from his brief. For me, at least, he never really illuminated anything".[171] (Rook was a student of Lewis's for about six months, and he does not indicate in his testimony the number of Lewis lectures which he attended.)[172] Luke Rigby in *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table* admits that he recollected having to struggle "to absorb the closely reasoned, profusely illustrated material" of Lewis's lectures, but also states that "I was under no illusions about where the limitations lay".[173]

Many of Lewis's lectures found their way into *The Allegory of Love*, *A Preface To Paradise Lost, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, *Selected Literary Essays*, *The Discarded Image*, *An Experiment In Criticism* and *English Literature In The Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama.*[174] Perhaps the most impartial judgement on Lewis as lecturer must lie with those who read these particular works. On Lewis as

tutor, an impartial and comprehensive judgement is impaired by the historical nature of the subject, an informed judgement relying on the testimonies, of what, for the most part, are grateful, if discerning students. But for those who remain sceptical of Lewis's worth as a tutor and a lecturer, the words of Malcolm Muggeridge in *In Search of C.S. Lewis* may prove illuminating, "I hated Cambridge. . . . I don't like universities at all. So my admiration for Lewis is, in a sense, won from me reluctantly. It is a measure of how good he is that he gets that. Because he loved Oxford and he was a don of dons, wasn't he?"[175] Of Lewis as tutor the words of George Bailey in "In the University" may prove helpful:

> I count his lectures among the foremost of his intellectual products. Lewis was at his effective best as a lecturer. It was at the rostrum that he gave everything and took nothing - except the satisfaction of knowing that he was doing what he chose to do and doing it superbly. For it is here, I am convinced, that Lewis, the scholar, found his best fulfilment as a human being among his fellow men.[176]

Of his controversial dialectical method a comment in the obituary on Lewis for the *Cambridge Review* are revealing, "no-one excelled him in lifting others into the same world of exuberant fantasy and ingenious argument as he himself inhabited. He showed abundantly what meaning there was in the simple phrase, "play of mind"" ."[177]

Finally, while speculating on the qualities of mind which Lewis wished to foster in his students, one might consider the qualities which were attributed to Lewis himself by his successor to the chair of Medieval and Renaissance English literature at Cambridge University, John Bennett, an ex-student of Lewis, who states in "The Humane Medievalist":

> To him in short, has been granted the freedom of a dozen cities of the mind. . . . He himself exemplified the quintessence of a vanishing mode of thought and type of learning; just as he himself embodied, if in a unique complex, that fusion of classical and "romantic" elements that produced the allegorical poetry of Love.[178]

Upon asking Douglas Gresham whether he considered that Lewis had consciously attempted to grant his young students "the freedom of a dozen cities of the mind", he replied "Yes. I think you're absolutely right, and I think he succeeded very often".[179]

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

Part I : The Case for Imagination

4.1 The Argument for the Defence

> The imaginative man in me is older, more continuously operative, and in a sense more basic than either the religious writer or the critic. It was he who in response to the poetry of others, made me a critic, and in defence of that response, sometimes a critical controversialist. It was he who after my conversion led me to embody my religious belief in symbolical or mythopoeic forms, ranging from *Screwtape* to a kind of theologised science-fiction. And it was, of course, he who has brought me, in the last few years to write the series of Narnian stories for children.
>
> *Letters,*
> C.S. Lewis.[1]

It is with the "imaginative man" in Lewis that this chapter must concern itself, since it is with the "older", "more continuously operative" and more "basic" imaginative man that one finds Lewis's decidedly modern, and contemporary vision of education. Permeating his 'imaginative' writings is a profound commitment to the validity of imagination within the process of knowledge. Lewis realized quite early in his career that man could only come to know truth through the workings of the rational mind upon meanings presented to it by the imagination. In an early essay, "Bluespels and Flalansferes: A Semantic Nightmare", he explicitly stated that while reason was "the organ of truth" imagination was "the organ of meaning", declaring that meaning was the "antecedent condition" of all truths (saving, of course, the truths presented to man

through divine revelation).[2] Lewis's statement carried deep implications for his vision of education, for, if as Lewis maintained, that education must concern itself with the pursuit of truth, it had, perforce, to acknowledge the critical role of imagination in the process of knowing, and number amongst its educational criteria the promotion and development of the imaginative faculty in man.

It is in Lewis's philosophic, artistic, and religious commitment to the validity of the imagination within the process of knowing that his relevance to modern educational theorists lie. While his views on the imagination owe much to the philosophical tradition of the German Romantic Idealists, the English Romantics and more especially to the works of his 'wise teacher', Owen Barfield, they do incline ideologically to particular contemporary views, and must be acknowledged as contributing historically to the contemporary debate on the place of the arts in modern education.[3] In order to clearly establish Lewis's contribution to contemporary educational thought, his views on the nature and function of the imagination must be clearly explicated, and an assessment made of the degree to which he anticipated the educational arguments of such contemporary defenders of the arts in education as Peter Abbs and David Best.[4]

Before such an examination begin, it may be prudent to state that although Lewis was undoubtedly close ideologically to those modern educational theorists who argue for the relevance of the arts in education and the validity of the imagination within the process of knowing, he was too committed a rationalist to assign an independent epistemological validity to the imagination itself (although certain able Lewis critics believe that he did).[5] While his friend and teacher Owen Barfield argued (as David Best, in later years, was to do), that the notion of the mind as an entity composed of two

separate and distinct realms of the cognitive and affective was false and untenable, Lewis argued to the end of his life that the 'feeling intellect' was a mode of being exclusive to poets of rare genius, and a mode of being which existed as a permanent reality only in the heavenly realm.[6] Although less radical philosophically than Barfield or Best in his claims for the imagination, Lewis still deserves recognition for anticipating and advancing contemporary arguments for the relevance of the imagination within the life and education of man.

Underpinning Lewis's theory of imagination was his recognition that man lived in a symbolic universe. Like Ernst Cassirer, Carl Jung, and more recently Peter Abbs, Lewis believed that reality was veiled in the universally shared language of symbol and myth.[7] He was convinced that it was of the utmost importance that each individual be initiated into a variety of symbolic forms (literature, science, art, and myth) through a balanced education which did not ignore the critical contributions of the imagination.[8] In Lewis's view, it was primarily through an initiation into the symbolic forms that man could define himself in the world and begin the life-long quest for unattainable absolute truth.

He believed that the Christian, no less than the atheist, should engage in this particular initiation although he recognised that each would interpret imaginative experiences in different ways. He was convinced that this initiation occurred through acts of the imagination. Each pure imaginative act allowed man to enter deeply into a symbolic form. This resulted in his ability to transcend the narrowness of his own rational world and perceive reality as it is apprehended by others.[9] Such an experience, in Lewis's view, inevitably altered, corrected, and expanded man's vision of reality and

his apprehension of truth, for each experience of transcendence effected through the working of the imagination, increased meaning which was the *sine qua non* for the apprehension of truth by the rational faculty.[10]

At another level the experience of transcendence, as Lewis explained in *The Pilgrim's Regress : An Allegorical Apology for Christianity, Reason and Romanticism*, allowed man to attain his truest life by dying to his mortal nature and "relapsing, as far as may be, into the impersonality of our source".[11] In *Surprised by Joy* he related how the "road out of the self", realized through pure imaginative acts, allowed "a commerce with something which by refusing to identify itself with any object of the senses or anything whereof we have biological or social need, or anything imagined, or any state of our own minds proclaims itself sheerly objective".[12]

It was while engaging his imaginative faculty in the apprehension of symbolic images that man experienced *Sehnsucht* or desire for the unknown, the "naked other".[13] He observed that while the imagination "salutes it with a hundred images", the "naked other " remains "unknown, undefined, desired".[14] However, the making and breaking of images in an attempt to apprehend the unknown was, in Lewis's view, the only mode of expression accessible to man in his attempt to name the unnameable. He believed that this dialectical process of image building was a primary function of the imagination. His view is stated clearly in *The Pilgrim's Regress* where God states categorically to the pilgrim John, "For this end I made your senses and for this end your imagination that you might see my face and live".[15] It was through the symbolic forms that pure imagination expressed itself.

Of all symbolic forms Lewis was most clearly committed to myth. He anticipated Peter Abbs's argument in "Education, Symbol, Myth", that myth was a symbolic form sorely neglected by modern educators.[16] Like Abbs, he recognized the huge pedagogic potential of myth, not only on a cultural and sociological level, but, in Lewis's view, most especially on a religious one. He stated in "On Science Fiction" that the mythopoeic was "a mode of imagination which does something to us at a deep level" and he feared that modern man had all but lost his capacity to receive and experience myths and be mythopoeic.[17] Recognizing the efficacy of myth in the historical development of human perception, he also recognized its efficacy in the future spiritual health of modern man.

While Lewis never abandoned his firm commitment to the importance of developing the rational faculty in man by means of a rigorous education, he recognized that education should attend to the development of man's imaginative faculty, since he believed that man lived in a symbolic universe apprehended through the workings of the imagination. While he never explicitly stated that education should concern itself with initiating pupils into the symbolic forms, such a belief is implicit in his writings and is concretely revealed in the use of the mythopoeic form (with varying degrees of success) in his science-fiction trilogy and the Narnian Chronicles. Douglas Gresham was convinced of the degree of Lewis's commitment to the pedagogic power of imagination and myth. When questioning him during an interview as to whether Lewis might have concurred with a statement from Abbs's article that education must concern itself with developing a mind which can think rationally but also be responsive to the eloquence of

myth, Gresham replied in the affirmative adding that "I don't think there was any doubt about that".[18]

This chapter will attempt to validate Gresham's convictions concerning Lewis's belief in the educative power of the imagination. Part One will explicate Lewis's theory of imagination and the educational implications of that theory. Such an explication demands an examination of statements scattered throughout the entire Lewis oeuvre, for while Lewis, as Barfield noted in an interview with Francis Moris, had a "tremendous feeling for the power of the Coleridgean imagination and its importance to art. (But) he didn't want to develop a theory of it".[19] Part Two of the chapter will focus on Lewis's perception of myth as a primary product of the imagination, and as a particular symbolic form which has been neglected by modern educators who have failed to recognize its pedagogic and spiritual potential in the life and education of man. It will establish the manner in which Lewis came to believe that the perception of absolute reality, which was man's life-long quest, was only partially realizable in the formation of symbolic statements, and in particular mythical statements. Focusing on Lewis's perception of mythical statements, the chapter will explore contemporaneous myth theories including those of Ernst Cassirer, C.G. Jung, Mircea Eliade, and J.R.R. Tolkien, which all 'attest' to the positive power of myth within the life of man. While analogies will be drawn where appropriate, the study will be careful to establish particular areas of differences in their perceptions of the nature and function of myth. It will demonstrate how Lewis diverged sharply from many myth theorists in his belief that myths were often a vehicle chosen by God to reveal divine truths to humanity. The educational implications of

Lewis's conception of myth, and its relevance to contemporary educational thought will then be explored.

4.2 The Contributions of Owen Barfield

Between 1925 and 1930 Lewis and Owen Barfield conducted what Glover in *The Art of Enchantment* has succinctly described as an epistolary debate on the nature of the poetic imagination.[20] What remains of the "Great War" (for so the debate was named by the two combative protagonists) are a series of to-date unpublished correspondences between the two men discussing the nature and function of the imagination and its relation to truth.[21] The contents of the letters are germane to any discussion on Lewis's theory of imagination for they provide explicit evidence of views from which Lewis (and indeed Barfield) little deviated in later years. In these letters Barfield argued for the epistemological validity of the imagination itself, while Lewis maintained that although imaginative vision was "a serious and valuable activity of spirit", no truths could be deduced solely from imaginative activity.[22]

The debate grew out of Barfield's B. Litt. Thesis of 1927 which was published in 1928 as *Poetic Diction : a study in meaning*.[23] A brief outline of the main ideas of this work (which Lewis has stated he had made his own long before its publication) will aid a fuller understanding of the "Great War" debate.[24] In an essay entitled "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", Barfield stated that *Poetic Diction* "rightly or wrongly" affirmed that poetry was a mode of knowledge and that it concerned itself "not only with patterns in history but with one overriding pattern seen to have shaped and determined the whole".[25] He

maintained that a philological study of the language of poetry and prose would reveal human consciousness in the process of evolution.

Barfield argued for a time when primitive consciousness was undifferentiated, when, through a mode of consciousness labelled 'participation mystique' by the anthropologist Levy-Bruhl, primitives failed to differentiate between subjective and objective reality.[26] This mode of consciousness was marked by its lack of conceptual thinking and lack of self-consciousness.[27] Solely through the workings of the imagination, man, in Barfield's view, began to apprehend the phenomenological world. He claimed that the creation of meaning and apprehensions of reality were affected through acts of imagination which initially communicated these apprehensions through myth and metaphor.[28] (Barfield undoubtedly owed much to Shelley in advancing these ideas. In *A Defence of Poetry,* Shelley, had as early as 1821, recognized that "in the infancy of society every author is necessarily a poet, because language itself is poetry".[29] He had also anticipated Barfield's claim that early man lacked self-consciousness, writing that "in the infancy of the world neither poets themselves nor their auditors are fully aware of the excellence of poetry, for it acts in a divine and unapprehended manner, beyond and above consciousness".)[30] For Barfield, myths were "the ghosts of concrete meanings" which "were not the arbitrary creations of poets, but the natural expression of man's being and consciousness at the time".[31] They were not apprehended in full consciousness but were experienced and lived rather than known.[32] (This myth-making stage in the evolution of human consciousness will be explored more fully in the second part of this chapter).

As man's consciousness evolved, Barfield postulated that the poetic 'given' meanings decreased as they were subjected to the growing rational principle in man and consciousness evolved out of original unconscious unity into rational isolation.[33] Barfield traced this growth of self-consciousness in the history of language, and concluded that language moved from homogeneity towards dissociation and multiplicity, that all language was figurative in origin, and that the history of language revealed an inexorable progression from an ancient richly poetic base to a prosaic and abstract one.[34] He further claimed that it was only through the workings of the imagination that this inexorable regression could be checked and language be revitalized and resuscitated. This claim echoes Shelley's statement in *A Defence of Poetry* that "if no new poets should arise to create afresh the associations which have been thus disorganized, language will be dead to all the nobler purposes of human intercourse".[35]

Barfield assigned this role of revitalization to poets who, in their creation of new metaphors, attempted to apprehend and communicate the ancient unities once perceived by primitive man.[36] Poets, in his view, successfully intuited relationships which men had forgotten, experiencing those relationships as metaphor.[37] Through the working of the rational principle within them, they then proceeded to express what Shelley in his *A Defence of Poetry* had termed the "before-unapprehended relation of things".[38] Barfield declared that it was in the powerful but balanced tension between the poetic \ imaginative principle and the rational principle in the poet that great poetry was produced.[39] In his view, the poetic imaginative principle expanded consciousness, while the rational principle increased understanding but not knowledge.[40] *Poetic Diction* clearly revealed the vital role which Barfield assigned to the imagination in the creation of

meaning and knowledge. It also revealed the importance, in Barfield's view, of the imagination in the evolution of human consciousness.

In his theory of the evolution of human consciousness Barfield was guided by his strong commitment to the Anthroposophical beliefs of Rudolph Steiner.[41] Although not fully explored and developed until his *Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry*, Barfield's theory of the evolution of human consciousness was clear in *Poetic Diction* and was, in Barfield's view, not badly summarized by Lewis in his Preface to D.E. Harding's, *Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth*:

> At the outset the universe appears packed with will, intelligence, life and positive qualities; every tree is a nymph and every planet a god. Man himself is akin to the gods. The advance of knowledge gradually empties this rich and genial universe; first of its gods, then of its colours, smells, sounds and tastes finally of solidity itself as solidity was originally imagined. As these items are taken from the world, they are transferred to the subjective side of the account: classified as our sensations, thoughts, images or emotions. The Subject becomes gorged, inflated, at the expense of the Object. But the matter does not end there. The same method which has emptied the world now proceeds to empty ourselves . . . And thus we arrive at a result uncommonly like zero.[42]

In *Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry*, Barfield declared that this emptying of the universe had been accelerated by science, which no longer had any "unity of knowledge", and which in its various fields of endeavour, saw "only an accelerating increase in that pigeon - holed knowledge by individuals of more and more about less and less, which, if persisted in indefinitely, can only lead mankind to a sort of "idiocy" . . . a state of affairs, in which fewer and fewer representations will be collective, and more and more will be private, with the result that there will in the end be no means of communication between one intelligence and another".[43] Lewis also abhorred the

hegemony of science in the modern world, and his deep antipathy to scientism will be discussed in Part Two of this chapter.

In view of the accelerated loss of public 'meanings', Barfield warned against the dangers of fixing upon false idols with which to apprehend the world, and emphasized the responsibility of each individual to choose images which added to and enriched the meanings in the world.[44] In the light of human evolution this warning was grave. Barfield believed that primitive man had participated unconsciously with the World and his Creator. Following the Incarnation, when God became man, man had begun the great thrust upwards to conscious participation with God. At some future time man would participate fully and consciously with God. In this final participation, man's creator would speak from within man himself.[45] Barfield concluded that each individual owed a responsibility to the world to add to man's well of meaning and advance the evolution of human consciousness. He clearly articulated man's responsibility in *Saving the Appearance: A Study in Idolatry:*

> The appearances will be "saved" only if, as men approach nearer and nearer to conscious figuration and realize that it is something which may be affected by their choices, and final participation which is thus being thrust upon them is exercised with the profoundest sense of responsibility, with the deepest thankfulness and piety towards the world as it was originally given to them in original participation, and with a full understanding of the momentous process of history as it brings about the emergence of the one from the other.[46]

The two central themes of *Poetic Diction* and indeed of all of Barfield's work centred on the importance of the imagination in the creation of knowledge, and in the evolution of human consciousness. (Barfield himself noted in "Lewis and/or Barfield", that "I have always tried to write about an evolution of consciousness, that is, a change not only in

the ideas people have formed about the world, but a change in the very world they experience").[47] In *Poetic Diction* Barfield focused on tracing the development of poetic language to validate his theory that the evolution of human consciousness was correlated to a decline in an ancient mode of consciousness, where thought and perception were undifferentiated, to a rise in conceptual reasoning, where thought and perception were sharply differentiated. The "Great War" established the difficulties which Lewis had in fully accepting Barfield's theory on the role of imagination in the development of poetic language. It is pertinent to note that during an interview with Moris conducted in 1976, Barfield commented that in the late 1920s Lewis "certainly did accept [his theory of language] without reservation - substantially without reservation", adding however, that he had never been sure of the extent to which Lewis had modified that acceptance after his conversion in the early 1930s.[48]

Of Lewis's acceptance of his theory on the evolution of human consciousness, Barfield was less sure. In his essay "C.S. Lewis and Historicism" he declared that Lewis "emphatically denied any recognizable, certainly any significant evolution or development of consciousness in the course of human history", citing Lewis's essay "Historicism" as evidence of his deep antipathy to the notion of any single continuous process in history.[49] In the same essay, however, Barfield admitted that Lewis perhaps did not deny that such a process existed but only that it was knowable.[50] He might well have cited a passage from "Historicism" to support his qualified claim: "We ride with our backs to the engine. We have no notion what stage in the journey we have reached".[51]

In the light of statements by Lewis in *Miracles: A Preliminary Study* and "The Language of Religion", Barfield's qualification seems closer to the truth.[52] (In a recent conversation between Barfield and G.B. Tennyson, reproduced in *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis*, Barfield admits that Lewis's complete view of history was not properly expressed in "Historicism". He adds that he had 'fastened on' this particular essay since it was entitled "Historicism" and that he "may have overestimated its importance in assessing Lewis's ultimate position".)[53] In *Miracles*, Lewis came very close to restating Steiner's and therefore Barfield's anthroposophical theory of the evolution of human consciousness as a u-shaped rather than a linear progression, with the Incarnation as the central moment in evolution when the upturn began.[54] Lewis wrote:

> There is thus in the history of human thought as elsewhere, a pattern of death and rebirth. The old, richly imaginative thought which still survives in Plato has to submit to the deathlike, but indispensable, process of logical analysis: nature and spirit, matter and mind, fact and myth, the literal and the metaphorical have to be more and more sharply separated, till at last a purely mathematical universe and a purely subjective mind confront one another across an unbridgeable chasm. But from this descent also, if thought itself is to survive, there must be a re-ascent and the Christian conception provides for it.[55]

Lewis was still more explicit in "The Language of Religion", an essay written in 1960, where he stated that "evolution may not have ceased; and in evolution a species may lose old powers as well as acquire - possibly in order to acquire - new ones".[56] However, he sounded a cautionary note by adding that "I am full of doubts about the whole subject and everything I have said is merely tentative".[57] While the relevance of Lewis's tentative suppositions on the nature of the evolution of human consciousness to his view of the nature and function of myth will be established in the next section, his difficulties with Barfield's theory of language and the epistemological role of imagination will be

seen to form the central debate of the "Great War". (This view is confirmed by Barfield, who in a 1984 conversation with Clifford Monks, reproduced in *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, states that the "Great War" was about "whether imagination is a vehicle for truth or whether it is simply a highly desirable and pleasurable experience of the human soul".)[58]

In the first filed letter of the "Great War" Lewis struggled in a rather circuitous fashion to establish that the imagination was incapable of absolute truth.[59] He argued that since the imagination was not logical or abstract it could not "be logically connected with the judgement which it may leave behind".[60] While he accepted that the imagination might possess some kind of "supra-logical truth", he maintained that its truth could vouch only for itself, and its imaginative vision remain outside the realm of verifiable truth.[61] Neither its 'truth' nor its 'vision' could, in Lewis's view, "be involved as a source of certainty".[62] Anticipating his acceptance of imagination as a source of meaning, he conceded that "images may resemble realities . . . but that is not truth or error".[63] In this first letter Lewis also asserted that images were not the imagination, but merely the product of the poetic imagination, the "image-al sediment left by the poetic imagination".[64] Following Shelley, perhaps, in his declaration in *A Defence of Poetry* that the great instrument of moral good is the imagination, Lewis attributed a moral value to the imagination, writing that "Because imaginative vision is a serious and valuable activity of the spirit . . . I have often wondered whether its value might not even be much more like a moral value than it is like truth: whether instead of giving up a new cognitive attitude to reality, it might not give us an enriched and corrected will, so that we returned not to know more, but to do and feel as if we knew more".[65]

In response Barfield stated that the real issue between them concerned the very nature of thought and knowledge itself.[66] Declaring that Lewis restricted the sphere of truth to the purely phenomenal world, he stated that for him truth was "reality itself taking the form of human consciousness".[67] This issue was developed by Barfield during the Moris interview reproduced in *Metaphor And Myth* where he stated that Lewis "maintained, and I think to the end of his life, that knowledge is always knowledge that "A" is "B" or "A" is not "B" whereas I maintained that true knowledge is a kind of identification of the knower with the known".[68] In his letter Barfield continued by noting that he was quite unclear of the relation which Lewis postulated between truth and meaning, suggesting that, in his view, meaning was "renewable at the fountain of inspiration, flowing through imagination to analogy, and thence either a) into metaphor and so poetry or b) into hypothesis and so science".[69] As in *Poetic Diction* he also declared that the business of a poet was to increase meaning.[70]

In the letters which followed, Lewis maintained his distinction between logical truth and any supposed truth of the imagination; reiterated his views that the imagination and its products were quite distinct entities; and stated that while metaphor was "one of the most important tools of poetry", metaphor was not poetry, although it did perhaps carry deeper meanings than its superficial equivalences.[71] Of the possible nature of the truth of the imagination Lewis wrote, "B. Maintains and L. Questions a doctrine that this faculty [imagination] produces Truth, though not true statements or judgements".[72] He denied Barfield's supposition on the nature of knowledge as a kind of identification of the knower and the known, writing that "B Maintains and L. Denies a doctrine . . . that the

mind can become aware of its own activity in thinking as something other than the content or object of thought".[73]

In another unpublished letter dated Whit Sunday 1928, he wrote to Barfield that "We really are at one about imagination as the source of meaning".[74] This is confirmed in a letter from the "Great War" collection when Lewis declared that "there is a valuable activity called imagination - which is not the same as imagination . . . the image-making faculty - the exercise of which is necessary for the connascence of meaning".[75] Lewis summarized his position thus, "Agreed (by you and me, also by Kant, Coleridge, Bradley, etc.) that the discursive reason always fails to apprehend reality, because it never grasps more than an abstract relational framework. The question then is whether it is possible for us to know that Concrete in which alone the thing we have abstracted was real".[76] While this question was not resolved during the "Great War", Lewis later came to believe that in an interaction with myth one experienced an abstract principle concretely.[77] However in all other matters he maintained the distinction between thought and the object thought of. Concerning the position of metaphor in the process of knowing, Barfield commented during the Moris interview that he was irritated throughout the "Great War" by Lewis's "insistence on maintaining as far as possible, a rationalist's scepticism about the power of metaphor to accommodate reality".[78] That scepticism was undoubtedly dispelled some few years later when Lewis came to write "Bluspels and Flalansferes : A Semantic Nightmare".[79]

4.3 Developing A Theory of Imagination

In "Bluspels and Flalansferes", an essay written in 1938, Lewis emphatically declared that all language was figurative in origin; that it was only through metaphoric

language that the phenomenological world could be apprehended and meaning emerge from chaos; that to attend to metaphor was ultimately to increase meaning in the world and finally that while imagination did not create truth, it did establish the only conditions under which truth could emerge.[80] "Bluspels and Flalansferes" confirmed Lewis's clear commitment to the notion that imagination was the source of meaning - a notion first mooted in the "Great War" correspondences.

Clivi Hamiltonis Summae Metaphysices Contra Anthroposophos Libri II Lewis's unpublished hand-written and intellectually immature treatise on the nature of being and practical aesthetics, written in 1928, revealed that even by the late twenties Lewis had absorbed and accepted many of Barfield's ideas on the imagination as presented in *Poetic Diction*.[81] He could, for example, write without hesitation in the *Summa*[1] that "because imaginative experience transcends the conceptual more than other experience, it therefore comes about that imagination is par excellence the content of Art and Art is par excellence the vehicle of imagination".[82] He continued, however, to distinguish between the knower and the known - a point recognized by Barfield who observed that "the definition [of mind] implicit in the whole *Summa* is "That which contemplates but never enjoys".[83] (Barfield also commented that the structure of thought in Part One of the *Summa* was "inadequate to the matter).[84] Interestingly, Lewis denied in Part One of the work the anthroposophist's claim that man in the phenomenal world could have commerce with something in the noumenal world - a denial which was retracted in a letter to Daphne Harwood in March 1933 a few years after his conversion.[85]

[1]Lewis's treatise is popularly referred to by Lewis and Barfield as the *Summa.*

When Lewis turned in 1938 to write "Bluspels and Flalansferes" he was merely clarifying and extending ideas which had been sown some ten years previously. "Bluspels and Flalansferes" is an essay wholly concerned with explicating the relationship of metaphor to meaning. It is in many ways a frustrating essay for the reader as Lewis presents the possibility of two hypothetical modes of thought, metaphorical and literal, with the express aim of convincing the reader that it is completely untenable to hold the view that thought is largely literal rather than metaphorical.[86] (Lewis may very well have been attempting to fire oblique salvoes at the logical positivists of his day). He sets out to prove that man cannot apprehend literally and that all thought excluding the perception of sensible objects is metaphorical.[87] The greater part of the essay is concerned with proving, in a most circuitous fashion, that when men "begin to think of causes, relations of mental states or acts" they become "incurably metaphorical". The final section of the essay, however, quickly advances his argument for the vital relationship of metaphor to meaning.[88]

Following upon his statement that man cannot apprehend literally, Lewis declares that "the man who does not consciously use metaphors talks without meaning".[89] His argument reaches its mark in a rather bold statement towards the conclusion of the essay when he states that "those who have prided themselves on being literal and who have endeavoured to speak plainly with no mystical tomfoolery about the highest abstractions will be found to be among the least significant of writers".[90] He points to Plato as one of the great creators of metaphor and therefore one of "the masters of meaning".[91] He suggests that those who would increase meaning in their own speech and writing should be "conscious of the fossilized metaphors in his words" and create new metaphors for

themselves.[92] He admits that the creation of new metaphors depends "on a certain degree of imaginative ability", but exhorts the reader to attend to metaphor by stating that "we are never less the slaves of metaphor then when we are making metaphor, or hearing it now made".[93] Acknowledging that there is a "very modest quantity of thinking as the core of all our talking", he maintains that to abandon metaphor would be "to abandon reason itself".[94]

Of the relationship of metaphor to truth Lewis is also quite explicit. Declaring that meaning is the antecedent condition both of truth and falsehood, he argues that imagination is the organ of meaning since it produces new metaphors and revives old ones.[95] Reason, he argues, is "the natural organ of truth" since it uses the meanings presented to it in the form of metaphors by the imagination to produce truth.[96] Therefore, while imagination is not the cause of truth it is, undoubtedly, in Lewis's view, "the condition of truth".[97] He suggests that truth can be won from metaphor only if the images are well chosen, the exact images apprehended by the receiver, and the receiver realize that the metaphor is a metaphor and not a statement of fact.[98] He continues that the truth won by metaphor cannot be greater than the truth of the metaphor itself, and concludes his argument by stating "all our truth, or all but a few fragments, is won by metaphor".[99]

This conclusion leads Lewis to a metaphysical speculation. He admits that his view of the manner in which truth is created "indirectly implies a kind of truth or rightness in the imagination itself".[100] He postulates that if thought itself is not considered arbitrary, if men hold that thinking can be true, then the metaphors by which men think must also be true, and therefore (in true Platonist fashion) he can conclude that

there must be "a kind of psycho-physical parallelism (or more) in the universe" for otherwise all man's thinking is "nonsensical".[101] This metaphysical speculation allows Lewis to develop a theory of the imagination which the reader must deduce from his later writings. Deductions are necessary as Barfield notes in another essay entitled "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination", because Lewis was reticent about explicitly stating any theory of the imagination".[102] "He had within him", Barfield observes, "this loving impulse to protect and insulate imagination, so that it could continue to live its own pure and chaste life".[103] This statement is re-emphasized during the Barfield - Tennyson conversation when Barfield suggests that Lewis wished to preserve the mystery of the Imagination - a result of "the theological aspect of his love for the Imagination".[104]

In "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination" Barfield considers "Transposition", a short Lewis essay first delivered (in a slightly altered form) as a sermon at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1949, to represent what amounted in his view "to a theory of imagination in which imagination is not mentioned".[105] Lewis's transposition doctrine will be fully explicated in Chapter Five. However, its relevance to Lewis's theory of imagination demands a brief outline of its primary principles. Barfield claims that there is nothing like it anywhere else in Lewis's writing.[106] "Transposition" is undoubtedly interesting since it reveals the extent to which Lewis was indebted to Plato in developing a theory of imagination which rested on the Platonist belief that reality manifests itself through transposition from higher to lower mediums, and that a correspondence of pattern existed among all things. (Houston Smith traces Lewis's debt to Plato in *Patches of Godlight* and observes that Lewis "was enough of a Platonist to harbour a suspicion that his analogies were something more than expendable marginalia".)[107]

Lewis's argument in "Transposition" is clear and straight forward and is illustrated by various analogies. He submits that "Transposition occurs wherever the higher reproduces itself in the lower".[108] He notes that the real relation between mind and body is one of transposition where imagination transforms emotion, and intellect imagination, and so on up the various hierarchical levels of reality.[109] He argues that "in each case what is happening in the lower medium can be understood only if we know the higher medium".[110] He believes that the man without imagination, the "observer who knows only the lower medium" will be "in the position of an animal", since he will see only phenomena but not their meaning.[111] Using the image of Plato's cave dwellers who accept the shadows as reality, one can understand Lewis's notion that it is through the power of the imagination that the cave dwellers can glimpse the higher reality behind the appearance.[112]

Lewis is careful to suggest, however, that these very copies are more like transpositions of the real absolute world. He suggests that the term symbolism "is not adequate in all cases to cover the relation between the higher medium and its transposition into the lower", and prefers to term the relation sacramental rather than symbolical.[113] (This thought runs congruent to the views of many of Lewis's contemporaries. T.S. Eliot, for example, postulated a sacramental consciousness which was responsible for the making of true symbols and myths which embodied higher realities.[114] The notion is clearly articulated in Eliot's poem "The Dry Salvages": "The hint half guessed, the gift half understood, is Incarnation \ Here the impossible union \ Of spheres of existence is actual, \ Here the past and future \ Are conquered and reconciled".)[115]

Lewis contends that the relation can more appropriately be termed sacramental, since in the symbol "the thing signified is really in a certain mode present".[116] He ventures to suggest "though with great doubt and in a very provisional way - that the concept of Transposition may have some contribution to make to the theology - or at least to the philosophy - of the Incarnation".[117] This aspect of Lewis's doctrine will be fully explicated in Chapter Five.[118] In the transposition of the higher to the lower medium, he believes that the lower can, in varying degrees, be drawn into the higher and become part of it.[119] Lewis's transposition doctrine informs many of his religious and philosophical beliefs; for central to his thought is the belief indirectly expressed in "Transposition" that humanity, while still remaining itself is "veritably drawn into Diety".[120] It is this belief which corresponds to Barfield's notion of humanity moving inexorably and more consciously to God since the Incarnation, through the use of its imagination which allows it to participate more fully in the Godhead. It is for this reason that Barfield and Lewis can ultimately assign a religious role to the imagination, while, simultaneously recognizing its limitations. In "Transposition" Lewis reflects on the limitations of imaginative experiences: "Our natural experiences, (sensory, emotional, imaginative) are only like the drawing, like pencilled lines on flat paper. If they vanish in the risen life, they will vanish only as pencil lines vanish from the real landscape; not as a candle flame that is put out but as a candle flame which becomes invisible because, someone has pulled up the blind, thrown open the shutters, and let in the blaze of the risen sun".[121]

Fleeting as Lewis considered imaginative experience to be, he remained true to his conviction of the essential role of imagination within the life and thought of man. To a large extent Barfield had been responsible for legitimizing for Lewis the workings of

the imaginative faculty. He had encouraged Lewis to accept the imagination as a source of meaning, thus allowing Lewis to regard imagination as an indispensable part of the truth-making process. In these beliefs both Lewis and Barfield owed an enormous debt to the Romantic poets, particularly Shelley and Coleridge. Shelley's statement on poetry, in *A Defence of Poetry* conveniently summarizes both Lewis's and Barfield's view of the huge potential of the imagination within the process of knowing:

> Poetry is indeed something divine. It is at once the centre and circumference of knowledge; it is that which comprehends all science and that to which all science must be referred. It is at the same time the root and blossom of all other systems of thought; it is that from which all spring and that which adorns all; and that which, if blighted, denies the fruit and the seed, and withholds from the barren world the nourishment and the succession of the scions of the tree of life.[122]

More importantly perhaps, Barfield had offered Lewis a means whereby the imagination might be validated on a religious level by revealing how the imagination, working within the universal evolutionary process, allowed man to approach and participate in the Godhead. He convinced Lewis of the efficacy of Coleridge's definition of the primary imagination in *Biographica Literaria* as "the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM".[123] Although Lewis desisted from accepting Barfield's arguments for imagination's role within the universal evolutionary process, he embraced wholeheartedly the notion that imagination's primary function was to draw man to God.

In accepting this function for the imagination, Lewis was guided by his second great master, George McDonald. In retrospect, Lewis admitted in his autobiography *Surprised by Joy* that the "Great War" had been "one of the turning points of my life".[124] His encounter with MacDonald's works proved to be another. Through MacDonald his

imagination was "baptised" and the true function of the imagination made manifest.[125] Through the works of MacDonald Lewis came to recognize the source of all the hints and glimpses of a "realm unknown" which had so possessed his imagination throughout his childhood and youth. MacDonald revealed that source in "The Diary of an Old Soul":

> Lists come to me from the realm unknown;
> Airs drift across the twilight border land
> Odoured with life; and as from some far strand
> Sea-murmured, whispers to my heart are blown
> That fill me with a joy, I cannot speak
> Yea, from whose shadows words drop faint and weak:
> Thee, God, I shadow in that region grand.[126]

It was Lewis's imaginative faculty and not his rational faculty which allowed him to be a witness to the cosmic dance, which intoxicated him with "immortal longings" or *Sehnsucht*, which allowed him to speak "the else unspeakable" and drew him home to God.[127] Before examining this primary function of the imagination, as Lewis perceived it, it will be useful to outline his definitions of the imaginative faculty itself, and to trace those personal, imaginative experiences which prepared him for that critical "baptism" of his imagination through the works of George MacDonald.

4.4 Imagination Defined

> And even the motion of our human blood
> Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul;
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things.
>
> *"Tintern Abbey"*,
> William Wordsworth.[128]

While Coleridge in *Biographica Literaria* divided the imagination into Primary Imagination, Secondary Imagination, and Fancy, Lewis, reflecting the growth and development of psychology in the early twentieth century, defined the imagination in *Surprised by Joy,* as reverie and wish-fulfilling fantasy, as invention, and in the highest sense of all, as a faculty concerned with producing Joy.[129] Of imagination as invention he had little to say, except to mention in *Surprised by Joy* , that "invention was essentially different from reverie in that it contained no fantasy and was, like his juvenilia, *Boxen*, "almost astonishingly prosaic".[130] Judged by the third definition of imagination as a faculty concerned with Joy Lewis was forced to admit that his definition of imagination as invention had little to do with real imagining.[131] Of imagination as reverie and wish-fulfilling fantasy, Lewis was much concerned, primarily because he spent much of his life defending his own and Tolkien's imaginative writings against the charges that their work was pure escapist, compensatory, wish-fulfilment. He admits in *Surprised By Joy* that he and his friends were often preoccupied with the idea of fantasy and wish-fulfilment, declaring that "we were all poets and critics and set a very great value on "Imagination" in some high Coleridgean sense, so that it was important to distinguish Imagination, not only (as Coleridge did) from Fancy but also from Fantasy as the psychologists understand that term".[132] His clearest statements on the issue are made in a 1942 essay entitled "Psycho-Analysis and Literary Criticism" and *An Experiment In Criticism.*[133]

In "Psycho-Analysis And Literary Criticism", Lewis distinguishes between two types of imagining, one pure and free, the other enslaved to wish-fulfilment.[134] In the wish-fulfilment type, gratification of wishes for the self provides the raison d'etre of the

dream or fantasy.[135] In the second type of imagining Lewis observes that the self disappears and the imagination is characterized by its disinterestedness.[136] He concedes that as in the works of the Bronte sisters, works of art may emerge from what once were self-regrading reveries.[137] While a normal reverie remains enslaved to the wishes of the owner, Lewis notes that in the case of the Brontes, their self-regarding reveries passed from the status of dreams to that of art. Through a process which he terms "elaboration", "incoherences are tidied up, banalities removed, private values and associations replaced, proportion, relief, and temperance introduced".[138]

An Experiment In Criticism offers a much more expansive definition of the wish-fulfilling type of imagination, Lewis sub-dividing it into three classes as a) "an imaginative construction which in some way or other pleases the patient and is mistaken by him for reality"; b) "A pleasing imaginative construction entertained incessantly, and to his injury, by the patient, but without the delusion that it is reality"; c) "The same activity indulged in moderately and briefly as a temporary holiday or recreation duly subordinated to more effective and outgoing activities".[139] Such imagining is marked, in Lewis's view, by the extreme inertia of the practitioners' true imaginations, while it "confirms them in an indulgence which they already use too much, and turns them away from most of what is most worth having both in books and life".[140]

Lewis, unfortunately, is not so explicit in his definition of imagination in its "highest sense". In "Is Theology Poetry?" "he distinguishes between a classical and Romantic imagination, noting that the classical imagination "loves to embrace its object completely, to take it in at a single glance and see it as something harmonious, symmetrical and self-explanatory", while the Romantic imagination "loves to lose itself

in a labyrinth, to surrender to the inextricable".[141] Later, in *The Discarded Images,* he distinguishes between the "transforming imagination" of Wordsworth, the "penetrative imagination" of Shakespeare, and the "realizing imagination" of medievalists such as Dante.[142] Clearly, in Lewis's view, there are many facets to the pure and free imaginative faculty. What is common to them all, he believes, in their ability (an ability which he declares Milton exercised to the fullest in *Paradise Lost*) to arouse individuals "not to make definite pictures, but to find again in our own depths the Paradisal light of which all explicit images are only the momentary reflection".[143]

Lewis's own personal imaginative experiences had taught him much about the power of images. As he explains in *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm* images had always mediated "something qualitative" to him.[144] In his view, "all my deepest and certainly all my earliest experiences seem to be of sheer quality".[145] These are well documented in *Surprised by Joy.*[146] They will be sketched briefly here solely to reveal their development from a period when Lewis simply experienced images, to a period when he appreciated the purport of the images which the experience conveyed. The early imaginative experiences are marked by a quality which Lewis termed *Sehnsucht.* An exploration of *Sehnsucht* as Lewis perceived it, will facilitate a fuller understanding of the nature of these first early experiences.

The theme of *Sehnsucht* or longing is a central one in Lewis's work and has been the subject of much critical attention.[147] It is a quality which marks all of Lewis's early imaginative experiences and engendered the title to his autobiography *Surprised by Joy.*[148] *Sehnsucht* for Lewis was Joy, something which he explains in *Surprised by Joy* was a kind of love.[149] Experiencing this quality throughout his early life, it was only

following his conversion that Lewis comprehended its real character. Although Lewis must have himself encountered the term in the works of Novalis it is most likely that the term only formed an integral part of his literary vocabulary following Barfield's developing interest in the subject during the late 1920s. In a conversation with Clifford Monks, reproduced in *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis,* Barfield recalls how, in 1929, he returned from Germany to Oxford much taken with German Romanticism and the works of Novalis in particular.[150] The German word *Sehnsucht*, which translates as longing or yearning, was a quality which permeated Novalis's writings, and Barfield states that he was "rather full of the word" upon his return.[151] His enthusiasm was obviously inherited by Lewis, for Barfield declares that Lewis made a lot of use of *Sehnsucht* in his writings for "he was rather struck by it".[152]

Bright Shadow of Reality : C.S. Lewis and the Feeling Intellect, a critical work by Corbin Scott Carnell which makes *Sehnsucht* in literature and in Lewis writings in particular, its central theme, fails to present the reader with a complete definition of *Sehnsucht* as perceived by Lewis.[153] Carnell incorrectly identifies Lewis's idea of *Sehnsucht* as an aesthetic experience.[154] Reilly in *Romantic Religion: A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams and Tolkien* more correctly states that Joy or *Sehnsucht*, as Lewis perceived it, should not be confused with aesthetic pleasure or ordinary happiness or pleasure.[155] Reilly recognized that *Sehnsucht* was "sui generis, having what nothing else had" and noted Lewis's description of *Sehnsucht* as "the stab, the pang, the inconsolable longing".[156] Carnell does however, correctly define the term as " a complex of emotion" and a sort of archetypal experiencing.[157] What is basic to this archetypal experiencing, in Carnell's view, is "its underlying sense of displacement or alienation", a bitter-sweet

experience since it is an "unsatisfied desire which is itself more desirable than any other satisfaction".[159]

Following his conversion, Lewis recognized the true character of this bitter-sweet longing which had assailed him in various images throughout his life.[160] In "Either: Or: Coleridge, Lewis and Romantic Theology", Barfield explains that Lewis accepted his archetypal experiencing as a longing for a "paradisal reunion" with the Absolute or with the Spirit informing the life of both man and nature", and recognized that the experience of longing or *Sehnsucht* was innate to man's nature.[161] This is clearly revealed in *The Problem of Pain* when Lewis writes of the nature of *Sehnsucht* as "something which you were born desiring, and which, beneath the flux of other desires and in all the momentary silences between the louder passions, night and day, year by year, from childhood to old age, you are looking for, watching for, listening for".[162] He declares that *Sehnsucht* was "the secret signature of each soul", "the incommunicable and unappeasable want", the thing we always desired.[163]

Barfield suggests that Lewis, perceiving how this basic element in man embodied itself at all levels of man's experience, recognized that *Sehnsucht* was "a crucial element" in man's imaginative faculty.[164] As *The Pilgrim's Regress* and *Surprised by Joy* reveals, Lewis's early life was punctuated by attempts to embody *Sehnsucht* in various unsatisfying symbols and images, until he came to realize that what was important was not the images themselves, but rather the force which had prompted them. He states in *The Problem of Pain* that "the thing I am speaking of is not an experience. You have experienced only the *want* of it", and concludes that, "the thing itself has never actually been embodied in any thought, or image, or emotion".[165] The only certainty surrounding

Sehnsucht rests in the fact that like numinous awe, it summons man out of self and forces him to realize that between himself and his Creator, there extends an umbilical cord which can never be severed.

In *Surprised by Joy* Lewis admits that following his conversion, he did not attend to *Sehnsucht* with the same degree of reverence as he had done prior to his conversion, simply because he then knew to whom it pointed.[167] However, in his imaginative writings he does attempt, through evocative images, to offer the opportunity for others to experience it. Indeed, as Colin Manlove notes in *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present,* Lewis's fantasies are specifically designed around creative worlds which are images conveying *Sehnsucht.*[168] In his own personal visitations of *Sehnsucht* Lewis had the advantage of first-hand knowledge of those bitter-sweet longings which transfigured Lewis the child and adolescent, and Lewis the creative artist.

4.5 The Horns of Elfland

Lewis observes in *Surprised by Joy* that at the ages of six, seven, and eight he was living almost entirely in his imagination, qualifying the statement with the observation that "the imaginative experiences of those years now seem to me more important than anything else".[169] He considered his first great imaginative experience to have resulted from seeing a toy garden which his brother Warren carried into the nursery on a biscuit tin.[170] He states that "as long as I live, my imagination of Paradise will retain something of my brother's toy garden".[171] In an essay entitled "The Psychology of Conversion in Chesterton's and Lewis's Autobiographies", David Leigh, S.J., suggests that Lewis's toy garden was a "directional" or "intentional" image, a sort of archetype, which led Lewis on a lifelong search for ultimate meaning".[172] He continues that it was

from this experience, which was a combination of satisfied and dissatisfied desire, that "all the energy for his life journey flowed; the experience provided the name and centre of his autobiography, simply called "Joy".[173]

Leigh's Jungian reading is perceptive, and pinpoints the essential quality of Lewis's first imaginative experience which was to be repeated throughout much of his life-time. Lewis's experience of the Castlereagh Hills, which he could see from his nursery window to some extent, taught him the nature of that imaginative experience.[174] "They taught me longing - Sehnsucht", Lewis wrote in *Surprised by Joy*, and made him "for good or ill and before I was six years old, a votary of the Blue Flower".[175] In retrospect, Lewis recognized that both experiences delighted him while simultaneously filling him with a desire or longing for the unattainable.[176]

His delight in E. Nesbit's trilogy and in particular in *The Amulet*, opened his eyes to antiquity - the "dark backward and abysm of time".[177] (Although Lewis did not consider the experience prompted by Nesbit's books as one which awoke *Sehnsucht*, the Nesbit experience may have inclined him more readily to accept the value of myths in later years).[178] He suggested that his second great glimpse of Joy came through Beatrix Potter's *Squirrel Nutkin*, when he was transfixed by the very idea of Autumn.[179] Describing this particular imaginative experience as "one of intense desire", he observed that "It was something quite different from ordinary life and even from ordinary pleasure; something as they would now say "in another dimension".[180]

His third imaginative experience which brought Joy was Longfellow's translation of *Tegner's Drapa* which instantly uplifted him "into huge regions of northern sky" and he desired "with almost sickening intensity something never to be described . . . and then,

as in the other examples, found myself at the very same moment already falling out of that desire and wishing I were back in it".[181] Lewis emphatically stated that the experience of longing or desire which was prompted by each of these imaginative episodes was in a sense "the central story of his life".[182] One further experience of Joy recorded in *Surprised by Joy* is worthy of attention. Lewis recalled how for many years during his time at Oldies and Campbell College he had lived without any experience of Joy until at Chartres he encountered a copy of one of Arthur Rackham's illustrations of the Niblung's *Siegfried and the Twilight of the Gods*.[183]

Pure "Northerness" engulfed me" he wrote, "a vision of huge, clear spaces hanging above the Atlantic in the endless twilight of Northern Summer, remoteness, severity".[184] Unlike his other three experiences, this imaginative experience also brought with it the memory of the Joy which he had first experienced upon reading Longfellow's *Tegner's Drapa*, and thus he could recall that "I was returning at last from exile and desert lands to my own country; and the distance of the Twilight of the Gods and the distance of my own past Joy, both unattainable, flowed together into a single, unendurable sense of desire and loss . . . And at once, I knew (with fatal knowledge) that to "have it again" was the supreme and only important object of desire".[185]

Lewis was about to begin his search for the ultimate image which would give him absolute Joy. He searched many years in the pagan lands of Norse and Celtic myths and followed the Romantics in communing with Nature, but always the ultimate image eluded him.[186] He lived through what he termed in his Preface to *The Pilgrim's Regress,* "the dialectic of Desire", whereby he sought an image which was constantly shifting ground and presenting itself in a different form.[187] He "knew only too well how easily

the longing accepts false objects and through what dark ways the pursuit of them leads us", and realized that the "only fatal error was to pretend that you had passed from desire to fruition, when in reality, you had found either nothing, or desire itself or the satisfaction of some different desire".[188]

But Lewis realized also that nature makes nothing in vain and that somewhere there existed a "One" who could satisfy all desires, all longings, all images assiduously followed.[189] Desire itself, he concluded, contained the corrective of any false errors in assuming one had found the ultimate object.[190] And since, by the time of the writing of his Preface to the third edition of *The Pilgrim's Regress* he had found the true object of his desire he could declare from his own empirical experience that "The dialectic of Desire, faithfully followed, would retrieve all mistakes, head you off from all false paths, and force you not to propound, but to live through, a sort of ontological proof".[191]

As early as 1927 when Lewis began the "Great War" correspondences he had been aware of the relative value of images. In his first letter he had written to Barfield that images were merely the "image - al sediment left behind by the poetic imagination".[192] This notion was more expansively restated in his essay "The Language of Religion" when he reiterated that imagining was something other than having mental images; that images, assisted in "real imagining" only if they were taken as "provisional makeshifts" to be dropped as soon as they served their purpose; and that pure imagining was inhibited if the images became static and grew too clear and full.[193] Images were, he concluded, merely "the offal (the off-fall) of imagination : the slag from the furnance".[194]

The idea of images as the base sediments of the imagination is restated in a somewhat different manner in *Surprised by Joy*. Once again he equated images with "a

sort of flash or even slag, thrown off by the occurrence of Joy".[195] On this occasion however the word Joy replaced the word imagination, almost as though both words were interchangeable. Moreover, in *Surprised by Joy* it was now clear to Lewis that it was the occurrence of Joy and not the images themselves which were valuable. Images to Lewis had become "merely the mental track left by the passage of Joy - not the wave but the waves imprint on the sand".[196] The very inherent dialectic of desire had made this manifestly clear to Lewis.[197] He knew that "all images and sensations if idolatrously mistaken for Joy itself soon honestly confessed themselves inadequate".[198] As with all images, he observed in *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm*, one had to "sit to it very lightly, continually murmuring 'Not thus, not thus, neither is this Thou'".[199] Lewis's later writings confirm his early half-articulated views on the paradoxical iconoclastic nature of the imagination. To Lewis, one of imagination's innate characteristics was its unceasing involvement in the creation and deconstruction of images. He drew clear metaphysical implications from the insight. In his novel *Perelandra* his great protagonist Elwin Ransom inadvertently articulates at least one of those metaphysical implications when he states that he had lived all his life "among shadows and broken images".[200]

Recognising the relative value of images, Lewis looked to their source to ascertain whether value could be accredited to any aspect of imagination or its activity. He asserted in *A Preface to Paradise Lost* that it was not the images which were important but "something coming through the particularities, some light which transfigures them".[201] It was his great master George MacDonald who in *Phantastes*: *A Faerie Romance* demonstrated that the "light which transfigures" was holiness.[202] [2] In reading *Phantastes* Lewis experienced his next great moment of Joy. He appreciated

almost immediately that he had languished too long in the region of imagination without realizing the purpose for which the gift of his imagination had been given to him.[203] He confesses in *The Great Divorce* that MacDonald's *Phantastes* corrected his imaginative vision and "baptised his imagination".[204]

4.6 Imagination 'Baptised' : The Influence of George MacDonald

Before exploring the nature of Lewis's "baptism" of his imagination which is so compellingly portrayed in *Surprised by Joy* and in his Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology*, MacDonald's views on the nature and function of the imagination must be briefly examined.[205] From the mid to the end of the nineteenth century George MacDonald, a one time congregationalist minister, produced among his diverse writings, fairy-stories for the "child-like" and a three volume work, *Unspoken Sermons*.[206] In his preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology* Lewis wrote of *Unspoken Sermons* that "my own debt to this book is almost as great as one man can owe to another".[207] *Surprised by Joy* reveals that Lewis was also heavily indebted to MacDonald's imaginative fiction, particularly *Phantastes*.[208] (Indeed it may be largely due to Lewis that MacDonald has received such a degree of critical attention in the past twenty years). Humphrey Carpenter in *Secret Gardens : A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* states that during his early career, MacDonald's imagination was galvanized by the works of the German Romantic writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[209] MacDonald was, in Carpenter's view, most influenced by 'Novalis', the poet Friedrich von Hardenberg.[210]

---

[2] *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance* is popularly referred to by Lewis and his critics as *Phantastes*.

It is, in fact, generally recognized by literary critics that MacDonald owed a great debt to the German Romantics and to Novalis in particular.[211] In "*A Better Country*" *The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Sammons suggests that from the German Romantics MacDonald learned that imagination and intuition receive truth, while reason apprehends it.[212] William Raeper in *George MacDonald* observes that what attracted MacDonald to the German Romantics was their style of writing which concentrated on spiritual values and different states of consciousness.[213] Raeper suggests that these writers drew their inspiration from the philosopher Hegel and acknowledged the powerful inner world of self, and the importance of the human spirit.[214] Raeper also recognizes in MacDonald's work the influence of English Romantic thought, and notes MacDonald's attraction to a literary tradition extending back to Dante and Spenser which concerned itself with showing how moral states could be powerfully realized in strong visual images.[215]

What is immediately recognizable in all of MacDonald's work is the power which he attributes to imagination to evoke the divine presence through images and symbols drawn up from the unconscious. As F. Hal Broome in "The Scientific Basis of George MacDonald's Dream-Frame" observes, MacDonald had "an uncanny prescience of both Freudian and Jungian theory [of the unconscious]".[216] Coupling his belief that "The greatest force lie in the region of the uncomprehended", with his belief that God speaks through man's imaginative faculty, MacDonald assigned the highest epistemological and religious role to the imagination.[217] Of the imagination, he wrote in *Orts*, that it was "that faculty in man which is likest to the prime operation of God, and has, therefore, been called the *creative* faculty, and its exercise *creation*".[218] (Tolkien may well have

been influenced by this statement in developing his own theory of sub-creation; and like MacDonald, he also recognized that God worked through man's imagination).[219] Of God speaking through man's imagination, MacDonald wrote in the same work "God sits in that chamber of our being in which the candle of our consciousness goes out in darkness and sends forth from thence wonderful gifts into the light of that understanding which is his candle".[220]

His most explicit statement on imagination is found in a short essay entitled "The Fantastic Imagination" in *The Gifts of the Child Christ : Fairy Tales and Stories for the Childlike*.[221] In this essay he distinguishes (as the Romantics did before him) between imagination and fancy, declaring that fancy itself was "mere inventions", while imagination delighted in "calling up new forms" which embodied old truths.[222] MacDonald owes a debt to the Platonist theory of innate ideas in formulating this function for imagination.[223] The debt is made clearer in *Orts* when he states that the main function of the imagination is "to inquire into what God hath made", adding later that "everything of man must have been of God first". In the same work he declares that imagination's development "is one of the main ends of the divine education of life with all its efforts and experiences". Like Lewis, he maintains that the 'education' of the imaginative faculty is essential since "it is necessary that all should understand and imagine the good; that all should begin, at least, to follow and find out God".[224]

However, as Colin Manlove observes in his essay "MacDonald and Kingsley : A Victorian Contrast", MacDonald, unlike Plato, believed that "the normal filters and controls on the imagination - in particular, reason and the ordering and interpreting human intellect - should be suspended, so that the divine voice may be clearly heard".[225]

MacDonald insists nevertheless, that in the imagination's invented world, "Law" has to be "diligently at work".[226] (This proviso is also demanded by Tolkien who writes in "On Fairy-Stories" of the vital necessity of there being an inner consistency to secondary worlds). It is in the obeying of laws that MacDonald believes the artist works most like his creator.[228]

Anticipating the argument that the products of some imaginations may be corrupt, MacDonald declares in *Orts* that "infinitely worse evils would be the result of its absence" adding in "The Fantastic Imagination" that if a man is 'true', he will imagine true things.[229] Like Lewis, he also borrows the Platonist doctrine of corresponding patterns in the universe to declare that since "in everything that God has made, there is layer upon layer of ascending significance", the apprehension of truth is relative to the degree of spiritual awareness of the receiver, noting that "A man may well himself discover truth in what he wrote; for he is dealing all the time with things that came from thoughts beyond his own".[230]

MacDonald develops three central arguments from this particular statement. In relation to art he claims that the "truer" the art is, the more things it will mean.[231] Secondly, he argues that truth should never be extracted piecemeal from a work of art. The artist's function, he argues, is not to convey meaning but to "wake a meaning, . . . to move by suggestion, to cause to imagine, to assail the soul of his reader as the wind assails an aeolian harp", for if the work is reduced to a platitude or an allegory, "it will turn to an insignificant ugly thing that can neither flash nor fly".[232] (Both Lewis and Tolkien wholly concurred with MacDonald that imaginative works should not undergo discursive analysis in order to extract seeming morals or principles).[233] Finally, as

Manlove observes in *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies,* MacDonald argues that since it is God who speaks through the artist's imagination, one must deduce that the workings of the creative imagination lie wholly outside the control of the artist's conscious self.[234] MacDonald explains in *Orts*, "If we now consider the so-called creative faculty in man, we shall find that in no *primary* sense is this faculty creative. Indeed, a man is rather *being thought* than *thinking*, when a new thought arises in his mind".[235]

For MacDonald then, his conception of the nature and function of the imagination owed much to Platonist doctrine and to the German and English Romantics of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only, in MacDonald's view, was all experience figurative, but man's apprehension of the world depended solely on the nature of his imagination. In *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present,* Colin Manlove observes the manner in which MacDonald attempted to remove the limitations of subjectivity from such a concept of imagination by arguing that it was God who spoke through a pure imagination, thus rendering objectivity to a seemingly subjective faculty.[236]

Although this study precludes an examination of the themes of MacDonald's imaginative works and their relation to Lewis's work, it is perhaps useful to observe that central themes of MacDonald include the quest for true self, death, self-denial and *Sehnsucht*. Manlove offers a comprehensive summary of MacDonald themes when he states in *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present* that his fantasies are concerned with expressing the inner worlds of imagination, of "making available to those spiritually open to it, something of a sense of an immanent God".[237] Of MacDonald's cherished beliefs, Margaret Sayer in her *Review* of Roland's Hein's *The Harmony Within : the Spiritual Vision of George MacDonald* most succinctly states that MacDonald's most

cherished belief was "in the gradual transformation of the lower self into the higher self by the willing of the death of the lower self . . . , but the transforming power was the presence of Christ within, and his emphasis on subjective experience and guidance by Divine Spirit was not at the expense of the objective reality of God".[238]

Of MacDonald's theory of imagination, a passage from *Lilith*, his last great novel written in 1895 is particularly revealing.[239] It is a passage whose central thought could equally be attributed to Lewis or Barfield. It, inadvertently but most tellingly, illuminates a statement by Barfield in "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination", that "The use of imagination is one thing; a theory of imagination is another. A theory of imagination must concern itself, whether positively or negatively, with its relation to truth".[240] The passage runs as follows:

> Thou hast not yet looked the Truth in the face, hast as yet at best but seen him through a cloud. That which thou seest not, and never didst see save in a glass darkly - that which, indeed, never can be known save by its innate splendour shining straight into pure eyes - that thou canst not but doubt, and art blameless in doubting until thou seest it face to face, when thou wilt no longer be able to doubt it. But to him who has once seen even a shadow only of the truth, and, even but hoping he has seen it when it is present no longer, tries to obey it - to him the real vision, the Truth himself, will come, and depart no more, but abide with him for ever". "I think I see, father," I said; "I think I understand". "Then remember, and recall. Trials yet await Thee, heavy, of a nature thou knowest not now. Remember the things thou hast seen. Truly thou knowest not those things, but thou knowest what they have seemed, what they have meant to Thee! Remember also the things thou shalt yet see. Truth is all in all; and the truth of things lies, at once hid and revealed, in their seeming".[241]

MacDonald's effect on Lewis may very well have been inestimable. However, happily for the critic, Lewis is very explicit in *Surprised by Joy* on the immediate impact of the first MacDonald work which he read, *Phantastes*.

MacDonald's *Phantastes* effected a "Baptism" of Lewis's imagination, although Lewis admits in *Surprised by Joy* that "The rest of me, not unnaturally, took longer".[242] While all of Lewis's imaginative experiences had uplifted him to unknown realms, his experiences with *Phantastes* was quite the opposite. He recalls in *Surprised by Joy* that when the great epiphany came:

> I did not break away from the woods and cottages that I read of to seek some bodiless light shining beyond them, but gradually, with a swelling continuity (like the sun at mid-morning burning through a fog) I found the light shining on those woods and cottages, and then on my own past life . . . For I now perceived that while the air of the new region made all my erotic and magical perversions of Joy look like sordid trumpery, it had no such disenchanting power over the bread upon the table or the coals in the grate.[243]

Lewis no longer needed to look beyond the ordinary world to find Joy, rather he saw "the bright shadow coming out of the book into the real world and resting there, transforming all common things and yet itself unchanged".[244] Lewis immediately qualifies this observation in *Surprised by Joy* by stating that "More accurately, I saw the common things drawn into the bright shadow".[245] (This qualified statement more correctly represents Lewis's doctrine of transposition whereby the higher medium transposes itself into the lower and draws the lower into itself).

Lewis's epiphany is analogous to Stephen Dedalus's epiphany on Dollymount Strand in James Joyce's *Ulysses*.[246] Both are young men whose visions are suddenly transformed, and who for a moment, see into the life of things. However, Joyce renders the episode more powerfully that Lewis. His episode begins - "Ineluctable modality of the visible : at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot, Snotgreen bluesilver, rust : coloured signs".[247] In Lewis's epiphany he finds himself "carried

sleeping across the frontier, as if I had died in the old country and could never remember how I came alive in the new".[248] While he perceives that the new country is exactly like the old, he also perceives that all is changed by a new quality which he will recognize in later years as Holiness.[249] In his Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology* he recalls that this quality of Holiness which so enchanted him in *Phantastes* and in MacDonald's other imaginative works was "the quality of the real universe, the divine, magical, terrifying and ecstatic reality in which we all live".[250]

Lewis's first encounter with MacDonald's *Phantastes* are at the age of sixteen was to blossom to such a degree that in his Preface to *George MacDonald : Anthology* he declares that "I have never concealed the fact that I regarded [MacDonald] as my master; indeed I fancy I have never written a book in which I did not quote from him. But it has not seemed to me that those who have received my books kindly take even now sufficient notice of the affiliation".[251] Such critical oversights have undoubtedly been redressed by such critics as Colin Manlove in his *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies* and more recently *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present;* by Ann Swinfin *In Defence of Fantasy : A Study of the Genre In English and American Literature since 1945;* by Eliane Tixier in "Imagination Baptized, or "Holiness" in the Chronicles of Narnia", in *The Longing for a Form : Essays On the Fiction of C.S. Lewis,* and most particularly in a very stimulating series of essays on MacDonald and Lewis edited by William Raeper and entitled *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald.*[252]

In "George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis" Catherine Durie declares that Lewis was primarily interested in MacDonald "as a purveyor of Christian truth". She submits that since, in her view, his use of MacDonald's work had been devotional, his judgements of

MacDonald's work were not completely dependable as literary criticism.[256] She suggests somewhat unfairly, that Lewis appreciated the smuggled religious message in MacDonald's novels, and reiterates Lewis's own observations that MacDonald's *Phantastes* rescued him from the demons of false Romanticism.[257] She incorrectly states that MacDonald purified Lewis's desire by "pointing him towards true Romanticism".[258] By Lewis's own admission in *Surprised by Joy* MacDonald pointed him beyond all earthly desires and indeed alternative ideologies, to God.[259] However Durie makes the valid point that in *Phantastes* the transforming power of Holiness "unlocks the true nature of reality" for Lewis and "draws him home".[260]

Undoubtedly some of the finest insights of the relationship between MacDonald and Lewis are in an essay by Stephen Prickett entitled "*Fictions and Metafictions : 'Phantastes', 'Wilhelm Meister' and the Idea of the 'Bildungsroman'*".[261] While the essay is mainly concerned with "delineating *Phantastes* as the most successful Bildungsroman in the English language", Prickett makes stimulating, if controversial observations on the nature of the "baptism" of Lewis's imagination.[262] He suggests that Lewis's "baptism" was a sanctification "not so much of literature as a means of approaching the transcendent . . . but more specifically of the particular kind of literary synthesis such works implied".[263] *Phantastes*, he claims, had "given to Lewis . . . a glimpse of the possibility of a developing synthesis in which language, literature, and thus the entire record of human imaginative experience could be brought into a unified whole".[264] Prickett may be correct, but one could counter argue that Lewis had already glimpsed how such a synthesis could be effected through mythopoeia. Nonetheless, Prickett makes the very valid point that *Phantastes* showed Lewis "a way in which the

literary or poetic transformation of sense-experience . . . could be given some kind of objective meaning and validity".[265] He also astutely observes that what Lewis found in MacDonald was "a whole way of structuring experience, part fantasy, part realism".[266]

Peter Schakel advances the rather strained argument that there existed in Lewis a tension between reason and imagination, which revealed reason in the ascendant in his work until the early fifties when imagination was emphasized, and a reconciliation between both faculties in his final works of the early sixties.[267] He suggests that in his experience of *Phantastes* Lewis's imagination "won out over intellect", his imagination being "saved" from a Romanticism which was moving towards the 'Occult'. *Phantastes*, in Schakel's view, redirected Lewis's imagination to a celebration of homely things which would eventually lead to his acknowledgement that the "Reality he has tasted is the God of Christianity".[268] In a letter to the author, Walter Hooper answering the author's query as to his view of Schakel's rather controversial thesis, wrote: "But my overall feeling is that Dr. Schakel ruined his book by dividing Lewis up. It looks like he began with that thesis in mind and tried to find evidence to support it".[269]

Schakel's argument may have developed from a statement in *Surprised by Joy* where Lewis states that during his time with Kirkpatrick "The two hemispheres of my mind were in sharpest contrast", with poetry and myth on the imaginative side and "a glib and shallow "rationalism" on the intellectual side".[270] However, the recollection is by an older Lewis of a mental condition his youth. While there is much merit in Schakel's argument, it largely ignores Lewis's growing convictions from his mid-twenties of the validity of the imagination within the life and thought of man.[271] Of Schakel's statement that imagination "won out over intellect" in Lewis's experience of

Phantastes, Durie in "George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis" has perhaps made a keener judgement when she suggests that "*Phantastes* heals the division Lewis senses in himself between imagination and reason; it reunites, the real and imaginary, fact and ideal".[272]

In "The Fantastic Imagination in George MacDonald", Sadler observes that it was the "religious syndrome of Desire or Sehnsucht" which gave birth to the imagination of Lewis, MacDonald and his guide Novalis.[273] The purpose in everything they wrote, Sadler suggests, was to objectify the spiritual implications of the eternal search for home innate to every man through natural symbols and images.[274] Manlove in *Modern Fantasy* echoes Sadler's observation, suggesting that while MacDonald's yearning was for his own true self, Lewis yearned for "something wholly other and beyond".[275] Manlove's statement concerning Lewis's concept of *Sehnsucht* needs to be qualified. While it is true (and is acknowledged by Lewis himself) that he emphasized the transcendence rather than the immanence of God, Lewis's strong sense of pattern and hierarchy in the universe led him to yearn for his own place within the celestial hierarchy.[276] As Houston Smith so acutely observed in *Patches of Godlight* the notion of the dissolution of self into the Godhead was abhorrent to Lewis.[277] Lewis, he suggests, longed for an ecstatic experience of God which intensified sensations and increased mental processes rather than one which involved the loss of the discrete self: Lewis wanted to find rather than lose himself in God.[278] His longing was for his own true home in a niche already prepared by God.[279]

Eliane Tixier's essay "Imagination Baptized or, "Holiness" in the Chronicles of Narnia" perceptively analyzes the effects of the baptism of Lewis's imagination.[280] She observes that through *Phantastes* Lewis was made aware of the "real symbolical import"

of longing, an experience which she suggests filled him with peace and reconciled him with the world.[281] Unlike his former imaginative experience, the *Phantastes* experience, in Tixier's view, allowed Lewis to be more receptive to deeper truths, because the 'quality' which shone through MacDonald's images was the bright shadow of Holiness.[282] MacDonald's images were richer and had more resonance than former images, and seemed to lead to "deeper mysteries", rather than to their replacement by alternative images.[283] This quality of Holiness mediated through images enabled Lewis, Tixier declares, to see the divine imprint upon the world.[284] Tixier recognizes that for Lewis this new insight into the world which was effected through the imaginative mode of apprehension rather than as an effort of reason, had major implications for his developing view of the nature and function of the imagination.[285] She comes to the conclusion that Lewis, prompted by the baptism of his imagination in *Phantastes,* came to view imagination as a path to God and to true worship, and looked upon imagination, "not as a poor ancilla, but as a reliable and important faculty, leading to a special and privileged sort of insight".[286]

MacDonald had undoubtedly taught Lewis that it was through the imagination that man could realize an innate desire to imitate his creator. Tolkien refined this belief in his doctrine of sub-creation, a doctrine which was important to Lewis's view of imagination's primary functions. (The doctrine will be fully explored in Part Two). MacDonald had shown Lewis that an artist, if he were "true" could embody old truths in a new and perhaps more accessible form. He had pleaded that truths embodied in imaginative works be experienced rather than discursively analyzed. Most importantly of all, he had legitimized the imagination on a religious level for Lewis : he had argued

for the objectivity of the imaginative faculty by claiming that man's imagination was a divine vehicle through which God revealed himself in the world. On a purely affective level, he had filled Lewis with a sense of delight in the "homely and humble".[287] On a moral level he had allowed Lewis to experience "goodness" in a world which Lewis states in Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology*, "confines goodness to the region of Law and Duty, which never lets us feel in our face the sweet air blowing from "the land of righteousness", never reveals that elusive Form which if once seen must inevitably be desired with all but sensuous desire - the thing (in Sappho's phrase) "more gold than gold".[288]

4.7 A Matured Vision of Imagination : The Educational Implications

Mindful of the influence of his childhood and adolescent imaginative experiences, of the works of George MacDonald, of the penetrating philosophical arguments of Owen Barfield and of the as yet to be explored influence of J.R.R. Tolkien's doctrine of sub-creation, Lewis's theory of imagination can now, with a certain degree of confidence be deduced form the disparate imaginative, apologetic and critical works that make up the Lewis oeuvre. Lewis was first and foremost a rationalist. He believed, like Plato, that truths were deduced by the power of man's rational faculty. Yet, early in his life, he intuited that some larger process than pure deductive reasoning was involved in the apprehension of truth. In an early letter dated 28 October, 1926 written to his friend A.C. Harwood he acknowledged this intuition:

> No one is more convinced than I that reason is utterly inadequate to the richness and spirituality of real things, indeed this is itself a deliverance of reason. Nor do I doubt the presence, even in us, of faculties embryonic or atrophied that lie in an indefinite margin around the little finite bit of focus that is intelligence - faculties anticipating or remembering the possession of

> huge tracts of reality that slip through the meshes of the intellect. . . . I at any rate, am at present inclined to believe that we must be content to feel the highest truths "in our bones" : if we try to make them explicit, we really make them untruths.[289]

In this passage Lewis not only questions the power of reason to embrace all aspects of man's humanity, but reveals a Platonist (or indeed Jungian) belief that particular types of knowledge are remembered, perhaps from Plato's Innate Forms or Jung's archetypes, and that the mystery which surrounds the highest truths which are apprehended feelingly rather than discursively, should be experienced rather than analyzed.[290] Except to replace his implicit acceptance, or more correctly, sympathy with Plato and/or Jung's notion of inherited memory with a Christian belief that man is capable only of recalling but never creating divine truths, these early Lewis intuitions about reason and imagination are developed rather than abandoned in later years.

Of reason's inadequacy to communicate all truths he writes to another friend, "On the imaginative level I think the deepest truths enter the mind much better as arbitrary marvels than as universal theorems".[291] This view is reiterated by his close friend and former student Dom Bede Griffiths who states in his autobiography *The Golden String*, "I have discovered that there is a truth of experience, which is mediated through the imagination and which often gives a deeper insight into reality than abstract thought".[292] In Lewis's last work *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm* he states that certain images give "a kind of spiritual body to the unimaginable". He declares that "our abstract thinking is itself a tissue of analogies", and notes that God is more visible in rich personal images than cold abstract ideas.[293] "The footprints of the Divine" he concludes "are more visible

in that rich soil [of "sensuous organic and personal images of scripture"] than across rocks or slag-heaps".[294]

For Lewis, images produced by the imaginative faculty had the power to evoke the divine presence. He believed that it was the duty of any artist, not to be concerned with self-expression, but rather as he explained in his essay "Christianity and Literature", to attempt "to embody in terms of his own art some reflection of eternal Beauty and Wisdom".[295] If the artist were 'true', he would, Lewis explains in "The Language of Religion", use factors within his experience so that they became pointers to something outside our experience, and succeed in expressing an otherwise inaccessible experience.[296] It was, in Lewis's view, through an exercise of the imagination that man could approach God. As Kathleen Raine in "From A Poet" observes: "Doubtless [Lewis] would have agreed with Dom Bede Griffiths . . . that the function of art is 'to evoke the divine presence'".[297]

Such a function was particularly important to a man whom Manlove in *Christian Fantasy* suggests was "all his life either hounded or haunted by the divine presence", and whom Stella Gibbons in "Imaginative Writing" suggests "seems to have been perpetually haunted by the realities lying behind appearances".[298] Such a man, rationalist or not, must have been happy to have had Barfield, MacDonald and Tolkien among others, legitimize for him his initial intuition but later belief, that the imaginative faculty was capable of flashes of valid insight not only into the structure of reality as Houston Smith suggests in *Patches of Godlight* but also into absolute truth itself.[299] There can be little doubt of the degree of confidence and pleasure with which Lewis states in *Surprised by Joy* : "I do not think the resemblance between the Christian and the merely

imaginative experience is accidental. I think that all things, in their way, reflect heavenly truth, the imagination not least".[300]

It is unfortunate that Lewis, as Barfield so rightly stated in "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination", steered away from propounding any explicit theory of imagination, and failed, as Houston Smith notes in *Patches of Godlight* to analyse that mental process through which he believed metaphysical truths were made manifest to man.[301] The closest Lewis comes to any explicit explanation of the process is in *The Personal Heresy : A Controversy* and in "Dante's Similes".[302] In a short passage from "Dante's Similes", Lewis reveals how ideologically close he was to MacDonald and the Romantics in believing that the entire process entailed a certain degree of abdication on the part of the individual. Although the passage pertains specifically to poetic art, it is applicable in the light of Lewis's beliefs, to any mental process which involves the pursuit of truth: "the highest reach of the whole poetic art turns out to be a kind of abdication, and is attained when the whole image of the world the poet sees has entered so deeply into his mind that henceforth he has only to get himself out of the way, to let the seas roll and the mountains shake their leaves or the light shine and the sphere revolve".[303]

This is not to say that Lewis believed the imaginative faculty capable of independently producing truth, only that the imaginative faculty was inextricably linked with a complex mental process which sometimes succeeded in embodying old truths in new forms.[304] He stated in *Surprised by Joy* that even as a young boy he had never mistaken imagination for reality, and was always emphatically aware of the relative value of imagination's images.[305] He knew that imagination "contained no element either of belief or of ethics".[306] "However far pursued", imagination, in Lewis's view,

"would never have made me wiser or better".[307] He declared in "The Weight of Glory", that images were "not the thing itself; they are only the scent of a flower we have not found, the echo of a tune we have not heard, news from a country we have never yet visited".[308]

Nevertheless, as *The Discarded Image* so tellingly demonstrates, Lewis was convinced that images and models were as vital a part of modern man's life, as the cosmic 'Model' was to medieval man.[309] However, he was equally convinced that while such images should be respected as "a serious attempt to get in all the given phenomena known at a given period" in order that man might produce a vision of his place in the universe, no images or models should be idolized and objectified.[310] Rather their transitory quality should be realized, and as he explained in *Prayer : Letter to Malcolm,* they should be kissed as they fly.[311] But since Lewis was also convinced that man, for the most part, could only think metaphorically, could only apprehend metaphorically, could only approach his God metaphorically, he seemed content to accept and even celebrate the role of the imagination within the process of knowing. For men, whom he suggests in *The Pilgrim's Regress* were perforce "idolaters, crying unheard to senseless idols", he offers up the prayer, "Take not, oh Lord our literal sense but in they great \ Unbroken speech our halting metaphor translate".[312]

On 2 June, 1931, in a letter to T.S. Eliot, Lewis outlined ideas for a projected series of essays.[313] The fifth essay which he had planned to write at that time was to be on the subject of "Metaphor and Truth". With the other essays in the series it intended to present what amounted to "a frontal attack on Crocean aesthetics and state a neo-Aristotelian theory of literature . . . which *inter alia* will re-affirm the romantic doctrine

of imagination as a truth-bearing faculty though not quite as the romantics understood it".[314] While the series was never written, the central argument was to find its way into much of Lewis's later writings. Lewis was quite true to his word in that he did evolve "a romantic doctrine of imagination as a truth-bearing faculty", but it certainly was not, "as the romantics understood it". He looked to imagination's activities to form an integral part of the knowing process. Refusing to limit imagination solely to affective or aesthetic experience, he regarded it as a faculty whereby man could realize his innate desire to imitate his creator in creating works of art; could come to apprehend higher truths otherwise inaccessible to man; and ultimately could experience the divine presence.

Barfield suggests in "C.S. Lewis and Historicism" that Lewis attributed value to the imagination solely on the basis that it gave enjoyment and was a principal channel through which God spoke to man in order to correct his vision. As a result of self-confessed doubts on whether he had correctly interpreted Lewis's ideas, Barfield attempted in this essay to construct Lewis's theory of knowledge as deductible from his published writings.[317] Barfield's doubts were not unfounded as a recent interview with G.B. Tennyson reveals when Barfield qualified former statements concerning Lewis's ideas on historicism.[318] This study of Lewis's theory of imagination suggests that Barfield may, perhaps, in the area of Lewis's ideas on imagination have done Lewis "less than justice" when he admits that his whole inclination was "to do him more".[319] Houston Smith in *Patches of Godlight*, may well have offered a fairer estimate of the value which Lewis attributed to the imagination when he stated that "It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the imagination in the Christian objectivism that Lewis

championed", adding that for Lewis, the human imagination was just as absolute as universal moral laws or syllogisms.[320]

A short passage from *A Preface To Paradise Lost* unequivocally reveals that Lewis was at one with many modern educationalists in recognizing the vital contributions of the imagination to man's very life: "very roughly, we might almost say that in Rhetoric imagination is present for the sake of passion, . . . while in poetry passion is present for the sake of imagination and therefore, in the long run for the sake of wisdom or spiritual health - the rightness and richness of a man's total response to the world".[321] Lewis was convinced that any true education system must concern itself with developing man's "total response to the world".[322] Chapter Two and Three of this study have shown that Lewis demanded of an education system and his own tutorial system that it produce individuals who could think and communicate clearly and independently, who would shun ready-made beliefs and ideas preferring to develop with a pure heart and mind a truly authentic set of beliefs. The first section of this chapter has attempted to reveal the extent to which Lewis committed himself to a belief that the workings of the imaginative faculty were an important part of the knowing process. The knowing process, as Lewis perceived it, did not limit itself to reducible 'given' scientific facts and therefore to one explanatory system. Rather it attempted to embrace the totality of man, mind and matter, conscious and unconscious, rational and imaginative.

No doubt, Lewis would have concurred with David Best when he wrote in "Feeling and Reason in the Arts : the Rationality of Feeling" that "Our aim should be to educate [students] to become capable of a continuously expanding range of vivid and subtly discriminated feelings, which are, *their own,* firsthand, authentic".[323] While he

would have disagreed with Best that, "emotional feelings necessarily involves cognition of the object of that feeling," he would have had a certain sympathy with Best's 'solution' to the reason/imagination dichotomy in Best's argument for an "interpretative reasoning" which involved imagination and creativity".[324]

His assigning to imagination of an indispensable role within the knowing process logically implies an argument for an educational curriculum which recognizes and fosters the potential of the imaginative faculty as against a curriculum which concentrates almost exclusively on fostering the rational faculty. Lewis would have had little difficulty in accepting Peter Abbs's argument in "Education, Symbol and Myth" that what was needed in education was a curriculum based on "a plurality of principles", where due respect was accorded to both faculties in man. He would have certainly concurred with Abbs that the challenge for any modern teacher was "to provide those conditions which present the diverse elements [in man], which explore, in proper balance, those divided and distinguished worlds".[325]

In "Myth and Education", Ted Hughes comes very close to restating Lewis's claim for imagination in education when he states that the imagination "with its delicate wiring of perceptions is our most valuable piece of practical equipment. It is the control panel for everything we think and do and so ought to be education's first concern".[326] Douglas Gresham was well aware of Lewis's commitment to imagination and its role in education. During a second interview with the author, Gresham states that "I think Jack would agree it is desperately important to have a balance between the technical and the imaginative, the artistic and the purely technological . . . You need both in society".[327] He also acknowledged that, in his view, Lewis believed that "the whole of education

depends on the child's development of his imaginative abilities", and suggested that Lewis was desperately aware of the urgent need to "get the imagination back into modern education".[328] Of this need for education to attend to the imaginative development of the child, Gresham argued that Lewis, in his imaginative writings, "was obviously pointing out that this is desperately important. That's why he would write the books . . . He was committing himself to [the importance of] imagination in education".[329]

In locating the embodiment of Lewis philosophic commitment to the imagination within the life, thought, and therefore the education of man in Lewis's imaginative writings, Gresham has inadvertently hit upon a very valuable insight of Abbs in "Education, Symbol and Myth". Abbs suggests that in the works of such nineteenth and twentieth century writers as Coleridge, Arnold, Ruskin, William Morris, Leavis and Herbert Read and those others who belong to a distinct literary and aesthetic tradition, one can locate "all the key elements of an alternative conception of education".[330] In his theory of imagination (as deducible from his religious, imaginative and critical writings) Lewis undoubtedly argued for an education which attended to all aspects of man's humanity, and anticipated the contemporary notion of education as initiation into a total curriculum. What is perhaps unique in Lewis's stance, is a stout conviction that a true education of the imaginative and rational faculty must lead man eventually and inexorably to God. Wordsworth powerfully and evocatively anticipated Lewis's view when he wrote in "Ode : Intimations of Immortality":

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,

But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home.[332]

PART II: REVIVING OLD FORMS : MYTH IN EDUCATION

4.8 A Philosophical Perspective : Ernst Cassirer

> But still the heart doth need a language, still
> Doth the old instinct bring back the old names.
>
> Samuel Taylor Coleridge. [1]

In "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination" Barfield has observed that during Lewis's lifetime a palpable change occurred in the intellectual climate of the age, when "the whole realm of artistic expression, the theory of art and its relation to nature, was being examined in a more serious mood, or with a more serious intent", and when there was a growing conviction that imagination formed an inextricable part of the process of knowing.[2] The examination has, since Lewis's death, extended to a theory of art and its relation to education. Among the various art forms which have risen in prestige as a result of the examination has been mythology, which has moved from a state where it carried pejorative connotations for late eighteenth and early nineteenth century rationalists, to a state where it is recognized by many as having social, psychological, educational, moral and spiritual functions vital to man's development.

Among the major instigators of this particular change of attitude towards myth were Ernst Cassirer in the field of philosophy, Sigmund Freud and C.G. Jung in the field of psychology, Claud Levi-Strauss, Mircea Eliade, Karl Kerenyi and Joseph Campbell in the field of anthropology and myth studies, J.R.R. Tolkien and Northrop Frye in the field of literature and more recently Jerome Bruner, Bruno Bettleheim and Peter Abbs in the

fields of psychology and education respectively. In the company of his Inkling friends and most especially Barfield, Tolkien and Charles Williams, Lewis formulated views on myth which were peculiarly modern and which were congruent with many views presented by the major instigators mentioned above. Strangely Lewis appears to have been ignorant of, or more correctly, uninterested in modern developments in the field of myth studies although he did display a working knowledge of the work of Jung and Freud. This may be explained by the fact that Lewis was not interested in the origins of myth and was, by his own admission, in *An Experiment In Criticism* concerned only "with the effects of myth as they act on the conscious imagination of minds more or less like our own".[3] It was in examining and recognizing the effects of myth on the modern consciousness that Lewis realized the relevance of myth to the life and education of man. Part Two of this chapter will establish the manner in which Lewis came to conceive of myth as "the isthmus which connects the peninsular world of thought with that vast continent we really belong to", and could come to declare in his Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* that myth was perhaps "one of the greatest arts", since it produced "delight and (on prolonged acquaintance) as much wisdom and strength as the works of the greatest poets".[4]

In an illuminating essay entitled "Myth, Symbolism, and Truth", included in Thomas A. Sebek's, *Myth : A Symposium*, David Bidney identifies two basic approaches to myth theories, one literal the other symbolic.[5] He suggests that in its history, myth has been interpreted literally by evolutionary positivistic ethnologists such as E.P. Taylor, functionalist ethnologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski and pragmatic philosophers such as Sorel, who have, for the most part, evaluated myth in terms of its pragmatic

function as an instrument of social and political control.[6] Alternative theories of myth have, he continues, been propagated by idealistic philosophers and theologians, who, from ancient to modern times, have interpreted myth allegorically as symbolising some transcendental timeless truth, but who have differed among themselves on the nature of the object and truth so symbolized.[7] Bidney notes that common to the latter interpreters of myth is a scepticism of the power of reason to comprehend reality.[8] Along with Cassirer and Jung, Lewis constituted a part of the second group of myth interpreters, for he advocated a positive evaluation of myth which emphasized its symbolic significance. In identifying Lewis with this second group one qualification must be made. Lewis was very careful to accord to myth and allegory very distinct characteristics and functions. It was anathema to him to interpret myth allegorically, for he believed like Jung, that no explanation, allegorical or otherwise, could catch up with the meanings presented in true myths, or as Jung would have it in *Psychology and Alchemy* "no intellectual formulation comes anywhere near the richness and expressiveness of mythical imagery".[9]

Underpinning the views of this second group of myth interpreters was a belief implicitly and explicitly expressed that man lives in a symbolic universe, and that myth like language, religion, science, and art, were symbolic forms, which, as Cassirer explains in *An Essay On Man*, allowed man "to build up his own universe - a symbolic universe that enables him to understand and interpret, to articulate and organize, to synthesize and universalize his human experience".[10] Cassirer's work on symbolic forms and on myth in particular is pertinent to this study for it gives philosophical precision to views on myth which Lewis developed under Barfield's tutelage. Although Lewis does not refer to Cassirer's work, it is interesting that Barfield could write of Cassirer in

"Lewis, Truth, and Imagination" that in the study of language Cassirer was "a star of the first magnitude in a whole firmament of lesser lights".[11] Doubly interesting is an observation by Susanne Langer in *Feeling and Form : A Theory of Art,* that in *Poetic Diction* Barfield was "pondering precisely the same problem of non-discursive symbolism" as Cassirer in *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms,* and that *Poetic Diction* "reveals the same relationships between language and conception, conception and imagination, imagination and myth, myth and poetry that Cassirer discovered as a result of his reflections on the logic of science".[12] She concludes that the parallel is so striking that it is hard to believe in its pure coincidence, yet such it seems to be".[13]

(While Langer was perceptive in noting the parallels between both men's work, she failed to recognize one striking and very important difference in their views. While Cassirer maintained most explicitly in *Language And Myth* that poetry belonged to the world of illusion and fantasy and would in time be superseded by science, which he states in *An Essay On Man* was "the last step in man's mental development and it may be regarded as the highest and most characteristic attainment of human culture"; Barfield maintained that poetry, and more specifically the poetic principle in man, did not belong to the world of illusion, but rather to the world of truth and knowledge.[14] He held that new knowledge could only be obtained through an expansion of consciousness consequent upon the workings of the poetic principle.[15]

Both writers, however, were equally convinced that "myth was intimately bound up with the earliest history of meaning"; both viewed myth as the "traditional child of meaning, begotten on imagination"; and both held that in myth one found "the direct embodiment of concrete experience and not the *idea* of that experience".[16] Barfield

defined mythology in *Poetic Diction* as the "ghost of concrete meaning", stating that connections between discrete phenomena once perceived as immediate realities and expressed as myths are in modern times apprehended as metaphors.[17] Cassirer in *Language and Myth* made a similar observation when he stated that to primitive consciousness myths presented "the totality of Being", declaring that in the plastic medium of mythical formulation man and his environment "do not merely make contact, but fuse with each other".[18] Both observations are echoed by Lewis in "Myth Became Fact" and "Dogma And The Universe" when he recognized like Cassirer in *Language and Myth* that the human mind was not endowed *ab initio* with logical categories, but acquired them during its long evolution.[19] Lewis stated in "Dogma and the Universe": "Being what we are, rational but also animate, amphibians who start from the world of sense and proceed through myth and metaphor to the world of spirit, I do not see how we could have come to know the greatness of God without that hint furnished by the greatness of the material universe".[20]

Like Barfield and Cassirer, Lewis recognized that primitives experienced myths in a state of undifferentiated consciousness rather than 'knowing' them as abstract analytical principles. He postulated in "Myth Becomes Fact" that modern man can, in 'receiving a true myth, experience an abstract principle concretely, noting that "the moment we state this principle, we are admittedly back in the world of abstraction".[21] Of the three writers only Cassirer went some way to explaining the process by which primitive man formulated his mythical statements. He stated that in mythical thinking "instead of a widening of intuitive experience, we find here its extreme limitation instead of expansion that would lead through greater and greater spheres of being , we have here

an impulse towards concentration; instead of extensive distribution, intensive compression".[22] No doubt Lewis might have acknowledged Cassirer's hypothesis, yet as stated previously he was less than interested in what he considered to be such unverifiable conjectures and focused his attention on the manner in which modern consciousness received myths.[23]

Lewis's view on Cassirer's hypothesis on mythical thinking would probably be closer to K.K. Ruthven and G.S. Kirk, both of whom declared Cassirer's hypothesis to be pure conjecture. Ruthven stated in *Myth* that Cassirer's, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* along with William Golding's *The Inheritors,* were "highly imaginative projections in very different forms, of the same basically Romantic conviction that myth is endemic to primitive mentality".[24] What Lewis did agree upon with Cassirer and Barfield was the view expressed by Cassirer in *Language and Myth* that "Language and Myth stand in an original and indissoluble correlation with one another"; that they are "two diverse shoots from the same parent stem, the same impulse of symbolic formulation".[25] Barfield's *Poetic Diction* concretely validated Cassirer's claim in that it attempted to trace the development of language from the first mythical statements to modern abstract and analytical prose statements.

Lewis implicitly accepted Barfield's version of the history of language when he declared in *The Allegory of Love* that allegory, (which he associates with abstract thought), grew out of an older mythology.[26] Lewis also implicitly accepted Cassirer's suggestion that mythical statements do not permit further quantitative distinction since unlike logical concepts which can be subsumed in other concepts while retaining their distinctive characters, each part of a mythical statements is the whole itself, and is

identical with the totality to which it belongs.[27] While one might apprehend a 'centre of significance' in the mythical statement , another might remain "beneath the threshold of meaning".[28] Lewis's views ran congruent to Cassirer's when he explained in his Preface to *George McDonald : An Anthology* that myth does not essentially exist in words at all, declaring that once the quality of the myth is expressed the means of communication can be discarded.[29] He continued later in *The Pilgrim's Regress* that the meaning garnered from myths was relative to the mental development of those who received them.[30]

Lewis was close ideologically to Cassirer in denying any intellectual activity to myth formation. For Cassirer, myth belonged to the realm of pure feeling rather than intellect and had its own claim to objectivity.[31] Myth, and the other symbolic forms were, Cassirer explained in *Language and Myth,* "not imitations but organs of reality, since it is solely by their agency that anything real becomes an object for intellectual apprehension and as such is made visible to us".[32] While Cassirer admitted that absolute reality formed the "solid and substantial substratum" of all symbolic forms, and that all symbolic forms functioned "organically together in the construction of spiritual reality", he observed that each form while having an objective character of its own, was also marked by its "mutual limitation".[33] Since myth was not intellectual and belonged rather to the area of affectivity and will, it presented man, in Cassirer's view, with a vision of reality purely in terms of human feelings.[34] Nonetheless, Cassirer considered that vision valid since it was not a "counterfeit or facsimile but a genuine manifestation of our inner life".[35]

As Bidney has noted in "Myth, Symbolism, And Truth", Cassirer's argument for the autonomy of myth as a distinct symbolic form with its own objective validity is

difficult to reconcile with his argument that the myth-making stage in man's history represents merely a stage of development of human consciousness when man was struggling to interpret the world of experience and reality and was, in the form of mythical statements, presenting the world with 'truths', which emerged from the purely, subjective realm of man's being.[36] Lewis circumvented the difficulty in Cassirer's argument by implicitly accepting in part, Schelling's idealist argument in *Philosophy of Mythology* that the mythological process was a theogonic one (i.e. a process in which God or the Absolute reveals himself historically through human consciousness).[37] He could thus attribute a divine truth to certain myths. In *Reflections on the Psalms* he suggests that "in mythology divine and diabolical and human elements (the desire for a good story) all play a part", declaring that in the pagan myths "there is already a likeness permitted by God to that truth on which all depends".[38]

While Cassirer refused to attribute any metaphysical properties to myths, he did recognize their inherent religious dimension, stating in *An Essay On Man* that "In the development of human culture we cannot fix a point where myth ends or religion begins . . . Myth is from its very beginning potential religion".[39] Cassirer makes this claim for myths, not because of their inherent metaphysical properties but because he believed that myths were based on what Bidney has succinctly termed "a primitive intuition of the cosmic solidarity of life".[40] In *Language and Myth* Cassirer speculated that in that moment when primitive man was 'possessed' by a single impression, when a tension, marked by the emotion of fear, hope, terror or wishfulfilment, existed between the subject and the external world, suddenly and involuntarily, "the tension finds release, as the subjective excitement becomes objectified and confronts the mind as a god or a

daemon".[41] (In *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures,* G.S. Kirk claimed that in this speculation Cassirer had confused religious and mythical thinking and suggested several reasons for doubting Cassirer's hypothesis that mythical thought was 'continuous' with religious thought.[42])

While Lewis could not have accepted what is essentially Cassirer's animistic view of the myths, he recognized with Cassirer that great myths were marked by a numinous quality.[43] Unlike Cassirer however, Lewis attributed a metaphysical source to that numinous quality.[44] Nevertheless in his acceptance of many of Barfield's stated views in *Poetic Diction* on the history of myth and language, Lewis inadvertently reflected many of Cassirer's views. Analogous to Lewis's view were those expressed by Casssirer in *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* and *Language and Myth,* that man lived in a symbolic universe where reality was covered in a veil of the universally shared language of symbol and myth ; that the language of myth was non-discursive and imagistic; and that logical categories evolved in man over a long time-period.[45] The congruence of Lewis's view with Cassirer can be seen in a passage from Lewis's essay, "Edmund Spencer, 1552-99" when he wrote:

> We now know that symbols are the natural speech of the soul, a language older and more universal than words. This truth, . . . was accepted and acted upon by the ancient and medieval world, and had not yet been lost in Spenser's day. He came, in fact, just in time, just before the birth of that new outward-looking rationalizing spirit which was going to give us victory over the inanimate while cutting us off from the depths of our own nature.[46]

4.9 C.G. Jung : Bad Science or Good Poetry?

Of all writers on myth theories it was perhaps to C.G. Jung that Lewis owed the greatest debt, not because he accepted Jung's view, but because he found Jung to offer "a

much more civil and humane interpretation of myth and imagery" than many others including Freud and the post-Freudians.[47] Both Jung and Lewis sought to revive an awareness and sensitivity to mythical modes of thought for both believed that such a revitalization would assist modern man in "returning at last from exile and desert lands to [his] own country".[48] Intellectually and philosophically, both men were moulded by Platonism, and Kantian and Romantic idealism. They were averse to a pragmatic and empirical scientism which they both believed was responsible for the sterility of a modern age which had demythologized man, nature and religion.

To Lewis, the psycho-analytical psychology of Freud epitomized many of the modern ideas which he abhorred. J.J. Clarke in *In Search of Jung: Historical and philosophical enquiries* has observed that while Freud was a child of the enlightenment who embraced scientific rationalism and ultimately determinism, Jung "rejected the enlightenment as the exclusive expression of truth and with it the view . . . that western rationalism represents the summit of human achievement".[49] Freud regarded myths as centring on the same nuclear complex as neurosis and saw them as "distorted vestiges of the wish phantasies of whole nations". Conversely, Jung saw myth-creation as a healthy and positive function of the psyche and not necessarily linked to sexual or neurotic impulses.[50] Jung belongs to Bidney's second group of myth interpreters since he premised his study on myth with the belief clearly articulated in *Synchronicity : An Acausal Connecting Principle,* that "The Rationalist Attitude of the West is not the only or possible one and is not all-embracing but is in many ways a prejudice and a bias".[51] Lewis would hardly have agreed with Jung's statement, although he would have

supported its implications that there are other equally valid ways of coming to know and be in the world.

The relationship between Jung and Lewis's view on myth is an interesting one since their views run closely together on myth's characteristics but diverge sharply in the functions they each attribute to a symbolic form which they both held in the highest esteem. Jung held that man was possessed of a collective unconscious, biologically inherited, within which was found latent primordial images which he later termed archetypes.[52] In *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* he claimed that historical antecedents of the concepts of archetypes could be found in the writings of St. Augustine and in Kant's doctrine of *a priori* categories.[53] He considered the very term itself to be synonymous with Plato's *eidos*.[54] Unknown and unknowable, archetypes, in Jung's view, made their way to consciousness in the form of myths, dreams, symbols and visions.[55] For the most part, Lewis seem to have tentatively accepted Jung's notions of the collective unconscious, archetypes and their products, although he states in "Psycho-Analysis And Literary Criticism" that his own intellectual training forced him to suspend his judgement on the scientific value of Jung's theories presented in "Mind and the Earth" in *Contributions to Analytical Psychology.*[56] In the essay he concludes that even if Jung's theories turn out to be bad science they still made excellent poetry.[57]

Whether Jung's theories were bad science or excellent poetry, intermittent comments by Lewis throughout his writings reveal that he found Jung's notion of archetypes attractive, if not valid. He writes in "On Stories" of the manner in which certain mythical images "evoke with them and through them all our racial and childish memories of exclusion and desolation".[58] In his Preface to *George MacDonald : An*

Anthology he writes of myth that "It gets under our skin, hits us at a level deeper than our thoughts or even our passions".[59] Of a particular type of science fiction story he writes in "On Science Fiction" that it represents "an imaginative impulse as old as the human race working under the special conditions of our own time".[60] He defends the mythopoeic art in "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard", observing that a 'hatred' of mythopoeic works "comes in part from a reluctance to meet Archetypes", and is, he suggests, "an involuntary witness to the Archetype's vitality".[61] In *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm* he declares that his thinking, if he could examine it, "would, I well know, turn out to be the thinnest possible film on the surface of a vast deep". He insists that works of "various and liberating art" reflect not only the depths of the individual artist, but also all his past; his ancestral past; perhaps his pre-humane past.[62] Whether from an archetypal pool or from some other source both Lewis and Jung were equally convinced that myths were, as Jung explains in *Aion*, "an expression of a universal disposition in man".[63]

Both were convinced, as Cassirer was, that no individual could exhaust the full meaning of myths. Lewis writes of Shelley's "Prometheus" in "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot", that "Like all great myths its primary appeal to the will and the understanding can therefore be diversely interpreted according as the reader is a Christian, a politician, a psycho-analyst, or what not".[64] "A myth", in his view, "is thus like manna; it is to each man a different dish and to each the dish he needs".[65] Jung in *Symbols of Transformation* writes that myth interpretation is "a tricky business", and warns that "We take mythological symbols much too concretely and are puzzled at every turn by [their] endless contraditions".[66] In *Psychology and Alchemy* he is even more explicit, when he

states that "no intellectual formation comes anywhere near the richness and expressiveness of mythical imagery".[67]

Like Cassirer, both men were distinctly aware of the numinous quality of myths. While Jung admits in *Psychology and Religion: West and East* that he is unaware of the cause of an experience of the numinosium, he assents to its existence, believing it to be an attribute of all religious experience.[68] He writes of the experience that "it seizes and controls the human subject; who is always rather its victim than its creator".[69] "The numinosium - whatever its cause may be", he writes, "is an experience of the subject independent of his will . . . The numinosium is either a quality belonging to a visible object or the influence of an invisible presence that causes a peculiar alteration of consciousness".[70] In *Symbols of Transformation* he states that every true myth possesses a numinous quality which "exerts a fascination" and "enters into active opposition to the conscious mind".[71]

Lewis, is equally aware of the power of myth to evoke a numinous experience, writing in 'De Audiendis Poetis" that "most of my generation have all our lives taken these things [myths and romances] with awe and with a sense of mystery".[72] Like Jung, he maintains that it is in an experience of the numinous that one finds what he describes in "Is Theism Important?" as the seed of religious experience.[73] He observes that the numinous is not merely an affair of feeling, but an experience which involves "objectless or disinterested fear".[74] (Critics have noted the quality of numinous awe which Lewis attempts, some would say successfully, to imbue in the character of the Christ-like Aslan throughout the Narnian Chronicles).[75] Aware of Jung's and Freud's belief that myth have a numinous quality, Lewis, (somewhat unfairly in the case of Jung), declares in "De

Audiendis Poetis" that both psychologists, in their examination and justification of the numinous power of myths and romance, have supplied the modern reader with apparently rational grounds for feeling that "more is meant than meets the ear".[76] They have thus offered, in Lewis's view, a sop to readers' intellects by defending the readers' reactions to myth and romance on extra-literary grounds.[77]

One area, however, of complete agreement between Lewis and Jung and indeed Barfield, relates to their mutual abhorrence of the despiritualization of the world as a result of the ever-growing prestige afforded to what they consider to be reductionist scientific rationalism. Barfield in *Poetic Diction* urges a balance between the rational and poetic principle in man, warning that without the poetic principle no new knowledge can be created, for meaning would be crystallized "into a kind of algebra".[78] Jung, echoing Barfield, states in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* that only myth can give the "probing intellect the raw material which is indispensable for its vitality".[79] He declares that cut of from the intermediary world of mythic imagination, "the mind falls prey to doctrinaire rigidities".[80] He argues his case against scientific rationalism in stark apocalyptic terms in *Alchemical Studies* when he declares that the consciousness of modern man has been darkened and corrupted by the rational scientific knowledge of the enlightenment.[81] In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* he declaims against such knowledge which "does not enrich us", but "removes us more and more from the mythic world in which we were once at home by right of birth".[82] Borrowing St. Augustine's distinction between two types of knowledge, namely cognitio matutina (morning or inner-self knowledge) and cognitio vesperitia (evening or knowledge of things created), he claims in *Alchemical Studies* that while man had once possessed cognitio matutina and saw

himself in the image of God, modern man possesses only cognitio vesperitia or knowledge of numberless outer things.[83] Finally in "Approaching the Unconscious" in *Man and His Symbols*, he maintains that "We have stripped all things of their mystery and numinosity ; nothing is holy any longer".[84]

Lewis's *Abolition* bears testament to Jung's apocalyptic warnings and his Narnian Chronicles are a conscious attempt to foster in children a response to myths which he believes reductionist materialism has inhibited and atrophied. In *The Discarded Image* he writes that to understand this process whereby man has despiritualized the world, would be "to grasp that great movement of internalisation and that consequent aggrandisement of man and desiccation of the outer universe, in which the psychological history of the West has so largely consisted".[85] Lewis's conclusions are no less stark than Jung's. He concludes *The Discarded Image* with the statement :

> Always, century by century, item after item is transferred from the object's side of the account to the subject's. And now, in some extreme form of Behaviourism, the subject himself is discounted as merely subjective; we only think that we think. Having eaten up everything else, he eats himself up too. And where we 'go from that' is a dark question.[86]

In "De Audiendis Poetis", he welcomes any anthropological or psycho-analytic studies on myth and literature, pronouncing that such studies are "digging again the wells that the Philistines have filled".[87] As a sort of mental 'askesis', such studies, in his view, are releasing man's inhibitions built up by "materialistic philosophy, anti-romanticism, distrust of one's unconscious".[88] He continues in "The Anthropological Approach" that such studies are restoring to modern readers "the powers which humanity often has without any such preliminary askesis".[89]

It is when one turns to examine the functions which both men assign to myth that major differences are revealed. The differences are the result of two radically different visions of man in the world. In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* Jung declares that man's great metaphysical task is to individuate.[90] A complex but central concept in Jung's analytical psychology, the aim of individuation, is he explains in *Two Essays On Analytical Psychology,* "nothing less than to divest the self of the false wrapping of the persona on the one hand, and the suggestive power of primordial images on the other".[91] It is a process whereby an individual realizes his/her own uniqueness but simultaneously recognizes his common humanity.[92] In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* he declares that individuation cannot be accomplished with "mythologizing".[93] "What we are" he writes "to our inward vision and what man appears to be sub-specie aeternitatis, can only be expressed by way of myth".[94]

Declaring that the sole purpose of human experience is "to kindle a light in the darkness of mere being" he maintains that the answer to each man's quest for wholeness and truth must be limited to an individual interpretation and therefore a myth, or more precisely, a mythic truth.[95] Of course Lewis does not look inward, but outward to find purpose and meaning. Mel Marshak in "On the Need for Mythical Time" articulates a vision which corresponds almost exactly with Lewis's : "There is no myth of the Soul and there can be none, for the Soul faces outwards, as it were, towards the world of forms not inward towards an invisible realm accessible only to itself".[96]

Both men's views of the function of myth are coloured by contrary teleological aspirations for man. Superficially a statement by Lewis in "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard" might be equally attributable to Jung : "A great myth is relevant as long

as the predicament of humanity lasts; as long as humanity lasts. It will always work, on those who can receive it, the same catharsis.[97] While Jung declares in *Civilization in Transition* that truth is constrained by the psychological perspective of the individual and that no single unequivocal truth except mythic truth is accessible to man, Lewis believes that absolute truth is received by man through divine revelation and is glimpsed by him in particular myths.[98] When Jung claims for the compensatory and therapeutic nature of myth he is claiming for myth the functions of: "explaining to the bewildered human being what was going on in his subconscious"; of providing classic solutions to universal situations; "of working out racial and national complexes"; and in the case of religious myth - "man's greatest and most significant achievement", of "giving him the security and inner strength not to be crushed by the monstrousness of the universe".[99]

Lewis admits in "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard" that myths can externalize psychological forces.[100] However, the ultimate function which he assigns to myth is as a preparatio evangelica, what he describes in "Religion Without Dogma", as a "divine hinting in poetic and ritual form of the same central truth which was later focused and (so to speak) historized in the Incarnation".[101] While Jung feels that "the secret unrest [which] gnaws at the root of our being", represents "the strongest, the most ineluctable urge in every being, namely the urge to realize itself . . . through discovering its own personal myth", Lewis believes that "secret unrest" is divinely inspired to remind man of where his true home lies.[102]

Lewis shared with Jung a deep concern with myth and symbols, a commitment to exploring and rehabilitating myth in the modern world, a belief that renewed receptivity to myth would aid man in his pursuit of truth, and ultimately challenge the hegemony of

scientific materialism with its mechanical reductionist conception of mind and nature. While Lewis appreciated Jung's contribution to the rehabilitation of myth, his evaluation of Jung's interpretation of the nature and function of myth is a measured one. In "On Science Fiction" he writes, "I am not sure that anyone has satisfactorily explained the keen, lasting, and solemn pleasure which [myth and scientific romances] can give. Jung, who went furthest, seems to me to produce as his explanation one more myth which affects us in the same way as all the rest".[103]

(Quite unrelated to Lewis's argument but interesting for the Lewis critic is the fact that Lewis's imaginative writings have received a more sympathetic, and in the view of the present author, a more accurate critical analysis at the hands of Jungian literary critics rather than of Freudian critics. David Holbrook's Freudian reading of Lewis's fiction in *The Skeleton in the Wardrobe : C.S. Lewis's Fantasies : A Phenomenological Study* is distorted and inaccurate, as he attempts to portray Lewis as a kind of paranoid - schizophrenic characterized by duplicity, insincerity, misogyny and mascho-sadistic proclivities.[104] Jungian readings by John Hollwitz in *The Mythopoeic Art of C.S. Lewis,* David Leigh in "The Psychology of Conversion in Chesterton and Lewis's Autobiographies", and to a lesser extent Colin Manlove in *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies* and Gareth Knight in *The Magical World of the Inklings* all allow the critic to treat the subject matter of Lewis's imaginative writings seriously as a record of creative and positive experiences which cannot be reduced to hypothetical neurotic or schizophrenic tendencies in the author).[105]

4.10 The Sacredness of Myth : Mircea Eliade

It is with the insights on myths of Mircea Eliade, (with whose writings Barfield states Lewis was familiar), that the clearest analogies can be drawn with those of Lewis in regard to the religious function of myth.[106] In *The Sacred and The Profane : The Nature of Religion*, Eliade articulates his central belief that myths are sacred since they purposefully re-establish primordial events.[107] A myth, in his view represents "the history of what took place *in illo tempore*, the recital of what the gods or the semi-divine beings did at the beginning of time".[108] Lewis would undoubtedly have dismissed Eliade's supposition as pure conjecture, and have agreed with Kirk in *Myth : Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* that in making the purposeful re-establishment of 'first-time' the function of virtually all myths, Eliade had greatly exaggerated its probable scope at the expense of other aspects of myth.[109] Yet like Cassirer, Lewis seems largely to have accepted Eliade's notion of myths as belonging more to sacred than profane reality. Lewis's view would be similar to Cassirer's when he explains in *Language and Myth* that "the simplest mythical form can arise only by virtue of a transformation which removes a certain impression from the realm of the ordinary, the everyday and profane, and lifts it to the level of the "holy", the sphere of mythico-religious significance".[110]

However, Lewis must have appreciated Eliade's recognition that since myths only spoke of divine realities their truths must be absolute.[111] Equally absorbing for Lewis must have been Eliade's supposition, that in the recitation and reactualizing of myths, primitive man clearly revealed a desire to reactualize a primordial event and thus recover the active presence of God, and "live in the world as it came form the Creator's

hands fresh, pure, and strong".[112] In recognizing that in man's repetition of a fertility myth for example, there lay the nostalgic desire "to live in the divine presence and in a perfect world", Eliade parallels Lewis's supposition that myths powerfully evoke *Sehnsucht* or the longing and nostalgic desire for Paradise with God.[113] While Eliade believes what he termed an "ontological obsession" and Lewis termed *Sehnsucht*, to be an essential characteristic of the mind of primitive man, representing man's "thirst for the *sacred* and nostalgia for *being*"; Lewis, believes that the very obsession is innate to all men and is evoked through mythic images sent by God.[114] Lewis's view is articulated in *The Pilgrims Regress* where God, in the guise of a Landlord, sends picture myths to man:

> The Landlord sends pictures of many different kinds. What is universal is not the particular picture, but the arrival of some message, not perfectly intelligible, which wakes this desire and sets men longing for something East or West of the world; something possessed, if at all only in the act of desiring it . . . [something] which is able, if any man faithfully live through the dialectic of its successive births and deaths, to lead him at last where true joys are to be found.[115]

4.11 J.R.R. Tolkien and the Elfish Craft

In tracing the specific insights of three major figures in the fields of myth studies which help to illuminate, clarify and give historical perspective to Lewis's insights on the subject, one figure remains to be investigated. One might justifiably state that in Lewis's formulation of his concept of myth, this particular figure exerted a most powerful and compelling influence. His name was J.R.R. Tolkien, creator of one of the great modern myths, *The Lord of the Rings*, and a man, who, by his own admission, considered Lewis his closest friend from about 1927 to 1940.[116] Knight in *The Magical World of The Inklings* states that while Barfield convinced Lewis that myth had a central place in language and literature, it was Tolkien who convinced him that "not only the higher thoughts of man but also his 'imaginative inventions' might originate in God and so

reflect something of eternal truths".[117] As the previous section of this chapter reveals, it was George MacDonald's work which prepared Lewis on an imaginative level to accept the principle that truth inhered in imaginative inventions.[118] This section will attempt to show that it was chiefly due to Tolkien's influence that Lewis accepted on an intellectual level, that truths were embodied in imaginative inventions.[119]

Lewis's imagination had been abruptly 'baptized' by the accidental reading of MacDonald's *Phantastes.* His intellect was no less abruptly and powerfully baptized by a meeting with Tolkien and his other Inklings friends on the 19 September, 1931, at his rooms in Magdalen College, Oxford.[120] After this meeting Lewis understood, to his own satisfaction, the relation between myth and history, a recognition which Baker in "Near the Beginning", rightly suspects was "the key to Lewis's conversion to Christianity, and in a sense to his whole life".[121] To really understand and appreciate the impact of that September meeting a brief outline of Lewis's intellectual and imaginative interaction with myth is necessary.

Lewis had, from an early age, been convinced of the compelling power of pagan myths. *Surprised by Joy* recounts his adolescent interest in Norse mythology when "Nothernerness" engulfed him and filled him with a vision "of huge clear space hanging above the Atlantic on the endless twilight of Northern summer", and inspired the writing of his Nordic operatic libretto, *Loki Bound.*[122] His great friendship with the Belfast friend of his youth, Arthur Greeves, was prompted by a mutual interest in mythology.[123] Letters to Greeves compiled in *Thy Stand Together : The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves (1914 - 1963),* reveal a precocious interest not only in mythology, but in its relation to religion and literature.[124] As early as 12 October, 1916, Lewis had decided

that all religions, including Christianity, were "merely man's own invention".[125] His encounter with MacDonald's *Phantastes,* while not directly relating to his concept of myth, did confirm that his subjective experience of myth carried deeper implications than he had hitherto realized.[126]

Under the influence of Barfield in the later nineteen twenties, he came to recognize myth as a potent relic of the primal unity of vision innate to primitive man.[127] His *Summa* written around the same period, clearly illustrates the extent of his preoccupation with the products of the creative imagination, and reveals a budding scholarly interest in myth and symbol.[128] Although it was eight years before he distinguished between myth, symbol and allegory in *The Allegory of Love,* Lewis, in the *Summa,* intuits the deep hidden meanings implicit in myth and symbol.[129] He declares that "in both cases an experience of one kind is being expressed and enriched by the supposal or suggestion (not the actualization) of an experience of another kind".[130] His intuitions concerning the impenetrability of mythic statements to conceptual analysis is made more explicit when he states that "In myth and symbol then we enjoy imaginative experience together with the ignorance of what [prompted the initial experience]".[131] Lewis also anticipates his later view of the inherent spirituality of certain myths by stating that "It will be seen that myth and symbol involve a spirituality at least equal to that of ordinary imagination, if not greater".[132] He also anticipates Barfield's argument and later his own, that myths and any image or model presented by the imagination should be accepted merely as a reflection of something greater than itself.[133] He writes that "the soul that is transported with myths is very apt to mistake the content of the myth for fact and to attribute to that fact absolute value. But the nature of the objects presented

in myths is such that if they existed they would have empirical value. The danger of idolatry is therefore very great".[134] Lewis also reveals an awareness of then-current theories on myth formation when he states that myths are stories unconsciously made by the populace.[135] In *Metaphor And Myth* Moris observes that in making this supposition Lewis was subscribing to the now discredited theory of the spontaneous communal creation of folk art popular in scholarly circles in the nineteen thirties.[136]

It is not surprising that by 5 September, 1931, Lewis was admitting to the compelling effect of myth on his enjoyment of literature, writing to Greeves that "I must confess that more and more the value of plays and novels becomes for me dependent on the moments when by whatever artifice, they succeed in expressing the great myths".[137] Yet Lewis was still unable to recognize the true purport of myths. However, he admits to Greeves that he was prepared to feel a pagan myth "as profound and suggestive of meanings beyond my grasp even though I could not say in cold prose what it meant".[138] The 'cold prose' seems to have been supplied principally by Tolkien and Hugo Dyson on the night of 19 September, 1931. Both Tolkien and Lewis have left records of what occurred at that meeting, Lewis in the form of a letter to Greeves, Tolkien in the form of a poem entitled "Mythopoeia" and reproduced with comments by Tolkien in "On Fairy-Stories".[139] "Mythopoeia" articulates Tolkien's theory of sub-creation. This theory is best examined prior to explicating the arguments and counter arguments which occurred between the two men at that meeting.

Tolkien considers sub-creation to be an aspect of mythology too little considered by the critics.[140] In "On Fairy-Stories", he declares that in the creation by the artist of a secondary fantastic world, man becomes a sub-creator.[141] As R.J. Reilly observes in

"Tolkien and The Fairy Story", in *Tolkien and the Critics : Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings,* there lies behind Tolkien's description of the inventive mind, the romantic doctrine of the creative imagination.[142] Tolkien subscribes to Coleridge's definition of the secondary imagination and its relation to the Primary Imagination which creates and perceives the world of reality.[143] Reilly notes that Tolkien slightly modifies Coleridge's definition by refusing to differentiate between Fancy as the image-making faculty which is "a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space", and imagination as having "the power of giving to ideal creations the inner consistency of reality".[144] Tolkien combines the two distinct categories, stating that the difference is only one of degree and not of kind.[145] He creates the new term of sub-creative art to describe that creative exercise whereby an artist creates a world that has the inner consistency of reality.[146] When he combines the sub-creative art with "a quality of strangeness and wonder in the Expression derived from the Image", he used the word Fantasy.[147]

Being a Christian and also a Catholic, Tolkien accepts that man, though fallen, remains in the image and likeness of his maker, redeemed by the Incarnation.[148] He suggests that in his creation of a secondary world the artist working in a "derivative mode" emulates his Maker.[149] In the act of sub-creation, the artist, in Tolkien's view, is actually assisting "in the effoliation and multiple enrichment of creation".[150] The function of sub-creation is clearly explained by Tolkien in a letter to Peter Hastings : "I should have said that liberation from the channels the creator is known to have used already is the fundamental function of 'sub-creation', a tribute to the infinity of His potential variety, one of the ways in which indeed it is exhibited".[151] In "On Fairy-

Stories" he considers it "a rare achievement of art" to sub-create a secondary world which has "the inner consistency of reality," and which allows the receiver, not to suspend disbelief, but rather to effect Secondary Belief.[152] If the artist, in Tolkien's view, has something of "the elfish art", he can create a secondary world which the mind can enter unconditionally.[153] Secondary belief is effected since the secondary world is "true" in that everything inside it accords with the laws of that world.[154] "The moment disbelief arises", he continues, "the spell is broken, or rather art, has failed".[155]

For Tolkien then, a secondary world must be a self-enclosed reality. The creation of a secondary world is for him a more difficult world to sub-create than a realistic copy of the primary world, and he therefore considers sub-creation to be a higher form of art than Realism.[156] He states in "On Fairy-Stories, that a secondary world "is more difficult to produce, the more unlike are the images and the rearrangement of primary material to the actual arrangements of the Primary World".[157] More importantly, he believes the sub-creative art of Fantasy superior to Realism because it offers experiences of Recovery, Escape, and Consolation.[158] It offers recovery of perspective and a "regaining of a clear view" by allowing readers to see things as they were meant to be seen.[159] It offers escape, not in the debased sense of indulgent, wish-fulfilling escapism, but in the positive sense, of touching upon ancient desires innate to all men.[160] These desires include the desire to escape from the ugliness of the world; to escape from 'place' by surveying the depths of time and space; to escape to a state where one can commune with other living things; and finally "the oldest and deepest desire, the Great Escape : The Escape from Death".[161]

This last escape is effected through consolation. The consolation of the happy ending is related, in Tolkien's view, not to the reality of the world, but to absolute reality.[162] Consolation or eucastrophe, "denies universal defeat and in so far is evangelium, giving a glimpse of Joy", and providing "a sudden glimpse of the underlying reality or truth".[163] It is in stating that eucastrophe may be "a far-off gleam of echo of evangelium in the real world" that Tolkien clearly assigns a religious function to fantasy and sees it as a vehicle for revealing religious truth.[164] The eucastrophic story or myth, echoes the Gospels, which are in his view, "a story of a larger kind which embraces all the essence of fairy-story.[165] The Gospels contain the birth of Christ, "the eucastrophe of Man's history, and the resurrection, the eucastrophe of the Incarnation".[166] Emulating the eucastrophe of the Gospels, man as sub-creator in his sub-creation of a secondary world presents the reader, Tolkien concludes, with a truth which has "the very taste of primary truth".[167] Reilly declares in "Tolkien and The Fairy Story", that in Tolkien's defence of the sub-creative art of fantasy one might well have "the last great defence, of the doctrine of the creative imagination, which brings the making of God and the making of Man so close that they nearly touch".[168] It was a defence which penetrated the tough rational arguments of Lewis on 19 September, 1931.

The focus of the meeting seemed to have been a debate on the relation of myth to truth, and specifically Christian truth. A theist, but not yet a Christian, Lewis refused to accept Tolkien's view on the Christian implications of myth. Tolkien himself held the view that, "the life of Christ was simply a true myth working on us in the same way as the others but with this tremendous difference that it really happened".[169] Tolkien argued that Christian doctrines were simply extracted from the Christian myth, and were

therefore less true than the myth itself.[170] Lewis's rejoinder stated that, following Tolkien's logic, all Christian doctrine and all myths were similar to "breathing a lie through silver".[171] Countering Lewis's argument, Tolkien declared that man as myth-maker, was not a liar but rather a creator, albeit a sub-creator, of a secondary world.[172] In relating a myth, the myth-maker communicated an aspect of divine truth.[173] Lewis remained unconvinced by Tolkien's argument for the potential of myths to reveal universal truths.[174] His apparent disbelief was corrected some twelve days later when he converted to Christianity.[175] He stated in a letter to Greeves that this conversation with Tolkien and Dyson "had a good deal to do it".[176] Tolkien commemorated the entire episode in "Mythopoeia," a poem addressed to Lewis:

> Dear Sir", I said - "Although now long estranged,
> Man is not wholly lost nor wholly changed.
> Dis-graced he may be, yet is not de-throned,
> and keeps the rags of lordship once he owned:
> Man, Sub-creator, the refracted Light
> through whom is splintered from a single White
> to many hues, and endlessly combined
> in living shapes that move from mind to mind.
> Through all the crannies of the world we filled
> with Elves and Goblins, though we dared to build
> Gods and their houses out of dark and light,
> and sowed the seed of dragons - 'twas our right
> (used or misused). That right has not decayed:
> we make still by the law in which we're made.[177]

Baker explains in "Near the Beginning" that Tolkien had assisted Lewis to reconcile his powerful imagination and his equally powerful reason in the Christian faith.[178] Tolkien had undoubtedly validated for Lewis the legitimacy and vital importance of imagination and its creative products in the religious life of man. He had also clarified for Lewis the relation between myth and history. Barfield had shown him that in the evolution of human consciousness God was progressively extending his

consciousness into man, but that unable to articulate that consciousness in conceptual thought, early man had articulated it as myth.[179] Tolkien had convinced him that many early myths prefigured the great myth which became fact in the Incarnation. Through Tolkien and Barfield, Lewis perceived that the merging of myth and history in the Incarnation was the turning point in man's history and his religion. Baker in "Near the Beginning" makes the astute observation that Lewis at last came to see myth not simply as "an ideal symbolic expression of ultimate reality, but an expression of the ultimate meaning of life in the context of actual history".[180] Lewis most explicitly expressed his new-found convictions on myth in *The Pilgrim's Regress*, "Myth Became Fact" and *Miracles.*

4.12 Towards A Definition of Myth

Barfield observes in "C.S. Lewis and Historicism" that it is in the figure of History in Lewis's allegorical *The Pilgrim's Regress* that one is presented with "something like a theory of the origin of myths both ancient and modern".[181] The presentation is not exclusive to History, however, for Wisdom furnishes the pilgrim John with further insights on myths. History declares that in ancient times the Landlord, (who is synonymous with God), sent messages in the form of pictures \ myths to the pagans who, rather than recognising them as images, idolized them and made stories or myths of their own which they claimed were true.[182] However, History continued, the Landlord soon corrected their error "just when their own story seemed to have completely outgrown the original message and hidden them beyond recovery", by sending them new messages which awoke the old desire, the real desire, and thus the cycle continued.[183] Implicit in History's explanation is Lewis's belief in the danger of accepting images as

real, and his belief that myths evoke *Sehnsucht* or desire for God. History continues that while God sent messages to the pagans, he also sent rules to the shepherds (the Jews) who were literate.[184] However, History suspects that the Shepherd's moral laws formulated through rational thought, if followed exclusively, offered only a narrow perspective of the route to God.[185] He declared that the Shepherds in their exclusive attendance to laws, and pagans in their exclusive attendance to myths, were each only half-men.[186] They represented, in History's view, a rift in man's nature that was only healed with the Incarnation.[187] The obvious implication of History's supposition is that man cannot find God until he gives due accord and attempts to balance both the rational and imaginative sides of his nature.

Barfield in "C.S. Lewis and Historicism" interprets History's account of myth "as intending repeated aberrations repeatedly corrected, rather than any progressive aberration and redemption altering the possible relation of aberrant man to God".[188] Barfield observation is surely correct. However, Lewis does at least admit to Barfield's supposition that man is still in the process of coming to full consciousness in God. Wisdom states that "The stories of the Landlord in our own time are but a picture-writing which shows to the people as much of the truth as they can understand".[189] Lewis also subscribes to Tolkien's supposition of myths being an echo of evangelium in the real world when Wisdom states, "What I tell you is the evangelium eternum. This has been known always : ancient and modern bear witness to it".[190]

Lewis also betrays his Platonist roots by having Wisdom state to John that all man's experiences were figurative and mythological, to which a voice, presumably God, offers the qualification that "Child, if you will, it is mythology. It is but truth, not fact:

an image, not the very real. But then it is my mythology. The words of Wisdom are also myth and metaphor".[191] The voice further reveals the divine design inherent in myths by stating that "This is my inventing, this is the veil under which I have chosen to appear even from the first until now".[192] This statement not only embodies Cassirer's notion of man living in a universe veiled in symbols, but also Barfield's notion of myth's place in the evolution of human consciousness, and Tolkien's notion of myth as a preparatio evangelica.[193]

Lewis's essay "Myth Became Fact" leaves one in no doubt as to his convictions concerning the nature and function of myth.[194] Maintaining his belief first articulated in "Bluespels and Flalanspheres : A Semantic Nightmare" that truth is a product of the rational faculty in man, he reiterates his belief that rational truth is begotten on the activities of the imaginative faculty, declaring that "every myth becomes the father of innumerable truths on an abstract level".[195] He claims that myth is "the mountain whence all the different streams arise which become truths down here in the valley; *in hac valle abstractionis*".[196] Myth has become for Lewis the isthmus which connects the peninsular world of abstract thought with the particular world of direct experience.[197] Most importantly for Lewis's Christian belief, he recognizes that "as myth transcends thought, Incarnation transcends myth".[198] In his view "the heart of Christianity is now a myth which is also a fact".[199] The Christian, he believes, must assent to the historical fact of the Incarnation and Resurrection, but also "receive the myth (fact though it has become) with the same imaginative embrace which we accord to all myths".[200] He concludes that Christians should not be ashamed of "the mythical radiance" which rests

upon Christian theology, for if God chooses to be mythopoeic . . . shall we refuse to be *mythopathic*?"[201]

In *Miracles* he restates his case for myth qualifying his views on this occasion with the statements that they are "tentative and liable to any amount of correction".[202] Nevertheless, he seems nothing but sure when he writes that "the truth first appears in mythical form and then by a long process of condensing or focusing finally becomes incarnate in History".[203] He states that at its best, myth "is a real though unfocused gleam of divine truth falling on human imagination".[204] He continues that in the mythologies of the Old Testament can be found "the earliest sacred truths".[205] One wonders how tentative Lewis really considered these views to be, for they are explicitly repeated in "Is Theology Poetry?", *Mere Christianity,* "The Weight of Glory", "Religion Without Dogma", *Surprised by Joy*, *Reflections on the Psalms,* and are explored in a more speculative and poetical manner, in the Cosmic Trilogy and the Narnian Chronicles.[206]

Lewis was never tentative in presenting his views on the effects of myths. In *Metaphor and Myth* Moris observes that Lewis's concept of myth is, in the philosophical sense, a subjective one, since "his assertions on myth touch not on myth itself but rather its affects on the mind of the observer who experiences it".[207] Lewis admits as much himself, when he states in *An Experiment In Criticism* that he defines myths by their effects on us and suggests that it would be a fatal defect if his aim were "to provide criteria by which stories could be classified as mythical or non-mythical".[208] That is not to say that he does not attempt to define myths. In *The Allegory of Love* he suggests that allegory is a mode of expression which belongs to the discursive intellect and moves

from the given to the less real (i.e. the abstract). Symbols however, which are the stuff of myths, represent a mode of thought which belong to imagination, and move from the given to the more real.[209] Attributing to allegorical images a limited discursive range of meaning, he attributes to symbolic images what Coleridge described as "a translucence of the Special in the Individual

... Above all by ... the translucence of the Eternal through and in the temporal".[210]

Lewis's view of myth as a form of art much more complex than allegory is also reiterated in *The Allegory of Love.* He writes of a certain passage in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* where "medieval allegory rises to myth, in which the symbols, though fashioned to represent mere single concepts, take on new life and represent rather the principle - not otherwise accessible - which unite whole classes of concepts".[211] The idea of myth as a form which expresses what is otherwise inaccessible and inexpressible is central to Lewis's theory of myth and imagination. His view of myth as something which is extra-literary and does not exist in words at all is peppered throughout his literary writings. It can be found in his Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology* when he states that myth "can co-exist with great inferiority in the art of words"; and suggests that "its connection with words at all turns out to be merely external and in a sense, accidental".[212] It can also be found in "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard" when he states that in Haggard himself "the mythopoeic power seems to have grown less as the literary art improved".[213] And it is also found in *An Experiment In Criticism* when he writes that "there is, then, a particular kind of story which has a value in itself - a value independent of its embodiment in any literary work".[214] "It is true", he adds "that such a story can hardly reach us except in word. But this is logically accidental".[215]

(One of his more celebrated students, W.H. Auden appears to have accepted the validity of his tutor's definition for one finds him writing in "Grimm and Anderson" in *Forewords And Afterwords* that, "Insofar as a myth is valid, the events of the story and its basic images will appeal irrespective of the artistic value of their narration". He echoes Lewis's views by adding that a myth can be recognized by the fact that its appeal cuts across all differences between highbrow and lowbrow tastes", and that no one conscious analysis can exhaust its meaning".[216] In "George MacDonald", in the same work, he describes the gift of mythopoeic imagination as "a gift of verbal expression or the power to structure experience", a gift which he believes, like Lewis, that such authors as George MacDonald and Rider Haggard had in abundance.)[217] No doubt Lewis might have smiled but appreciated Ted Hughes's description of great mythic stories in "Myth and Education" as "irreducible, a lump of the world, like the body of a new-born child".[218] While Lewis did attempt to define myths, his attention however, focused primarily on examining the effects of myth on the modern consciousness.

4.13 Extending Ideology To Artistic Practice

> The Romancer who invents a whole world, is worshipping God more effectively than the realist who analyzes that which lies about him.
>
> Lewis to John Wain.[219]

Considered his greatest novel by Lewis himself and by any critics, *Till We Have Faces : A Myth Retold* is also wisely regarded by Clyde S. Kilby in "Till We Have Faces : An Interpretation", as perhaps Lewis "most difficult book".[220] It is "difficult" because it rises to the status of myth and thus offers as many different interpretations as there are critics. Among the finer interpretations have been those of Glover in *The Art of*

Enchantment and Schakel in *Reason and Imagination in C.S. Lewis.*[221] In his "Introduction" to *Light on C.S. Lewis*, Barfield emphatically declares that the novel "is in my opinion the most muscular and powerful product of Lewis's imagination".[222] He maintains that it is "much more a myth in its own right than it is an allegory".[223] Douglas Gresham reiterated Barfield's view when he stated to the author that although Lewis used myth "very powerfully in the Narnian Chronicles", it is in *Till We Have Faces,* the novel regarded by Lewis as "his best ever fictional work", that myth is used "as an instructive process . . . to understand the realities of truth".[224] He declared that the novel "teaches you a great deal about yourself; about the realities of life and our relationship to God".[225] "It does it", he explained, "by an expounding in a new way of a very old myth from a new viewpoint and in a new manner". "Now that", he exclaimed, "is how I think Jack regarded myth as valuable".[226]

Lewis states in a Note to *Till We Have Faces* that he felt quite free to go behind Apuleius's version of the myth. He considered Apuleius's version a source but not a 'model' for his own reinterpretation of the ancient myth of Cupid and Psyche.[227] Schakel regards Lewis's reinterpretation of the myth as an attempt to correct Apuleius's failure to imbue the myth with the imaginative and numinous qualities essential to all myths.[228] Lewis's reinterpretation may also confirm Joseph Campbell's observation in *The Hero's Journey : Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work* that "The themes of myths will be the same a hundred years from now as they were four thousand years ago, the basic themes. But the evolving situation is *one* community to which the myth is in service".[229] In his evaluation of Malory's, "Morte D'Arthur", Lewis states that the genius of the story proved too strong for Malory.[230] One suspects that Lewis would have offered a similar

evaluation of Apuleius's version of the Psyche story. In his Note, he divulges that he had long been affected by the power of the myth, and that its re-interpretation "has lived in the author's mind, thickening and hardening with the years, ever since he was an undergraduate".[231] In fact, he maintains 'that he could be said to have worked on the myth for most of his life".[232] It is for this reason that critics such as Gunnar Urang in *Shadows of Heaven : Religion and Fantasy in the Writing of C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and J.R.R. Tolkien,* and Carpenter in *The Inklings* can state, not without a degree of confidence, that the character of Orual, the protagonist in the novel, is very close to being a self-portrait of Lewis himself.[233]

The novel traces Orual's search for meaning and relevance. Presented at the beginning of the novel as a pagan influenced by the rationalism of her Greek teacher, the Fox, she moves in a world, which though pagan in its practices, is about to come to a consciousness of Christ, and heal the division between the rational, imaginative and spiritual aspects of man. She is a character tittering on the brink of a new stage in the evolution of human consciousness, dramatizing in a very poignant and personal way the tensions within self which are an intrinsic part of such a radical and profound change. While her sister Psyche has submitted to her imaginative and therefore spiritual apprehensions of the numinous, and given herself to the love of Cupid, Orual on the other hand, her vision ironically narrowed by the Greek rationalism of the Fox, cannot surrender to such experiences. When she goes to visit Psyche in her Palace in a valley she is frightened by the fact that the valley "was indeed a dreadful place; full of the divine, sacred, no place for mortals. There might be a hundred things in it that I could not see".[234] Horrified by the fact that her senses might not comply with her rational

observations she feels "a sickening discord, a rasping together of two worlds, like the two bits of a broken bone".[235]

In her search for meaning and wholeness, Glover observes in *The Art of Enchantment* that Orual moves from maternal affection in her early love for Psyche, to friendship in her admiration for the rationalism of the Fox and the courage of the soldier Bardia, to erotic love in her possessive lust for Psyche, and finally through charity to coinherence with Psyche and preparedness for union with Him who was coming.[236] Schakel, stressing the Christian elements, declares that the novel revolves around the universal situation, which is also profoundly Christian in which an individual's sense of fragmentation and the search for wholeness is finally achieved and realized in and through God.[237] Lewis conveniently supplies the reader with the themes of *Till We Have Faces* in his Note to the same novel. He states that they included "the straight tale of barbarism, the mind of an ugly woman, dark idolatry and pale enlightenment at war with each other and with vision, and the havoc which a vocation, or even a faith, works on human life".[238]

All these themes are embodied in a myth of exceptional power and truth. It is a myth which satisfies all of Lewis's requirements for a true myth as articulated throughout his writings. Above all, it fulfils a requirement which Zogby in "Triadic Patterns in Lewis's Life and Thought" recognizes as Lewis's ultimate test of a myth's verisimilitude: "But, for Lewis, Christ is the reality which all myths are suggesting, provided they are sincere in following the dialectic of desire through suffering, grief and the problem of death".[239] In "Shelley, Dryden and Mr. Eliot", Lewis states that myths appeal to the will and understanding rather than to the intellect.[240] Rather than belittling

such an appeal he, like many modern educators after him, extols its virtues. In the same essay, he recognizes myth's universal appeal to all men, declaring that it "does not grow old nor stick at frontiers racial, sexual, or philosophic; and even from the same man at the same moment it can elicit different responses at different levels".[241]

He claims even more powerful virtues and effects for myth in his Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology* when he declares it to be an art form more akin to music than to poetry, for like music, it has something that "goes beyond the expression of things we have already felt".[242] In the Preface however, he goes beyond the affirmations in his other works of myth's unique ability to penetrate what is otherwise impenetrable to the discursive intellect by claiming that myth can perform a task usually assigned to the intellect, that of troubling man's "oldest certainties till all questions are reopened".[243] The result of this action is that myth "in general shocks us more fully awake than we are for most of our lives".[244] Moreover, he implies in "Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to be Said" that the mythical mode, can in one way at least, outdo the intellectual mode, in that it can "generalize while remaining concrete", and can "present in palpable form not concepts or even experiences but whole classes of experience".[245] Myths, in his view, not only comment on life, but also add to life. He notes in "On Science Fiction" "than myths can enlarge our conception of the range of possible experience".[246]

When in *An Experiment In Criticism* he attempts to examine myth from the literary perspective he again resorts to defining it by its effects.[247] He assigns six characteristics to a myth, namely that it is extra-literary (in the sense that appreciation of myth is in his view, not a specifically literary experience); that the pleasure of myth

hardly ever depend on the usual narrative devices such as suspense or surprise; that human sympathy is at a minimum since we do not project ourselves into the characters; (Bruno Bettelheim in *The Uses of Enchantment : The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* makes a similar observation when he states that mythical heroes are superhuman figures who offer excellent images for the development of the superego, but are not figures with whom children identify in a simple homely way.) that it is always fantastic and deals with "impossible and preternatural"; that it offers an experience which is always grave; and finally that it offers an experience which is numinous since one feels that "something of great moment has been communicated to us".[248] He suspects that one will never appreciate the extent of the influence of myth, for images, in his view, strike roots far below the surface of the mind.[249] In "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard" he claims that the effects of myth are permanent and inevitable.[250]

It is for this very reason that he, like Tolkien, accords myth a higher prestige than realism as a form of art. He declares in *The Allegory of Love* that "myth is a stronger thing than formal literature".[251] He is much more explicit in its praise in "Hedonics" where he defends mythopoeia against the charges of "sham" realists.[252] He maintains that in the experience of myth the reader can lay his ear "closer to the murmur of life as it actually flows through us at every moment and . . discover there all that quivering and wonder and (in a sense) infinity which the literature that he calls realistic omits".[253]

In *A Preface to Paradise Lost,* Lewis recognizes myth's pedagogic function to instil in the next generation stock responses such as the responses that "love is sweet, death bitter, virtue lovely".[254] He believes that in the modern mind confusion abounds, where men no longer have "organizing chosen attitudes" with which to maintain

themselves against "the eternal flux (or 'direct free play') of mere experience".[255] He maintains that the inculcation of stock response through myth and great poetry can perform a service "not only of moral and civil, but even of biological importance".[256] In short he is convinced that the survival and development of humanity is, in modern times, being jeopardised by a failure to transmit stock responses to the next generation, for he concurs with Aristotle that "we learn how to do things by doing the things we are learning how to do".[257]

Lewis is well aware that many modern men are no longer capable without the help of anthropological or psycho-analytic studies for example, to feel the powerful and numinous effects of myths, which he admits in "On Junvenile Tastes", were once the delight of everyone.[258] He regrets the loss to modern man of so great an art form which he states in *Miracles* is capable of breaking down the dividing walls in man's nature between the rational, moral, and imaginative; an art form which is "directed to the child, the poet, and the savage in us as well as to the conscience and to the intellect".[259]

Reviewing the state of the world with its idolizing of science and its denial of any epistemological, spiritual or aesthetic value to myth, and indeed to any other products of the creative imagination, Lewis, Tolkien and his Inklings friends determined, however consciously or unconsciously, to emulate their Romantic predecessors, and attempt to rehabilitate imagination for the modern world. A letter from Lewis to Tolkien cited many years after its receipt, confirms Knight's statement in *The Magical World of the Inklings* that there was a deliberate choice on the part of the Inklings to cultivate the mythopoeic in their writings. Lewis had written: "Tollers, there is too little of what we really like in stories. I am afraid we shall have to try and write some ourselves".[260] Of

the conscious cultivation of mythopoeic by the Inklings, Douglas Gresham commented during his interview "I think J.R.R. Tolkien and Jack sat down to create myth in the modern time. . . [One can deduce from it] an artistic commitment to imagination, a belief in the need to expose children to myth".[261]

Since this is not a literary study, but rather an enquiry into Lewis's concept of myth and its implications for education, little attention will be paid here to what appears to be a sustained debate on the allegorical and \ or mythopoeic nature of Lewis's imaginative writings since their first publication.[262] Rather the enquiry will attempt to establish the manner in which Lewis's views on myths were developed throughout the Cosmic Trilogy and the Narnian Chronicles. It will offer a somewhat different interpretation of the much abused statement by Lewis in "Sometimes Fairy-Stories May Say Best What's to be Said" that in his Narnian Chronicles in particular he attempted to "steal past the watchful dragons" of Sunday school Christian doctrine.[263] Lewis's Cosmic Trilogy consists of *Out of the Silent Planet, Perelanda* and *That Hideous Strength.* Lewis considered his trilogy a Romance in the tradition of Rabelais, "but diverted from a comic to . . . a serious purpose".[264] In a conversation reproduced in *Of This and Other Worlds* as "Unreal Estates", Lewis discussed with Kingsley Amis and Brian Aldiss the nature of science fiction in general, and his own cosmic trilogy in particular.[265] Of science fiction, Lewis commented that "some science fiction really does deal with issues far more serious than those realistic fiction deals with, real problems about human destiny and so on".[266] For Lewis, the genre of science fiction held the possibility of relating myth.

In what is perhaps the finest study of scientific romance (a sub-genre of science fiction and one to which Lewis's trilogy belongs), Brian Stableford in *Scientific Romance in Britain 1890 - 1950* recognized Lewis's attempt to subvert the mythology of scientific romance to Christian ends.[267] He finds in the trilogy a calculated attempt to 'correct' the mythology of scientific romance by Lewis's rendering to his created world of Malacandra (Mars) and Perelandra (Venus), "the same kind of fundamental reality that is implied by the 'true' mythology of Christianity".[268] Stableford applauds Lewis's acknowledgement that speculative fiction can carry distinct metaphysical commitments, and declares that Lewis deserves equal credit with Olaf Stapleton "for calling attention to the "mythopoeic" dimension of speculative fiction in general, and scientific romance in particular".[269]

In the trilogy the protagonist Elwin Ransom is abducted to Malacandra (Mars) where after much travails he meets the ruling spirit (Oyarsa) of the planet. His return to earth is short-lived and he is spirited to Perelandra (Venus), where he averts a second Fall of man by defeating the Un-Man (Satan) and rescuing Eve (the green lady). Upon his return to earth in *That Hideous Strength* he assumes the role of a Pendragon, and saves Britain and the world from the hegemony of scientific reductionism promoted by a company called N.I.C.E. Critics such as Houston Smith in *Patches of Godlight,* Moorman in *Arthurian Triptych : Mythic Materials in Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and T.S. Eliot;* Reilly in *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien;* Walsh in *The Literary Legacy of C.S. Lewis,* and Sammons in "*A Better Country" The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction,* all recognize the mythic elements in the trilogy.[270] They view Ransom's progress as largely one of the re-

education of a sceptical rationalist to a man whose imagination is finely tuned to the spiritual potential of the universe.[271] Sammons, Moorman and Reilly in particular, recognize the manner in which Ransom perception of myth develops throughout the trilogy.[272]

Sammons states that throughout Lewis's writings "myth is always shown to point to what is objectively real, things more solid".[273] She observes how on Malacandra, Ransom discovers that what had been mythology on earth is real and living in another world.[274] Ransom in fact, extends Tolkien's supposition on the relation of myth to historical fact by observing in *Out of the Silent Planet* that "the distinction between history and mythology might be itself meaningless outside the Earth".[275] Moreover, as Reilly rightly observes in *Romantic Religion* the notion that myth may be fact is "merely toyed with" in the first novel.[276] He adds however that in *Perelandra* the notion is "advanced seriously", while in *That Hideous Strength* "it becomes the basis of the whole work".[277]

In *Perelandra* not only does Ransom restate the question of the relation between myth and fact, but he himself experiences the sensation "not of following an adventure but of enacting a myth".[278] On Malacandra he had first sensed that something long-sleeping in his blood had awoken.[279] The sensation is fully realized on Perelandra where he at last, in a state of almost primitive mythical consciousness effected through the rehabilitation of his imaginative faculty, apprehends his place in the universe:

> It was strange to be filled with homesickness for places where he sojourn had been so brief and which were, by any objective standard, so alien to all our race. Or were they? The cord of longing which drew him to the invisible isle seemed to him at that moment to have been fostered long, long before his coming to Perelandra, long before the earliest times that memory could

recover in his childhood, before his birth, before the birth of man himself, before the origins of time.[280]

Lewis considered the last novel of the trilogy, *That Hideous Strength* to be about "a triple conflict", "Grace against Nature and Nature against Anti-Nature (modern industrialism, scientism and totalitarian politics").[281] Ransom, now viewed as a fisher king or Pendragon, becomes the focus of the novel as he prepares to do battle with the company N.I.C.E. who are attempting to promote the great evolutionary myth that man in asserting his divine rights to create his own destiny, can control the universe. The underlying belief of the scientists at N.I.C.E. is that "it is a man or a being made by man - who will finally ascend to the throne of the universe".[282] The novel reflects the views of Lewis, Tolkien, Barfield and Jung of the dangers inherent in the unquestioned ascent of scientific rationalism in the life of man.[283] It demonstrates in an emphatic way the inevitable result of such an ascent. No doubt the reader is encouraged to appreciate the ironic implications of the eventual overthrow of N.I.C.E. when it is reduced to a tower of Babel with confusion and incommunicability marking its decease.[284]

The novel also marks Lewis's assent to the power of myth (both good and evil) in the life of man. As Jung in *Aion, Civilization in Transition,* and *Man and His Symbols,* recognized the destructive power of myth to possess whole nations of people (as the Germans were possessed of the myth of Wotan before and during World War Two), so Lewis recognized in *That Hideous Strength,* the power of myth to possess and corrupt man's mind.[285] His views are presented less dramatically but no less explicitly in "Is Theology Poetry?" and "The Funeral of a Great Myth".[286] In "Is Theology Poetry?" he declares that universal evolutionism or the belief "that the every formula of universal process is from imperfect to perfect, from small beginnings to great endings" is perhaps,

"the deepest habit of mind in the contemporary world".[282] In his view, such a vision of the world and man's false sense of rising superiority within that world, is not only "immensely unplausible", but also dangerous.[288] However, in "The Funeral of a Great Myth", he acknowledges that such a myth of universal evolutionism must be treated with respect since "it appeals to the same innocent and permanent needs is us which welcome Jack the Giant - Killer. It gives us almost everything the imagination craves - irony, heroism, vastness, unity in multiplicity, and a tragic close".[289]

On Perelandra, Ransom dramatically presents Lewis's view that man's interpretation of myth as illusion or fantasy is a false one, since certain great myths, however distorted the interpretation man offers of them, are "based on a solider reality than we dream : but it is also at an almost infinite distance from that base".[290] For Ransom, as indeed for Lewis, man has yet to develop the spiritual and imaginative capability to come anywhere close to a true interpretation of God's evangelical messages. Ransom through his educated openness to the reality of myth understands, by the end of the novel, that myths are "gleams of celestial strength and beauty falling on a jungle of filth and imbecility".[291]

In an illuminating essay, "The Joy of the Absolute : A Comparative Study of the Romantic Visions of William Wordsworth and C.S. Lewis", David K. Kuhn perceives that for Ransom myths have the potential to "become the hieroglyphics of revelation leading us to an epiphanic grasp of the divine being".[292] Ransom's realization that "the triple distinction of truth from myth and of both from fact was purely terrestrial - was part and parcel of that unhappy division between soul and body which resulted from the Fall" contains, in Kuhn's view, the visionary revelation of the nature of man's being

before sin alienated him from the universe.[293] It also contains the realization however, that in the Incarnation, that division which was "neither wholesome nor final", had begun to disappear.[294] In a positive and dramatic way Lewis allows Ransom, through the revitalization of his receptivity to the apprehensions of his own imagination, to continue the healing process initiated by Christ in the Incarnation.[295] As Marjorie Evelyn Wright observes in her doctoral thesis, *The Cosmic Kingdom of Myth : A Study in the Myth-Philosophy of Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien,* Ransom's or any man's distortion of the truth, results, in Lewis's view, from his failure to recover that mythic vision which had been lost since the Fall, namely, the vision which "catches perfectly the outline of reality beyond history".[296]

It is in the Narnian Chronicles however, that Lewis most explicitly evokes the positive power of myth to mediate the great Christian truths, not through didactic and sterile apologetics, but through and in a sub-created mythical world which is saturated with the holy light of Joy. Douglas Gresham has said of the Chronicles that they "are chiefly a delight in the myths of man . . . a celebration of the myths of man, and the truth of Christianity happens to be there because it is the true myth".[297] Greshsam concedes that Lewis undoubtedly attempted to "make more evident the truths of Christianity in everything he did", but states that Lewis never considered the Chronicles allegorical, adding that, "I don't think he liked the term anyway".[298] (Gresham is referring here, not to Lewis's view of allegory as a literary form, but rather to the pernicious tendency in literary critics to allegorize mythical works. A comment by Lewis in "On Criticism" summarizes his position when he states that, "the mere fact that you *can* allegorize the

work before you of itself no proof that it is an allegory. Of course you can allegorize it. You can allegorize anything, whether in art or real life".[299]

The mythic world of the seven children's novels which make the Narnian Chronicles has been variously described as, "a secondary world of medieval culture which reflects the elements of Christian theology and ethics"; a world where its ebullient author "expresses real joy in the presence of his Narnian Characters"; a world where "the moral landscape darkens from one book to another"; a world composed hastily by its author and "full of inconsistencies"; a world which focuses "relentlessly upon the notion of evil arising from enslavement", a world dominated by the myth of our earthly home as a shadowland, a world governed by the principle of hierarchical order; a world which enacts a private and subversive mythology of the author himself; and finally as a world where the author succeeds in embodying a profound message in deep resonating images structured in the stories.[300] The mythical and archetypal elements in the Chronicles have received due attention in such studies as Peter Schakel's *Reading with the Heart : The Way Into Narnia* and the much earlier Kathryn Lindskoog's *The Lion of Judah in Never Never Land.*[301] Lindskoog's study is valuable for its illumination of the various archetypal and symbolical aspects of the central character in the Chronicles, Aslan, (alias Christ, or more correctly, a symbolical representation of the way one might expect a Christ to behave in another world).[302] Schakel's more sophisticated study examines the manner in which Lewis used myth in the Chronicles to give the stories "multiple levels of meaning, aimed particularly at the imagination and the emotion".[303] He examines Lewis's attempts in his use of archetypal plot motifs, character types and symbols to add

"depth and universality by relating them to the rest of literature and involving them in matters of ultimate concern to all people".[304]

Considering Lewis's committed attitude to myth as a preparatio evangelica it is fair to read the Chronicles as an attempt by Lewis to present the reader with images and sensations which he hopes will allow the reader an experience of the numinous such as he himself experienced in his youthful readings of Norse Sagas and later MacDonald's *Phantastes*. In "Sometimes, Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to be Said", he presents the rationale behind the writing of the Chronicles when he writes : "But supposing that by casting all these things [one's feelings about God and Christ] into an imaginary world, stripping them of their stained - glass and Sunday school associations, one could make them for the first time appear in their real potency? Could one not thus steal past those watchful dragons? I thought one could". [305] Lewis is clearly confirming his belief that in a great myth one can experience truth or absolute reality in its "real potency".

Each reader must decide how successful Lewis was in realizing this aim. To some readers the Chronicles will remain as Christian allegories in spite of Lewis's remonstrations. To others, they will exist as vivid visions of the arctic wastes of Narnia in *The Lion, The Witch And The Wardrobe*; the water lilies in *The Voyage Of The Dawn Treader;* the creation hymn of Aslan in *The Magician's Nephew;* the great snow-ball dance of Narnia's mythical creatures in *The Silver Chair*; the expansive and primordial desert in *The Horse And His Boy*; the half-awakening dance of the mighty trees in *Prince Caspian;* and overshadowing all, the princely image of Aslan the lion, marked equally by his immanence and transcendence.[617] The world of Narnia is awash with the joyous life of vitality of myth, with what Lewis describes in *The Lion, The Witch And The Wardrobe*

as "the glossy chestnut sides of centaurs, indigo horns of unicorns, dazzling plumage of birds, reddy-brown of foxes, dogs and satyrs, yellow stockings and crimson hoods of dwarfs; and the birch-girls in silver and the beech-girls in fresh, transparent green".[307]

No doubt Lewis hopes, as Gerard Manley Hopkins hoped in the writing of his poems, that the reader will be stirred to ask the question "What is all this juice and all this joy?" upon experiencing through their respective works that "The world is charged with the grandeur of God. / It will flame out, like shining from shook foil; / it gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil/crushed".[308] And no doubt Lewis would have appreciated Kathleen Raines tribute in "From a Poet" when she writes that the artist in Lewis was "happily fulfilled surely in his children's books", and continues that she had given away many set of the Chronicles to children whom she observes "accept Narnia with a passion that testifies to its truth to some world of imagination we all share".[309]

4.14 The Pedagogic Potential of Myth

Peter Abbs argues in "Myth and Symbol in Education" that myth, seen in its ability to read "what is held within" the individual, is "a massive and virtually, unexplored educative experience".[310] Upon asking Douglas Gresham whether Abbs's argument might be representative of Lewis's own view, he stated, "I think its probably an overstatement in terms of what Jack would say. I think he would agree with it but he would probably say it was rather flowery language".[311] Of Abbs's argument that "mythical images are pedagogic images of the highest order", Gresham responded: "Yes, I think Jack was well aware of that. . . . You can't deny that myth has enormous teaching potential and it is in our schools and in our society being neglected . . . Irrefutable".[312]

Recent defenders of the pedagogic potential of myth, have, for the most part, defended myth as a symbolic form, which, in Abbs's words, "provides a unique metaphoric language for inward being, giving access to depths of mind which might otherwise be entirely inaccessible".[313] They have opted for the psychological and social benefits which myth imparts. Jerome Bruner in "Myth and Identity" in *The Symbolic Order* assigns to myth the function of filtering experience, of representing in "livable form the structure of the complexities through which we must find our way".[314] He views myth as "a ready-made means of externalizing human plight by embodying and presenting them in storied plot and characters".[315] Myth, in his view, acts as a kind of tutor, "a shaper of identities" offering the individual sets of possible identities on which to develop his own personality.[316] Finally, he recognizes its socialization function, stating that myth offers a basis for communion with men, since by the subjectifying of man's worlds through externalization, man is able, in his view, "to share communally in the nature of internal experience".[317] Bruner's insights, though valid, are not unique and largely reiterate the earlier views of Jung. While Lewis would have accepted the validity of the functions which Bruner assigns to myth, he would not have seen them as primary functions, or rather, he would have seen them as functions which were important for the realization of a spiritual function.

Ted Hughes's reading of myth in "Myth and Education" is also marked by its debt to Jung. He maintains that myths "have gathered up huge charges of reality, illuminated us with them, and given us their energy".[318] He recognizes, as Jung and Lewis had done before him, that myths were originally "the genuine projections of genuine understanding" treasured because of their verity, and valued because they

"consolidated the inner world, gave human form to its experience and connected man to daily life".[319] Hughes could almost have been summarizing the life of the archetypal Orual in Lewis's *Till We Have Faces* when he writes that man is simply the locus of a collision between the outer world and inner world, "two worlds, with mutually contradictory laws or laws that seem to us to be so, colliding afresh every second, struggling for peaceful coexistence".[320]

Like Lewis, he declares that it is through the imagination and its products that the full presence of the inner world combines with, and is reconciled to, the full presence of the outer world.[321] As with Lewis, he recognizes that it is in the great imaginative products of true artists that the receiver recognized that the laws of these two worlds are not contradictory at all but they are "one all-inclusive system".[322] In Hughes's view, it must be of primary concern to education, to provide situations where children can refine and develop their "most valuable piece of practical equipment" - the imagination.[323] It is in the child's interaction with great stories and myths that the simple natural activity of the imagination "as a rich perception of values and feelings, emotion and spirit that would otherwise have remained unconscious and languageless" can perform its finest pedagogic function.[334] Just as Jung and Lewis recognized the urgent need to address the modern problem of a rising prestige in scientific objectivity and a lowering prestige in religious awareness and imaginative perception, Hughes also recognizes the dehumanization of man, stating that man has become a "waif" and "an outcast", defrocked of his inner life.[325]

Hughes extends both Jung and Lewis's argument by stating that "each new child is nature's chance to correct culture's error".[326] He suggests that "since children are most

sensitive to the inner world, because they are the least conditioned by scientific objectivity to life in the camera lens", they want to "escape the ugliness of the despiritualized world in which they see their parents imprisoned".[327] He concludes that modern education must nurture that innate sensitivity in the child. Lewis recognized this also: his writings implicitly proclaim it and his friends confirm it. In a letter to the author, George Sayer observed, "Lewis undoubtedly thought it very important that children should read, or have read to them, fairy and other imaginative stories. He had no use for TV at all and thought it bad for almost everyone, especially children".[328] Douglas Gresham on different occasions emphasized to the author that Lewis "would want children to read the great literature of the world . . . to read myths, . . . poetry", and confidently stated that Lewis "did think it important to stimulate a consciousness of myth in children".[329]

One finds in Abbs's arguments for the relevance of myth in education in "Education, Symbol and Myth" the unmistakable ideological influence of Cassirer and Jung. Accordingly Abbs's views are strikingly similar to those of Lewis. His article attempts to show "why the relationship between symbolic form and meaning lies at the heart of education properly conceived".[330] He argues for myth's therapeutic qualities on a psychological level, and the possibility of its checking "the growing technicism of the Western European mind".[331] As previous noted earlier in this chapter, Lewis, in Gresham's view, would have agreed with Abbs's supposition that the challenge for teachers is to devise methods in the classroom whereby they can "develop the mind which can think rationally and yet is also responsive to the eloquence of myth".[332] Indeed Gresham was quite emphatic on Lewis's probable agreement, stating that, "I

don't think there was any doubt about that. It's obviously true".[333] Abbs also confirms Lewis's view that children should be allowed to respond to stories and myths without the baggage of external prescribed adult moralizing. He writes that "It is important that children know their fairy tales not at the high plateau of meaning we have been struggling across [i.e. in the article's explication of the pedagogic value of myth] but simply *as stories*".[334] Abbs exactly catches Lewis's views of the child's relation to myth when he writes at the conclusion of his article: "In the classroom we present myths in such a way that they stand a chance of becoming part of the imaginative life of the child; we also give the child permission to become, in his own modest way, and through the media of all the arts, a myth-maker".[335]

There may be a certain degree of irony in the fact that it is in the Freudian reading of myths and fairy tales in Bettleheim's *The Uses of Enchantment,* that the moral function of myths and fairy-tales are recognized.[336] Bettleheim sees stories as offering to the often bewildered child, "a moral education which subtly, and by implication only, conveys to him the advantages of moral behaviour, not through abstract ethical concepts but through that which seems tangibly right and therefore meaningful to him".[337] He maintains that through most of man's history the child's intellectual life, apart from his immediate experience with the family, depended on mythical and religious stories and fairy-tale.[338] As previously noted however, he differentiates between the values of myths and fairy-tales in the life of the child, by claiming that myths appeal only to the superego of the child, while fairy tales appeal to his ego.[339] He maintains that while mythical heroes offer excellent images for the development of the superego, the demands

they embody "are so rigorous as to discourage the child in his fledgling strivings to achieve personality integration".[340]

Lewis does not make such a distinction between mythic and fairy-tale heroes. While he recognized in *An Experiment In Criticism* that mythic heroes do not allow for human projection since they are "like shapes moving in another world", he suggests that the child reacts to their archetypal rather than their individual quality.[341] In "The Dethronement of Power", his essay on Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings,* he states that in such mythical heroes one finds "Man as a whole, Man pitted against the universe", and wonders whether one has seen man at all "till we see that he is like a hero in a fairy-tale?"[342] While Bettleheim claims that only fairy stories can allow the patient or child to find his *own* solution, through contemplating what the story seems to imply about him and his inner conflicts at a particular moment in his life, Lewis claims that it is by dipping into myth the child can see more clearly.[343] The general thrust of Bettleheim's arguments for myth and fairy-tale is nevertheless close to Lewis's. For both a story must, in Bettleheim's words, not only entertain and arouse the child's curiosity but must "enrich his life, it must stimulate his imagination; help him to develop his intellect, and to clarify his emotions; be attuned to his anxieties and aspiration; give full recognition to his difficulties while at the same time suggesting solutions to the problems which perturb him".[344]

Of course in the final analysis, Lewis believes that myths provide the ultimate solution to all man's problems since great myths always point to God. In "The Function of Myth in Children's Literature", Neil Philip suggests that prolonged exposure to mythological material fosters an awareness of spiritual potential within each man.[345] He

maintains that spiritual awareness can "support the inner, subjective world against the concerted attack which is made on it in our society in the name of the intellect, of reason, and of objective truth".[346] Since he suggests like Lewis and many others, that myths must be experienced, taken 'as a whole', accepted, analysed, and not translated into abstract discourses of ethics, philosophy or psychology, he concludes that "it is only in childhood that the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of myth can be learned as a native language, rather than acquired as a second, clumsy tongue".[347]

During his interview, Douglas Gresham insisted that Lewis recognized the ability of myth to foster spiritual awareness in the child.[348] He declared that Lewis felt that "all children should be taught about the nature of myth . . . but as the mythology of men all over the world is repeatedly man's attempt to discover his Creator", he warned that "there are great reasons to study the nature of myth because it leads you inevitably to God".[349] He reiterated Lewis's view that it is only through imaginative understanding that man can come to know any truth - hence the need to foster that understanding not only in children but in everyone. He declared that "all of our myths are imaginative attempts to understand the truth, to display the truth, to explore the truth in words. The use of myth in education is essential because there is nothing else . . . To explain truth you must start with an imaginary scenario - Christ used parables . . . *Out of the Silent Planet*, *Perelandra, That Hideous Strength* . . . all used myth to explain truth and display truth".[350]

Lewis could only have been pleased to observe the growing recognition by philosophers, psychologists, educationalists, and literary artists from the mid-twentieth century onwards, that the words of the German poet Schiller carried a truth and a more

profound truth, that had been realized hitherto, that indeed, "Deeper meaning resides in the fairy tales told to me in my childhood than in the truth that is taught by life".[351] Lewis's major contribution in extolling the virtues of the imaginative faculty in man may lie in the spiritual function he assigns to that faculty. In a world frantically searching for truth and meaning, the receiver of a true myth may be prompted by the *Sehnsucht* or longing which Lewis believes all great imaginative literature evokes, to find as Psyche did in *Till We Have Faces* that "The sweetest thing in all my life has been the longing - to reach the Mountain, to find the place where all the beauty came from".[352] Lewis could conceive of no higher function for education than that it stimulate the rational and imaginative faculty in man to find his "God of the Mountain" whom he believed wooed man from a time before his birth to a better country beyond the shadowlands of earth. He fervently believed that modern education was failing in that primary function, and he could not resist having one of his characters state in *The Last Battle,* "It's all in Plato , all in Plato: bless me what *do* they teach them at these schools!".[353]

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES

PART I : Defining Relationships

It is clearly discernible from Lewis's writings that his views on education, his pedagogic practice, his understanding of and approach to the imagination and aspects of aesthetic education were powerfully determined by his religious beliefs. In all these writings Lewis implicitly insisted that the entire education process must ultimately be viewed as a religious process with God as its central focus. It is clear therefore that the full import of his philosophy of education cannot be fully comprehended unless it is firmly placed within the framework of his religious beliefs. In fact it is in examining aspects of his religious beliefs that the ruling principles of his educational philosophy come sharply into focus and are most comprehensively defined.

Moreover, it is in exploring his religious writings from an educational viewpoint that Lewis's role as religious educator emerges, a role in which he attempted to "advance" his readers to a Christian vision of God, foster in them a desire and need for a real relationship with God and their fellow men, and promote those ethical values which were intrinsic to the realization of true personality.[1] When relevant aspects of his religious writings and his role as religious educator are fully explicated, the truly ethico-religious character of his understanding of the nature of education will emerge.

In attempting to explicate Lewis's religious vision of God and man, however, one important caveat must be established. In his essay, "Christian Apologetics", Lewis stated that a clear distinction existed and must be scrupulously maintained between apologetics and what he termed personal ideas and opinions on Christianity.[2] Whenever he moved outside strict apologetics (which he did more often than many critics will allow) to discuss certain aspects of Christian doctrine, he invariably prefaced or completed the discussion with the statement that his views were tentative and liable to any amount of correction, or were not strict apologetics at all.[3] The relevance of Lewis's distinction between apologetics and a personal religious view will be fully explored in the next chapter when his role as religious educator is defined.

However, establishing his religious vision requires a close examination not only of his apologetics but also those areas in his writing where apologetics are for the most part subsumed into poetic expressions of his individual experience of Christianity. The blurring of divisions does not demand serious consideration. He himself has stated that "I could not speak for the way God dealt with others. I only knew and was prepared to speak on how he deals with me personally". [4] Lewis believed that in his writings he had always "stuck to traditional dogmatic positions".[5] Indeed his "individual emphasis" on areas of difficult doctrine are staunchly orthodox and in his own words are "untinged by Modernist reservations".[6]

5:1 The Trinitarian Model

The doctrine of the Trinity is central to Lewis's religious vision. It is in terms of this doctrine that he articulates his view of God and man's destiny and develops those principles that govern his approach not only to education but also to literature and literary criticism.[7] In attempting to explain the nature of the Trinity, Lewis suggests that within the three-personed God there exists something analogous to society.[8] This society is composed of three distinct yet unified persons, God, Son and Holy Spirit.[9] In *Mere Christianity* he uses the analogy of a cube containing six squares while still remaining one body to explain this union of three distinct persons.[10]

In "Christianity and Literature" the relationship between these persons is interpreted largely through the metaphors of the fourth gospel.[11] The Trinitarian relationship is, he suggests, a hierarchical one with God as head: head in the sense that the Second Person is the image and glory of the First.[12] He notes the apparent equivalence of the man-God relation with the relation that exists between the Second and First Persons of the Trinity.[13] As Christ reflects the glory of God so must man, in Lewis's view, reflect Christ's glory.

Encouraged he claims by the New Testament picture of the Trinitarian hierarchical order, the Christian should regard the Second Person in relation to God as "a step or stage or degree" but "only from certain points of view and in certain respects."[14] He declares that Christ should not be regarded as a being produced by God or secondary to Him. It is more correct, he claims in *Mere Christianity,* to view Christ while "streaming forth from the Father" as the "self-

expression of the Father", begotten not made, there never being a time when the Father existed without his Son.[15]

Lewis is undoubtedly tentative in attempting to explain the exact nature of the Trinitarian hierarchical order, admitting in "Christianity and Literature" that he has no notion of creating a theological system and stating in *Miracles* that "philosophical definiteness can never be the first necessity".[16] However, he does state that it is totally legitimate and indeed a duty to examine and analyse the Pauline metaphors in a bid to establish a view of that hierarchical order.[17]

He is also careful to maintain that the structure of the Trinity is actually beyond man's comprehension and that he can and should only attempt to explain the Christian's inability to understand it.[18] He claims that since God is beyond personality i.e. more than a person but not an abstract absolute, He will, by His very nature of being outside man's intellectual experience, always remain incomprehensible to him.[19] Any understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity therefore, can only come, he believes, through living the Christian life.[20] (This principle that many Christian doctrines, practices, and as chapter two has shown Christian ethics itself can only be understood by those who live within the Christian tradition is reiterated by Lewis throughout all of his religious writings. The implications of this principle for his role as religious educator and for education in general will be discussed later).

What Lewis focuses most sharply on and what he deems most important for a Christian to understand is that the Trinitarian relation is "a relation of love," determined for the Second and Third Persons by the principle of imitation.[21]

Lewis keenly emphasizes the relational aspect of the Trinity. A loving relationship, he suggests in *Mere Christianity* demands more than one person.[22] He maintains that in stating that God is Love, the Christian is actually admitting that at least two persons must have existed before time in order to beget this loving relationship.[23] Indeed, it is in the actual union of Father and Son in love that another concrete persons is begotten, namely the Holy Spirit.[24] The Holy Spirit is presented by Lewis as a kind of "communal personality" who grew out of the joint life of the Father and Son.[25] He exists in love for all eternity as He moves in love between Father and Son.[26]

What follows from Lewis's emphasis on the relational aspect of the Trinity is a view of the composition and texture of that relationship which he expresses through one of the most potent images in all of his writings. He uses the image of a drama or dance to explain the "dynamic pulsating activity of love" that operates eternally between the Three Persons.[27] In *Perelandra* he emphasizes the eternal aspect of the dance and presents it as absolute reality:

> We speak not of when it [the dance] will begin. It has begun from before always. There is no time when we did not rejoice before this face as now. The dance which we dance is at the centre and for the dance all things were made.[28]

What connects the Three Persons, he suggests in "Christianity and Literature", is "something like imitation, reflection, assimilation".[29] The principle of imitation is a very important one in Lewis's understanding of the nature of the Trinity although he only dwells on it briefly in his works. As support for his belief that Christ imitates the Father he cites a line from the fourth gospel that the Son only

does what he sees the Father doing.[30] He declares that Christ watches the Father's operations and copies them while the Father shows Him all that He does because He loves Him.[31] He explains in *Mere Christianity* that as the Father "delights in His Son" so also does the Son "look up to His Father".[32]

The principle of imitation is, he continues in "Christianity and Literature", a progressive one which can be applied to the relation of man to God.[33] As Christ imitates God, so must man imitate Christ. Finding in the Trinity those "concrete reciprocities of love" under the guiding principle of imitation, it is man's destiny to enter into the great dance of love begotten by God.[34] As previously noted the great dance image is born out of Lewis's understanding of the dynamic love which operates between and in the Trinity.[35] He also employs the image to explain the manner in which man can come to share in divine love and realise his destiny. The image is very effectively used in *Mere Christianity:*

> The whole dance, or drama, or pattern of this three-Personal life is to be played out in each one of us : or (putting it the other way round) each one of us has got to enter that pattern, take his place in that dance. There is no other way to the happiness for which we were made . . . If you want joy, power, peace, eternal life, you must get close to, or even into, the thing that has them . . . Once a man is united to God, how could he not live forever? Once a man is separated from God, what can he do but wither and die?[36]

Thus Lewis forcefully, if briefly, explains the nature of the Trinity in relational and communal terms, and presents it as a model for man to imitate, follow and enter into. His principle of the Trinitarian hierarchical order is not fully explicated but it is one which Lewis firmly believed was legitimate. Indeed the presence of the principle in the fabric of the Trinity may well have justified

Lewis's belief that the hierarchical principle was operative in the universe and should be operative in society. Equally, as the examination of Lewis's writings on equality in an earlier chapter has revealed, it was a principle which Lewis felt should be operative in education.[37]

While many critics have, in a small or large degree, recognised the pivotal role the Trinitarian doctrine has played in articulating Lewis's view of God as Love, it is Gilbert Meilaender in *The Taste For the Other : The Social and Ethical Thought of C.S. Lewis* and Scott R. Burson and Jerry L. Walls in *C.S. Lewis and Francis Schaeffer : Lessons for a New Century from the Most Influential Apologists of Our Time* who recognise and develop the implications of Lewis's emphasis on the relational aspect of the Trinity.[38] Meilaender examines the practical implications of the Trinitarian relation in Lewis's vision of human community.[39] Burson and Walls are more rigorous in their explication of Lewis's view of the Trinity and the implications his view carries for modern apologetics and theology.[40]

What critics have failed to do satisfactorily is to recognise that it is from his Trinitarian model that Lewis develops not only his view of love but also his beliefs about the nature of life and art. In believing that the art of divine life is one of imitation, major implications must, in Lewis's view, be drawn for the artist and educator when it is duly recognised that the art of human life must also be one of imitation with "originality" being the "prerogative of God".[41]

Vital implications must also be drawn for the educator in seeing that the great dance of love which Lewis believes has always existed between The Persons

of the Trinity is one which each individual must be educated towards perceiving and entering into, if he is to realise his truly human destiny.

Lewis errs on the side of brevity in discussing the nature of the Trinity. The reasons for his reticence in explicating what he deemed to be religious mysteries ultimately beyond human comprehension can, as noted earlier, be partly explained in terms of his belief that such mysteries would always transcend discursive thought and partly by the fact that Lewis was by inclination more interested in the practical implications of beliefs rather than in explanatory theories on the beliefs themselves.

5:2 Aspects of God's Nature

The greater part of Lewis's religious writings centre not on his explication of the Christian mysteries but rather on his explication of the relationship which should exist between God and man, a relationship which involves love and should on man's side involve faith and active obedience. It is, however, appropriate to sketch Lewis's view of God's attributes prior to examining the nature of that relationship.

Lewis tends to emphasize the relational, ethical and magical qualities of God. The study of his notion of the Trinity has established Lewis's first principle that God is Love. The study of *Abolition* has shown that in his deep commitment to objectivism Lewis sees God as the great objective Fact or Truth from which all other facts and truths emerge.[42] As he writes in *Miracles,* "God is basic Fact or Actuality, the source of all other facthood".[43] He continues that God is not of the

law or obeys the law but is the law, for a law which is good is uncreated and has "no shadow of contingency".[44] Of God's goodness he writes in *The Problem of Pain* that since God has no needs His goodness and love are by very definition "bottomlessly selfless".[45] A similar thought is expressed more comprehensively and powerfully in *Perelandra:*

> He has no need at all of anything that is made. An eldil is not more needful to Him than a grain of the Dust : a peopled world no more needful than a world that is empty : but all needless alike, and what all add to Him is nothing . . . Love me, my brothers for I am infinitely superfluous, and your love should be like His, born neither of your need nor of my deserving but a plain bounty.[46]

Lewis also maintains that our concept of goodness differs from God's "as a perfect circle differs from a child's first attempt to draw a wheel".[47] He concludes that man will always be incapable of comprehending the nature of God's goodness, just as he will always be incapable of grasping God's exact nature.

He consistently emphasizes the solid, definite and concrete aspects of God. His *The Great Divorce,* for example, is a very imaginative articulation of his vision of God and heaven as solid and earthly life and hell as a progressive shadowy diminution.[48] Following his Trinitarian doctrine that God is "beyond personality", Lewis develops the view that because God is the only real person, man is adjectival and derivative, a mere shadow of the supra-personal God.[49] (This adjectival-noun relation between man and God will be comprehensively examined later in the light of Lewis's understanding of the self). While God is the only real concrete person in the universe He is also, Lewis maintains in *Prayer:*

Letters to Malcolm, the "Unimaginably and Insupportably Other".[50] Man, he declares, should be "simultaneously aware of closest proximity and infinite distance".[51] Freely admitting in "Rejoinder to Dr. Pittenger" that throughout his writings he has stressed the transcendence of God more than his immanence, he justifies his emphasis by claiming that a modern world which leans inexorably towards a "naïve and sentimental pantheism" needs a corrective image of a God who transcends nature.[52]

Lewis also sharply focuses on the "magical" attributes of God. Defining magic in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* " as objective efficacy which cannot be further analyzed", he declares that "one cannot conceive a more completely given or, if you like, a more magical fact than the existence of God as *causa sui*".[53] While certain natural and seemingly magical phenomena will eventually be "got rid of by explanation i.e. by seeing them to be instances of larger truths", the larger truth of God, Lewis maintains, will always remain magical i.e. beyond man's ability to explain or fully comprehend.[54] He is convinced that the magical element in God and indeed in Christianity will always bear witness to the truth that God is the ultimate objective fact: a magical fact which will remain forever opaque to the most rigorous theological and philosophical examinations.[55]

Burson and Walls in *Lewis and Schaeffer* perceptively equate Lewis's definition of the magical aspect of God with David Bassinger's more rigorous definition of a mystery as a proposition or theory that is supra-rational while not containing any self-contradictory assertions.[56] Lewis continually asserts that not only God himself but also Christian mysteries such as the Trinity, the Incarnation

and the Resurrection will always remain beyond man's comprehension while still remaining self-consistent concepts.[57] As this study has shown, Lewis would always maintain that God, the "imageless and ineffable" Being, can only be glimpsed "in dream and symbol and the acted poetry of ritual" and only understood through living the Christian life.[58]

One particular aspect of Lewis's perception of God largely ignored by the critics is that of God as tragic creator. It is a notion tentatively presented by Lewis in *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm.*[59] He suggests that something tragic may be inherent in the very act of creation since in the very act of creating man God was tragically separating a part of Himself from divine life.[60] This notion is consistent with Lewis's very keen sense that man is nothing without God and that life on earth must inevitably be full of anguish since man is separated from his Maker.[61] During his interview Gresham conversely suggests that Lewis's view of God as tragic creator is the result of God giving man free-will, knowing the tragic consequences that would ensue.[62] Both interpretations of Lewis's view are clearly presented in the Gresham interview:

Q. On the idea of God as tragic creator. He states that the creation involves separation, anguish, alienation and crucifixion and that Christ was the most forsaken of men because he was the most perfect of men. He states that there is something inherently tragic in the creation itself.

R. Does he stipulate that as a fact or present it as a possibility?

Q. He presents it as a possibility – he said perhaps. Yes, he presents it as a tentative thought.

R. Yes. Well that's a very different way of looking at it. Yes he's probably right and it's because of one particular facet of creation – and that is that glorious gift given to mankind of free-will. It becomes tragic because Man decides to flaunt it and go against what God wants.

Q. He says creation involves separation and anguish.

R. It certainly does in our case because we decide to go that way. Suppose Adam and Eve had never fallen in the garden of Eden, there would be no separation and anguish. Because of our fallen nature the whole creative act of God has become tragic.

Q. Yes, but he says that there is something tragic <u>inherent</u> in the very act of creation.

R. Yes, the propensity for tragedy is there. I'm not sure that I agree that there's something tragic about the act of creation, except that it puts God on the horns of a dilemma. What's he going to do? Is He going to create free subjects with free will or is He going to create a race of robots. And with a race of robots there is no love, therefore creation itself becomes tragic. Catch 22 situation!

Q. But I feel he's thinking more about creation being tragic because creation must involve separation - the artist and his artifact, God and his creature.[63]

Gresham may be correct. However it seems more consistent with Lewis's acute sense of man's nature and earthly condition to interpret Lewis's view of God as tragic creator as an articulation of Lewis's own profound experience of man. It is an experience of man as a derivative being in the tragic situation of being separated from Goodness and Truth itself. As he writes in "The Weight of Glory":

> But we pine. The sense that in this universe we are treated as strangers, the longing to be acknowledged, to meet with some response, to bridge some chasm that yawns between us and reality, is part of our inconsolable secret.[64]

What Lewis seems to be suggesting is that while sin has undoubtedly sealed man's separation from God, there was in God's very act of creating him a degree of separation. This view is reiterated by Lewis in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* when he writes that "To be created is in some sense to be rejected or separated".[65] In short, the artifact must be separated from the artist if it is to

become itself. Therein lies the innate tragedy for Lewis that in our very birth there is "an anguish, an alienation, a crucifixion".[66]

While Lewis may have articulated this thought in a tentative manner, there can be no doubt that it inhabits much of his work and lends an added poignancy and depth to his overwhelming sense of man's alienation and separation from God. All of Lewis's writings, in varying degrees, attempt to awaken man to the reality of his situation and it may be that in his final book he articulates a life-time experience in the simple statement that besides being a great creator and tragic redeemer, God is also a tragic creator.[67] If Lewis believes that God is a tragic creator one might then proceed to speculate on the nature of any possible relationship with God Lewis could assign to such a tragic artifact as man. Upon this issue he has definitive answers.

5:3 Man as Derivative Being

In *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* Lewis distinguishes two conditions which define man's relation to God. The first is ontological continuity between Creator and creature, the second is a "union of wills".[68] According to Lewis the first condition is unchangeable.[69] It is a "given" relation between God the creator and man his creature.[70] By its very nature, man cannot exist apart from his Creator, for as Lewis explains, "To be discontinuous from God as I am discontinuous from you would be annihilation".[71]

God is the "continual supply" of man's reality.[72] Lewis maintains that God is the very grounds of man's being and man is man only because of the

divine energy that is breathed into him. He writes in "Pindar Song": "And we live for a day. What are we? What are we not? A man \ Is a dream about a shadow. Only when a brightness falls from heaven \ Can human splendour expand and glow and mortal days grow soft".[73] Lewis asserts that not only is God the ground of man's being but He is also the ground of matter which surrounds man. As such Lewis declares that God embraces and unites both "in the daily miracle of finite consciousness".[74] Without His divine miracle Lewis believes that man could not perceive or conceive of his own world.

In startling terms Lewis declares in *The Four Loves* that God is actually a "host" who has deliberately created His own parasites, not that parasitic man might love Him but that He might love and perfect them. He writes that God "causes us to be that we may exploit and "take advantage of" Him: Herein is love".[75] Moreover because Lewis maintains that man is a mere derivative being dependent on his Creator for existence, he is (as has been noted earlier in the chapter) incapable of originality.[76] Lewis explains man's condition in *Prayer – Letters To Malcolm:*

> For we – even our poets and musicians and inventors – never, in the ultimate sense, make. We only build. We always have materials to build from. All we can know about the act of creation must be derived from what we can gather about the relation of the creatures to their Creator.[77]

Because of this unchangeable condition of ontological continuity, man, in Lewis's view, owes God his obedience.[78] This is especially so, he writes in "Christianity and Culture", since God "as the ground of my existence, has a kind of paternal claim on me, and, as a benefactor, has a claim on my gratitude".[79] This leads

Lewis into his definition of the second condition of man's relation with God, namely the union of wills. It is a concept that demands an understanding of Lewis's principle of creation as delegation if it is to be fully appreciated. In *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* this principle is clearly and comprehensively defined:

> Creation seems to be delegation thro' and thro'. He will do nothing simply of Himself which can be done by creatures. I suppose this is because He is a giver. And He has nothing to give but Himself. And to give Himself is to do His deeds – in a sense and on varying levels to be Himself – through the things He has made.[80]

Thus man, when his will is not distorted by sin, is actually doing God's will and, as Lewis explains, God in a roundabout way is actually speaking to Himself through man.[81] The less man's life and will is distorted by sin the more easily God will speak through him. Indeed in *The Problem of Pain* he professes the paradox that "only when man's will is wholly God's does it become "truly creative and truly our own".[82] But Lewis is adamant that this union of man's wills with God's can only be reached by leading a life of sanctity under Grace.[83] Unlike the first condition this second condition is volatile and unstable and needs the constant attention of man's faith and obedience to maintain it, for Lewis believes that man's spirit with its "self-ward" inclination can only turn to God by "painful effort".[84]

He contends in *Screwtape* and *Miracles* that man is a composite being, an "amphibian", "half spirit and half animal".[85] The nearest approach to the constancy of a surrendered will to God which man is likely to achieve will be an

"undulation", a "series of troughs and peaks".[86] It is only through an active faith that the peaks in Lewis's view, may outnumber the troughs. But as he writes in *Reflections on the Psalms,* man's "amazing destiny" is that while still a primate and an animal he will be "taken up into a new life without relinquishing the old".[87] (This particular idea of man being transposed into a new life while still remaining himself is developed by Lewis throughout his writings into a definitive doctrine he terms transposition. Reference to transposition has already been made in the previous chapter in relation to Lewis's theory of imagination.[88] The doctrine is a key element in explaining Lewis's view of Christ and the principles which he believes govern life itself. It will be examined in part two of this chapter).

Lewis notes in *Screwtape* that in this new life with God, man, following the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity, will be united with God the Father while still remaining a distinct being.[89] It is for this very relationship, Lewis declares in "Answers to Questions on Christianity", that man was created.[90] If man is in "right relation" to God, then Lewis concludes that right relations with all other men will follow automatically.[91] In "On Obstinacy in Belief", he states that such a personal relationship with God will be "a relation *sui generis* but analogically describable in terms of filial or of erotic love".[92] In this proper relation man will forever be delightfully preoccupied in a selfless way with God the Beloved.[93] Like the nature of erotic love as described in *The Four Loves,* Lewis maintains that the relation will become a mode of perception and expression but not before man discovers his own "bankruptcy" and realises that

even when he has united his will with God's, he will "only be giving back to God what was already God's own".[94] The initial stage of this interpersonal relationship involves faith.

5:4 A Virtuous Rational Faith

Lewis's orthodox view of faith has been comprehensively examined by such critics as Purtill in *C.S. Lewis's Case for the Christian Faith*, Meilaender in *The Taste For The Other* and Burson and Walls in *Lewis and Schaeffer* all of whom recognise the two types of faith clearly defined by Lewis, namely faith as "a settled intellectual assent" and faith as a virtue involving trust and commitment.[95] Meilaender alone draws out the implications of Lewis's view of faith for Lewis's conception of the Christian life as a journey, a process of sanctification and a way to community with God. Few other critics trace his conception of faith within the framework of his overriding beliefs concerning God, reason and what Lewis himself terms "the logic of personal relations" between God and man.[96]

The primary sources for Lewis's expositions on faith are found in *Mere Christianity* and in two essays "On Obstinacy in Belief" and "Religion: Reality or Substitute?". Flying in the face of critics who combine faith and irrationality, and write of the 'leap of faith', Lewis as a Christian rationalist declares that faith is based on reason and always in its initial apprehension will involve intellectual assent.[97] Evidence for intellectual assent, he maintains, comes from historical sources, religious experience and authority.[98] His emphasis on the

interrelatedness of faith and reason attests to his staunch belief in the validity of reason and its importance in the life of man.[99] It also attests to his Augustinian belief that God is reason itself and that "the human mind in the act of knowing is illuminated by the Divine reason".[100]

With faith as intellectual assent Lewis declares that God imparts to man a spark of His divine reason by which man can comprehend, though only to a degree, the nature of God's existence. As he notes (though in a different context) in "Religion : Reality or Substitute?", "reason is divine, human reasoners are not".[101] In "Answers to Questions on Christianity" he further contends that man's share in divine reason is imperfect and interrupted: imperfect because of the limitations of man's intellectual capabilities, interrupted because man is only part-spirit.[102] During his interview Gresham reiterated Lewis's view, while reminding the author that a settled intellectual assent was Lewis's own precursor to a devout faith:

Q. A view which an atheist would find absurd is Lewis's constant relating of faith to reason.
R. I don't think you can ever achieve faith without reason.
Q. Atheists would talk about "the leap of faith".
R. There are a lot of idiots Rosalyn who think that if you want to be a Christian you must check your intellect in at the door: A lot of people who think that Christians get there by what they call a blind leap of faith. I don't think I've ever met a Christian who didn't arrive at his faith by at least some form of intellectual process. Sometimes it's an argument with God. God invariably wins. That's what happened to Jack.
Q. Our faith is based on reason?
R. If our faith is not based on reason it's a very valueless faith.[103]

In "Is Theism Important", Lewis claims that most adult converts known to him have come to faith by the route of intellectual assent.[104] Indeed, to bolster his

argument he adds that "even quite uneducated people who have been Christians all their lives not infrequently appeal to some simplified form of the Argument from Design".[105] However he is careful to explain that unlike a mathematical equation which can be demonstratively proven, faith, although formally based on evidence, does involve "a degree of subjective certitude" which goes beyond the logical certainty of the arguments employed for proof.[106] This view is clearly presented in "On Obstinacy and Belief": "Belief in this sense, seems to me to be assent to a proposition which we think so overwhelmingly probable that there is a psychological exclusion of doubt, though not a logical exclusion of dispute".[107] This argument supports Lewis's emphatic view on the limits of man's mind and also his belief that a degree of ambiguity must exist if the higher type of faith is to be established.[108]

In "On Obstinacy and Belief" he argues that faith becomes a virtue involving total trust when it moves "from the logic of speculative thought, into what might perhaps be called the logic of personal relations".[109] For Lewis, a higher faith than intellectual assent involves developing a personal relationship of trust with God.[110] Doubt, in his view, must be an integral part of that trust:

> . . . to be aware of these possibilities (i.e. apparent contrary evidence to God's existence) and still to reject them is clearly the precise mode, and the only mode in which our personal response to God can establish itself. In that sense the ambiguity is not something that conflicts with faith so much as a condition which makes faith possible.[111]

Moreover, while reason may win for man the truths of God's existence, Lewis continually asserts that it is only by a virtuous practising of a trustful faith

which results in the habit of faith that intellectual assent can be retained.[112] For, being a composite being, man, Lewis contends, is ruled not solely by rationality but also by affectivity.[113] In his view, it is from the affective realm that the great attacks on faith come.[114] He declares in *Mere Christianity* that "it is not reason that is taking away my faith . . . the battle is between faith and reason on the one side, and emotion and imagination on the other".[115]

On several occasions Lewis uses the very effective analogy of a learner swimmer and instructor to explain the nature of a perfect faith. It is an analogy used most succinctly in a letter to a former pupil:

> In learning to swim you believe and even know intellectually, that water will support you, long before you feel any real confidence in the fact. I suppose a perfection of faith would make this confidence invariably proportionate to the assent. In the meantime, as one has learnt to swim only by acting on the assent in the teeth of all instinctive conviction, so we shall proceed to faith only by acting as if we had it.[116]

Throughout his writings Lewis emphatically asserts that a crucial part in the development of faith involves an initial pretence. During his interview Gresham perfectly articulates Lewis's view:

Q. On faith and loving Christ, he states – *act* as though you loved him, *act* as though you had faith. Initially you must act.

R. Yes. That's a well-known psychological principle. Fake it till you make it. But again love is not something that you feel. You can't sit down and manufacture some fuzzy feeling towards Jesus. I think in the biblical sense love means doing good things for Christ and for the sake of Christ, and that is loving Christ in an active sense. What you have to do is to behave as though you loved Christ emotionally. Look at every situation and ask what would Christ have me do in the situation and do it. What would Jesus himself do? That's even more difficult and then do it.

Q. So it's basically through an initial pretence that we come eventually to love and have faith?

R. It's a determination to act in a certain way. If you had no belief in Christ, no belief in God and yet looked at the principles that Christ taught and said

> that's the best possible way to live a life. So despite the fact that I don't believe in Christ I'm going to do it anyway. I think you're probably on the right road.[117]

In conclusion Lewis contends that faith becomes a virtue in the daily trained habit of acknowledging one's bankruptcy before God, trusting in His love, and in perfect moral obedience praying for the gift of faith.[118] He also believes that it is only through the grace of the Holy Spirit that the gift of faith can be prayed for.[119] In "Religion; Reality or Substitute?" he declares that it is to the Holy Spirit one must pray for "the power to go on believing not in the teeth of reason but in the teeth of lust and terror and jealousy and boredom and indifference that which reason, authority, or experience, or all three, have , once delivered to us for truth".[120] As witnessed by Christ in Gethsemene and noted by Lewis in a letter, even perfect faith of its very nature can never exclude dismay. Lewis is convinced that faith is concerned with developing and retaining a sui generis personal relationship with God, a relationship that, to a large extent, demands space for manoeuvre if it is to become real.[121]

Happily for the Christian, Lewis maintains that one can find in Christ's life the realisation of a perfect faith which attended the development of a perfect relationship with God. In "Is Theism Important", he declares that a Christian's faith "does not flow from philosophical argument alone; nor from experience of the Numinous alone; nor from moral experience alone; nor from history alone; but from historical events which at once fulfil and transcend the moral category".[122] Lewis is convinced that it is in Christ that man will find the perfect model for his

faith. It is only in imitating Him that man, in Lewis's view, can fulfil his destiny, allow Christ to act through him and thereby become a god perfectly reflecting back to God "His own boundless power and delight and goodness".[123]

PART II : Building Relationships : The Sacred Paradox

5:5 The Doctrine of Transposition

> Surely the main purpose of our life is to reach the point at which "one's own life as a person" *is* at an end. One must in this sense "die", become "nought", relinquish one's freedom and independence. "Not I, but Christ dwelleth in me" - "He must grow greater and I must grow less" - He that loseth his life shall find it".
>
> *Letters*
> C.S. Lewis.[1]

An examination of Lewis's presentation of Christ as archetypal man and an exploration of the soteriological issues of the nature of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, salvation and free-will as advanced by Lewis primarily in *Miracles* and *Mere Christianity* are a necessary precursor to a clear understanding of the "amazing destiny" Lewis holds out for man.[2] The most outstanding and rigorous analysis of Lewis's concept of the nature of salvation and free-will can be found in Burson and Walls' *Lewis and Schaeffer.*[3] Surprisingly, however, Lewis's doctrine of transposition is never discussed by them, a doctrine which Lewis's believes sheds a new light on the principles that govern Christ's life and death, and provides "a background very much needed for the theological virtue of Hope".[4] Holmer, Houston-Smith and Leanne Payne in *Real Presence: The Holy Spirit in the works of C.S. Lewis* all acknowledge and explore the importance of the transposition doctrine in Lewis's understanding of Christ, reality and man's destiny.[5] Their only weakness, perhaps, is in not sufficiently defining the doctrine and not adequately emphasizing its vital importance in establishing Lewis's view

of Christ and man. Establishing Lewis's view of Christ as archetypal man must include an examination of his doctrine of transposition if it is to be fully comprehensible.

(a) First principle - The lower reflects the higher

References to transposition can be found throughout Lewis's work from *Mere Christianity* to *Miracles,* to *Reflections on the Psalms* and *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm.* It is, however, in his essay "Transposition" that he presents transposition as a fully-fledged doctrine. The doctrine rests on the Platonist principle that reality is made manifest on different levels. It explains how higher and richer systems transpose themselves into lower and poorer systems, how poorer systems can only be understood by possessing a knowledge of the higher one and finally how, in certain circumstances, the poorer systems can, in their own turn, be 'drawn up' and transposed into a higher system.[6] Lewis suggests that examples of transposition are the relation between man and beast, mind and body, emotion and sensation. By way of analogy he suggests in "Transposition" that the relation between one's higher emotional life and the life of the senses is one of transposition.[7] The more impoverished and restricted senses respond to the richer more varied emotions by 'compensation' i.e. by using one sensation to express more than one and sometimes even an opposite emotion.[8]

Thus Lewis maintains that each element in the lower sensory life must record more than one meaning, must in fact record a symbolic meaning.[9] Like a piano version of an orchestral score where individual notes must represent the entire instruments of the orchestra, or a two-dimensional drawing where symbolic

lines and shading are used to suggest a three-dimensional structure, Lewis suggests that the lower life of the senses must, with only a limited vocabulary, attempt to express multiple emotions.[10] It is in being aware of the 'higher' orchestral score, the three-dimensional picture, or emotional life that the meaning of the notes, lines or sensations can actually be understood.[11] Like the relation between body and mind, the lower medium can only be understood in the context of the higher medium and "compensation" such as signs or symbols must be used by the lower to express the higher.[12]

In *Patches of Godlight*, Houston-Smith maintains that it is Lewis's acceptance of this aspect of the doctrine of transposition that allowed him "the philosophical justification of his extensive use of myth and analogy."[13] Chapter Four has shown that Lewis undoubtedly believed that it was largely through myth and symbol that God manifests himself to a spiritually and intellectually impoverished man and allows him to catch a glimpse of a higher reality.[14] The principle in transposition that the lower dimly reflects the higher consolidates Lewis's deep-rooted belief in earth as a "shadowland" and earthly life as a "diminution, the symbol, the etiolated the (as it were) "vegetarian" substitute [for divine life]".[15] He writes very assertively of this aspect of transposition in *Miracles:*

> Even our sexuality should be regarded as the transposition into a minor key of that creative joy which in Him is unceasing and irresistible. Grammatically the things we say of Him are "metaphorical": but in a deeper sense it is our physical and psychic energies that are mere "metaphors" of the real life, which is God.[16]

His argument in favour of transposition also adds force to his belief that Christianity can only be understood by those within the Christian tradition. He applies the transposition principle to those critics who through self-blinding or ignorance can only analyse religion and other aspects of human life by reference solely to the lower medium.[17] He insists that such critics are in the position of animals who "see all the facts but not the meaning".[18] Living in a world of behaviourist factual realism which Lewis believes to be meaningless, these critics, in his view, deliberately refuse to understand things in their proper context.[19] Accepting things solely at face-value, they will, he believes, never have any real understanding of the world as they falsely 'prove' that "religion is only psychological, justice only self-protection, politics only economics, love only lust and thought itself only cerebral biochemistry" and one might add from a study of *Abolition*, education merely indoctrination.[20]

(b) The Sacramental Relation between Mediums

Another major aspect to Lewis's transposition doctrine is the emphasis it places on sacramental as opposed to purely symbolical relations between mediums. It is an emphasis which allowed Lewis to develop what Payne in *Real Presence* suggests is a sacramental view of reality.[21] Lewis declares in "Transposition" that the relation between higher and lower, often expressed through symbol and myth, can, in some cases, become sacramental. This occurs when the higher in transposing itself into the lower actually become part of the lower.[22] He uses the emotion – sense relation by way of illustration: "the emotion descends bodily, as it were into the sensation and digests, transforms,

transubstantiates it so that the thrill along the nerves *is* delight *is* agony".[23] He also hints that the doctrine can help in the understanding of the transubstantiation of the Eucharist when natural acts are given new sacramental meaning and in a certain context become something different.[24]

The notion of the higher medium transforming the lower also, in Lewis's view, carries implications for an understanding of Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection. He declares that although he walks "in mirabilibus supra me", he is willing to state that a "real analogy" exists between transposition and the credal doctrine that the Incarnation works "Not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh but by taking of the Manhood into God".[25] He repeats the claim in *Reflections on the Psalms* when he writes that just as a sensation is "drawn into the joy it accompanies", humanity while still remaining itself, is "veritably drawn into Deity".[26] He elaborates further in *Mere Christianity* and "Is Theology Poetry", writing that Christ in becoming man "emptied Himself of His Glory".[27] He writes that Christ descended into the lower medium of human life through a humiliating shrinking or condensation of His Glory.[28] However, he contends, that through perfect humility and obedience, the created life in Christ was transposed back into the begotten life of His Father. He explains in *Mere Christianity:*

> The result of this was that you now had one man who really was what all men were intended to be : one man in whom the created life derived from His Mother, allowed itself to be completely and perfectly turned into the begotten life. The natural human creature in Him was taken up fully into the divine Son. Thus in one instance humanity had, so to speak, arrived : had passed into the life of Christ.[29]

He is even more specific on the nature of the transposition in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* when he declares that "He came down from Heaven can almost be transposed into "Heaven drew earth up into it", adding that "locality, limitation, sleep, sweat, footsore weariness, frustration, pain, doubt and death, are, from before all worlds, known by God from within".[30]

Letters of Lewis reveal that he was very careful to clarify his statements on transposition lest he be misinterpreted. He writes that Christ was God and man, not a composite being whose divinity was imprisoned in a lesser human form.[31] He was a real man whose human body and soul were united through will and grace of the Holy Spirit.[32] Unlike man, Christ, in Lewis's view, fought off all egotistical desires and united His will unswervingly with the will of His Father.[33] In doing so Lewis believes that Christ became a perfect man.[34] In *Mere Christianity* he asserts that it was as a result of this union of will between Son and Father that the human creature in Christ, because it was united to the divine Son, was resurrected : "The man in Christ rose again : not only the God".[35]

In this light the Resurrection, in Lewis's view, becomes not only a triumph of God but also of man. He believes that the transposition of Christ from higher to lower and thence back to higher altered human life forever. He is convinced that not only did Christ become a "pioneer", the first instance of a real man, but he also duly created the conditions by which man could attempt to emulate Him.[36] Of Christ as the "first instance" of archetypal man, Lewis writes in *Mere Christianity:*

> He is the origin and centre and life of all the new men. He came into the created universe, of His own will, bringing with him the Zoe, the new life... And He transmits it not by heredity but by what I have called 'good infection'. Everyone who gets it gets it by personal contact with him. Other men become 'new' by being in 'Him'.[37]

Lewis is convinced that there will always be a sacramental aspect to man and his life since Christ is actually risen in him.[38] In *Real Presence* Payne declares that it was because Lewis was so committed to the notion of sacramental transposition that he experienced all reality "as sacramental, as incarnational", "as a channel through which God's grace can be known and received".[37] Lewis himself presents a slightly different perspective on the notion of sacramental reality when he declares in "Transposition" that it is through transposition that the heavenly bounties "are embodied during this life in our temporal experience".[40]

(c) Transposition and Man's Destiny

But Lewis also found in the pattern of Christ's transposition a "background" for the theological virtue of Hope. In *Reflections on The Psalms* he asserts that modern Christians need to be reminded of the fact that the Incarnation and Resurrection were triumphs of God as man. He writes, "It seems to me that I seldom meet any strong or exultant sense of the continued, never-to-be-abandoned, Humanity of Christ in glory, in eternity".[41] Lewis maintains that just as Christ fulfilled His human nature in his Resurrection so also will man, in following Christ, be transposed into real men and yet remain distinctly unique. He writes in *Reflections on the Psalms* that the pattern of transposition which raised man from pure animal to human while still remaining an animal will be

repeated in the Resurrection when man will become "like unto" God but "with a likeness proper to man".[42] If his transposition doctrine is correct he suspects that some appropriate correspondence on the sensory level will exist between man's earthly and resurrected body. He writes in *"Transposition"*:

> May we not, by a reasonable analogy, suppose likewise that there is no experience of the spirit so transcendent and supernatural, no vision of Deity Himself so close and so far beyond all images and emotions, that to it there cannot be an appropriate correspondence on the sensory level? Not by a new sense but by the incredible flooding of those very sensations we now have with a meaning, a transvaluation, of which we have here no faintest guess?[43]

Such a view of the Resurrection tempered by a knowledge of the doctrine of transposition allows man, in Lewis's view, to move from a negative view of heaven as a place where man's nature is annihilated and destroyed, to a positive view of heaven as a place where man's nature will actually be fulfilled and rejoiced over.[44]

(d) Transposition – the formula of reality

Lewis ascribes tremendous philosophical power to his transposition doctrine. In *Miracles* he claims that it is a doctrine which places the Incarnation and Resurrection within the context of a universal pattern which may well be "the very formula of reality", namely the eternal movement from descent of the higher into the lower and raising of the lower into the higher.[45] It gives substance to what Lewis deems, in *Miracles,* to be one of man's deepest apprehensions of reality namely the death and re-birth pattern which is the central theme of many religions from ancient Egyptian to the nature religions of pagan man. It is a

pattern, in Lewis's view, which was fully realised in the death and resurrection of Christ and for which all other religions were a preparation.[46]

Not only is the transposition pattern recognised in ancient religions, it is, Lewis writes in *Miracles* and "The Grand Miracle", a pattern which is echoed and imitated by the principles of the natural world from the descent of the seed to its rising again as a plant, from the descent of a perfect organism into the sperm and ovum and thence by slow ascent into a embryo, baby and adult.[47] Lewis maintains that its very presence in the natural world can only be accounted for by the fact that it first existed in God Himself.[48] In his view, it is the Incarnation and Resurrection which "lights up" nature's pattern of death and rebirth and not vice versa, which explains those pagan and pre-pagan myths which were only a preparation, a linking, a glimpsing of the ultimate myth which became fact in the birth of Christ.[49] He declares in *Miracles* that the Incarnation and Resurrection put the transposition principle "even more emphatically at the centre [of the principles that govern life]."[50]

Moreover, as conceived by Lewis, the transposition principle presents the raising of the lower by the higher as a universal principle, a principle which actually legitimises hierarchical inequality.[51] In *Mere Christianity* he equates a mother teaching her child to talk by "talking to it as if it understood long before it really does" with God's attempt to make man a god by acting as though man was a Christ-like son "in order to make the pretence a reality".[52] He writes, "God looks at you as if you were a little Christ : Christ stands beside you to turn you

into one".[53] It is the mother and God who selflessly and instinctively assist in the transposition of their charges.

The occurrence of the transposition principle in the natural world is, in Lewis's view, not an accidental one.[54] It is a likeness, he claims in *Miracles* "permitted by God to that truth on which all depends".[55] He invokes his sacred paradox to illuminate the likeness. He declares that if man would truly live he must undergo some sort of death. He states that in mans resurrection he will be drawn up into divinity while still remaining himself, unalterably changed, yet recognisable. He contends that if man would live a new life he must admit that such a life could only occur not by his own direct moral efforts, but by God acting within him. He maintains that if man would have the virtue of hope he would acknowledge the transposition principle at work within himself drawing him up into a higher life.[56]

Interestingly Gresham, during an interview, revealed that he had little awareness of the doctrine.[57] While mistaking Lewis's transposition doctrine as a mere analogy device he did provide a useful caveat.[58] In reference to Lewis's use of the doctrine he commented, "I think it's a neat way of putting it. I think it's an analogy that Jack used very adequately. But I think it could be taken to extremes. I'm not sure. It's an interesting analogy but that's all it is".[54]

Often in Lewis's work a close reading of the text is demanded to trace many of his transposition applications but there can be no doubt that the doctrine was an intrinsic and well-used part of the furniture of his mind. Serious critics interested in examining Lewis's religious thought and his approach to literary

criticism should recognise the importance of the doctrine. In "Transposition" Lewis declares that he found it impossible in thinking of transposition "not to ask himself whether it might help in the conception of the Incarnation".[60] It is a very surprising question when one actually considers the extent to which he uses the doctrine throughout his writings. He uses transposition to illuminate the patterns of the natural world, the pattern of Christ's life and death, and the possible pattern of a man's life who imitates Christ. As Payne and Houston – Smith rightly note, he also uses it to explain the way in which God's omnipresence is mediated to fallen man through myth and symbol and more especially through sacramental reality.[61] He even uses the paradigm of transposition in *Reflections on the Psalms* to attempt to explain the manner in which the Scriptures became the word of God: "If the Scriptures proceed not by conversion of God's word into a literature but by taking up of a literature to be a vehicle of God's word, this is not anomalous [with the taking of manhood into God]".[62]

Undoubtedly the ultimate importance of the doctrine of transposition for Lewis lies in its potential to crystallize and give meaning to the pattern of Christ's life, death and Resurrection which in turn defines and lends significance to the transposition principles which governs man's life and destiny. However, while his doctrine may explain the nature of the pattern enacted by Christ it cannot explain why Christ needed to enact the pattern.

5:6 **Christ as Archetypal Man**

In *Mere Christianity* Lewis declares that God became man with the sole purpose of making men "little Christs".[63] He explains that Christ, who is a true son of God, begotten not created, is possessed of a spiritual life which has existed eternally and to which Lewis applies the term Zoe.[64] On the other hand, man, in his natural state while bearing some likeness to his Creator (for "everything God has made has some likeness to himself"), is, in Lewis's view, merely a created being.[65] He possesses only a Bios or biological life which has only a shadowy or symbolic resemblance to Christ's Zoe.[66] Lewis asserts that man's destiny is to share in Christ's begotten spiritual life if he can allow Christ to "inject this kind of life and thought, this Zoe into man".[67] Man, Lewis continues, can come to share in Christ's Zoe only because his fallen nature was redeemed by Christ's death and resurrection.[68]

Three key principles presented by Lewis in *Miracles* are, in his view, operative in the birth, death and resurrection of Christ.[69] These are the principles of transposition, selectiveness and vicariousness: principles which are simultaneously operative in nature.[70] He reiterates his transposition claim of the higher descending into the lower and hence back to the higher to explain Christ's descent into man and his subsequent drawing up of humanity with Him in his ascent back to divinity.[71] He presents the selectiveness principle to explain why the Jews were chosen in a most undemocratic way to be the race from which the Saviour would be born.[72] The final principle, vicariousness, explains how a sinless man could suffer for all men, good and bad.[73] When operative in nature

Lewis maintains that this principle demonstrates how "everything is indebted to everything else sacrificed to everything else and dependent on everything else".[74] While all three principles operate in the natural world and in human life, Lewis believes that they exist in a loving mode in Christ.[75] In Him, with love as their modus operandi, these principles are good; without love, in a world of selfishness and necessities they would, Lewis maintains, become evil.[76]

He is equally convinced that Christ died for man, not because man was a worthy subject of His love, nor because Christ needed man's grateful love, but simply because He is love and automatically gives love.[77] Lewis contends that through His death and resurrection Christ made good man's deficiencies, thus allowing man the opportunity to somehow share in Christ's perfect obedience and divine sonship.[78] He is equally convinced that if man does not take up Christ's offer he will remain forever in "the great womb of our great mother", a part of nature where his Bios will swiftly degenerate and decay.[79]

5:7 **Salvation as Enablement**

While Lewis definitively presents the principles of transposition, selectiveness and vicariousness as being operative in Christ's life and later in Christianity, he is reticent about developing a theory on atonement. He believes that any such theory would be secondary and inessential to an active belief in the true facts that "Christ was killed for us, that His death has washed away our sins, and that by dying He disabled death itself".[80] Nevertheless he does present a view of the atonement which has been thoroughly explicated by Burson and Walls in

Lewis and Schaeffer.[81] They conclude that "Lewis affirmed a transformational view of the atonement with an emphasis on enablement and human co-operation from beginning to end".[82] They recognise that Lewis diverges from a penal substitutionary view that puts a logical emphasis upon justification, pardon, imputed righteousness and unilateral transformation at death by placing the emphasis on repentance, regeneration imparted righteousness and co-operative transformation even after death.[83] They examine the manner in which Lewis omits any discussion of justification by faith, preferring to see salvation as a process where man freely co-operates with God's grace from conversion to glorification.[84]

Lewis undoubtedly conceived salvation in relational terms. In *Mere Christianity* he writes that although humanity is already "saved" in principle, it is in living a life in Christ and through Christ that an individual will "appropriate that salvation".[85] The next section will examine Lewis's concept of the self and the manner in which each individual must undergo a surrendering and transformation of self in order to appropriate salvation. It is sufficient here to state that Lewis did not follow a works-righteousness model (an observation examined and summarily dismissed by Burson and Walls).[86] Rather he cites the Bible in *Mere Christianity* to represent his view of man's very limited power: "Work out your own salvation for it is God who worketh in you".[87] Pervasive in Lewis's writings is this categorical belief that while moral effort is essential it will achieve nothing without God's Grace. Moreover Lewis insists that repentance is not a unique bargain deal with God. Rather it is a "willing submission to

humiliation and a kind of death", paradoxically, a death which is, in Lewis's view, a life-long process.[88] He writes in *Mere Christianity* that ultimately repentance is "simply a description of what going back to Him is like".[89]

However, Lewis emphatically states that in repentance man can only emulate in an imperfect way what was perfectly performed by Christ.[90] Because man, in his view, is incapable of perfect repentance, Christ became man in order to repent perfectly on man's behalf.[91] Christ was incarnated as man because as God His nature excluded experiences of suffering and death.[92] He writes in *Mere Christianity* that Christ could surrender His will, suffer and die, because He was a man; and He could do it perfectly because He was God.[93] In the following passage from *Miracles,* Lewis summarises his vision of Christ and His passion and invokes those key principles of transposition, vicariousness and selectiveness which he believes were operative in Christ's life and death:

> But only a Man who did not need to have been a Man at all unless He had chosen, only one who served in our sad regiment as a volunteer, yet also only one who was perfectly a Man could perform this perfect dying; and thus (which way you put it is unimportant) either defeat death or redeem it. He tasted death on behalf of all others. He is the representative "Die-er" of the universe: and for that very reason the Resurrection and the Life. Or conversely, because He truly lives, He truly dies, for that is the very pattern of reality. Because the higher can descend into the lower He who from all eternity has been incessantly plunging Himself in the blessed death of self-surrender to the Father can also most fully descend into the horrible and (for us) involuntary death of the body. Because Vicariousness is the very idiom of the reality He has created, His death can become ours.[94]

Because Christ was the perfect man, because "he tasted death for all men", Lewis contends in *Reflections on the Psalms* that Christ was the "archetypal sufferer".[95]

Following His death, Lewis believes that all future suffering of humanity will be directly related to Him. In his view what occurred in Christ's passion was "the union of total privation with total adherence to God". Moreover, the surrender was "to a God who makes no response simply because of what God is".[96] What one finds in Christ's passion, Lewis writes in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* is "the human situation writ large".[97] He makes a similar point in a letter, "He has faced all that the weakest of us face, has shared not only the strength of our nature but every weakness of it except sin".[98]

What marks Christ's passion from the suffering of man is that Christ perfectly realised the very condition which Lewis maintains should define man's relation with God, namely "The union of wills which, under Grace, is reached by a life of Sanctity".[99] He is convinced that what makes Christ an archetypal man is that in His Resurrection the possibility of man's "glorious liberty" was concretely realised.[100] He asserts in *Miracles* that Christ is not a "prodigy" but a "pioneer": "He is the first of His kind; He will not be the last".[101] Lewis doubly reassures the reader by contending that redeemed humanity will be "something more glorious than unfallen humanity would have been", for "the deeper the death the brighter the re-birth".[102] It is around this sacred paradox that Lewis develops his vision of the self, trenchantly attacks modern psychoanalytic theories of personality and inadvertently, perhaps, lays the foundations for his philosophy of education.

5:8 **The Self and True Personality**

Lewis's view of personality is coloured by of his vision of salvation as a transformational process whereby fallen man transforms his fallen nature into a Christ-like imitation. The transformational process by which the natural self removes itself from the cesspool and dungeon of self, abandons the clamour of self-will and sets straight a misdirection in its nature is, in Lewis's view, one which demands a renunciation of self-will and a conscious, conscientious awareness that an individual is the sum of the innumerable choices he makes throughout his life.[103] Lewis's view of personality as a painful move from self-centeredness to the disinterested self must be understood in the context of his view of human freedom and free-will.

While free-will has been the cause of man's downfall, Lewis maintains that it is also the means of his becoming a true person.[104] In *The Great Divorce* he declares that man has been given the gift of freedom (a gift whereby he most resembles his Maker) to daily and hourly make choices that move him closer or further away from God.[105] Anticipating possible problems in reconciling human freedom with divine election, Lewis explains in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* that God, who lives in the eternal now, has always been aware of the choices man would make and has actually taken them into account. He writes, "before all worlds His providential and creative act (for they are all one) takes into account all the situations produced by the acts of His creatures".[106]

While it is God who has given man the power of being something more than an animal, it is man, in Lewis's view, who must determine how to use that

power. Being possessed of an unconditioned will, each individual, either for good or ill, alters a tiny part of himself with every choice he makes. Lewis explains the development in *Mere Christianity*:

> every time you make a choice you are turning the central part of you the part of you that chooses, into something different from what it was before. And taking your life as a whole, with all your innumerable choices, all your life long you are slowly turning this central thing either into a heavenly creature or into a hellish creature: either into a creature that is in harmony with God and with other creatures and with itself or else into one that is in a state of war and hatred with God, and with its fellow-creatures, and with itself.[107]

With every choice man moves closer to heaven or hell.[108] If heaven, his choices will enlarge the personality and bring concrete solidity; if hell, and without self-choice Lewis maintains that there could be no Hell, the self shrinks to almost nothing, "shut up in itself" in that fierce imprisonment in the self" where the one principle will be "I am my Own".[109] Following St. Augustine who prioritises the sin of pride as the most evil and corrupting of all sins, Lewis declares that pride is the chief danger to the growth of true personality.[110] In his view, the sin of pride is a sin of self-regard, of an inability of the self to acknowledge the superiority of others and of God, of a desire to establish an independent existence.[111] It acts as a spiritual cancer bloating the individual self out of all proportion to its meagre value and encouraging individual competitiveness and a false sense of power.[112] In short, pride, from Lewis's perspective, promotes a concept of self which not only distorts reality but also arrests any possible development of true personality by promoting a corrupt image of the individual as intrinsically valid.[113]

It is essential for the developing personality, in Lewis's view, to remember that until the final transposition occurs when the true person will suffer himself to be fitted into his heavenly place, the self will remains adjectival, a "mere façade", a "thin film on the surface of an unsound and dangerous sea".[114] It is only in the abdication of self that true personality will be born and the true person emerge from the shadowy and insubstantial self to the solidity of heaven. It is in heaven, Lewis writes, that man will "occupy those places in the structure of the eternal cosmos for which we were designed and invented".[115]

5:9 The Tempered Will

Since Lewis maintains that it is largely through the workings of the purified will that this transformation will occur, an understanding of his view of the human will is necessary. While he conceives the will in moral terms he does, as in the case of duty, attempt to make will a "self-transcending concept" that escapes from the regions of mere morality.[116] As this study on Lewis's view of Christ has shown, he undoubtedly ascribes to will the enormous power and responsibility of being the element that unites the human soul to the divine.[117] Locating the centre of will in the heart rather than the intellect he writes that while it should not be mistaken for the "conscious fume and fret of resolutions and clenched teeth", it is ordinate emotions which must be organised in the service of the moral will through daily self-surrender.[118] He develops this notion in a more oblique way in a letter when he declares that "it is by his will alone that

a man is good or bad and that feelings are not in themselves of any importance".[119]

Lewis writes that each operation of the will demands moral strength often in the teeth of powerful adverse emotions.[120] Moral strength is doubly necessary since Lewis asserts in *Screwtape* that the major aim of the devil is to absorb will and increase selfhood.[121] He is convinced that the individual must aim, therefore, to decrease in selfhood and consciously direct all will and desire to God.[122] Like personality itself, will, as noted earlier, can paradoxically only become creative and distinct when it is wholly God's.[123]

He is equally convinced that the conditions required to maintain love are also required in the development of true personality, namely, a purified will, deliberately strengthened by habit, reinforced by the grace of God.[124] It is only such a tempered will that can for Lewis daily and hourly renounce not only the claims of self, but the self's craving for "limited liabilities" when asked by God for total surrender.[125] (In an extension to his belief that Christianity is an education in itself, Lewis also maintains that a purification of the will leads to the enlightenment of the intelligence – a belief which will be examined more closely in the next chapter).

Lewis observes in *Screwtape and Timeless* that it is solely through the purified will that man can carry out the "duties that have lost all relish", and daily surrender self-will to the will of God.[126] If, as he suspects, that self-renunciation is very near the core of Christian ethics, it is little wonder that he conceives of

earth primarily as a place of training and correction and the "journey to habitual self", from Bios to Zoe, to be a difficult one.[127] As he writes in his poem "For Psychoanalysts And/Or Theologians," "On the flinty road, \ Black-frosty, blown on with an eastern wind, \ I found my feet. Forth on journey, \ Gathering this garment over aching bones, \ I went. I wander still. But the \ world is round.[128]

He writes in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* that when the self becomes completely aware of its bankruptcy, when it "asserts with all its will to be so known to God", then it begins to develop a truly personal, loving relationship with God.[129] It changes from being a passive to an active agent, and moves from merely being known by God to "offering" itself to His view.[130] He cites Buber to represent his view, "He speaks as 'I' when we truly call Him 'Thou'".[131]

Of course Lewis does emphasize that it is by the Holy Spirit that we cry Father", for without Him Lewis contends that man can achieve nothing for all his moral effort.[132] It is only by God's grace that the self is transposed, a transposition that is essential for union with God.[133] He declares in *The Four Loves* that nothing can enter heaven which cannot become heavenly. And when he further suggests that even man's natural loves must be transposed into modes of charity if they are to hope for eternity, one can only speculate on the degree to which he believes that something as illusionary and potentially corruptible as self must undergo a truly rigorous transposition.[134]

Moreover, he maintains that the journey to true personality continues after death. He writes in *The Problem of Pain* that "even in paradise a minimal self-adherence has to be overcome".[135] He also asserts that the condition under which true

personality emerges, namely the eternal abdication of self, is actually an absolute reality:

> Form before the foundation of the world He surrenders begotten Deity back into begetting Deity in obedience . . . From the highest to the lowest, self exists to be abdicated and, by that abdication, becomes the more truly self, to be thereupon yet the more abdicated, and so forever. This is not a heavenly law which we can escape by remaining earthly nor an earthly law which we can escape by being saved.[136]

5:10 **The Glory of the Unveiled Self**

While Lewis powerfully and emphatically relates the difficulty in becoming a true personality, he is equally emphatic in celebrating the real joys that await the "unveiled self", the true person.[137] In "the Weight of Glory" he writes that it is in becoming a true person that man can take on his "burden of glory" to be delighted in by God and receive God's beauty into himself.[138] Couching man's destiny to become a true person in relational terms Lewis also asserts that man must carry not only his own burden of glory but also the burden of his neighbour's glory.[139] It is part of man's destiny, he writes, to help others to true personality and ultimate union with God.[140] In this regard, he contends that "Next to the Blessed Sacrament itself your neighbour is the holiest object presented to your senses".[141]

Elaborating on this notion he writes in *The Problem of Pain* that it is "among the ends for which the individual was created" that a true person attempts to communicate his own unique vision of God to all others.[142] This attests to his belief expressed in "Membership" that the "Christian is called not to

individualism but to membership in a mystical body" where he will experience, as the Trinity does, "extreme differentiation of persons in harmonious union".[143] Lewis is convinced that being a member of the body of Christ actually encourages the true growth of personality for it is within the body that "we are all constantly teaching and learning, forgiving and being forgiven, representing Christ to man when we intercede, and man to Christ when others intercede for us".[144] What the true personality is also called upon to do is simply to glorify God.

Lest his emphasis on self-renunciation be misinterpreted as an Augustinian renunciation of the body Lewis insists that "We can play as we eat to the glory of God", declaring in "The Weight of Glory" that the body was made for the Lord.[145] In *Miracles* he declares that in the sacraments God's presence is mediated to man through matter.[146] His poem "On Being Human" clearly reveals his sheer delight in God's gift of a body to man, a gift which Lewis speculates has been withheld from the angels who have "never known the knife-edge severance \ Of sun from shadow where the trees being \ The blessed cool at every pore caressing us \ An angel has no skin".[147] He continues that it is man's very body that allows him to share similar experiences with God, "Yet here within this tiny charm'd interior, this parlour of the brain, \ their Maker shares with living men some secret in a privacy \ Forever ours not theirs [i.e. angels]".[148]

While the body can glorify God it can only do so if, like the natural loves, it can allow itself to be transposed into a higher spiritual medium.[149] What is important for the developing personality in Lewis's view, that it take an ordinate delight in God's gift.[150] What must be renounced is an inordinate delight which

he believes will destroy, corrupt and make a demon of the very pleasure itself.[151] (As chapter two has revealed Lewis applies the same principle to modern society's abuse of culture claiming that society has to a large extent demonised culture by granting to it inordinate spiritual value).[152] Lewis's declaration in *The Pilgrim's Regress* of the need for ordinate passions is equally applicable to his view of bodily pleasures. He declares that the "great art of life is to moderate our passions. Objects of affection are like other belongings – We must love them enough to enrich our lives while we have them – not enough to impoverish our lives when they are gone".[153] Seen as a channel through which God's glory can be simultaneously experienced and adored, the body, in Lewis's view, performs an important function in the growth of personality. Like the educated, ordinate mind, it can allow a person "to rest and play in the suburbs of Jerusalem" while simultaneously praising God.[154]

5:11 **Personality versus Individuality**

Lewis's view of personality is tightly interwoven with key doctrines and beliefs in his philosophy of religion. It is an ethico-religious view that places a strong emphasis on his belief in human freedom, ethical will and the importance of interpersonal relations both with God and others. The doctrine of transposition plays a key role in explaining both the process by which man eternally moves infinitesimally closer to true personality and the manner in which he actually achieves it. Lewis maintains that true personality is to be found, even after death,

in a "willed imitation" of Christ.[155] From this perceptive, the development of true personality must involve moral fortitude.

In *The Shape of His Faith and Thought* Holmer claims that Lewis presents a view of personality which is like a "firm structure tying all the parts of his writings together".[156] He suggests that rather than developing a theory of personality Lewis develops a "logic of personality" a logic of moral achievement by which an individual is turned into a personality.[157] Couching his interpretation of Lewis's "logic of personality" in the language of transposition he explains Lewis's position thus:

> The concept human has a moral quality already. It suggests and even more properly, actually requires that one be prepared to consider that anything given and natural be transformed and transposed into a higher key . . . there is a transposition upward that human beings bring to just about everything that makes their nature or almost an almost useless datum. And that transposition is no single act : it goes on for a life-time and defies description except when it's done. It is what makes every person's growth a part of one's individuality, often in fact the very means by which one's individuality is consummated.[158]

Holmer's analysis is incisive and flawed only in defining Lewis's view of personality too narrowly as a moral achievement. In discussing Lewis's view of personality the interdependence of personality and morality must be appropriately emphasized but not to the exclusion of his concept of Love. In his identification of God as a loving Being who transcends the moral law one can certainly find the key to Lewis's understanding of personality as a moral achievement but also as an achievement that moves beyond the realm of the moral into the realm of love. Undoubtedly Lewis's moral emphasis points to the ethical character of his

understanding of personality but his religious vision shifts that emphasis onto another plane. One does well in discussing Lewis's view to bear in mind his words from *The Four Loves,* "[God] can awake in man towards Himself, a supernatural Appreciative Love. This is of all gifts the most to be desired. Here, not in our natural loves, nor even in ethics, lies the true centre of all human and angelic life".[159]

Lewis sharply distinguishes self and individuality from personality. In "Membership" he clearly articulates the differences and presents personality as an achievement, as something "eternal and inviolable". He writes "personality is not a datum from which we start. The individualism in which we all begin is only a parody or shadow of it. True personality lies ahead – how far ahead, for most of us, I dare not say".[160]

Thus the view that an individual is of "infinite value" is anathema to Lewis, and is a view, which he believes is pervasive and invasive in many areas of human endeavour. In "Membership" he trenchantly attacks what he deems to be "the quite unchristian worship of the human individual" which is "so rampant in modern thought".[161] His *The Personal Heresy* argues against the modern distorted reading of literary texts which assign psychological motives and influences to its authors.[162] His "quarrels" with Freudian psychoanalysis centre on his fear that psychoanalysis is setting itself up as a philosophy rather than a science.[163] He argues that it is eroding and analyzing away man's sense of guilt and sin and is promoting an inflated vision of the intrinsic value of the individual

through the idea that an individual "starts with a treasure called personality locked up within [himself]".[164]

In answer to any modern view which glorifies and heightens man's individuality, in the sense of self-absorption, Lewis replies that "Our whole destiny seems to lie in the opposite direction, in being as little as possible ourselves, in acquiring a fragrance that is not our own but borrowed, in becoming clean mirrors filled with the image of a face that is not ours".[165] Moreover, as this study on equality and democracy has shown, Lewis is equally opposed to political and educational tendencies within modern society which he believes will actually suppress the growth of true personality.[166]

Lewis is convinced that while true personality begins in the exercise of a strong moral will reinforced by habit, it moves beyond morality as it develops a more loving relationship with God. Like Christianity itself, which Lewis declares in *Mere Christianity,* "seems at the first to be all about morality, all about duties and rules and guilt and virtue", true personality leads one on "out of all that into something beyond".[167] It is only when the claims of the selfish self give way to the desire for selfless giving that a true person can fulfil his destiny and take his rightful place in the great divine dance. In *The Problem of Pain* Lewis evocatively presents the "amazing destiny" of a true personalty.[168] It is a powerful passage that draws together many of the elements of his religious vision: his view of God as a self-existing Being in a Trinitarian relationship where love is the ruling principle and where God sacrifices His son purely out of love; his view of man as a derivative creature incapable of originality who can only conceive of his

Creator by means of symbols; his view of man's destiny to unite himself forever with his Creator through an active faith and willed imitation of the Creator's son; his view of transposition which allows man to find his place in the great dance where he will be distinct yet united with all those who have taken on the "burden of glory" to be delighted in by God":

> The golden apple of selfhood, thrown among the false gods, became an apple of discord because they scrambled for it. They did not know the first rule of the holy game, which is that every player must by all means touch the ball and then immediately pass it on. To be found with it in your hands is a fault: to cling to it, death. But when it flies to and fro among the players too swift for eye to follow, and the great master himself leads the revelry, giving Himself eternally to His creatures in the generation, and back to Himself in the sacrifice, of the Word, then indeed the eternal dance "makes heaven drowsy with the harmony". All pains and pleasures we have known on earth are early initiations in the movements of that dance: but the dance itself is strictly incomparable with the sufferings of this present time. As we draw nearer to its uncreated rhythm, pain and pleasure sink almost out of sight. There is joy in the dance, but it does not exist for the sake of joy. It does not even exist for the sake of good, or of love. It is Love Himself, and Good Himself, and therefore happy. It does not exist for us, but we for it.[169]

It is now essential to define Lewis's role as religious educator within the framework of his religious vision and to establish the fundamental compatibility between the ruling principles of his educational philosophy and his religious views.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PASTORAL PEN : LEWIS AS RELIGIOUS EDUCATOR

Part I : Lewis As Apologist

From all my lame defeats and oh! much more
From all the victories that I seemed to score;
From cleverness shot forth on thy behalf
At which while angels weep, the audience laugh;
From all my proofs of Thy Divinity,
Thou, who wouldst give no sign, deliver me.

"The Apologist's Evening Prayer",
Poems,
Lewis.[1]

Two distinct aspects to Lewis's role as religious educator are discernible from his writings: Lewis as overt teacher and defender of Christian beliefs, and Lewis the artist - educator whose writings are mediated through a profoundly religious vision of reality. His role as defender of mere Christianity has been explicated by such critics as Kilby in *The Christian Life of C.S. Lewis*, Lindskoog *in Lewis : Mere Christian*, Purtill in *C.S. Lewis : Case for the Christian Faith and Thought*, and more recently, Thomas C. Peters in *Simple C.S. Lewis* and Burson and Walls in *Lewis and Schaeffer*[2]

Some critics have encountered difficulties in attempting a clear definition of Lewis's role as apologist. This chapter will examine these difficulties and will argue that future considerations of his role as apologist should bear in mind the words of Lewis's theologian friend, Austin Farrer. Farrer wrote in "The Christian Apologist" that many of Lewis's religious writings were not formally apologetic, adding that while many of his writing procedures were "not all equally apologetic; and it may be that the less they are so the more effective they prove".[3]

Attention will also focus on Lewis's own awareness of the limits of the role of apologist and indeed of theology itself. In a letter to another friend, Dom Bede Griffiths,

he was to write, "We have no abiding city even in philosophy: all passes except the Word".[4]

This chapter will also argue that assigning a religious educator role to Lewis is justifiable if this role is defined in the broadest sense as one in which Lewis, the artist – educator educates his readers or pupils, however inadvertently towards a particularly religious perception of reality. Moreover it will be argued that the assigning to Lewis of such a role actually encompasses in a unique whole his seemingly diverse impulses as artist, teacher, tutor, amateur theologian, myth-maker, moralist and evangelist.

The previous chapter has established the fact that Lewis's religious vision led him not only to perceive reality in religious terms but to maintain that a religious perception of reality was the only truly rational and tenable one. This chapter will establish that in his implicit role as religious artist – educator, Lewis believed that the underlying purpose and dynamic outcome of an education which fostered the greatest degree of individual thinking must invariably and inevitably be the development of vision of reality which comprehended reality's religious significance. Before this view can be established however, certain clarifications are necessary.

As Chapter Four has revealed Lewis did not hold that it was a critical function of the artist to formally disclose or consciously bear witness to religious truth.[5] Like great myths, he believed that many great works of art by containing what he considered to be sub-Christian values, acted as a "preparatio evangelica" in that they hinted at greater truths.[6] Noting in a letter that "art can teach" and "much great art sets out deliberately to do so", Lewis nevertheless believed that art, like a good education, merely moved the individual forward in the right direction towards the development of a free personality capable of comprehending religion truth. If, as Lewis believed, that all truth was ultimately religious in character, it could be argued, that from his perspective, education played a vital role in preparing the mind and heart for the apprehension of religious truths.

6:1 Defining The Role

Chapter Two has shown that, as an educator, Lewis's philosophy of education was permeated by the belief that it was the duty of education to educate each pupil to freedom by promoting and enhancing such skills as would allow the pupil to be an active rational learner and explorer with the ability to argue to and comprehend truth. It also established that Lewis was convinced that the apprehension of such skills necessitated the development and training of the pupils' ethical or moral potentialities in the early years.[8]

As a tutor however, Lewis did not count it among his tutorial duties to promote Christian beliefs. Indeed, his students have testified to the fact that no formal religious discussions occurred during tutorials.[9] While Lewis hoped that a religious perception of reality would be the ultimate outcome of a good education, he conceived his role as tutor and indeed as literary critic as one in which he attempted to promote the greatest degree of individual thinking by removing misunderstandings.[10] In his own words, though admittedly used in a different context, he worked hard and consistently to eradicate from his students' mind whole systems of thought which he believed degraded the modern mind.[11] This was undoubtedly one of the guiding principles of his educational philosophy, to free the mind from what he saw as the aberrations of secularism, humanism and relativism. It was only such a free and open mind that could, in Lewis's view, begin to apprehend the religious significance of the universe. It is for this reason that Lewis can be cast in the role of religious artist-educator. When he educated to freedom he believed that ultimately he was educating towards the only freedom that was true and worthwhile, namely the freedom to know and be at one with God.

His role as implicit religious artist – educator will be explored in the latter part of this chapter. It is necessary to begin however by clearly defining his role as overt teacher and defender of Christian beliefs. This is not a simple task. Lewis himself, however, provides clear pointers. As stated in chapter five, Lewis was very careful to separate apologetics from a personal religious view.[12] He clarified the difference in status between both when he wrote that an apologist

presented objective rational facts – facts which should be scrupulously separated from any personal emphasis or point of view.[13] In Lewis's most distinctly apologetic works, personal views, while tightly interwoven throughout the writings, are consistently sign-posted by such interjections as "But I am full of doubts about the whole subject and everything I have said is merely tentative. Perhaps I should also point out that it is not apologetics".[14]

It may be a painstaking task, but following Lewis's criterion, one can separate his strict apologetics from tentative religious suppositions interwoven throughout the apologetic works. Nonetheless it has proven somewhat difficult for many critics to decide which of Lewis's works are primarily apologetic. While Gresham claims that Lewis "was writing apologetics all his life in one form or another", critics such as Wilson in *Lewis : A Biography* and Lionel Adey in *C.S. Lewis - Writer Dreamer and Mentor* claim that Lewis relinquished his apologist pen in the late forties following the publication of *Miracles.* [15]

Lewis himself brings clarity on occasion when he specifically states that a work or a piece of work is not apologetic. He writes in *Reflections on the Psalms,* for example, that it will "soon be apparent to any reader" that the work "is not what is called an "apologetic work"."[16] Following his own definition of apologetics as objective fact and not personal opinion, he dismisses the possibility of *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm* being overtly apologetic when he writes "All this is autobiography, not theology".[17] The classification can be resolved if Lewis's definition of apologetics is established and adhered to. However, prior to an examination of Lewis's definition of apologist and apologetics, it may prove useful to present examples of how some critics have tackled the definitions and analysis.

6:2 Critics and Critiques

Critics such as Farrer in *Light on Lewis*, Urang in *Shadows of Heaven*, Wilson, in *Lewis : A Biography*, and *Burson and Walls* in *Lewis and Schaeffer*, have clearly recognised that while some of Lewis's religious writings are overtly apologetic some are less so.[18] They have offered contradictory examples of both types of writing. Farrer, for example states that *Mere Christianity* is not "formally apologetic" while Burson and Walls profess that the same book is "Lewis's most recognised apologetic work" where direct apologetic strategies are "easily discerned".[19] Como in "Introduction : Within the Realm of Plenitude" states that while ten of Lewis's works are explicit apologetics, many of the others including much of his poetry are implicitly apologetic where almost every capacity and resource possessed by Lewis is "mined, for its "apologetic" utility".[20] Lewis's religious writings are in fact being judged for the most part by theologians and critics with slightly different concepts of the term apologist and apologetics.

What all critics seem to agree upon is that the term apologist is inadequate to define comprehensively those religious works in which Lewis, in their view, moved well beyond a simple defence of Christian doctrine. Farrer, an early critic on Lewis, states in "The Christian Apologist" that if an apologist is defined as one who simply defends Christianity then Lewis was much more because "he provided a positive exhibition of the force of Christian ideas, morally imaginatively and rationally"[21] : Declaring that *The Screwtape Letters*, *The Great Divorce* and *Mere Christianity* are not formally apologetic he states that *Miracles* and *The Problem of Pain*, the "most direct examples of his apologetic writing" are "doubly apologetic" because they gave "to text book matters the freshness of a living consideration". [22] Observing that Lewis was an apologist from temper, conviction and modesty and that the characteristic attitude in his religious writing is that of an apologist, he nevertheless claims that in Lewis's best work "the reader thinks that he is listening to an argument, in fact we are presented with a vision, and it is a vision that carries conviction".[23]

Later critics confirm the view that Lewis augmented the traditional apologist role. In *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, Holmer writes that Lewis's apologetic literature "has a different slant from what one might imagine" because it articulates Christian doctrines in vernacular rather than religious or social terms, and because it is written not to introduce but rather to reintroduce Christianity into Christiandom.[24] He suggests that Lewis's apologetics are "more than argument" because Lewis enhances the modern sensibilities as he addresses the readers in a way that will increase their "capacities and self-cognizance".[25] *In C.S. Lewis : His Literary Achievement*, Manlove also observes a rather unique and distinct quality to Lewis's apologetics, writing that they put us close to the process of learning since Lewis "lives through the argument as he writes".[26] He suggests that this process actually becomes a renewal of Lewis's own faith – a rather debatable point when one considers Lewis's view that "no doctrine . . . seems to be so spectral, so unreal as one that I have just successfully defended . . ."[27]

Of the most recent critics to examine Lewis's apologetics, Bursen and Walls in *Lewis and Schaeffer* offer the most detailed and comprehensive analysis. They resolve the issue of Lewis's augmented apologist role by assigning to his apologetics a more expansive and inclusive classification. They suggest that Lewis offers offensive and defensive apologetic arguments.[28] In addition to the offensive arguments used by many apologists, for example, the case for an objective moral law, the case in defence of the deity of Jesus, the case in favour of the validity of reasoning where God is reason itself, Lewis, in their view, uses the rather unique apologetic strategies of the argument from desire and agape.[29] They declare that is such books as *The Pilgrim's Regress*, *The Voyage of the Dawn Trader* and *Surprised by Joy* Lewis employs apologetic arguments which engage the heart more than the intellect.[30] They contend that Lewis argues that man's most profound desires are designed specifically to spur him on towards God who alone can satisfy them.[31] In *The Four Loves* they contend that Lewis employs the argument from agape to profess that profound human longing can only be satisfied through a right relationship with God.[32] The

authors qualify this statement by suggesting that this particular argument from agape is less overtly apologetic than the more traditional arguments which engage the intellect.[33] Burson and Walls thesis is cogent and appealing since it provides a framework for both Lewis's overt and less apologetic works. Nevertheless the defensive – offensive paradigm seems somewhat artificial and undoubtedly contorts the term apologetics as Lewis defined it.

What is telling in many critiques is the common agreement among critics that Lewis's apologetics offer more than argument largely because many are "full of appeal to the human heart".[34] For many, the term apologist seems inadequate because Lewis is not only baldly defending doctrine or attacking specious views. He is, as far as Holmer, Manlove, Farrer, Griffiths, Payne, Burson and Walls are concerned, educating the reader to regard the world in a different way.[35] Many would agree with Holmer, that in his synthesis of mind and heart, Lewis the apologist made the unique discovery of the language of faith and in so doing actually reshaped "the whole mode and manner of ideation and reflection which Christianity requires".[36] As Holmer contends Lewis "writes in such a way as to educate, literally to educe in his readers most of the capacities and skills that he needs to become faithful, critical, understanding and in brief, enabled and empowered".[37] To what extent Lewis might have concurred with Holmer's analysis must be the next issue to be addressed by explicating Lewis's own perspective on his role as overt teacher of Christian doctrine.

6:3 Explicating His Role

"Christian Apologetics", an essay read by Lewis to an assembly of Anglican priests and youth leaders in 1945 provides a useful outline of Lewis's conception of the role of an apologist.[38] In it, he defines apologetics, lists the intellectual barriers a modern apologist may expect to encounter in his audience, offers solutions to overcome the barriers and warns of the dangers inherent in the very act of apologetics.

Lewis defines apologetics as a defence of Christianity, of "the faith preached by the Apostles attested by the Martyrs, embodied in the Creeds,

expounded by the Father".[39] As noted earlier, he scrupulously separates personal theories or view of Christian dogma from what he considers to be the objective facts of the faith.[40] Of the Christian doctrines themselves, he suggests that real progress in Christian knowledge can only be made if the apologist accepts the challenge of the difficult or repellent doctrines".[41] This statement supports Lewis's very strong belief that Christianity should not be presented merely as something comforting or as a 'sop' to modern sociological concerns.[42] What is very telling in this essay is the fact that two-thirds of the writing is concerned with offering to his fellow apologists a most effective teaching methodology which an apologist can use in the discharge of his duty to teach to his "own uneducated and unbelieving fellow countrymen", the articles of faith.[43] Lewis not only presents a diagnostic analysis of the offending students but also offers comprehensive educational strategies to remediate them.

He contends that the uneducated Englishman must be taught to have a historical perspective, since, in Lewis's view, the "Present occupies almost the whole field of vision".[44] Without a historical perspective, he cannot, Lewis continues, being to accept the historical veracity of the Bible.[45] Secondly his ignorance of the science of textual criticism must be corrected if he is to approach the study of ancient texts.[46] Thirdly, his surrender of ethical responsibility to external authorities such as the government must be corrected in order that he can acknowledge responsibility for his own choices and recover a sense of sin.[47]

(In *Reflections on the Psalms* he claims that the relinquishing of ethical, responsibility has been exacerbated by modern society's 'pseudo-scientific tolerance which reduces all wickedness to neurosis'.[48] In *A Toast* he further contends that modern minds are marked by a moral flabbiness where "consciousness hardly exists apart from the social atmosphere that surrounds them", and "conformity to the social environment" has become their "unacknowledged creed".[49]) Fourthly he must be taught the precise meaning of specific theological language essential to an understanding of Christian doctrine.[50] Most importantly his mind must be re-educated to challenge the

naturalist assumptions of his age, to realign himself with supernaturalism and develop an awareness of the numinous.[51] Finally he must be educated to see that Christianity must be accepted, not because it is good, but because it is true and because it is actually the "consummation" of all the religions that preceded it from Paganism to Judaism.[52]

A primary motif running throughout all his apologetics is his exhortation to apologists to re-educate the modern mind. In his view, it is a mind fragmented by epistemological relativism and progressive subjectivism; desensitized by tacit beliefs which refute and disparage supernaturalism and the numinous. The naturalist premises for such tacit beliefs, have, in Lewis's view, never been established by rigorous philosophical argument but rather have been assumed by the uneducated as axioms from the outset.[53] (Lewis's view of the "bias" of twentieth century thought will be discussed more comprehensively in the next section). Lewis reiterates throughout his apologetics that such tacit beliefs have lead to a "terrifying insensibility", "moral indifference", "a lowering of metaphysical energies" and ultimately intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy.[54] In his view, it is the "painful duty" of the apologist to "wake the world" from an enchanted belief in developmentalism, historicism, and scepticism about objective reason, and to remove gross misunderstanding in order that theological questions get a fair hearing".[55] As this study on *Abolition* has established, Lewis believes that modern society has denuded the universe of its gods, and its solidity and is fast emptying the soul and mind of man.[56] Lewis is convinced that the apologist must eradicate from the mind of modern man "whole systems of modern thought" and create a "mental climate" in which the modern apologist can work.[57] He believes that they must also put pseudo-ideologies into their proper perspective.[58] Bad analogies must be dispelled and strategies offered to the educated Christian with which he can defend himself "against, the intellectual assaults of the heathen".[59] Lewis feels confident that such strategies will create immunity to the "cataract" of media nonsense which assaults the mind and sensibilities of men on a daily basis.[60] If the apologist is effective he will, Lewis contends, correct "the degraded commercialism" of the modern mind, and offer

the re-educated Christian " a standing ground against the State" and modern invasive cultural, sociological and philosophical ideologies.[61]

It is only when this re-education has occurred that the traditional business of apologetics, the defence of the Christian faith, can begin. Lewis maintains that it is a defence which calls for the translation of theology "into the venacular".[62] He states in "Christian Apologetics" that

> I have come to the conviction that if you cannot translate your thoughts into uneducated language then your thoughts were confused. Power to translate is the test of having really understood one's own meaning.[63]

Moreover, he claims in "Rejoinder to Dr. Pittenger" that he would be failing in his role as apologist if he did not "translate" Christian doctrine since he feels that Christianity is being presented "either in highly emotional form offered by revivalist or in the unintelligible language of highly cultured clergymen".[64] The next section will argue that Lewis's preference for the simplicity and clarity of "uneducated language" was prompted by a deep philosophical aversion to abstraction and speculative theorising.

Lewis believed that it was the "business" of the apologist "to present that which is timeless. . . in the particular language of our own age".[65] It is, in fact, Lewis, the very experienced teacher, who urges his fellow apologists that "your teaching must be timeless at its heart and wear a modern dress".[66] This statement is a clear example of how the process of education and the relationship between teacher and pupil was very near the surface of Lewis's consciousness. It is for this very reason that some critics have difficulties in classifying Lewis's overt apologetic work. As Houston-Smith notes in *Patches of Godlight,* Lewis "was always a teacher" and he "delighted in serving as mentor to his readers".[67] If Lewis is "always a teacher", then using the teaching mode exemplar as a codifier for his apologetic works can only prove ineffectual. According to Lewis, apologetics must involve the defence of Christianity, the controversial challenge to existing theories and the direct re-education of the reader to accept supernaturalism.[68] *The Problem of Pain, Mere Christianity, Abolition* and

Miracles fall safely within this category. Works such as *The Four Loves*, *Reflections on the Psalms*, and *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm* are apologetic but not primarily so. The next section will offer suggestions as to how they should be classified, but to borrow an observation of Lewis's, it may be that these works especially *The Four Loves* and *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm* have been overly reverenced by the critics as apologetics and insufficiently appreciated as art.[69]

Before turning to examine the limits Lewis imposed upon himself as an apologist, it is worth noting a warning he offered to apologists at the conclusion of "Christian Apologetics". It is an important passage that clearly reveals Lewis's conviction of the limits of an intellectual approach in attempting to comprehend divinity. It also hints at another Lewis conviction that Christ's teachings cannot be grasped by the intellect alone.[70] Lewis declares:

> I have found that nothing is more dangerous to ones faith than the work of an apologist. No doctrine of the faith seems to me so spectral so unreal as one that I have just successfully defended in a public debate . . . that is why we apologist take our lives in our hands and can be saved only by falling back continually from the web of our arguments, from our intellectual counters into the Reality – from Christian apologetics into Christ himself.[71]

6:4 **Establishing Parameters**

Throughout all of his religious writings, Lewis consistently reiterates the limits within which he works. While he does include himself as an apologist in his essay "Christian Apologetics", he more consistently refers to himself as a middle-aged moralist, a teacher with evangelical intent.[72] He is wary about labelling himself an apologist on three counts. Firstly, from sheer humility he acknowledges that he is "educated, but not theologically educated", that "he is no expert on theology" and that he is writing "ad populum" not "ad clerium".[73] He would prefer to be viewed, he suggests, as a man speaking simply to other men trained by "reason and ripening experience under the guidance of the Holy Ghost".[74] Lewis makes it clear in such later works as *The Four Loves*, *Reflections on the Psalms* and *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm* that it would, on his

part, be "an impudence to offer instruction on many Christian doctrines and beliefs".[75]

As in his tutorial work, his educational essays and his literary criticism, Lewis the apologist, employs a writing and indeed a teaching style which prizes discussion above instruction, and description and definition above praise or dispraise.[76] Superficially it does not appear a teaching style best suited to overt traditional apologetics. Secondly, Lewis clearly states that he is not trying to convert but simply attempting to explain and defend Christian doctrine to those who already believe.[77] As Gresham recounts during his interview, "I don't think he was trying to convert people from one thing to another. He was simply explaining Christianity and leaving it up to the person themselves".[78] Thirdly, Lewis's particular apologetics are strongly coloured by his distinct approach to knowledge and the imparting of knowledge. In his religious writings and more specifically in his overt apologetic works *The Problem of Pain, Mere Christianity* and *Miracles* he very consciously eschews an effort to develop an epistemology of moral or religious knowledge. His avoidance of theological theorizing comes not only as a result of his own feeling of inadequacy in regard to theology but more importantly from the very strong bent and temper of his own mind which valued "plain" scholarship above what he would claim was speculative and judgmental theorising. This particular preference was to provide an important rationale in his educational philosophy. As in his literary works Lewis believes that the most valuable and worthwhile work a critic, an apologist or an educator can do is to explain more fully what a doctrine or a piece of work *is* rather than speculating abstractly on why or how the doctrine exists.[79] Comparable with what he deems to be the common practice of many modern educationalists Lewis stated that some theological works are like sawdust to him because the authors discuss "how far certain positions are adjustable to contemporary thought or beneficial in relation to social problems or 'have a future' before them but never squarely ask what grounds we have for supposing them to be true accounts of any objective reality".[80]

Lewis argues that the starting point for all scholars and students whether of theology, apologetics, literature or education must be an enquiry – based approach to the empirical investigation of data. [81] Chapter two has established that students, in his view, must develop the ability to ask the right questions but also to question deep-seated intellectual assumptions.[82] He believes it is the unfortunate bias of twentieth century thought, a bias for which he coins the term bulverism, that precedence is given to criticism over original text and second-hand theories are never challenged but automatically assumed to be correct.[83] In his view, many modern students and scholars assume that a critic who fails to share their twentieth century philosophic commitment to naturalism, humanism, subjectivism and behaviourism, must by implication, have misguided and incorrect views - a particularly worrisome trait if the critic happens to be an advocate of supernaturalism as Lewis himself was.[84]

Lewis challenge to modern speculative theorising and specifically to the abstract language intrinsic to theological and literary studies is double-edged. In his essay "The Language of Religion" he declares that if apologetics are to be effective, if they are to succeed in instructing, clarifying and causing controversy then abstract language, must be used.[85] He contends that the use of theological language essential though it might be to apologetics, is in fact, "one of the great disadvantages under which the Christian apologist labours".[86] That is not to say that Lewis advocates an abandonment of theology. Quite the contrary. He declares in *Mere Christianity* that while theological doctrines are not God, they are essential maps for the enquiring Christian, because they are based on "the experience of hundreds of people who were in touch with God".[87] Viewed and valued as maps, theological doctrines are essential, in Lewis's view, to a modern society possessed of many "bad muddled, out-of-date ideas" about God.[88] Nonetheless he declares that theological language is not "the language religion naturally speaks". In using such language, he suggests that the apologist is actually "applying precise and therefore abstract terms to what for us is the supreme example of the concrete".[89] Such abstract writings "do no good" for Lewis because in his view, "no explanation was adequate to the reality of God".[90]

Moreover, as discussed briefly in chapter five, Lewis believes that some theological theories actually attempt to analyse and comprehend what is ultimately "not comprehensible by our faculties".[91] Fearing that modern theories will analyse God away, Lewis consistently warns that if the magical element in religion is explained away in apologetic and religious works then religion will simply become culture morality or philosophy.[92] (See Chapter 5, 5:3 for Lewis's understanding of magic as an "opaque datum", as "objective efficacy which can no further be analysed".[93]

A passage from "The Language of Religion" usefully reveals what has been examined and established in chapter four, i.e. the fact that Lewis both artistically and philosophically became convinced quite early in his writing career that it was through the medium of the poetic language of myth, metaphor and simile that one could attempt to encounter the magic so intrinsic to the revelation of Reality itself:

> Apologetics is controversy. You cannot conduct a controversy in those poetical expressions which alone convey the concrete: you must use terms as definable and univocal as possible, and these are always abstract. And this means that the thing we are really talking about can never appear in the discussion at all. We have to try to prove *that* God is in circumstances where we are denied every means of conveying *who* God is . . . that then, is one way in which we could go on from "I believe in God – the theological : in a sense, alien to religion, crippling, omitting nearly all that really matters yet in spite of everything, sometime successful. On the other hand you could go on, following the spontaneous tendency of religion, into poetical language.[94]

A Distinct Apologetic Style

One could speculate, that by Lewis's own reckoning, his overt apologetics are successful 'in spite of everything', primarily because they err on the side of clear concrete language devoid of abstract theorising and are marked by a preference for concrete homely analogies. This very distinct style of apologetic writing is not a mere stylistic idiosyncrasy but rather is a very consciously adopted apologetic stance which was the result of a deep

philosophical commitment to a mode of thinking about reality, truth and God. For Lewis believes that "What God is in Himself, how He is to be conceived by philosophy, retreats continually from our knowledge".[95] Lewis often insists that he "failed to be nourished" by some theological theories, finding them to be "a tissue of analogies", "knowledge by acquaintance", "extrapolations from the knowledge of other things".[96] One can contend, quite justifiably, that it was Lewis's deep-seated philosophical resistance to abstraction and philosophical commitment to poetic language that allowed him to become more than a mere 'defence' apologist. To many critics his later religious writings prove more powerful and persuasive than the overt apologetics of *Mere Christianity* for example, because he moves from text-book style overt apologetics to a style of apologetics which encourages a holistic encounter with the mystery of God.[97] Lewis's own description of this encounter is no more powerfully presented than in *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm* where he attempts to explain why abstract theology is often not personally satisfying because it does not address the whole man:

> I am not saying to any one in the world : Your explanation is wrong. I am saying: "Your explanation leaves the mystery for me still a mystery, yet I find no difficulty in believing that the veil between the worlds, nowhere else (for me) so opaque to the intellect, is nowhere else so thin and permeable to divine operation. Here a hand from the hidden country touches not only my soul but my body. Here the prig, the don, the modern, in me have no privilege over the savage or the child. Here is big medicine and strong magic. Favefe linguis.[98]

Gresham offers a telling insight when he suggests that while such early apologetic works as *Mere Christianity* are "how-to books" on and about Christianity, later works, such as *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm* while still remaining apologetic, are marked by a stylistic change, the result of Lewis's life experiences.[99] Gresham is undoubtedly correct in declaring that Lewis "didn't stop writing apologetics".[100] But perhaps it is not adequate to suggest that Lewis's later apologetic works, so distinctly marked by a change of style, are simply the result, as Gresham suggests, of a natural stylistic progression: "Why

does any author change his style? Obviously he progressed. He learned more and ones style changes".[101] Lewis's style changed primarily because he shifted very appreciably from one philosophical stance to another, from one which accorded exclusivity to reason to one which made room for the aesthetic within the context of the rational mind.

Another statement of Gresham's however, is worthy of note because of its precision: "He was writing apologetics all his life in one form or another".[102] "In one form or another", is a precise qualification because Lewis's religious writings from *Miracles* onwards can only be deemed apologetics in the broadest possible sense. Broad, because one can only safely argue that the primary purpose underlying all his writings was to proclaim his ethico-religious beliefs as powerfully and later as poetically as he could. This is the objective not only of Lewis but of many artists from Dante to Donne to Tolstoy and yet they are seldom presented as apologists. This is primarily because their art seems to supersede any objectives they had in writing it.

Lewis's later religious writings might best be served by critics more interested in Lewis's artistic merit rather than his apologetic proficiency. In his overt apologetics, Lewis argues his case aloud, text-book fashion. Later, in his best religious writings, his arguments seem so internalized, so integral to the character of the man himself that they pass beyond mere bald apologetics into what Farrer has rightly judged to be a vision of Reality.[103] Dom Bede Griffiths may be the critic who comes closest to a correct analysis of Lewis's religious writing when he declares

> There is no doubt that he had a profound kind of mystical intuition which gave him such an extraordinary insight into the mysteries of Christian faith and there are times, especially in *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm*, when he comes near to a genuine mystical insight.[104]

Whatever Lewis's apologetic achievements, there can be no doubt that in his role as apologist he set out simply to be a man talking to others. Gresham concurs with the author that Lewis would rather be looked on as a guide rather than an

originator of thought, more as a man primarily interested in presenting God to other men and not in presenting a new philosophical or theological system of thought.[105] Many critics have noted Lewis's disregard for attempting theological originality in his apologetic works. But while critics such as Holmer in *The Shape of His Faith and Thought* have successfully analysed this disregard as a vital part in the make-up of a unique apologist, some critics such as Meilaender in *The Taste for the Other* see it as a shortcoming.[106] While recognising that in his role as apologist Lewis enlarges the reader's vision, Meilaender contends that Lewis's method is somewhat inadequate.[107] In his view the most that can be said of Lewis as apologist is that he was "by and large a capable and insightful explicator of the (Christian) tradition".[108]

Lewis's philosophic and aesthetic stance in avoiding abstraction may cost him dear in the evaluation of past and future critics. Again Bede Griffiths may offer a useful insight. While Griffiths does acknowledge that in Lewis's avoidance of abstract terms in reference to the Godhead Lewis perhaps "did not realise sufficiently the equal danger of concrete and personal terms", he nevertheless acknowledges his greatness.[109] When critics turn to examine the seemingly simple and direct writing adopted by Lewis in his apologetic works they might well consider Griffith's observation:

> It must be remembered that Lewis always affected (I think that it was deliberate) to be a plain honest man, with no nonsense about him . . . It was, no doubt, the expression of a determination to avoid all pretentiousness which later developed into a real and profound humility but it prevented anyone from taking him for a "great man" and often concealed his real greatness.[110]

Burson and Walls offer the most scholarly perspective on Lewis's apologetics when they suggest that readers should not expect philosophical rigor in his apologetics.[111] While they argue that from a modern apologist's view many of Lewis's arguments seem undeveloped with Lewis tending to claim more for his arguments than is warranted, they conclude that the charge of superficiality levelled at Lewis by many theologians may not have as much force as initially

suspected.[112] Moreover they acknowledge that modern philosophers such as Victor Reppert and Basil Mitchell have identified congruencies between Lewis's arguments in *Miracles* and Alvin Plantinga's rigorous challenge to Naturalism, in *Warrant and Proper Function.*[113]

What must be uppermost in the mind of Lewis critics who turn to examine his apologetics is the role Lewis defines for himself, a role in which he addresses every man rather than the scholar and one in which he employs a very particular teaching style. It is a teaching style wholly consistent with his educational philosophy which values freedom above indoctrination, positive internal choice above external agreement, personal encounter with ideas and text above adoption of secondary views, acceptance of ethical responsibility above surrender of that responsibility to external authorities and finally theological explication above theological speculation and theorising.

His supreme achievement as an overt apologist is that he took up the tenets of mere Christianity and in the mode of a great teacher clarified misunderstandings, discarded obtuse theories and speaking in the language of men illuminated Christian doctrine with all the intellectual and later aesthetic arsenal at his command - his knowledge of the Bible, ancient texts, personal religious, literary and aesthetic experiences. One can argue that in his best apologetic work he had the head of a profound religious thinker, the heart of a poet and the methodology of an educator deeply committed to the internal growth to freedom of his students.

Equally it can be argued that Lewis moved away from the overt apologetics of his early works, not as a result of a simple progress in style, but because he came to believe most passionately that to attempt to grasp Christian doctrine by the intellect and abstract theological language alone could only result in those very doctrines proving most elusive. In *Reflections on the Psalms* he offers this solution:

> It may be indispensable that our Lord's teaching by that elusiveness (to our systematising intellect), should demand a response from the whole man should make it clear that there is not question of learning a subject but of steeping ourselves in a

> personality, acquiring a new outlook and temper, breathing a new atmosphere . . . [114]

Following *Miracles,* Lewis committed himself wholeheartedly to the view that what is required in all areas of learning "is not merely knowledge but a certain insight; getting the focus right".[115] In an essay "God in the Dock" written late in 1948, (*Miracles* had been published in 1947) Lewis was to write "my own work has suffered very much from the incurable intellectualism of my approach".[116] If indeed it was a shortcoming, it was about to be remedied, when Lewis the artist - educator began to take precedence over Lewis the overt apologist.

PART II : Religious Artist – Educator

6:6 Striking Parallels

Assigning the role of religious artist – educator to Lewis is one which has been largely determined by foregoing considerations on the nature of Lewis's educational philosophy, his religious vision, his apologetics and his approach to poetry and myth. What must now be established is the extent to which his religious and artistic beliefs determined not only his attitude to education but also the role he assigned to the artist in the life and education of man.

Chapter Five presented Lewis's orthodox Christian religious vision as one in which man by a virtuous practising of a rational faith aided by a strong moral will, daily renounced the inordinate claims of the egotistical self and with the help of God's grace, made daily choices which allowed him to transpose his natural appetites and loves into modes of charity. What is significant, from an educational viewpoint, concerning the features which Lewis deemed essential to the development of a religious man, is that he deemed them equally essential to the development of an educated man. An ability to reason, to control the appetite, to take an ordinate delight in earthly pleasures and to train the will, so intrinsic to the well-being of a Christian, were equally intrinsic to the development of a well-nurtured educated youth as defined by Lewis in *Abolition.* In *Abolition* he declared that "knowledge, self-discipline and virtue" were the means by which the wise man conformed "the soul to reality".[118]

As a Christian rationalist Lewis attributes to reason and the development of the rational mind a very high place indeed in the assent to faith and the defence of faith by rational argument.[119] Equally, he maintains that the development of a rational mind is of prime importance in the education of a well-nurtured youth capable of perceiving truth and of challenging the many misguided philosophical, sociological and cultural assumptions of the day.[120] Not only does all knowledge depend on the validity of reasoning, but Lewis declares that the acquisition of that knowledge demands initially, a rational mind informed by its perception of objective moral law.[121]

Following Aristotle who equated virtue with wisdom Lewis maintains that there is a direct correlation between man's ability to perceive truth and his ability to lead a virtuous life.[122] It is for this reason that Lewis urges moral training upon the youth. He maintains that moral training is a necessary precursor to an education which should emphasise the development of an ordinate mind and spirit.[123] Such training is important, in Lewis's view, not only because it should precede a good education but because "the true training for anything whatever that is good always prefigures and, if submitted to, will always help as in the true training for the Christian life".[124]

6:7 An Education Conceived in Freedom

Arguing long and hard against what he sees as society's proclivity to moral relativism and indifference, he urges educators to develop in their pupils a strong sense of objective moral law and an awareness that adherence to such law is an internal process of constant free moral choice.[125] He declares in *The Great Divorce* that eternal reality can never be known by a definition but only by and through the free daily choices of every individual, "for every attempt to see the shape of eternity, except through the lense of time" and the daily choices made by the soul destroys your knowledge of freedom".[126] What makes men good, what made them capable of encountering truth, is Lewis declares in *Mere Christianity*, an ability to accept responsibility for every internal choice and to concede that "You cannot make men good by law: and without good men you cannot have a good society".[127]

Strongly committed to the religious belief that individual freedom is won not given, Lewis advocates an education which fosters responsibility in all areas of human endeavour from the ethical to the aesthetic. From this philosophical commitment he develops a conception of teaching as an activity which emphasizes the value of open-minded critical enquiry, which cherishes authenticity and primary response above those secondary views which are socially acceptable. Out of caring concern for the needs of the learner, he advocates a teaching role where teachers act as co-explorers, guides and subtle

directors rather than crude instructors and indoctrinators. Gresham is very clear on Lewis's own style of teaching. He declares:

> I think the important thing to realise about Jack's teaching is that he led, didn't drive. Too many teachers today drive their pupils in a particular direction. I think that's wrong. Jack led his students and went along on the journey with them. Rather like the difference between a shepherd in the eastern world and a shepherd in the Western world. A shepherd in the Eastern world, particularly in the Holy Land in 'Jesus' time called his sheep and led them to green pastures. A shepherd in Western society gets his dog and drives his sheep. I think the Eastern method works much better.[128]

Born out of Lewis's staunch belief in the right to freedom of every man and his own profound humility, he adopts a teaching role in tutorials and indeed very visibly in his apologetics where the teacher acts as a facilitator and "comparing notes, not presuming to instruct", helps the student to "eliminate the grosser illusions of perspectives", encourages him to "ask the right preliminary questions" and thereby puts the student in a position to examine the evidence.[129] Such a role which empowers the student rather than the teacher is inextricably linked to Lewis's ethico-religious beliefs concerning human freedom. His conception of the learner as one who, in the free pursuit of truth, affects a position of receptivity, openness and trust, unhampered by preconceptions, interests or assumptions, reflects Lewis's own conception of the proper position of a free personality before Christ.[130] Written in relation to the appreciation of art but equally appropriate to any area of education, the following passage clearly reveals Lewis's ideal position for the learner:

> We must not let loose our own subjectivity upon the pictures and make them its vehicles. We must begin by laying aside as completely as we can all our own preoccupations, interests, and associations. We sit down before the picture in order to have something done to us, not that we may do things with it . . . The distinction can hardly be better expressed than by saying that the many *use* art and the few *receive* it.[131]

Such a position of receptivity and surrender, so vital in Lewis's view, to a good education is equally vital to the Christian since it is the cornerstone upon which a real relationship with God is established and maintained.

Ultimately Lewis insists that the eternal verities cannot be taught but can only be encountered and received and discovered by each generation in turn.[132] As early as 1939 he wrote in a letter to Griffiths that:

> The process of living seems to consist in coming to realise truths so ancient and simple that, if stated, they sound like barren platitudes. They cannot sound otherwise to them who have not had the relevant experience, that is why there is no real teaching of such truths possible and every generation starts from scratch.[133]

Lest this passage be misinterpreted as an advocacy of a Deweyan experiential model of education, it is important to clarify Lewis's view. He believes that the full meaning of reality can only be disclosed to a rational and virtuous mind which is attuned to, and capable of experiencing the potential of poetic and symbolic forms.[134] Such a mind, in Lewis's view, takes a lifetime of experience to cultivate.[135] It is for this reason that Gresham can state unhesitatingly that "I know Jack didn't regard education as something that stopped with children. He regarded life as an educational process. He regarded education as something which should proceed throughout life".[136]

Moreover Lewis's commitment to the experiential character of education grew out of his belief that while an educator might facilitate an encounter with truth, only the learner could receive and experience it in his own way. This belief is reflected in Lewis's view of the limited power of his own apologetic works. He states in "Christian Reunion" that while the purpose of his writings is to bring about an encounter with Christ, one could not predict the manner in which the encounter might occur, if at all.[137] Just as one "cannot lay down any pattern for God", one cannot, in Lewis view, lay down the pattern for reception of knowledge.[138] Always attentive to the needs of individual students, he knew that "the altar must often be built in one place that the fire may come down in another place".[139]

6:8 A Holistic Approach

Such a belief which cherishes individual difference may help to account for the fact that Lewis's approach to education is a holistic one. His own artistic commitment to the myth form celebrates his belief that the aesthetic and imaginative potentialities of the learner should be fostered and cultivated. Symbolic forms and the metaphorical language used to relate symbolic forms are, in Lewis's view, the very means by which man can think and communicate. Two important points can be deduced from his arguments that "all language about things other than physical objects is necessarily metaphorical" and that "the very essence of our life as conscious beings all day and every day, consists of something which cannot be communicated except by hints, similes, metaphors".[140] Firstly one can deduce that Lewis believes all learning to be aesthetic in origin and therefore an education which fails to foster the imaginative potentialities of its students cannot, by Lewis's definition, be deemed an education. Gresham confirms Lewis's belief in the need for an aesthetic education when he notes "Lewis would want children to read the great literatures of the world, read myth, literature and poetry . . . and also have an opportunity to learn music".[141] Lewis's Narnian Chronicles bear testimony to his belief in the need to sensitise children as early as possible to their innate imaginative potential.

Secondly he believes that symbolic forms and particularly myth prove to be areas where the learner can "come nearest to experiencing as a concrete what can otherwise be understood only as an abstraction" [142]. More importantly such forms, in Lewis's view, allow the learner to transcend discursive thought altogether. That he initially conceived students' distinct process of conscientization as essentially an exercise in religious illumination does not detract from the fact that he also conceives it as an authentic and important educational means of fostering both aesthetic sensibilities and a sensitivity to the 'magic' and numinous in the universe. Lewis's apologetic and imaginative writings reveal a totally authentic committed educator whose educational

philosophy grew out of, embraced and consistently exemplified his ethico-religious beliefs.

It would be wrong, however, to insist on the inseparability of his religious, educational and aesthetic beliefs, or to suggest that he sees it as a critical function of the artist or educator to bear witness to religious truths. In relation to the religious life, Lewis draws strict limits for the role of artist and educator. He declares that art and literature can only be considered healthy if they are "handmaids of religious, or at least moral, truths".[143] Just as he urges society not to make a religion out of culture, he urges that a religion be not made of the aesthetic.[144] A cultured man, from Lewis's perspective, is not necessarily a spiritual one, although he argues that modern literary critics such as Leavis, have attempted to make it so.[145] In *Mere Christianity* he clearly states that it "needs no special education to be a Christian" since Christianity is "an education itself".[146] How then does Lewis reconcile his own high esteem of education and art with his religious beliefs? He simply declares his philosophical commitment to the idea of a liberal education and urges that functions should not be demanded of education or art which he believes cannot be performed without subverting the education system itself.

Comparable with his disparagement of modern trends in education in *Abolition,* he disparages modern art critics in *An Experiment in Criticism* who have fabricated from art "a religion, a philosophy, a school of ethics a psychotherapy, a sociology – anything rather than a collection of works of art".[147] He claims that it is false thinking and bad education to "father on" a piece of literature "the philosophy or ethical use we make of them".[148] To demand of education or art that it make the learner more spiritual, is, Lewis contends, a subversive use of both because it enslaves and indoctrinates by imposing external views.[149] Comparable to the practice of evaluative criticism in modern universities, Lewis feels that an education with a political, sociological, or spiritual agenda will result in students incapable of original thought.[150] He sees what he deems to be this tendency towards the subversion of education, culture and democracy as a great threat to modern society and free thought. Analogous

to exposure to evaluative literary criticism, such subversions will, in Lewis's view, produce students who are "drenched, dizzied and bedevilled by criticism to a point at which primary literary experience is no longer possible".[152] There is thus an added profundity in Lewis's advocacy of a liberal education.

Following Arnold, he argues that a work of art must exist to be received rather than to support or corroborate a personal theory.[153] The work must be seen "as in itself it really is".[154] In any educational endeavour the student must display a "disinterested love of a free play of the mind on all subjects for its own sake".[155] In *Studies in Words* he praises Newman for "a very firm piece of thinking" when he wrote in *Scope and Nature of a University Education* that "that alone is liberal knowledge which stands on its own pretensions which is independent of sequel . . . refuses to be informed (as it is called) by an end".[156] Lewis admires Newman for his recognition that "that which is necessarily subordinate has nevertheless its own relative autonomy and its own proper excellence".[157] This statement perfectly encapsulates Lewis's attitude to education and art.

6:9 **Legitimising a Liberal Education**

Arguing as he is for a liberal education, Lewis is always careful to legitimise that pursuit for the Christian. In an essay, "Learning in War-Time", he clarifies his position when he acknowledges the legitimate place for scholarly and aesthetic activities in the life of a Christian.[158] He declares that while knowledge and beauty must be pursued "for their own sake", they should also be pursued "in a sense which does not exclude their being for God's sake".[159] Analogous to his position on the legitimacy of natural loves, Lewis believes that ultimately education can become "the servant of the spiritual life but is not automatically so".[160] Unlike the natural loves, which he feels are legitimate only if they become schools of virtue, Lewis cherishes the liberal pursuit of knowledge as perfectly legitimate in itself.[161] Writing that man's appetite for knowledge and beauty was created by God, not solely in order that an educated Christian could

defend Christianity against intellectual attack, but also that it would also allow him "to rest and play in the suburbs of Jerusalem".[162]

However autonomous Lewis urges that pursuit to be, he is convinced that in the pursuit of a good scientific or aesthetic education "we are either advancing to the vision of God ourselves or indirectly helping others to do so".[163] Moreover he believes that the life of learning "humbly offered to God" is "one of the appointed approaches to the divine reality and the divine beauty", which we hope to enjoy hereafter".[164]

The legitimate role he assigns to himself as artist and to artists in general is one where the artist, rather than telling truths about life, merely present their own experiences of the world.[165] In the true reception of their work the viewer, unhampered by his own assumptions, prejudices and expectations, encounters and experiences another way of looking at the world.[166] In Lewis's view, this process allows the viewer to be other than himself, thereby "correcting his provincialism and healing his loneliness".[167] As stated in chapter four, Lewis is convinced that "in love, in virtue, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the reception of the arts we are doing this".[168] We are allowing a "temporary annihilation of self".[169] Worthwhile in itself, it is a process which perfectly mirrors the Christian way – "he that loseth his life shall save it".[170] In *Mere Christianity,* Lewis states that "to love and admire anything outside yourself is to take one step away from utter spiritual ruin".[171] Like literary criticism, he believes that a good education "heals the wound, without undermining the privilege of individuality".[172] Even at a superficial level, Lewis believes that the arts have "a distinct part to play in bringing certain souls to Christ".[173] The arts, he contends, in "Christianity and Culture", awaken the "uneducated man" from his complacency – a complacency which he sees as an obstacle to conversion.[174] It is a complacency, he further maintains, which encloses the uneducated "in a tiny windowless universe which he mistakes for the only possible universe".[175] Contrariwise, a cultural man, in his view, "is compelled to be aware that reality is odd and that the ultimate truth . . . must have the characteristics of strangeness".[176]

In conclusion, Lewis argues for the autonomous status of education and art and demands that neither should be subverted to serve the needs of the state or religion. However, his entire philosophy of education and aesthetics is permeated by his ethico-religious beliefs. These beliefs inform his educational philosophy but do not subvert it into serving the religious or spiritual needs of the learner. However because Lewis is such a committed rational Christian, he does believe that a good education will inevitably lead to God if the educational process is one which focuses on the eternal verities.

He sees the education and artistic process as analogous to the process a Christian must undergo to reach his full potential. He is careful to maintain that however analogous the processes are, one cannot become a Christian by simply being well educated. From Lewis's perspective, to be well educated is an addition, a starting point for the Christian life but it can never be mistaken for the Christian life itself. Nonetheless, he sees its value for the Christian, and states in *Christian Reflections* that for some, a good education can be " a good beginning", where "imitation may pass into initiation".[177]

He conceives the educational process as one which focuses on individual freedom through the development of both the rational moral mind and its aesthetic sensibilities. He conceives the artistic process as one where the artist communicates a view of the world and the receiver participates in that view, thereby freeing himself of his own provincialism. Both processes embrace Lewis's vision of the Christian life in a profound and radical way. Essentially, what he envisages for the educator and the artist alike is the means of promoting the growth towards freedom by preserving their own autonomy in the face of insidious encroachments of state, society and contemporary cultural aspirations, and by consciously adopting a role where the learner and receiver are facilitated and encouraged to authentic response but never indoctrinated.

Lewis's own worth as and educator and artist stands very squarely upon the realisation of his own principles. He embodies in both his apologetic and imaginative writings, and in his tutorial work the truth of the values he so powerfully promotes. There can be no doubt that he emerges a committed

authentic educator, but an educator well aware of the limits of education and art. For Lewis, religion is not illusion but rather " a whole life".[178] He believes that the essence of religion is "the thirst for an end higher than natural ends". One can deduce from a study of his apologetics, his imaginative writings, his essays, his literary criticism and his tutorial work that he believed just as forcefully that a good education or an encounter with art, so worthwhile in themselves, are doubly to be cherished because both encourage and direct but not quite sate that thirst which makes man distinctly human. [179]

CONCLUSIONS

But we have lived to see the second death of ancient learning.

"De Descriptione Temporum",
Selected Literary Essays, 4,
C.S. Lewis.

When Lewis wrote in "De Descriptione Temporum" that in his veritable native knowledge of 'Old Western literature' he was as one of the last great dinosaurs, incongruous and totally out-of-step with modern life and thought, he exhorted his readers to attend to their last remaining specimens writing that "Speaking not only for myself but for all other Old Western men whom you meet, I would say, use your specimens while you can".[1] While Lewis was surrendering to what apparently was a deliberate tendency for the large rhetorical flourish in his lectures, there was in him a deep seated belief that his views were at odds with those of the modern world, socially, psychologically, educationally and spiritually.

This belief is perpetuated by such writers as Rosemary Jackson and Michael Moorcock who claim that Lewis theories "dignify the mood of a disenchanted and thoroughly discredited section of the repressed English middle-class too afraid even as it falls to make any sort of direct complaint, least of all to the Higher Authority their Anglican God who had evidently failed them".[2] Moorcock, in *Wizardry And Wild Romance : A study of epic fantasy,* finds Lewis guilty of producing corrupted romanticism, of attempting to maintain an unreal attitude to childhood, of speaking for the middle-class status quo, and of using the stuff of fantasy "to preach sermons quite as nasty as any to be found in Victorian sentimentalized fiction".[3] Rosemary Jackson

in *Fantasy : The Literature of Subversion*, offering a Freudian \ Marxist \ Structuralist approach to a reading of fantasy, finds in the work of Lewis and his friends, "a nostalgic humanistic vision . . . [which] looks back to a lost moral and social hierarchy, which their own fantasies try to revivify and recapture".[4] She suggests that Lewis contributed to a tradition of liberal humanism, now outworn, which reinforces a blind faith in 'eternal' moral values.[5] In a sense she is right, for Lewis did contribute to a tradition of liberal humanism, which he also thought was, not quite outworn (the word carries pejorative connotations in this instance), but rather, was being appallingly neglected to the detriment of humanity by modern society and by modern education. Even in the thirties and forties he had already recognized that his views and beliefs were incongruous to the Spirit of the Age. It is Barfield in "C.S. Lewis and Historicism" who puts this incongruity into its proper perspective:

> His being at odds with a great deal of contemporary vogue is precisely the quality which many of us value most in him. Perhaps there is a difference between being at odds and being out of touch. . . . Divergence between the thoughts and insights of Lewis and the thoughts and insights of others, is significant, if at all, not because those others were contemporaries but because of their substance. . . It is significant in this context only to the extent, if any, that they were right and he was wrong.[6]

Jackson's and Moorcock's views, which would be representative of quite a number of contemporary critics clearly demonstrate that one's evaluation of Lewis's beliefs depends solely on the philosophical perspective from which one regards his work. While this is true of all writers, it is particularly so in Lewis's case, since his stout Christian faith permeated everything he wrote. It is, in a compelling way, palpably present in his writing.

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that however incongruous Lewis's theories may at first glance appear, they are not only relevant, but positively

contribute to those educational theorists who defend the validity of the imagination within the educational process and urge a truly liberal holistic education. To adopt a statement from Jung which seems particularly pertinent to an evaluation of Lewis's work, "We have often found that a poet who has gone out of fashion is suddenly rediscovered. This happens when our conscious development has reached a higher level from which the poet can tell us something new. It was always present in his work but was hidden in a symbol".[7] Lewis himself in *The Discarded Image* observed that in the establishing of a new model from which to perceive the world, "the evidence will turn up when the inner need for it becomes sufficiently great".[8] There is in Lewis's writings on education something which *must* effect contemporary consciousness, and this is, his real attempt to balance and give due respect and autonomy to the rational, imaginative and spiritual faculty within himself, and to awaken that desire for balance within others. He believed that it was largely the responsibility of education to foster that due balance in its students.

His childhood had seen his awakening to the potential of the imagination; his adolescence to the pervasive power of the rational intellect; and his manhood to the struggle to reconcile both, which he achieved, in his own view, through his conversion to Christianity. His tutorial work had convinced him that a major task for any educational system was to; instil in its student not only a desire to know, but to know truly, and to present a curriculum which allowed the student to develop those mental faculties which would result in clear, lucid, thinking, the articulation of authentic, and therefore true beliefs and ideas, and the desire for real freedom.

He argued against vocational training in favour of education and learning, seriously questioning whether vocational training allowed for any cognitive development in the individual. He claimed that education was solely the business of

first and second level schools which should, in his view, be primarily concerned with developing virtuous students (in the Aristotelian sense of the term). He considered that it was in universities that true learning could begin, whereby a student in his complete absorption in attempting to get to know "some part of reality as it really is in itself", would learn to develop a pure perspective and seriously question second-hand views.[9] He despised the progressive movement in education as one which failed to address the true needs of the child to be taught about the nature of knowledge, and to exercise his memory and his reason. His own educational experiences had taught him that a teacher did not require an open progressive unstructured methodology to develop with his pupils a sense of mutual reverence and respect - something which he held in the highest regard and seems to have fostered in his own relationship with his tutorial students.

He protested against what he considered to be the illiberal tendencies of modern curricular planners to constrain student studies along doctrinaire lines and question the relevance of such subjects as academic English and Latin to children emerging into a new post-war Britain. Claiming that the contemporaneous secondary school curriculum was too broad, particularly in America, he argued for a curriculum with a selective syllabus at second level which would offer "the keys to some four or five chambers of knowledge which we think the best".[10] For the university syllabus, he denounced the prescriptive in favour of an open syllabus which involved the principle of free and open enquiry. Such a syllabus, in his view, did not offer undergraduates selected highlights which a committee of dons had deemed representative of what was worthwhile in man's thought, but allowed the student, through free enquiry, to discern for himself what was worthwhile and true. He appealed for the preservation of classical studies within the educational system on the

merely dim "ectypes of the truth".[13] He was concerned lest the growing regard for the 'cultured' individual would result in a "Charientocracy" whereby the self-appointed aristocracy of the cultured would coalesce with the actual managerial rulers to create a new hegemony of workers conditioned with acceptable cultural responses.

All of Lewis's writings and most especially *Abolition* reflect his deep fear of growing state control and what he interpreted as its discernible move towards totalitarianism under the guise of promoting democratic egalitarianism. In the wake of political events in Europe and Russia during and after the second world war, Lewis's writings have that sharp edge and bite in the realization that such totalitarian control is well within the realm of possibility. George Orwell's *1984* reflects the same degree of cynicism concerning the seeming beneficence of the welfare egalitarian state. Ultimately Lewis argued for a liberal education. All education, in his view, should nurture in its youth just sentiments and a desire for truth which he was convinced would help in the realisation of true freedom and lead to a contemplation and eventual apprehension of God.

Lewis did not however, look to the development of self and subjective freedom as the primary aim of education. He viewed the twentieth century preoccupation with the subjective self, the operations and perceptions of individual conscience, and the seemingly all-pervasive quest for wholeness and meaning within the self as unhealthy and misconceived. In *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm* he declared that "there is also a merely morbid and fidgety curiosity about one's self - the slop over from modern psychology - which surely does no good?"[14] He questioned whether man has any reason to suppose "that total self-knowledge, if it were given us, would be for our good".[15] The rhetorical question is answered when he states, "You and I wouldn't, at all stages, think it wise to tell a pupil exactly what we thought of

his quality. It is much more important that he should know what to do next".[16] For Lewis, education did not end with self, but began with self looking upward and outward beyond the paltry provincialism of his own mind. And for education to effect this function of self-transcendence, a faculty other than the rational was needed to claim its rightful place within the process of knowing. That faculty of course, was the imagination.

While Lewis had intuited the importance of the imagination at an early age, it was only through his philosophical discourses with his friend Owen Barfield, his imaginative discourses with George MacDonald, his aesthetic and religious discourses with his Inkling friends and J.R.R. Tolkien in particular, and his serious scholarly reading on the subject, that he acknowledged imagination's potential and its validity within the life and thought of man. Accepting the supposition that man lived in a symbolic universe, Lewis, true to his idealist roots, maintained that man could only come to know and be in the world by the power of his imaginative apprehensions. If education were to address the totality of man, and foster in him the ability to respond fully to the world, then education, in Lewis's view, had to develop the imaginative faculty in each man. While Lewis is not explicit in his belief that students should be initiated into the various symbolic forms of literature, science, art, music, and myth, his prolific writings on and about myth reveal a profound commitment to at least one symbolic form, to a belief in its potentialities and a desire to kindle in other human souls the same awareness of its potential.

Lewis came to believe that the imagination, and its most powerful symbolic product, myth, allowed each individual to experience what one can distinguish from Lewis's writings as a lower and higher level of transcendence. At the lower level of transcendence man through the creative works of others, but also he explained in *An*

Experiment In Criticism, through love, virtue, and the pursuit of knowledge, perceived the world through the eyes of others and thus expanded his own consciousness by a "temporary annihilation of self". For Lewis it was not enough to see reality from his own perspective, and indeed he found it limiting to perceive reality through the myriad eyes of others. "Very gladly" he sighs in *An Experiment In Criticism*, "would I learn what face things present to a mouse or a bee".[17] At a higher level of transcendence, through the workings of the imagination, Lewis believed that man was capable of apprehending what Shelley has termed the "before - unapprehended relation of things".[18] He was able to imitate his Creator and give to other men an alternative vision of reality, thereby adding to the well of meaning in the world. More importantly still, in certain instances, particularly through the medium of myth, he might succeed in catching a glimpse of the higher truths of absolute reality.

But while Lewis believed that a truly liberal education which attended to both rational and imaginative faculties in man must inevitably awaken the spiritual faculty, he did not demand of education that it engage in the process of spiritualising its students. Herein lies Lewis's contemporaneity and his major contribution to contemporary educational thought. He was convinced that if a system of education was liberally conceived, if it was untainted and unhampered by the dictates and ideologies of Church or State, its students, aided by rigorous ethical training, clear rational thinking, and refined aesthetic sensibilities, could pursue truth, gain a large degree of human freedom, and in the process gain clear insights into spiritual reality.

It was a vision of education as a life-long process. It was a vision of education grounded in a very particular conception of freedom. It is only when one turns to examine Lewis's concept of freedom and the process he conceived for the realisation

of that freedom that one begins to comprehend the truly ethico-religious character of his understanding of the nature of a liberal education. It is only in examining Lewis's religious writings that Lewis's concept of freedom is clearly defined and the ruling principles of his educational philosophy come sharply into focus.

Lewis defined the individual growth to freedom as a process whereby the individual consistently renounced the inordinate claims of the egotistical self, trained the will, displaced the provincialism of subjective views by being enlarged and educated by the views of others, and with the grace of God, made daily choices which allowed him to transpose natural appetites and loves into modes of charity. Grounded in the Christian belief that the true self finds freedom in the dying of the egotistical self, Lewis believed that the process by which all men come to freedom was universal for all, Jew, gentile or pagan. Equally he was convinced that any education system which advocated the development of free-thinking individuals had to embrace principles which encouraged free enquiry and discerning choice rather than offering prescriptive courses of study, had to encourage the acceptance of individual responsibility rather than allowing the abdication of that responsibility to State or Church, had to initiate and train the young in moral responsibility, had to promote and develop the aesthetic potentialities within all.

From Lewis's perspective, any system of education liberally conceived would, of its very nature, be non-denominational and applicable to all. However, since Lewis viewed the educational process as one which promoted freedom, and since he conceived the Christian life in similar terms, one can justifiably state that ultimately he viewed the educational process as one which inevitably and eventually promoted a religious perception of reality without in any way subverting the process itself.

It was his supreme confidence and faith in God that made him believe that any individual who truly pursued a liberal education would find God. Thus Lewis could confidently declare that it was not a critical function of the artist, or indeed the educator, to disclose formally or bear witness consciously to religious truth. By exposing an individual to sub-Christian values and instilling in him the love of truth for truth's sake, the educator or artist was, in Lewis's view, moving the individual forward towards true freedom, a freedom which was, by Lewis's reckoning, innately religious and spiritual.

It is only when Lewis's diverse educational writings are placed within the context of his entire work that the import of his pronouncements on education are fully realised and the measure of his contribution to modern educational thought correctly assessed. And Lewis's contribution is not only relevant but important. Not only did he make a positive contribution to the development of an alternative conception of education which refuses to accept the hegemony of scientific enquiry in the process of knowing, not only did he challenge the granting to science of a monopoly on truth by claiming that all knowledge is inextricably linked with the creative imagination faculty, he declared throughout all his writing implicitly and explicitly that an education, liberally conceived, could be embraced by all without compromising any individual's civil or religious rights.

His major contribution to contemporary educational thought must rest in the manner in which he conceived a liberal education for the twentieth, and indeed the twenty-first, century. It is a concept of education which pays tribute to the rational and aesthetic sensibilities and which holds as its guiding principle the growth to freedom of every individual irrespective of race or religion.

It is hoped that this study has proven that Lewis deserves a place not only among the ranks of the defenders of imagination within the educational process but also among those who try to develop a system of education which embraces all without compromising any. Only further studies will adequately assess the extent of this contribution. The manner in which Lewis anticipated but also diverged from contemporary educational thought on the issue of the symbolic arts in education needs to be fully explicated. His theory of the self and its relation to education particularly in its transcendental function, as Lewis perceived it, in its effecting a going out of self, rather than a focusing inward on self would undoubtedly prove a rich ground for educational psychologists and those educationalists who emphasize education as self-advancement and self-development. Educational historians might also find it valuable to examine Lewis's very explicit reactions to developments in education in the thirties and forties, and to validate or question his place among the British educational idealists. Worthwhile comparative studies with such American educationalists as William Toney Harris, Herman Horne, J.B. Conant and particularly J. Donald Butler could only enhance a fuller understanding of Lewis's place among contemporaneous educational thought. Finally for those contemporary educators genuinely assailed by doubts as to the emphasis to place on developing the rational or imaginative faculty in their students, a reading of Lewis's work, especially *Abolition* or "Is Theology Poetry?" should help to focus the mind on what should be considered worthwhile in education.

Lewis was an outstanding educator. It seems inconceivable that such qualities as many of his students attest to, did not spill over into his writings on education. It is hoped that this study has helped to uncover what to date has been the hidden Lewis, Lewis the educator whose obvious teaching talents and deep and genuine concern

with the educational well-being of his students, led to valuable insights not only into pedagogic practices, but also into educational ideologies. But Lewis was also an artist in love with imagination and a deeply religious man. It is this blend of educator, artist and committed Christian that makes his insights so valuable to contemporary society. Of the man himself, Kathleen Raine in "From a Poet", has left what is perhaps, the most complete portrait of Lewis, most complete in the sense that it seems to unite all aspects of Lewis, educator, artist and Christian into a vivid whole:

> to meet him was to know that here was a man of great learning, continuously kindled into life by imagination. He seemed to possess a kind of boyish greatness - an unique combination of qualities, in my experience, for in him neither seemed to vitiate the other. He was not, certainly intellectually boyish (no reader of his works of scholarship could suppose that) but in the freshness and joyousness with which he carried his learning. I think of Stevenson's line as particularly applicable to him. 'Glory of youth glowed in his soul'. The sense of glory has become rare, even in youth; was it perhaps an Irish trait in him, never to doubt the worth of the game? - and for him learning was a joyful and inexhaustible game.[19]

Appendix

A: Correspondence to the author from Derek Brewer, 23 November 1994, 24th April, 1995.

B: Correspondence to the author from Edward Edmonds, 19 November 1994.

C: Correspondence to the author from Keith Haines, 9 June 1994.

D: Correspondence to the author from Walter Hooper, 25 May 1994, 14 June, 1994.

E: Correspondence to the author from the George Sayer, 10 October 1994, 18 November 1994.

F: Correspondence to the author from Francis Warner, 31 March 1995.

G: Correspondence to the author from Oxford C.S. Lewis Society, 23 November 1994.

H: Transcript of video-taped interview with Douglas Gresham, Carlow, Ireland, 17 August 1998.

DIANA, THE HUNTER
Louise de Savoie: *Les échecs amoureux*
MS. Fr. 143, f. 116. French, end of fifteenth century
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Emmanuel College
Cambridge CB2 2QE
Tel. 01223 - 334200

23 Nov 94

Dear Ms Brady,

I will try to answer your letter but it will have to wait a bit. I don't think my views on Lewis have changed. Most of the comments you quote can be reconciled with mine, granted differences of temperament, except the first. If it is from the person I think it is he is a notorious character. Why should one want to bait one's tutor, or feel the need? You have to remember that the general culture was very different 50 years ago, and that many of us were ex-infantry officers, though not in the least militaristic. And men's and women's worlds were different. Etc. etc. Lewis was perhaps a great man, not a saint, but certainly a good man. His lectures varied. If you are ever in Cambridge do call on me. Yours sincerely Derek Brewer

University of Prince Edward Island

Faculty of Education

19 Nov '94

My dear Rosalyn (if I may),

Thank you for your letter, which has finally reached me via the U.S.A. I am flattered you should write to me and I only wish I could be your supervisor. But distance and time supervene. I hasten therefore to write in my own hand – friends call it intriguingly indecipherable, critics unimpressively illegible.

I am not really up with the context of the commentary of Alan Rook or Norman Bradshaw; but it does seem to me there is a case for that old maxim (suitably adapted)

"Qua discipuli, non sententiae."

But here is one little suggestion for you. Early on I once quoted William Cowper's hymn "Hark my soul..." I suppose he was impressed by the scope of my memory, but in answer to my 'paean of glad praise', he said, 'But surely, you can't like that awful hymn, there is a fountain filled with blood....'? Today I should spontaneously reply precisely! 'It is awe-full.' But this of course, I wavered with 'Well, perhaps you're right –' when he promptly cut me off. 'I don't want you to agree with me; I want you to disagree.' Nevertheless, at that point in time disagreeing wasn't all that easy... But one learns!

Good luck with your thesis!

Very sincerely, Edward Edmonds

550 University Avenue, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada C1A 4P3
Telephone Number (902) 566-0349 FAX (902) 566-0420

Campbell College
BELFAST BT4 2ND

Ms. Rosalyn Brady
20 Sundrive Road
DUBLIN 12

9 June 1994

Dear Ms. Brady,

Thank you for your recent letter, enquiring about C.S. Lewis, which the Headmaster has passed to me.

We are very busy at school at present - the eternal round of examinations, marking and reports - so I do not have time to answer you in the fullest detail, but I hope that the following may be of some value to you.

It is difficult to add much on Lewis's own impressions of Campbell beyond what he says in his autobiography, Surprised by Joy. Campbell College is 100 years old this year, and I have just written a history of the school, entitled Neither Rogues nor Fools, and a copy was sent to Trinity College Library, so I assume you will be able to consult it there.

You should find all that you need relating to the nature of the school, the syllabus and the staff in the early chapters, and there is really little that I can add on that score beyond what I have written in the book.

The staff in those early years were very highly qualified; some of them came from Ireland, others were deliberately enlisted from Oxford and Cambridge. I enclose a copy of the list of staff from those early days, and you can look through it to see which of them were teaching here in 1910. I have asterisked the relevant ones, and you should find some useful references to most of them in my book.

You will find any amount of information on James Adams McNeill in my book, but unfortunately C.S. Lewis (as I indicate on p.88, note 43) was not taught English by J.A. McNeill. This is an error which is perpetrated in all the books on Lewis, and seems to have started in error, on his own admission, by Walter Hooper (who has edited Lewis's letters with his friend Arthur Greeves). Lewis was taught English by Lewis Alden (see pp.87-8), who was an Oxford man - and there are many references to him in my book.

Mr. Hooper was very forthcoming in correspondence, and he may well be prepared to help you. His address is - if I remember correctly - 30 St. Bernard's Road, Oxford. I am sure you are aware that, in addition to all the books about C.S. Lewis, the Lewis Family Papers, which should be a fruitful source, are kept at the Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois 60187-5593, USA !!

I hope that all this proves of some use to you. If you ever wish to come to visit Campbell, please let me know. I shall be pleased to show you around. All best wishes for your research,

yours sincerely,

Keith H

Keith Haines
Head of History

1. You will find basic information on the Oxford & Cambridge men (or some of them) in

2. A Venn, "Alumni Cantabrigienses" (Cambridge)

3. J. Foster, "Oxford Men 1880-1892" (Oxford, 1893)

The latter included Lewis Alden

b. 11.6.1869
at Oxford
educ: Oxford High School (→ Waltham)
5th son of Isaac Alden, a "gentleman".
His elder brother (3rd son), Percy (later MP),
went to Balliol.

Telephone (0865) 513142

30 St Bernard's Road,
Oxford OX2 6EH,
25 May 1994

Miss Rosalyn Brady,
20 Sundrive Road,
Dublin 12,
Ireland

Dear Miss Brady,

I apologise for being so long in replying to your letter of the 17th, but I was in Italy when it arrived. I'm sorry to have to say as well that I wont be here in July when you come over. I go to the States on the 21st June and I don't return till mid-August.

I can't think of anything much to say about the topic for your reseach on C.S.Lewis except that I certainly do welcome it. Lewis wrote and talked so much about the 'power of the imagination,' but it doesn't look as though many educators have listened to him. But you are far more familiar with his ideas about the use of imagination in education than I am, and are more fit to teach me than I you.

I am at present writing a **Handbook to C.S.Lewis** for the Estate of C.S.Lewis, and which will be published by HarperCollins whenever I get the manuscript to them. Tho' it really may not help with your ideas at all, I thought you'd like to see the rather longish piece I wrote for a section of the Handbook called 'Key Ideas.'

Again, I'm sorry I won't be in Oxford in July for your visit. And by the way, I'm not a clergyman in the Anglican Church any longer. I converted to Rome in 1988.

Every good wish with your research and thanks for your comments about the lunatical *Skeleton in the Wardrobe*.

Yours sincerely,

Walter Hooper

Walter Hooper

Telephone (0865) 513142

30 St Bernard's Road,
Oxford OX2 6EH,
14 June 1994

Miss Rosalyn Brady,
20 Sundrive Road,
Dublin 12,
Republic of Ireland

Dear Miss Brady,

I'm delighted if the piece I wrote on Imagination was useful to you. I was trying to say what Lewis *meant* by 'Imagination', but as you'll see I have not gone on to apply it to education or anything else. So there is still much for you and others to say about Lewis's application of Imagination.

I'm very pressed for time at the moment, and so don't have time to say much about the rival merits of Peter Schackel and Mr Barfield. But my overall feeling is that Dr Schackel ruined his book by dividing Lewis up. It looks like he began with that thesis in mind, and tried to find evidence to support it. No, like you, I think Owen Barfield's understanding of Lewis's imagination the best we have. Incidentally, I showed him the piece I wrote for the **Handbook** on Imagination, and he seemed quite satisfied with it.

I've only just returned from a two day visit with Mr Barfield. He's 95, but his mind seems to me to be as sharp as ever. A kinder man you could not hope to meet. I understand very well why Lewis loved him so much.

I'm sorry I am in such a rush.

Yours sincerely,

Walter Hooper

Walter Hooper

22 Alexandra Road, Malvern,
Worcestershire WR14 1HQ.
10/10/94

Dear Miss Brady,

Thank you for your letter, and especially for the kind remarks about JACK. I wish I had the time to help you in the way you would like,

Lewis undoubtedly thought it very important that children should read, or have read to them, fairy and other imaginative stories. He had no use for TV at all and thought it bad for almost everyone, especially children. Poetry should be read aloud to children. He owed a great deal to the magnificent way in which H.W. Smith read aloud and himself tended to read aloud in the same style. He had no use for the style of reading that makes poetry sound almost like prose.
Smith was an eccentric genius. I wish I had enough material to write a book about him. He was so respected throughout the school that other masters and even school prefects allowed boys in Smith's class to do things such as wear flowers in their button-holes, practices which would normally have been severely punished and repressed.

A good deal about Lewis's theories of education at a higher level can be found in the books, *REHABILITATIONS*, *The Personal Heresy, Selected Literary Essays & An Experiment in Criticism.* He thought the study of words, their history and meanings most important. I suggest you read his book on words.

I will write to you again if I have more time and, especially, more ideas.

With my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely

George Sayer

22 Alexandra Road, Malvern.
Worcestershire WR1 1HQ
18/11/94

Dear Ms Brady,

What an assembly of quotations!
The ones on your first page do not agree with my experience of Lewis a tutor. I myself had a mind of an intuitive sort, and shrank from dispute. I was shy and lacked the confidence to argue with him. He supplied encouragement and designed a course that suited me, one that involved a certain amount of the writing of verse. I found his tutorials, (I had an hour a week alone with him) exhilarating and enjoyable. He did not usually mention his other pupils, but, when he did so, it was clear that he was interested in them as individuals.
I can't remember having come across his views on democratic education. He certainly held that the imprecise use of words could blur real communication.

You will find accounts of Lewis as tutor in Stephen Schofield's book *In Search of C.S.Lewis* and many more in the files of the Canadian C.S.Lewis Journal which he edited and published. I suppose you have already looked at the autobiographies of pupils of his such as Bede Griffiths and Ken Tynan?

With all good wishes,

George Sayer.

In the pre-war years, when there were few English pupils he also tutored in political economy. His pupils in this subject did not rate him at all highly.

OXFORD (0865) 278906
FROM
FRANCIS WARNER, M.A.,
LORD WHITE FELLOW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
DEAN OF DEGREES

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
OX1 2DL

31st March 1995

Dear Rosalyn,

Thank you for your card. By chance I had just had a visit from Fr Walter Hooper, and he made me write something, which I enclose in case it throws up anything of interest to you. Of course you may use it in your thesis, if so, but publication needs further consultation, as Walter Hooper is publishing much of it in his HarperCollins Companion to C.S.Lewis.

Dr R.W.Burchfield's address is the same as my own.

Good Luck!

Francis Warner

OXFORD (0865) 278906
FROM
FRANCIS WARNER, M.A.,
LORD WHITE FELLOW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
DEAN OF DEGREES

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
OX1 2DL

28th March 1995

Dear Walter,

Thank you for your letter of 25th, and for your kind gift of the revised letters. Thank you also for returning safely Mrs Eliot's T.S.E. Letters, Vol. 1. I'm glad you have written to her; I'm sure she will reply helpfully.

You asked me to jot down something about my time with C.S.Lewis.

I went regularly, on Wednesday mornings, to Professor Lewis's rooms in Magdalene to show him my week's work on the text of Agrippa. Other research students envied my regular contact with my supervisor - such weekly meetings were, for arts post-graduates, not the Cambridge custom. I replied that they probably enjoyed more sleep than I did, as I lay awake most of Tuesday nights aware of my shortcomings in the three languages necessary for the task (Latin, Greek and Hebrew). My supervisor was generous with more than his time, though. To spare my blushes, he took the original volume in his hands, and with one finger travelling along the buckled lines, translated 'off the cuff', having told me to stop him when he went wrong. I took this to be his polite way of saying 'Make a note where we differ and correct if you are wrong.' When we reached some Hebrew he asked me to take over. Both he and I were seeing Professor Winton Thomas of my own college, St Catharine's : I for instruction in Hebrew, he as they were both members (with T.S.Eliot) of the Commission to Revise the Psalms. When I asked about Eliot's attitude to the project he said that whenever he himself wanted something changed, Eliot always wanted the Prayer Book version retained.

I would knock on his door at 10.30, and we would sit at an angle together, neither facing nor side by side, until 12.45. My notes show the pace at which we worked. On January 25th 1961, for instance, we stopped at the end of Chapter V. The following week, on February 1st, at the end of Chapter IX. He would make me note down references neither of us knew, and in the intervening week each of us would look them up, and compare our answers the following Wednesday. He was fascinated by this chasing of sources

OXFORD (0865) 278906
FROM
FRANCIS WARNER, M.A.,
LORD WHITE FELLOW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
DEAN OF DEGREES

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
OX1 2DL

28th March 1995

for the innumerable quotations, and was awe-inspiringly well-read. I, for my part, paid particular attention to the bibliographical side, the alternative readings in the folio copies of this work I was laboriously collating letter by letter in the University Library's Anderson Room. He cheered me on : 'Praestat difficilior lectio' he would say again and again.

His notes made during the week showed keen zest. Often he would ~~first~~ give the reference he had found, ~~then~~ and the Latin or Greek quotation, together with ancillary linguistic material if needed; then a reference to English literature. An ~~typical~~ example is his comment on the word Echeneis:

Echeneis 1. Adj. EXE-VNIS. "ship-detaining". Hence used of lack of winds, or unfavourable winds. (Aeschylus Agamemnon. 144.) 2. As Noun: a shell-fish credited with the power of holding a ship back = Lat. echineis remora. For which cf. Donne, Elegy XVIII, 58; Letter to Sir H. Wotton, 8; Giers. -ois note on the latter; Also Thos. Browne, Errors III. cap 28 last para. but two

Another note might be to educate me from my ignorance; of, for instance, how Homeric horses bred:

Horses fertilised by the Wind. Iliad XVI. 148 " Xanthus and Balius, swift steeds, whom Harpyia Podargé bore to the wind Zephyr, when she grazed in a meadow beside the Ocean stream.

He would add fascinating observations beyond the needs of the task in hand, always of a scholarly nature. At the end of a note on Epimenides he adds:

'St Paul quotes a line from him in Titus i.12'

OXFORD (0865) 278906
FROM
FRANCIS WARNER, M.A.,
LORD WHITE FELLOW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
DEAN OF DEGREES

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
OX1 2DL

28th March 1995

All these notes were written in longhand on any paper that happened to be on his desk : the back, or front, of Magdalene College notepaper (whichever way the sheet happened to be lying), the back of a fan-letter from a lady in Buffalo, New York ending:

'Is there anything one can do but shudder?

With great respect and no little affection...'

Over and above these marathon sessions (so they seemed to me), he would question me about my poetry, and write at length by letter on my sources, rhythms, etc. 'The general danger at present is that of becoming (like early Keats)"too darn poetical" . You know what I mean?..... I like the body of III but not its alexandrine...Now for details. You mean Perennia and Salacia as fem. singulars. But remember how perennis and salax are declined! Your forms cd. only be neuter plurals. This simply must be altered.' (27.Oct 61)

'Dear Warner, You bowl be out middle stump about Salacia and Perennis! I just didn't know this.' (1.Nov 61)

I asked him how he wrote his O.H.E.L. volume. He replied that he tried to read every book in the century, much of the reading being done in Duke Humfrey.. Every time he read an author he wrote himself an essay on the subject, dated it, and put it in a drawer for a year and a day. He would then take it out and mark it. Any essay falling below a clear alpha was sent back to be done again. I returned to my college and looking through the book saw that it was, indeed, made up of individual essays clearly written at different stages of his development. I also learned a valuable lesson in consistent self-disciplined planning, sustained through two decades to publication.

OXFORD (0865) 278906
FROM
FRANCIS WARNER, M.A.,
LORD WHITE FELLOW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE
DEAN OF DEGREES

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
OX1 2DL

28th March 1995

There was no small-talk. When I came in he would knock out his pipe, we would each don our gowns, and he would take the leather-bound book from me and begin. Only once did I pluck up the courage to ask him a personal question. 'I hope', I said quietly, as we gowned, 'the black tie is not what it seems?' 'You are married?' 'Yes', I replied. 'You are lucky. My wife has just died. Now, let's begin.'

I have copies of the Magdalene College Archives, Group F. Private Papers. Do you know them? I'm sure you do; but mention this just in case they have escaped your notice. What a story!

Thank you for allowing me to read from page 87-110. You have written it well. Note spelling of the Cambridge St Catharine College. C.S.Lewis soon recommended me to the Faculty for upgrading from M.Litt to Ph.D., with the expansion of my work from what you rightly describe as the original proposal, but had quickly become

A Bibliographical Edition of the Latin Text of

DE OCCULTA PHILOSOPHIA

by H Cornelius Agrippa,
of the
edited together with a revision/translation of the

text as published by J.F. in 1651.

My introduction to the doctorate thesis states:

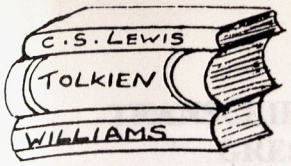
> 'Professor C.S.Lewis generously re-examined with me each word of the Latin text of Book One in connection with J.F.'s English translation; and Dr F.J.E.Raby, who directed my research while I was engaged on Books Two and Three, gave great assistance with problems rising from the translation of these.'

You are welcome to use any of this letter down to the end of the first paragraph on this page if it is of any use.

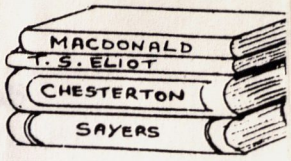
Warmest wishes,

Yours,

Francis.



Oxford
C.S. Lewis Society



24, Squitchey Lane,
OXFORD,
OX2 7LD.

Rosalyn Brady,
Well Cottage,
The Crescent,
BLACKROCK,
Ireland.

Wednesday 23 November.

Dear Miss Brady,

Your letter of September 29 finally reached me yesterday after our (very inefficient!) President finally unearthed it from a pile of papers. Please accept our apologies for this terribly tardy response and for its uselessness with regard to your Oxford visit, which I hope went well despite the complete absence of help from us.

I hope you will not think it an impertinence if I now proceed to ask you whether you would be interested in addressing our Society on the subject of your research degree. As far as I know we have never heard a talk on 'Lewis and Education' and if ever you were in Oxford and prepared to overlook our past transgressions apropos your letter, we would be delighted to welcome you.

I enclose some information about the Society. Since we are not a rich organisation and are unable to offer you an honorarium (or even anything other than minimal expenses), it is important that any appointment should be entirely at your convenience. The relevant dates for the next two terms are January 24, 31, February 7, 14, 21, 28, May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, June 6, and 13. Please take your pick from these if you are, indeed, able to accept our invitation. We meet at 8.15 pm; talks usually last about fifty minutes; we adjourn to the Eagle & Child after a period of discussion and questions. Former speakers have included Lord Longford, The Bishop of London, John and Priscilla Tolkien, and, of course, not a few students presenting 'work in progress' from their research degrees.

On the subject of ex-pupils of Lewis, the only one I know whose name I feel free to give you (not that I know many) is Mr. Francis Warner, now a Fellow in English at St. Peter's College here in Oxford. He's very approachable. Have Magdalen and Magdalene been prepared to supply you with any help?

Yours sincerely,

Michael Ward (Secretary)

Founded:- February 1982
Senior Advisor - Father Walter Hooper.

TRANSCRIPT OF VIDEO-TAPED INTERVIEW WITH DOUGLAS GRESHAM, CARLOW, IRELAND, 17 AUGUST1998

- Transcribed in Question / Response format

On Lewis's writings as evangelistic

Q. I would like to begin if I may by dispensing with some popular misconceptions and misunderstandings that have arisen about Lewis and his work. The first misunderstanding I would like you to clarify for me is the view held that Lewis was an evangelist, a view which seems to take into account Lewis's own statement that his books were evangelistic.

R. The confusion that often is made is the difference between evangelical and evangelistic. I think Jack was quite open about the fact that his books were evangelistic. They were written with a view to enabling people to understand Christianity, and that is an evangelistic technique I suppose. His books were more Christian apologetics that what we would describe today as evangelism. In the years since his death, since he was writing, the word evangelist has taken on a slightly new meaning. One regards evangelists as people who try to go out making converts, I'm not sure that Jack was trying to make converts. He was trying to explain Christianity and defend Christianity from various attacks. But in a sense that is evangelistic.

Q. So what you're saying is that he wasn't overly proselytizing.

R. I don't thing he was proselytizing. But certainly he was writing books that would enable people to come closer to Jesus Christ. I think he himself remarked at one stage that all his books were in one sense evangelistic but I don't think he would have called himself an evangelist in the same way that he would have called Billy Graham an evangelist. It's a semantic difficulty rather than anything else.

Q. But the issue does involve understanding the rationale behind the writing of his books. He says himself that he wanted to remind not to instruct, to discuss and not to preach.

R. Yes I think that is exactly what he was doing but to discuss and remind is essentially, in the end, evangelistic.

Q. But not in a pragmatic sense, I suppose?

R. It depends what you mean by pragmatic. It's a nebulous point. Anyone who explains Christianity could be described as an evangelist.

Q. Fine, you've just said that Lewis wasn't trying to convert and he actually says that himself.

R. I don't think he was trying to convert people from one thing to another. He was simply explaining Christianity and leaving it up to the person themselves. Our great commission is not to go out and make converts. As Christians our great commission is to go out and tell people about Jesus. Whether they convert or not is between themselves and the Holy Spirit of God.

Q. So, the difference is more than semantic?

R. I suppose it is. But even to do that is still evangelistic. So you come back to this word that has different meanings in people's minds. When you say something how stupid you sound depends very largely on where you're standing in the world when you say it. To use the word evangelist today might mean something very different in this country than it might mean in other countries at other times.

On Lewis and Theology

Q. A more abstract problem is Lewis's view of theology. In *Mere Christianity* he says that we need to have a "good theology". We need to know theology in order to come to God and yet later *in Letters to Malcolm* he doesn't dismiss theology, but he becomes very aware of it's shortcomings. In the sense he believes that often theological abstractions distract one from the true business of God.

R. I think what he's worried about, which any Christian should be, is that the study of theology and the study of things written about God sometimes can become more important to people than God himself. There's one danger. If your study of theology becomes more important than the God behind it you have a problem. In fact, if you start to worship your religion rather than worship Jesus Christ you have a problem and I think that was something that Jack was very aware of. Also I think you have to be a little bit careful when he was talking about good and bad theology. Good theology will leave you worshipping Jesus Christ. Bad theology will leave you trying to worship the theology itself.

Q. Yes. I think he says himself in *Mere Christianity* that theories do not equal Christianity. An insightful critic has said that Lewis is a theologian without a visible theology.

R. Yes I think that can be said of anyone who really studies God, studies the Bible, and tries to become a Christian. You have to become something of a theologian. Again we have trouble with the words here. When people talk about a theologian they mean someone who has studied all the writings about God and Christianity and has written things about it himself. It doesn't necessarily mean they're a Christian or even a good man. Again what do you mean when you say theology.

I think all Jack's remarks on theology must be read very carefully in the context in which he wrote them.

Q. Do you think Douglas that his attitude to theology changed from when he wrote *Mere Christianity* to when he wrote *Letters to Malcolm*? I sense myself that he became much more aware of its shortcomings. . . or maybe how it was being used.

R. I don't think theology itself has shortcomings. Maybe as you say the people who practice it do. I think Jack probably became more wary of theologians later on, because more and more bad theology was being taught and preached ... and even more so today than it was then. There's an awful lot of bad theology around and theologians who try to make boxes for God to fit into according to their own theological theories. God just doesn't do that. So I think Jack was more aware that people were starting to teach bad theology later on. And it's gone from bad to worse.

On Lewis's relevance in the late 20th Century

Q. Would you agree with the view held by many that Lewis is the great lay champion of Christianity in the 20th century?

R. Certainly one of, probably about the best, I guess. I'm biased to start with of course. I don't think any writer has done as much work in that area as powerfully as Jack did in the 20th century.

Q. What do you think it is about his writings that commands such attention?

R. I think there are several things. One is his enormous facility with the English language, his ability to make things very simple. Secondly, he doesn't mess around with half-truths, he tells the truth. He doesn't embellish truth. I think one of the problems with most of our denominational churches is that they take the gospel and add bits and pieces that suit them. Jack doesn't do that. He was a mere Christian and he expounds mere Christianity, not being really interested in the rituals and ceremonies that we attach to our Christianity. I think those are the things: the essential truths about which he wrote, and the simplicity and beauty of his language usage is what make his writings so great.

Q. Being purely speculative, what do you think Lewis would say if he knew that he was being hailed as the champion of Christianity in the 20th century?

R. The only thing that would worry him about it is that people might have a tendency to start worshipping Jack instead of Christ about whom he was teaching. I just came from a large conference in Oxford and Cambridge. I think there were almost one thousand delegates there. There were many people from all over the world. There were many more from America. It was the C.S. Lewis Centenary conference. And the worry about it was that people might start worshipping Jack. But that conference was particularly good because Jesus Christ was being worshipped through Jack's writings and I think that's what Jack would want and not the other way around.

Q. And indeed you've answered the question really concerning the power of Lewis's writing for an 18 year old today?

R. The truth and simplicity of his writing.

Q. Away from contemporary philosophical abstractions and reductions?

R. Yes exactly.

Q. What do you think he has to offer Christians moving into the 21st century?

R. Exactly the same thing . . . . . and 22nd, 23rd and 24th century. The truth will not change.

On Lewis as Educator

Q. Just a few speculative thoughts on how he would like to be viewed. More as a guide than a philosopher?

R. I think he says that himself. Or says something similar. He would rather be looked on as a guide than an originator of thought.

Q. Would you think Douglas that in a sense he had no interest in presenting a system of thought or analysing knowledge, that he was primarily interested in presenting God to other people?

R. Absolutely. When we originate a system of though or a system of belief the system always seems to take over from the Christ who should be being believed in and that's dangerous.

Q. And this come back to my idea of Lewis as an educator, a true educator.

R. He was a <u>teacher</u>.

Q. And his whole philosophy of education revolves around the idea that we (i.e. his students) are co-explorers. Indeed in his apologetic books he presents himself as co-explorer. He is exploring with us. He is not instructing us.

R. I think that's absolutely right. I have no quibbles with that.

On Lewis and Fallen Man

Q. I'd like to explore Lewis's view of man since the fall. It would be very easy, though I think incorrect, to say that Lewis believed man to be inherently evil.

R. I don't think Jack believed that man was inherently evil. I think Jack though that man was originally good but decided to turn to evil. There are two schools of thought here: one's original sin, that man was born evil and will remain evil 'till the day he dies, and the second that man is born inherently

good with the ability to do good but evil has come into his life. I think both are true but false.
I don't think either of them is dogmatically true. I don't think you can say this is the way it is. The Bible makes it very plain that we are born with a tendency to evil with the ability to choose. But that is part of the gift of free-will is it not? If you look around the world you see one of the chief driving forces in society is competition. And in the Bible the first examples of competition is when Satan decided to compete with God and we see competition is bad. We see that the essence of competition is evil. And I think that's part of the problem. It's not necessarily that we are born good or evil. We have a facility in both directions and it's up to us to make the choice.

Q. But he does talk continually about man's inner "cess-pool", that we must be vigilant in our attention to the evil within ourselves.

R. We are a fallen species there's no doubt about that. Scripture makes that very plain and therefore Jack would go along with that. That's the whole basis of his science-fiction trilogy. That's why we're on the silent planet.

Q. Can you then elucidate on his statement that the major problem is not one of Christianity versus nature but Christianity versus the principles controlled by nature.

R. I'm not sure that's what he said. The difficulty is not between Christianity and nature but between the worship of Christ and the worship of nature.

Q. No Douglas, this is a different point. It's in *Mere Christianity*. . . .

R. (We both agree to defer discussion on this point until we can examine the actual text).

On Lewis's concept of self

Q. I would like to look at Lewis's views about self. He states that self (i.e. natural self) and matter are not the ultimate realities but merely the end-product of divine activity. We must view them not as ultimate realities.

R. I would have thought that was obvious. Self and matter are not at all the ultimate realities. They're not even real necessarily.

Q. So you, ... sitting there are merely what Lewis would call a conductor through which reality can enter.

R. Precisely.

Q. So who is the self in front of me now? The self who is becoming a true self.

R. I don't think you will ever find him in this world. I think the true self emerges when we pass into the next world. Here is a foggy and occluded dark image of the self.

Q. Douglas do you not think Lewis is negating self continually?

R. No. I think the whole truth about self is that the self given over to Christ becomes real. The self subtracted from God pursued for own ends becomes a false hollow imitation of the potential real self.

Q. And this self that exists here . . . . .

R. It's short-sighted to say it exists here. It exists in eternity and lives in this space - time continuum for a very short space of time.

Q. Yes Douglas, I'm happy enough with that.

On the relation of man to God

Q. On the relation of man to God and God to man. He states in *Letters to Malcolm* that two conditions exist which define the relation of man to God. One is ontological continuity - i.e. that man can't exist, indeed won't exist without God.

R. That's self evident. If there is no Creator there can't be a creature.

Q. That is what he means by ontological continuity then, Douglas?

R. I'm not sure <u>what</u> he meant. But it's obvious to me that without God existing man won't exist nor anything else.

Q. It's a term that's only used as far as I can gather in *Letters to Malcolm* and it's interesting that it's his last book.

R. I'd have no knowledge as to why he chose to use the term at that time . . . . . . Well again it would be self evident to me that there can't be a creature without a creator. You can't have a car without a man to build it. It is the essence of all theistic religions.

Q. Exactly, and he argued so long and hard against naturalism which is the opposite of this thought.

R. The Naturalists fall down because they don't go far enough back. All the scientists are always asking how this works. They never ask why it started in the first place. We know if you put two hydrogen molecule and one oxygen molecule together you get water but we don't know why. All we know is that's what happens. The answer as to why that happens is because God decided it should be that way. So without a creator there is no creature, no creation.

On Epistemology

Q. On his idea of epistemology, he seems to follow St. Augustine when he states that the only way we can come to knowledge is through divine illumination.

R. That comes back to creator and creature. If knowledge exists, it exists because of God. All knowledge, all wisdom comes from God. There is no other source for it.

Q. So, we only have knowledge because a small part of divine reason has been imparted to us?

R. Yes. But also because He created knowledge. He created the very idea of knowledge.

Q. Therefore knowledge cannot be an end in itself?

R. Of course not.

Q. It can only be a means of going back to God?

R. Yes. What other point could there be?

On the Christian Life

Q. Concerning his vision of how we should live, he seems to view Christ as our perfect model, and the Christian life as one of constant struggle with the tainted part of ourselves?

R. I think he goes further than that. You've got to remember that Jack believed in a personal devil. He believed in the existence of Satan, as do I. We're not only fighting against the lower part of ourselves. We're also fighting against an outside enemy as well! We're fighting against the devil and all his minions. That's part of our job.

Q. And indeed Douglas he conceives the Christian life as one which is very difficult?

R. Of course.

Q. Because the essence of it is struggle.

R. Yes. I don't think there's any doubt about that and I don't think it takes C.S. Lewis to tell you that.

Q. But it takes a C.S. Lewis to articulate that struggle in a powerfully concrete way.

R. If you can go through life and finally decide that the welfare, health and happiness of all those around you is far more important to you than your own and if everyone else did the same, we would start to be Christians.

Q. What does he mean by the statement that if you can't practise the presence of God then practise his absence?

R. I'm not sure about that. I'm not sure that Jack was right when he said you had to be a good person to practise the presence of God. Some of our saints . . . . . in fact there's a famous prayer - Lord make me chaste but not yet came from a man who practised the presence of God but who perhaps, might not have been considered a good man at that time.
So I'm not sure that I agree with Jack on that point. And in fact there's quite a few points of Jack's that I don't necessarily agree with.

Q. What about the issue of the absence of God?

R. Yes, the consciousness of His absence in one's life should change one's life. If you suddenly wake up to the fact that God is not present in your life then you must realise that you have some fairly severe problems which you need to address. If you can't be conscious of his presence then you could start by being conscious of this absence.

Q. Yes of course, and implicit in all his writings is his desire to reawaken us to the presence of God.

R. One reason why I disagree with Jack's stand on the need to be a good person to practise the presence of God is that I'm fully aware of the presence of God but I won't for one minute describe myself as a good man. I don't think you have to be a good man to practise the presence of God. Mind you he may have been using good in terms of efficiency rather than virtue. I don't know.

[The interviewer had pushed Douglas on this point as Lewis in *The Four Loves* had merely stated that it was "something to practise the absence of God" if you were not able to practise the presence of God." Lewis had not stated explicitly that one needs to be good to practise God's presence. What Lewis does seem to be stating is that for many men (and he appears to include himself) a great step towards God is actually becoming "increasingly aware of our unawareness" of His presence in our lives].
(F.L. p. 128)

Q. On faith and loving Christ, he states - act as though you loved him, act as though you had faith. Initially you must act.

R. Yes. That's a well known psychological principle. Fake it till you make it. But again love is not something that you feel. You can't sit down and manufacture some fuzzy feeling towards Jesus. I think in the biblical sense

love means doing good things for Christ and for the sake of Christ, and that is loving Christ in an active sense. What you have to do is to behave as though you loved Christ emotionally. Look at every situation and ask what would Christ have me do in the situation and do it. What would Jesus himself do? That's even more difficult and then do it.

Q. So it's basically through an initial pretence that we come eventually to love and have faith?

R. It's a determination to act in a certain way. If you had no belief in Christ, no belief in God and yet looked at the principles that Christ taught and said that's the best possible way to live a life. So despite the fact that I don't believe in Christ I'm going to do it anyway. I think you're probably on the right road.

On Lewis's tentative view of God as tragic creator

Q. On the idea of God as tragic creator. He states that the creation involves separation, anguish, alienation and crucifixion and that Christ was the most forsaken of men because he was the most perfect of men and that there is something inherently tragic in the creation itself.

R. Does he stipulate that as a fact or present it as a possibility?

Q. He presents it as a possibility - he said perhaps. Yes he presents it as a tentative thought.

R. Yes. Well that's a very different way of looking at it. Yes he's probably right and it's because of one particular facet of creation - and that is that glorious gift given to mankind of free-will. It becomes tragic because man decides to flaunt it and go against what God wants.

Q. He says creation involves separation and anguish.

R. It certainly does in our case because we decide to go that way. Suppose Adam and Eve had never fallen in the garden of Eden, there would be no separation and anguish. Because of our fallen nature the whole creative act of God has become tragic.

Q. Yes, but he says that there is something tragic <u>inherent</u> in the very act of creation.

R. Yes, the propensity for tragedy is there. I'm not sure that I agree that there's something tragic about the act of creation, except that it puts God on the horns of a dilemma. What's he going to do? Is he going to create free subjects with free will or is he going to create a race of robots and with a race of robots there is no love, therefore creation itself becomes tragic. Catch 22 situation.

Q. But I feel he's thinking more abut creation being tragic because creation must involve separation - the artist and his artefact, God and his creature.

(Douglas and interviewer argue over the principles that govern the creation of a work of art)

On God as iconoclast

R. What on earth would God want icons for? Define iconoclast.

Q. God as breaker of images.

R. Yes precisely. What would God want images for? An image is something that you present to hide the facts. God doesn't need to do that. He present truth.

Q. I think Lewis means that God is constantly breaking our image of him and that as we grow in love, our image of God will constantly change.

R. I don't know. I don't know that we should have an image of God. I think we should let God be himself, and not try to make images of Him. An image is what you need when you don't have the facts. Politicians present images never the man.

Q. But surely our perception of God changes?

R. Yes. But that's our problem not His. Every image we have of God must be broken because it's always wrong and will be until we go to be part of Him with Him.

Q. That's exactly what I mean. That's what I thought Lewis meant.

R. He probably does in which case I think he's probably right.

Q. In other words we will never know him until . . . . . .

R. Well, we'll only know as much of Him as he decides to reveal to us, while we're here, which is, after all, seeing through a glass darkly.

On Lewis's view of Faith

Q. A view which an atheist would find absurd is Lewis's constant relating of faith to reason.

R. I don't think you can ever achieve faith without reason.

Q. Atheists would talk about "the leap of faith".

R. There are a lot of idiots Rosalyn who think that if you want to be a Christian you must check your intellect in at the door. A lot of people who think that Christians get there by what they call a blind leap of faith. I don't think I've ever met a Christian who didn't arrive at his faith by at least some form of

intellectual process. Sometimes it's an argument with God. God invariably wins. That's what happened to Jack.

Q. Our faith is based on reason?

R. If our faith is not based on reason it's a very valueless faith.

Q. Lewis talks about two things: intellectual assent and confidence.

R. Confidence means with faith - Con fides.

Q. Trust?

R. Yes, it's all part of faith.

Q. And then the obvious Lewis's corollary, that the attacks on faith are not one's of reason but those concerned with the irrational.

R. They're usually emotional. Emotions nearly always lie to us anyway. But even a small child who comes to faith comes by an intellectual process. We haven't got anything else to work with. If you want to chop down a tree you use an axe.

Q. So what do you think of Lewis when he says that faith and reason tell us that God is adorable but it's pure pleasures that find him adorable? In other words that we must involve the whole man.

R. Yes, it's experience of God that finally and probably most powerfully breaks through our shields. Faith and Reason will tell you a and b is true, but when you experience it, you discover it for yourself. The people who never achieve faith are those who refuse ever to try it. If you don't try God you will never know it.

Q. But then of course Lewis states that the whole idea of faith is the practice of a habit . . . . and only with the gift of grace.

R. Oh yes, that's a very large part of it. If you refuse to accept the gift of the Holy Spirit, you will lose Faith.

On Lewis's Doctrine of Transposition

Q. Would you consider, that the great lynch-pin in Lewis's philosophy centred on his doctrine of Transposition?

R. It depends on what you mean by transposition.

Q. He means that in a way we are images of the Divine in a very minor key and that the sole purpose of our lives is to move, to be transposed back up into the major key that is divine life. That Christ in becoming man allowed himself to

be transposed from major to minor, but that in his life, and in his resurrection that he not only moved back to the higher, but he actually dragged humanity with him - that the whole principles that govern life involves transposition.

R. I think it's a neat way of putting it. I think it's an analogy that Jack used very adequately. But I think it could be taken to extremes. I'm not sure. It's an interesting analogy but that's all it is.

Q. I think it's very important, because it seems to articulate the process of incarnation and resurrection in an understandable and profound way.

[The interviewer defers further discussion on Lewis's theory of transposition to a later date]

On Lewis and Fundamentalism

Q. Can we talk about Lewis and his attitude to the Bible and fundamentalism.

R. That's a very big question.

Q. Narrow the discussion to Lewis and American fundamentalism.

R. Again this is one of those words that has been beaten around so much that it's lost all meaning. I am more fundamental than most of the fundamentalist I know who've been fanatics for one particular brand of Christianity or another which is not necessarily fundamental. Do you get my point?

Q. Yes. Well can you talk to me a little about how Lewis viewed the Bible.

R. He read the Bible every day, at least a chapter a day, alternating between the King James version and the J.B. Philips translation, the Greek Testament, and of course he read the Old Testament as well. And he therefore regarded it as very important to him. And I think he really did understand that the root of Christianity is the Scriptures. There is no other place it comes from. You can't achieve any Christian faith, any Christian understanding, any Christian knowledge without reading the Bible. That's where it all comes from. That's why I think it is a great mistake, made by some of the churches, to teach an interpretation of the Bible, different books that people have written within their church, instead of the text itself. And in that sense I think Jack was a fundamentalist.

Q. He was basically saying - look to your source.

R. Yes. But then he taught that in his teachings of literature as well. He would not like his students to go out and read all the commentaries on Yeats for example. He wanted them to read the books Yeats wrote. And if you're studying C.S. Lewis there's very little point reading books about C.S. Lewis. Go and read the books by God, read the book by God, don't necessarily read all the commentaries on it.

Q. Can I get into something specific. He says the scriptural images are often symbolical attempts to express the inexpressible and therefore that they can't be taken literally.

R. It depends on what you mean by literally. Again this is a very difficult theological area. I think that the scriptures are all to be taken literally but with an intellectual and analytical approach. If the Lord is trying to express the inexpressible in human language he is going to have to use metaphor, analogy, parable and so forth. But at the same time that doesn't alter the fact that the essence of those parables is absolutely true. What they're depicting is absolutely true. It's up to us in prayer with the help of the Holy Spirit to study the Scriptures and find out what they are depicting.

Q. It's not a <u>study</u> of the Scriptures! Lewis says don't study it - immerse yourself in it.

R. Well it's the same thing! He's bandying words.

Q. He means 'study' in the sense of . . . . .

R. All right - study in the sense of pulling it apart like a literacy critic. All right there's a lot of different ways of studying. If you're studying the subject matter of a book, perhaps you should not study the book. If you can't study the book you can't study the subject matter of a book. So again , it all becomes a matter of semantics. But essentially if you want to know about Christianity and God you must study and immerse yourself in the Bible. But that's a mistake because they have started to study the Bible and not the subject matter of the Bible.

Q. Again we come back to Lewis's idea that it's not religion that's important but God Himself.

R. Yes precisely.

Q. Just one other point. He states that the Bible can't be reduced to a literal system.

R. No that's absolutely true.

Q. I think Douglas, believe it or not, that that is all I needed to discuss with you. You've been very helpful.

R. That's good. You've come up with some very interesting questions.

[The conversation continues a little later].

On Lewis as Teacher

Q. Douglas do you know anything about St. Augustine?

R. Not a lot.

Q. Neither do I, but the little I know of him leads me to think that there are real analogies to be made between the two men. Both men's interests were centred on God. Both were interested in presenting God to others. Both were educators. Education was very much to the forefront of their consciousness.

R. I think the important thing to realise about Lewis's teaching is that he lead, didn't drive. Too many teachers today drive their pupils in a particular direction. I think that's wrong. Jack lead his students and went along on the journey with them. Rather like the difference between a shepherd in the eastern world and a shepherd in the western world. A shepherd in the eastern world, particularly in the Holy Land in Jesus' time, called his sheep and lead them to green pastures. A shepherd in western society gets his dog and drives his sheep. I think the eastern method works much better . . . . particularly with sheep anyway.

[We conclude by looking at the passage in *Mere Christianity* where Lewis states that real conflict which exists for man is one between Christianity and the principles controlled by nature.]

On Lewis as Apologist

Q. Lewis wrote his major apologetic writings in the forties and then stopped.

R. When did he stop?

Q. I mean he stopped writing specific apologetic works.

R. I would have thought that *Letters To Malcolm* which he wrote after my mother's death in 1961 was very specific christian apologetics.

Q. Yes. But in *Letters To Malcolm* the tenor of the writing is very different.

R. I think he's understanding prayer a lot better when he comes to *Letters To Malcolm*, because he's just been through a tragedy and that tends to clarify your mind.

Q. Yes. Well you see I think that the book that is hailed as being the heart of Lewis's writings, *Mere Christianity* is very strident. He's very much on the attack. In later books he does in fact write most convincingly and most beautifully when he writes on the goodness of God and the promise for man.

R. Well all of his work including *Mere Christianity* encompasses that.

Q. Yes. But in other books there are whole passages that one can't leave down. *Mere Christianity*, dare I say it, is pedestrian. Well perhaps not quite pedestrian but certainly it's pure text book.

R. Yes, but that's what it was intended to be. How to be a christian. It's a how-to book.

Q. Exactly. But when you get to something like *Letters To Malcolm* . . . .

R. But that is a very different genre of writing altogether. It's a hypothetical fictional discussion between two people.

Q. Yes Douglas. But, you've almost said it yourself. There's a profundity *Letters To Malcolm* that . . . . .

R. But that doesn't mean it's not apologetics. It's still in defence of Christianity.

Q. Then perhaps I should simply say that *Letters To Malcolm* don't seem to me as strident as *Mere Christianity*.

R. But he didn't stop writing apologetics. He was writing apologetics all his life in one form or another. His Narnian chronicles are christian apologetics as also are his science fiction books. So he never stopped *Till We Have Faces* probably his greatest work of fiction is also apologetics.

Q. Why do you think he changed from what you rightly called the 'how-to' books?

R. Why does any author change his style? Obviously he progressed. He learned more and one's style changes. Why did Picasso go though and then come out of his blue period?

Q. And Douglas would you be affected more by his later books?

R. No I think they all have equal impact on me. It's only natural to expect a writer to make a progression from one style to another. It would make his life very boring if he did the same thing all the time.

Q. So basically you're saying that there were no extenuating circumstances that might have caused him to alter his approach.

R. No, I don't think so. His writing is enriched the more he learned. When he wrote *The Problem of Pain* for example he hadn't loved and lost.

Q. Because you know about the old hoary chestnut, about his interaction with Elizabeth Anscombe and his so-called defeat and relinquishing of his apologist's pen.

R. Oh yes. And interestingly enough Elizabeth Anscombe did not remember the debate in any way as the reporters since have tried to portray it. It's been presented as some huge defeat of C.S. Lewis. Absolute nonsense. The debate pointed out some mere tactical errors that Jack made in *Miracles* and he re-thought them. There was no great crushing defeat. There was no cataclysmic change in his personality. Mere bunkum. It's a complete fallacy to say he stopped writing apologetics. Historically it's rubbish to say he stopped. This is one of many of A.N. Wilson's particular foolishness' that he's presented. And it's about as true as saying that Malcolm Muggeridge's typewriter is in the Wade Centre! It hasn't been nor ever will be!

Q. I think now Douglas that you've clarified many issues for me.
Finally, do you think we need Lewis's writings more today than ever before because of the way education and society has moved?

R. Lewis was sent by God to a particular place at a particular time for his own reasons.

Q. Perhaps to remind us to focus our mind back on the eternal verities?

R. But God will continue to send his prophets, prophets in the biblical sense, as those who expound the Word of God. He will continue to send his educators. He's always trying to bring us back to him. That's what he came here for in the first place.

Q. And now absolutely the final question. You don't think Douglas, as many feel, that Lewis was a saint?

R. No, not at all. I knew him too well.

Q. A lovely way to end. Thank you Douglas very much.

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Collected Poems of C.S. Lewis*, ed. Walter Hooper (London : HarperCollins Fount Paperbacks, 1994), 80.

2. John Lawlor, "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Jocelyn Gibb (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1965), 82; Richard Harries, *C.S. Lewis : The Man and His God* (London : Fount Paperbacks, 1987), 42; William Luther White, *The Image of Man in C.S. Lewis,* (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), 213; Roger Sale, "England's Parnassus : C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams and J.R.R. Tolkien", *Hudson Review* 17 (Summer 1964) : 205, Christopher Derrick, "Some Personal Angleson G.K. Chesterton, C.S. Lewis", *The Riddle of Joy : G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis,* ed. Michael H. MacDonald and Andrew A. Tadie, (London : Collins, 1989), 14; Robert Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight : The Pattern of Thought of C.S. Lewis,* (Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1981), 21.

3. Owen Barfield, "C.S. Lewis", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, ed. G.B. Tennyson (Middletown, Connecticut : Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 3.

4. Walter Hooper is the editorial trustee of the estate of C.S. Lewis.

5. Walter Hooper, Oxford, to the author, 25 May, 1994, (see appendix D).

6. Michael Ward, Secretary, Oxford C.S. Lewis, Society, to the author, 23 November, 1994, (see appendix G) .

7. Peter J. Schakel, *Reading with the Heart : The Way into Narnia,* (Grand Rapids, Michigan : B. Eerdmans, 1979); Lee D. Rossi; *The Politics of Fantasy : C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Ann Arbor, Michigan : Umi Research Press, 1984); Donald E. Glover : *C.S. Lewis: The Art of Enchantment,* (Athens : Ohio University Press, 1981); Martha C. Sammons, *"A Better Country" The World of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction* (New York : Greenwood Press, 1988); Thomas Howard, *C.S. Lewis : Man Of Letters : A Reading of His Fiction,* (Worthing, England : Churchman, 1987); R.J. Reilly, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien* (Athens : University of Georgia Press, 1971).

8. Owen Barfield, "The Five C.S. Lewis's", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 122.

9. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 10.

10. George Sayer, *Jack : C.S. Lewis And His Times,* (London : MacMillan, 1988).

11. C.S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of schools,* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1943; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks; 1978).

12. James T. Como, ed. *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences,* (London: Collins, 1980); Stephen Schofield, ed., *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* (South Plainfield, NJ : Bridge Publishing, 1983).

13. C.S. Lewis, *Studies in Words*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967; repr., 1991), 130-131.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EDUCATION OF THE ARTIST

1. J.R.R. Tolkien to Anne Barrett, 30 August 1964, J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. Humphrey Carpenter (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1981), 350.

2. C.S.Lewis, *Surprised by Joy: The shape of my early life*. (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1955; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 14.

3. Sayer, *Jack*, 33; A.N. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* (London: William Collins and Sons, 1990, repr., Harper Collins, 1991), 23.

4. Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* (London: Collins., 1974; repr., London : Suvenir Press, 1988), 40.

5. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 7.

6. Humphrey Carpenter in *The Inklings: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams and Their Friends* suggests that Lewis's autobiography, written at a comparatively late age, gives the impression that the adult Lewis was "still deeply concerned with the crises of childhood - an odd father, a cruel headmaster, school fellows who bullied him".

   Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams and Their Friends* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 219.

7. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, Ireland, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 3592 - 3653; 6529 - 6570.

8. See Donald Harmon Akenson, *Education and Enmity: The Control of Schooling in Northern Ireland: 1920 - 1950*, (Devon: David and Charles Holdings Ltd., 1973), 12 - 22; T. J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland*, (Dublin : Institute of Public Administration, 1966), 4 - 9; 58 - 64.

9. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*, (London: Penguin, 1994), 1 - 7.

10. *Irish Educational Documents*: *A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish Education from the earliest times to 1922*, ed. Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milnse (Dublin: C.I.C.E., 1987), vol. one, 220 - 225.

11. Ibid., 230.

12. J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912 - 1985 Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3.

13. Lee records the attitudes of Unionists to the possibility of Home Rule. He cites the *Belfast Newsletter* which declared on 20 February 1886 that an Irish Parliament "would be the laughing stock of the civilised world". He also cites Thomas Mac Knight, the Liberal Unionist editor of the Northern Whig who was not averse to the description of Home Rule as a "slave revolt".

Lee, *Ireland*, 7.

14. Ibid., 3.

15. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 11.

16. Ibid., 15.

17. J.R. de S. Honey, "Tom Brown's Universe: The Nature and Limits of the Victorian Public Schools Community", *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution A Symposium* ed. Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), 31.

18. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 32.

Sayer interprets Lewis's experiences of the Anglican Church services as ones which, "certainly increased the Anti-Catholic bias he had inevitably acquired in Belfast". [i] Sayer's view is perhaps a little unfair. Lewis's reactions were directed primarily at the ritual elements in the service. Lewis reacted all his life against ritual in whatever form it might take. The view that Lewis had an anti-Catholic bias is one which demands redress. Lewis's early letters to his Belfast friend, Arthur Greeves reveal a disgust and abhorrence of the siege mentality of Ulster Protestants. In a letter dated 24 July 1917 Lewis wrote:

> but as to Ireland you know that none loves the hills of Down (or of Donegal) better than I: and indeed partly from interest in Yeats and Celtic mythology, partly from a natural repulsion to noisy drum beating, bullying Orangemen, and partly from association with Butler, I begin to have a very warm feeling for Ireland in general. [ii]

This comment serves to dispel another myth perpetrated by Sayer - the supposition that Lewis denied being Irish. [iii] In an interview with the author, Douglas Gresham corrected Sayer's view stating that Lewis "was proud of his Irishness. He and Warnie were quite proud of coming from Ulster and very conscious of it, I think". [iv] He added that Sayer may had misunderstood some possible reference which Lewis made in regard to being Irish, and particularly in his refusing to associate himself with the Irishness which was synonymous with the sectarianism, bigotry and biased thinking. [v]

Lewis's Ulster Protestantism has been misunderstood by many critics not least by one of his closest friends, J.R.R. Tolkien. Humphrey Carpenter in *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* has noted that Tolkien found in Lewis's religious conversion: "a regression to the prejudices so sedulously planted in childhood and boyhood. He would become again a Northern Ireland Protestant". [vi] Tolkien's staunch Roman Catholicism, his deep resentment of the Church of England, and his probable disillusionment at the slight displacement by Charles Williams of his intimate friendship with Lewis, have been well documented in his own *Letters* and in Carpenter's *Tolkien: A Biography*. [vii] They may account for Tolkien's own prejudicial statement. Perhaps if Tolkien had been aware of the recently translated Latin letters of Lewis to his friend, Italian Catholic priest, Don Giovanni Calabria, he may well have retracted his statement. [viii] Lewis had written to Don Giovanni:

> tomorrow I am crossing over (if God so have pleased) to Ireland: my birthplace and dearest refuge so far as charm of landscape goes, a temperate climate, although more dreadful because of the strife, hatred and often civil war between dissenting faiths. There indeed both yours and ours "know not by what Spirit they are led". They take lack of charity for zeal and mutual ignorance for orthodoxy. [ix]

A later comment by Tolkien that Lewis was "after all and remained an Irishman of Ulster" is perhaps a more balanced and veracious one.[x] It is however appropriate to consider the extent to which Lewis's character and thought reflected his Ulster Protestant heritage. Nevill Coghill an Anglo-Irishman and close friend of Lewis defined Lewis's Protestantism in terms of ethical attitudes rather than personal prejudices.[xi] He found in Lewis's literary style: "an indefeasible core of Protestant certainties, the certainties of a simple, unchanging entrenched ethic". [xii] Coghill's view is polemical and cannot be easily dismissed. However, Coghill has been more perceptive than most critics in citing Lewis's Ulster Protestantism in ethical attitudes of mind. Lewis's letters demonstrate unequivocally that he was not a religious bigot. Indeed they prove that jaundiced sectarian religious attitudes were anathema to Lewis.

i Sayer, *Jack*, 27.

ii C.S. Lewis, Oxford to Arthur Greeves, 24 July 1917, C.S. Lewis, *They Stand Together: The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves 1914 - 1963,* ed., Walter Hooper (London: Collins, 1979), 196. (Hereafter referred to as TST).

iii Sayer, *Jack*, 1.

iv Douglas Gresham interview by the author 27 May 1994, field notes; 22 April 1995, tape recording 200 - 365.

v Ibid., 27 May 1994, field notes.

vi Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography*, (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1977), 155.

vii Ibid., 154 - 155.

viii Lewis, *Letters C.S. Lewis / Don Giovanni, Calabria : A study in friendship,* trans. and ed. Martin Moynihan (London : Collins, 1989).

ix Ibid., 82 - 83.

x Tolkien, *Letters,* 350.

xi Nevill Coghill was a friend of Lewis's from undergraduate days at Oxford.

xii Nevill Coghill "The Approach to English", *Light On C.S. Lewis*, ed. Jocelyn Gibb (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965), 60.

19. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 32.

20. Warren H. Lewis, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, unpublished typescript in the Wade Collection, Wheaton, 127 - 128.

21. C.S. Lewis, Magdalen College, Oxford to Don Giovanni, 10 August 1953. *Letters : C.S. Lewis/Don Giovanni Calabria: A study in friendship*, Moynihan, 82 - 83.

22. C.S. Lewis, *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, edited with a memoir by W. H. Lewis, (London : Geoffrey Bles), rev. and enl. ed., Walter Hooper, London: Fount Paperbacks, 1988, 26.

23. Ibid., 26.

24. Ibid., 26.

25. The *Lewis Papers* which are memoirs of the Lewis family from 1850 to 1930 writtten, compiled and edited by Warren Lewis, reveal an Albert Lewis deeply

committed to union with Britain, jingoistic in his defence of the Empire and scathing on what he believed to be the "knavery and deceit" of the Irish Catholic Home Rulers.[i] Defending the union, he stated in an electorial speech in 1885, "It is but reasonable that men animated by patriotism should weep over the shattered greatness of their nation. It is right that we should look back to the days when the boast "I am an Englishman", was no idle sound, but words embodying proud and material priviledges".[ii] He spoke of the cause of Irish disloyalty to the crown lying with "the existence of a seditious priesthood" and "a policy of concession to agitation".[iii] In the tradition of the Protestant Orange man he also declared that "It is your duty to see that the legacy [of the "martyrs of the Derry Seige and the Battle of the Boyne"] is handed down undiminished in power and glory to the generations which are yet to come".[iv]

The Lewis Papers : Memoirs of the Lewis Family, 1850 - 1930. Eleven volumes. Leeborough Press, 1933, ed. Warren Lewis. Originals in Wheaton College, Illinois, microfilm copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, text-fiche B.P.D. 4881 - Any reference to the work will contain the abbreviated title *Lewis Papers,* the first number will refer to the volume number, the second to the page number, thus *Lewis Papers* 5 : 12 will refer to volume 5, page 12.

i. Lewis Papers, 2: 224.
ii. Ibid., 2 : 119.
iii. Ibid., 2 : 238.
iv. Ibid., 2 : 229.

26. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 9.

27. Ibid., 40. See also the family genelogical tree drawn up by Warren Lewis in *Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis*, ed. Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982) xxvi - xxvii.

28. Lee, *Ireland*, 1.

29. Ibid., 1.

30. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 26. Interestingly Sayer refutes Lewis's distinction. He points in particular to Flora's father Rev. Thomas Hamilton's "extremely emotional nature". He declares that Lewis's suggestion of the Hamilton's being a cooler race was neither true of Lewis's mother or any other member of the Hamilton family. Sayer, *Jack*, 5.

31. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 40.

32. Ibid., 9.

33. Ibid., 9.

34. Ibid., 41.

35. Ibid., 41. (Lewis used the pseudonym Mountbracken here for Glenmachan House).

36. Wilson, *C..S. Lewis : A Biography*, 13.

37. Sayer, *Jack*, 24.

38. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 13.

39. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 9.

40. Sayer, *Jack*, 24.

41. C.S. Lewis, 4 February 1923, C.S. Lewis, *All My Road Before Me: The Diary of C.S. Lewis 1922 - 1927*, ed. Walter Hooper (London: Harper Collins, 1991; Fount Paperbacks, 1991), 190.

42. C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 15 February 1917, Lewis, *TST*, 167.

43. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 12.

44. Ibid., 61.

45. Ibid., 10.

46. Ibid., 11.

47. Ibid., 11.

48. Ibid., 11.

49. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 21.

50. Ibid., 21.

51. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, 16.

52. *Lewis Papers,* 3: 88 - 91.

53. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 15.

54. C.S. Lewis, *Boxen: The Imaginary World of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Walter Hooper, (London: Collins, 1985), 12; *Lewis Papers,* 3: 88 - 91.

55. Ibid., 19.

56. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 15.

57. Ibid., 15.

58. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 102.

59. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 14.

60. Ibid., 14.

61. Ibid., 14.

62. Ibid., 17.

63. Ibid., 17.

64. Ibid., 17. Green and Hooper in *C.S. Lewis* note that the monthly *Strand Magazine* serialised the Nesbit stories between 1902 and 1906.

Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 21 - 22.

65. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 102.

66. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 44.

67. Ibid., 15 - 16.

68. Ibid., 16.

69. Ibid., 56.

70. Ibid., 56.

71. Ibid., 56.

72. Ibid., 56.

73. Ibid., 56.

74. Ibid., 16.

75. C.S. Lewis, *Boxen: Of Scenes From Boxonian City Life, Boxen: The Imaginary World.*

76. Sayer, *Jack*, 19.

77. Lewis, *Boxen,* 8.

78. Ibid., 8.

79. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 18.

80. Ibid., 18.

81. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 23.

82. Lewis's juvenilia is contained within three notebooks which form a part of the *Lewis Papers*. A number of the stories have been edited by Hooper in *Boxen: The Imaginary World*. See note 75.

83. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 16.

84. Ibid., 16.

85. Ibid., 18.

86. Ibid., 18.

87. Lewis, *Letters*, 27.

88. C.S. Lewis, *The King's Ring, Boxen: The Imaginary World,* 25.

89. Ibid., 31.

90. Ibid., 31.

91. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 100.

92. C.S. Lewis, *History of Animal-Land (New History), Boxen: The Imaginary World*, 43.

93. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 17.

94. Lewis, *Boxen: The Imaginary World*, 43.

95. Lewis, *Boxen: The Imaginary World,* 61-88.

96. Lewis, *Letters*, 21.

97. Lewis, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography,* 222.

98. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 68.

Lewis adds however that any reflections of the real world "had not been the germ out of which Boxen grew". Such reflections, which proliferated as the stories drew to a close, were a sign of "over ripeness and decay".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 68.

99. Ibid., 68.
A lecturing, jingoistic speech by Lord Big is peppered with rhetorical questions, serves to illustrate the characterisation. It serves equally to demonstrate Lewis's precocious command of language:

> Your Majesties, Gentlemen, Mr. Green has accused me of being an alien and a native of Piscia. I could defend myself from that charge - were I so inclined. But Gentlemen, I will not call this up in my defence, because it is the greatest regret of my life that I was not born in my native land, a land which its sons are justly proud as their fatherland ... Was she not honoured by being the seat of the first united Parliament of Boxen? And why do you think was it chosen to be such? Doubtless our feathered friend will tell us "Because it ... But no, a thousand times.

Lewis, *Boxen: The Imaginary World*, 98 - 99.

100. Chad Walsh, *The Literary Legacy of C.S. Lewis*. (London: Sheldon Press, 1979), 125.

101. Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy:* 13.

102. Sayer, *Jack*, 32.

103. Ibid., 32.

104. See chapter one, page 12.

105. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 16.

106. Ibid., 17.

107. C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 14 June 1916, Lewis, *TST*, 110.

108. Lewis, W.H. *Brothers and Friends*, xi.

109. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 21.

110. Lewis recalls in *Surprised by Joy* how his whole existence changed into something alien and menacing, writing that "with my mother's death all settled happiness, all that was tranquil and reliable disappeared from my life ... It was seas and islands now, the great continent had sunk like Atlantis".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 23.

111. Albert in his grief had alienated the boys to such an extent that Lewis and Warnie became like, "two frightened urchins huddled for warmth in a bleak world".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 21.

112. George Orwell, letter to Cyril Connolly, *Encounter,* January 1962, cited in Isobel Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown : The English School Story* (Oxford : Oxford Univerity Press, 1984), 23.

113. C.S. Lewis, The Kilns to Francine, 24 March 1962, C.S. Lewis, *Letters to Children*, ed., Lyle W. Dorsett and Marjorie Lamp Mead (London: William Collins Sons and Co., 1985; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious Fount Paperbacks, 1986), 102.

114. C.S. Lewis, "My First School", C.S. Lewis, *Present Concerns*, ed. Walter Hooper (London: Fount Paperbacks, 1986; repr., 1991), 23 - 26.

115. S. J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, *An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800*, (London: University Tutorial Press 1960), 291.

116. Ibid., 291.

117. Ibid., 291.

118. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 26.

119. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 291.

120. Ibid., 291 - 293.

121. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 25.

122. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 35.

123. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 293.

124. Ibid., 293.

125. Ibid., 293.

126. Lewis, *Letters*, 23.

127. Ibid., 24.

128. Wynyard School had not been a careless choice. Lewis notes in *Surprised by Joy* that his father had considered many schools before fixing upon Wynyard.[i] Nonetheless, as was the habit of the period, the school was chosen blind. It was not visited, nor the headmaster interviewed. For some years correspondence on the merits of a British education had passed between Albert Lewis and his old Lurgan College headmaster, William T. Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick had retired and was residing as a private tutor in Great Bookham, Surrey. Following his suggestion, Albert contacted Messrs. Gabbitas and

Thring, a renowned and much parodied educational agency in London.[ii] Albert was furnished with a graded school list. Having received several prospectii, Wynyard Private School was selected.

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 30.
ii *Lewis* Papers 3 : 63-66. See also Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 16; Sayer, *Jack*, 24.

129. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 29.

130. Sayer, *Jack*, 19.

131. Lewis, *Brothers and Friends*, 100.

132. Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby*, (London: Penguin Popular Classics, 1994).

133. Ibid., 102.

134. Lewis metamorphosed the English accents into the voices of demons; the Lancastrian flats into the banks of Styx. [i] In a letter to his father many years later he wrote: "it was almost impossible to realise the appalling blackness and hostility which it [landscape] once wore". [ii]

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 25.
ii C.S. Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 27 July 1924, Lewis, *Letters*, 200.

135. In the Summer of 1909, Lewis attempted to keep a diary for a week. The product of his "Autobiography" recounts the experience of five boarders at a ridiculous "select academy for young gentlemen". *Lewis Papers*, 3: 165 - 195.

136. Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown,* 101.

137. Ibid., 22 - 23.

138. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 27.

139. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 36.

140. Ibid., 3: 35.

141. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 25.

142. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 27.

143. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 25.

144. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 26.

145. Gillian Avery, *Childhood Patterns: A Study of the heroes and heroines of Children's Fiction 1770 - 1950*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), 172.

146. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 40.

147. Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), 97 - 99.

148. Ibid., 98.

149. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 39.

150. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 28 - 29.

151. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 24.

152. Ibid., 24.

153. In *The Politics of Fantasy*, Rossi makes the interesting point that Lewis's pattern of "finding a private and personal alternative in the face of a threatening reality" repeated itself when Lewis due to his war experiences, moved from atheism towards theism and finally Christianity.

Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy*, 16.

154. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 32.

155. Ibid., 32.

156. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns*, 25.

157. Ibid., 25.

158. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 35.

159. Lewis, *Present Concerns*, 26.

160. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 35.

161. Ibid., 35.

162. Osbert Sitwell, *The Scarlet Tree;* Edward Lucie - Smith, *The Burnt Child;* James Lee-Milne, *Another Self;* cited in Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 23.

163. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 38.
F. Anstey, *Vice Versa*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Puffin 1981).

In this fantasy story, a father (Mr. Bultitude) and his son (Dick) accidentally change places through the magical power of the "Garuda Stone". The father finds himself in Crichton House, a private school. There he is exposed to the worst excesses of its principal Dr. Grimstone. He experiences first hand the miseries of private schools - a cold hard bed, bad food and bullying by his peers. After several misadventures he returns home and regains his original form.

Lewis's suggestion in *Surprised by Joy* that Anstey's *Vice Versa* is the truest school story ever written is a debatable one. Reading the story one is struck by the failure of the author to realise fully (as Dickens does in *Nicholas Nickleby*) the true horrors of Crichton House. Quigly in *The Heirs of Tom Brown* is perceptive when she observes that Anstey "sheers away from the implications of the story". [i] She is correct in stating that his analysis of the father's and son's misfortunes at Crichton House is "superficial and confused".[ii] The school as an educational institution is never condemned. Mr. Bultitudes miseries are, as Quigly suggests, mainly attributed to defects in his own character rather than to defects in the school. [iii]

Strangely, critics have to-date failed to recognise the strong parallels between the character of Dr. Grimstone and Lewis's perceptions of his own father. The similarities are indeed startling. Note for example the following passages from *Vice Versa* and *Surprised by Joy* respectively:

> Dr. Grimstone was a quick-tempered man, with a copious flow of words and a taste for indulging it. He was also strongly prejudiced against any breaches of discipline which others might have considered trifling. [iv]

> When he [Albert] opened his mouth to reprove us he no doubt intended a short well-chosen appeal to our common sense and conscience. But alas, he had been a public speaker long before he became a father ... Words came to him and intoxicated him as they came. What actually happened was that a small boy who had walked on damp grass in his slippers or left a bathroom in a pickle found himself attacked with something like Cicero on Catiline or Burke on Warren Hastings, ... The ludicrous disproportion between such harangues and their occasions put me in mind of the advocate in Martial. [v]

Vice Versa is much more a story about the reconciliation between a harsh father and a motherless boy. Perhaps Lewis subconsciously longed for his own father to repent of "his paternal harshness" as Mr. Bultitude does with his son.[vi] Undoubtedly, Freudian psychologists would find much to occupy themselves in exploring the reasons why Lewis relished the story.

i Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 103.
ii Ibid., 107.

iii Ibid., 107.
iv Anstey, *Vice Versa*, 87.
v Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 36.
vi Anstey, *Vice Versa,* 137.

164. Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 107.

165. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 33.

166. Ibid., 33.

167. Ibid., 45.

168. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 42.

There are mixed reports on the issue of Capron's actual insanity. Green, Hooper and Warren Lewis state uncategorically that Capron was certified insane. Wilson, Sayer and Lewis himself present ambiguous reports. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 28; Lewis, *Letters*, 24; Wilson, *C.S. Lewis, A Biography*, 25; Sayer, *Jack*, 25; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 29.

169. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 39.

170. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 30.

It was only in 1963 that Lewis finally forgave "the cruel schoolmaster who so darkened my childhood". [i]

i C.S. Lewis, The Kilns, to an American Lady, 6 July 1963, C.S. Lewis, *Letters to An American Lady*, ed. Clyde S. Kilby (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), 117.

171. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 45.

172. Ibid., 46.

173. Ibid., 47.

Interestingly, Lewis compares Campbell to the pre-Arnoldian public schools. [i] One can conjecture that Lewis is referring to the schools prior to the administrative reforms of Thomas Arnold when the prefectorial system was barely established. [ii] Lewis is being somewhat disingenuous. Prior to Arnold's reforms the public schools were declared as "the nurseries of all vice and immorality". [iii] Many were in distressing condition, with bullying and flogging universal. [iv] Lewis may have chosen to denigrate the post-Arnoldian public school solely on the issue of the strengthening of the prefectorial system. Arnold had strengthened the system immensely, because he believed

it would help to create responsible Christian gentlemen. [v] Unfortunately, Arnold's motive for strengthening the system was subsumed by the system itself in later years. History reveals that the post-Arnoldian public school, even with its rigid prefectorial system was preferable to the public schools of pre-Arnoldian reforms.

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 46.
ii Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 32.
iii Ibid., 31.
iv Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 17 - 18.
v Avery, *Childhood Patterns,* 172; Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 32 - 36; Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 112 - 114. (Quigly on Arnold is by far the most informative yet succinct).

174. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 46 - 47.

175. Ibid., 47.

176. In a letter to the author, on 9 June 1994, Keith Haines present Head of History at Campbell College and author of the recently published History of Campbell - *Neither Rogues Nor Fools* proffered the following information:

> C.S. Lewis (as I indicate on 88 note 43) was not taught English by J.A. McNeill. This is an error which is perpetrated in all the books on Lewis, and seems to have been started in error, on his own admission by Walter Hooper ... Lewis was taught English by Lewis Alden, who was an Oxford man. [i]

It is interesting to note that in taking qualifications in "Greats and Honour Mods.," at Oxford University, Lewis obtained a similar qualification to Alden *The Campbell College Register 1894 - 1954* gives the following note on Alden:

> Lewis Alden, 1898 - 1930, M.A. Exhibitioner, Wadham College, Oxford. Honours in Classical Mods., and Lit. Hum. Senior English Master. Librarian. First House-Master of Alden's. Retired 1930. Died 22 October 1941.[ii]

Keith Haines, *Neither Rogues Nor Fools : A History of Campbell College and Campbellians* (Belfast : Campbell Colege, 1993);

i Keith Haines Campbell College, Belfast to the author, 9 June 1994, University of Dublin, (see appendix C).

ii *The Campbell College Register 1894 - 1954*, 4d ed. (Belfast; Thos.Brough, Cox and Dunn, 1954), 18.

177. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 48.

178. Ibid., 48.

179. Ibid., 48.

180. Ibid., 50.

181. Sayer gives an evocative description of Malvern and its environs in *Jack.*[i] Wilson is equally evocative although he is not so complimentary about Malvern College and its "sham medieval structure". He refers to Lewis's prep. school, Cherbourg as being "a large white stucco building overlooking the College".[ii]

i Sayer, *Jack* 29 - 30.

ii Wilson, *C.S. Lewis, A Biography*, 27 - 28.

182. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 52.

183. Ibid., 51.

184. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 29.

185. Ibid., 296.

186. Wilson, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, 30.

187. Ibid., 30.

188. *Lewis Papers*, 3: 235.

189. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 58.

190. Ibid., 58.

191. Ibid., 57.

192. Ibid., 52.

193. Ibid., 52.

194. Ibid., 53.

195. Ibid., 58.

196. Ibid., 59.

197. See Lewis, *Boxen: The Imaginary World*, 77, 96.

198. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 60.

199. Ibid., 60.

200. Ibid., 59.

201. Ibid., 59.

202. Ibid., 61.

203. Ibid., 61.

204. Ibid., 61.

205. See Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 33 - 34.

206. Lewis, *Letters*, 24.

207. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 66.

208. Ibid., 66.

209. Ibid., 70.

210. C.S. Lewis Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 14 October 1914, Lewis, *TST*, 55.

211. W.H Auden, "Honour", *The Old School: Essays by Divers Hands,* ed. Graham Greene (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1934; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 9.

212. C.S. Lewis, Magdalen College, Oxford, to Albert Lewis, 17 July [1929], Lewis, *Letters,* 265.

213. Sayer suggests that as a result of his experiences at Malvern, Lewis "rarely missed an opportunity to attack public schools".[i] He adds that Lewis's unbalanced view of public schools was only corrected when he turned to arrange the education of his stepsons. In consideration of comments by Lewis himself and by his stepson, Doublas Gresham, Sayer's suggestions seem fallacious. Gresham confirmed in his interview with the author that Lewis believed firmly in the necessity of a good public school education. Secondly, rather than redressing his impressions as a fourteen year old of public school, when he turned to help arrange the education of his stepson, Gresham suggests that Lewis still seemed to hold his own impressions as valid. He believed, in Gresham's view, that his own experiences of public school were distinct and couldn't happen in another school. [ii]

i Sayer, *Jack*, 39.

ii Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by the author, 27 May 1994, tape recording 2102 - 2314.

214. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 27.

215. David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*, (London: Cassell, 1961), 5.

It is important to this study to distinguish between the "older" public schools of Britain and the newer public schools which arose there from the 1940s onwards. The Clarendon Commission of 1861, set up to investigate the state of public schools, chose to investigate nine. [i] These schools, known as the "Clarendon Nine" were: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors'. It was these nine "older" schools which became the prototypes for the New Proprietary Boarding schools - the new public schools. (From a sociological, rather than an historic perspective Quigly's *The Heirs of Tom Brown* helps to clarify the "social mythology" of the term 'public school'. [ii])

i *Report of the Public School Commission*, 1864 cited in Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 83 - 84. See also Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 299 - 318.

ii Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown,* 12 - 14.

216. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 117.

217. Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. 1, 16, 18 cited in Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,*, 323.

218. *Leicester Journal*, 12 August 1836 cited in Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870*, 116.

The article serves to reveal an attitude which was endemic in the rising industrial middle classes of the mid-nineteenth century. In their view an educated middle class was more empowered to oust the aristocracy from power while simultaneously dampening down the political activities of the working class.

See Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 128 - 120.

219. Ibid., 116.

220. Ibid., 302.

Simon suggests that the New Proprietary Schools were established by the "bonding together of like minded people" who financed the school through a

joint stock company. See Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 115 - 117.

221. Ibid., 302.

By the 1860s reasonable educational standards were at a premium as public institutions slowly relinquished their patronage system and allowed access by open examination. Reforms in the universities of Dublin, Oxford and Cambridge had been urged by the Royal Commission of 1850 whose recommendations included: the abolishing of the entrance privileges of "founder's kin"; easier access to the universities for the middle classes through examination, and cheaper fees. The system of patronage which had largely controlled entrance to the civil service, army, medicine and law was by the late 1860s mitigated by the introduction of systems of competitive entry.

Ibid., 290 - 299.

222. Report of the Public School Commission, Vol. 2, 42, cited in Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 305.

223. Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown,* 17 - 19.

224. *An Educational Institution*, eds, Simon and Bradley, 57. (Quigly in *The Heirs of Tom Brown* is careful to note that the prefectorial system was not in fact invented by Arnold but that he strengthened it immensely, making the boy's prefects for their virtues rather than their cleverness". [i])

i Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 32.

225. J.A. Mangan "Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ideology", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 147, 166.

226. J.R. de S. Honey "Tom Brown's Universe: The Nature and Limits of the Victorian Public School Community", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 24 - 29.

227. Simon "Introduction". *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 8.

228. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 75.

229. Lewis writes in *Surprised by Joy* that he did not allow to games "any of the moral and almost mystical virtues which school masters claim for them; they seem to me to lead to ambition, jealousy and embittered partisan feeling".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy.*

230. Mangan "Athleticism", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 162.

The rise of philathleticism can be attributed largely to economic expansion in nineteenth century Britain. While religious revivalism had been a major influence on the ethos of pre-1840s public schools, the mid 1850s saw the counter-influence of imperialism, materialism and industrialism gain ascendency. [i] Simon in *An Educational Institution*, regarded these counter influences to be concretely expressed in the rise of philathleticism. [ii] The motives of public school educators in promoting philathleticism are tellingly revealed in Conan Firth's history of Winchester Public School and cited in Avery's *Childhood Patterns*:

> it was claimed that games were a preparation for the battle of life and the prestige of the school depended in great part, it was held, on their successes in these important contests; the fortunes of our country, even apparently of its religion, rested upon an unfailing supply of these youthful heroes. [iii]

Youthful heroes it was maintained were produced on the playing fields where as Mangan explains in "Athleticism" games became "a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and expressive goals".[iv] Sport, long recognised by educationalists for its efficacy in character training was subverted into philathleticism by the late Victorian and Edwardian public school. As Mangan justly observes, public schools placed upon sport "an excessive and procrustean emphasis". [v]

i Simon, "Introduction", *An Educational Institution,* ed. Simon and Bradley, 7 - 8.

ii Ibid., 8.

iii Avery, *Childhood Patterns*, 186.

iv Mangan, "Athleticism", *An Educational Institute*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 147.

v Ibid., 149.

231. Norman Vance, "The Ideal of Manliness", *An Educational Institution,* ed. Simon and Bradley.126.

232. Cited in Quigly's, *The Heirs of Tom Brown*, 19. Simon suggests that as an educational ideology, philathleticism was well suited to a nation engaged on imperialist expansion.[i] Vance in "Manliness" is correct in suggesting that as the nineteenth century advanced public school educators hoped that the rally cry:

> To set the cause above renown

To love the game beyond the prize,

which they had laboured hard to instil in the young cricketers and rugby players would be transferred in time from the playing field to the battlefield.[ii]

i Simon "Introduction", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley,11.

ii Vance, "Manliness", *An Educational Institution,* ed. Simon and Bradley,126 - 127.

233. Mangan "Athleticism", *An Educational Institution* ed. Simon and Bradley, 154.

234. Ibid., 154.

235. Simon, "Introduction", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 8.

236. Albert Lewis to W.H. Lewis, 29 March 1914, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 160.

237. Quigly is perceptive in her analysis of the effects of public school. Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown,* 105 - 108; See also Simon, "Introduction", *An Educational Institution*, ed. Simon and Bradley, 8.

238. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 139.

239. Humphrey Carpenter's *The Inklings: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams and Other Friends* an otherwise invaluable study on Lewis and the Inklings does suffer from certain lapses in critical understanding. While certain of his views on Lewis are guarded in this study, they hint at a lack of sympathy more clearly revealed in a later work *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature*.[i]

Some notable critics have misinterpreted Lewis's portrait of Malvern. John Haigh in his unpublished doctorate, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis* admits to being "startled" by Lewis's portrayal of Malvern College society as "homosexual".[ii] Lewis did wish the reader to comprehend the pervasiveness of pederasty within Malvern. He did describe the catamite tradition within the school. By his own later admission he had exaggerated when he wrote that: "you will have missed the atmosphere of our House unless you picture the whole place for weeks end to weeks end buzzing, tittering, hinting, whispering about 'this subject'". [iii]

Lewis was later be slated by his brother Warnie and his school friend Donald Hardiman for suggesting that "after games, gallantry was the principal topic of polite conversation".[iv] Yet, one surely cannot deduce either from Lewis's exaggerated description of the boy's conversations or even from his description of the catamite tradition within the school that Lewis meant the reader to infer

that Malvern was predominantly homosexual. Humphrey Carpenter's analysis on Lewis's experience at Malvern in *The Inklings* bears a hint of disparagement: "what he [Lewis] was going through was no worse than what thousands of other boys at English public schools were enduring, but he had no intention of staying firm and enduring it".[v] One wonders if the comment smacks of the self-righteousness of an ex-public schoolboy who has himself endured the trials of public school and sees no reason why others shouldn't suffer them in a manly fashion.[vi]

i Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Gardens : A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985).

ii John Haigh, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis*, unpublished Ph.D.diss., University of Leeds, 1962. Haigh's thesis, although over thirty years old still remains one of the most scholarly studies of Lewis's fiction).

iii Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 74.

iv Ibid., 74.

v Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings:* 6.

vi Ibid., 5 - 6.

240. Lewis, *Letters,* 25.

241. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 72.

242. Ibid., 72.

243. Ibid., 71.

244. Ibid., 71.

245. Ibid., 70.

246. Sayer in *Jack* states that Lewis objected to their "selfish abuse of power", their "base pleasures and low ideals".

Sayer, *Jack*, 42.

247. As a junior boy Lewis had acted as a servant or "fag" for the senior boys. In Lewis's view fagging was an, "elaborated mechanism ... for protecting the strong against the weak". He contended that if the fagging system had been designed to instil respect in the younger students for their elders, it "did not achieve its object". England, he declared was full of its products - "a bitter, truculent, sceptical, debunking and cynical intelligensia". [i]

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 88.

248. Ibid., 31.

In *Letters to An American Lady*, Lewis reiterated the evils of oppression and persecution by one's peers, "I had that sort of thing at school and in the army and there too when I was a junior fellow and it does so very much darken life".

C.S. Lewis, The Kilns, to an American Lady, 31 March 1954, Lewis, *Letters to An American Lady*, 28.

250. Writing to his father, Lewis complained, "not only does this persecution get harder to bear as time goes on, but it is actually getting more severe. All the prefects detest me and leave no opportunity of venting their spite". [i] (Lewis's persecution was partly self-inflicted as a comment by Warnie reveals when he recounts a return visit to a Malverian school party, "a noisy cheerful function, of which all I remember is Jack's gloom and boredom glaringly obvious to all, and not intending to increase his popularity with the House". [ii]) Lewis complained of the fagging system on other accounts. It prevented him from attending to his schoolwork at a time when he was very sensitive to the fact that as a scholarship boy he needed to keep up with the work. [iii] Fagging accounted for his continual weariness from having to complete chores and feign interest in sports activities. His fatigue was such that he could write in *Surprised by Joy,* : "never except in the front line trenches (and not always there) do I remember such aching and continuous weariness". [iv]

Lewis's view of the fagging system at Malvern is confirmed by Derek Verschoyle in his essay on Malvern College. He writes in "Indian Innocence Ltd.," that the fagging system which should have "cultivated a sense of responsibility and service in the boys" actually served to discourage it.[v] Like Lewis he was convinced that, "the enforcement of fagging is only one detail in the public schools general anxiety to remove any opportunity for personal freedom".[vi] (With critics prefer to point to Donald Hardiman's criticism of Lewis's portrayal of Malvern it is refreshing and illuminating to consider an alternative and supportive view).

i C.S. Lewis, Malvern College to Albert Lewis, 18 March 1914, *Lewis Papers,* 4 : 152.

ii Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis,* 35.

iii Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 79.

iv Ibid., 80.

v. Derek Verschoyle, "Indian Innocence Ltd", *The Old School*, ed. Greene, 182.

vi Ibid., 186.

250. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 74.

251. Ibid., 89.

252. Ibid., 89.

253. Ibid., 76, 89.

254. Ibid., 72.

255. Ibid., 89.

256. Ibid., 81.

257. Ibid., 89.

258. Ibid., 89.

259. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 78. See also, C.S. Lewis "The Inner Ring", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces*. (London: Fontana Books, 1965; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 28 - 41.

260. Ibid., 89.

261. C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters: Letters from A Senior to A Junior Devil* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1942; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977).

262. Critics have recognized in Lewis's *That Hideous Strength* a fleshing out of his attack in *Surprised by Joy* on élitism in British society. See for example: Sayer, *Jack*, 42; Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy,* 46 - 47; Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 116 - 117. C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength* (London : Bodley Head, 1945; new ed. *That Hideous Strength, The Cosmic Trilogy,* London : The Bodley Head and Van Books, 1990).

263. Chad Walsh "The Man and The Mystery", *Shadows of Imagination: The Fantasies of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien and Charles Williams.* ed. Mark R. Hillegas, (Carbondale and Edwarsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 69), 2 - 3. In another of his studies *The Literary Legacy*,

Walsh perceptively notes that the theme of inner élite circles is foreshadowed in Lewis's *Boxen: Or Scenes From Boxonian City Life.* i

i Walsh, *The Literary Legacy,* 125 - 126.

264. Avery, *Childhood Patterns*, 164 - 198.

265. Verschoyle, "Indian Innocence, Ltd.", *The Old School*, ed. Greene,179 - 195.

266. Ibid., 181.

267. Donald Hardiman to George Sayer 10 June 1979, Sayer *Jack*, 42.

Another Hardiman letter to Sayer, dated 12 October 1979 also finds its way into Green and Hooper's, *C.S. Lewis*, published in 1974. i In the much cited letter, Hardiman considers Lewis's description of Malvern "unbalanced and exaggerated". ii He suggests that Lewis had blown some of the practices and customs of the school out of all proportion. While his first letter to Sayer prior to the publishing of *Surprised by Joy* had stated that Lewis, "had a wonderful sense of humour and was a past-master of mimicry", his second letter stated that Lewis's experience at Wynyard and Cherbourg coupled with "an inadequate home life made him "the abnormal boy he was when he went to Malvern". iii

i Donald Hardiman to George Sayer, 12 October 1979, cited in Sayer, *Jack* 42 - 43; Greene and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 37.

ii Sayer, *Jack*, 42.

iii Donald Hardiman to George Sayer, 10 June 1979, Sayer, *Jack*, 42; Donald Hardiman to George Sayer, 12 October 1979, Sayer, *Jack*, 43.

268. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 78; 103.

269. Ibid., 80.

270. Ibid., 82.

271. C.S. Lewis, *Loki Bound*, unpublished, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 215 - 221. Only 119 lines of the poem remains. The extracts were preserved by Warren Lewis.

272. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 94.
Lewis's pessimism is also apparent in the poem. In his opening peech Loki berates Odin for creating a fallen world where men must suffer existence:

Odin! and who art thou to make a soul
And force it into being? Who art thou
To bring forth men to suffer in the world
Without their own desire? Remember this
In all the universe the harshest law,
No soul must ever die : it can but change
Its form and through the myriad years
Must still drag on for age its wary course
Enduring dreadful things for thy caprice

Lewis Papers, 4 : 219.

273. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 94.

274. Sayer, *Jack*, 59.

275. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 94.

276. Ibid., 88.

277. Ibid., 88.

278. Ibid., 88.

In *The Politics of Fantasy,* Rossi's preoccupation with political concerns somewhat distorts his interpretation of Lewis's priggery. He suggests that Lewis's priggery was in reaction to a disgust of public schools as middle class institutions. [i] He conjectures that Lewis in "outright hostility" became a Prig and a High Brow, a member of the, "alienated intelligence spawned by but not directly opposed to the English middle classes".[ii] Rossi's view is perhaps more attributable to the W.H. Auden of *The Orators*. [iii]

i Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy,* 14.

ii Ibid., 15.

iii W.H. Auden, *The Orators: An English Study* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966).

279. C.S. Lewis, Malvern College, to Arthur Greeves, [June] 1914, Lewis, *TST,* 47.

280. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis, A Biography*, 34.

281. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 91. See also Sayer, *Jack*, 44.

282. Critics alternate between the Smewgy and Smugy spelling. Lewis in *Surprised by Joy* writes: "I spell the name so as to insure the right pronunciation - the

first syllable should rhyme exactly with Fugue - though the Wyvernian spelling was "Smugy"".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 91.

283. Ibid., 91.

284. Ibid., 92.

285. Ibid., 92.

286. Sayer, *Jack*, 44.

287. Ibid., 44.

288. A.F. Lace to George Sayer, 10 June 1980, Sayer, *Jack,* 45.

289. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 91.

290. Ibid., 92.

291. Ibid., 92.

292. Sayer, *Jack,* 45.

293. See Chapter Three.

294. C.S. Lewis, University College, Oxford, to Albert Lewis, 4 February 1919, Lewis *Letters*, 102.

295. Sayer, *Jack*, 45.

296. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 93.

297. Ibid., 93.

298. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 6810 - 6920.

299. See Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 80 - 83. In John William Adamson's *English Education 1789 - 1902*, Adamson cites one H.L. Warner of Rugby School who gave a very illuminating testimony to the Clarendon Commission of 1861. [i] He listed the classical authors the Rugby schoolboys were expected to study:

Greek: Four plays of Aristophanes, ten other Greek plays, two books of Thucydides, extracts of Herodotus, a tolerable amount of Plato.

Latin: Three books of Livy, oration of Cicero, all of Horace, three books of Lucretius.[ii]

Lewis does not give details of the actual classical curriculum he followed at Malvern although he mentions that it includes Horace, Virgil and Euripides. [iii]

i John William Adamson, *English Education 1789 - 1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

ii Ibid., 240.

iii Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 93.

300. Ironically, the desire to preserve the classics as the main core of teaching in public schools ensured in Simon's view, the separation of the public schools from other classes, "created an efficient and entirely segregated system of education for the governing classes".

Simon, *Studies in the History of Education,* 1700 - 1870, 318.

301. C.S. Lewis, Bookham, to Arthur Greeves, 4 November 1914, Lewis, *TST*, 59.

302. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 113.

Lewis writes in *Surprised by Joy* that Kirk "was great on *The Golden Bough* and Schopenhauer". [i] In response to a letter by Greeves who had asked if he had read Schopenhauer, Lewis had replied, "I have never read him seriously. I have often dipped into him at Kirk's and the old man's talk was saturated with Schopenhaueresque quotations and ideas". [ii]

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 113.

ii C.S. Lewis, Officers Mess, Hants., to Arthur Greeves, [13 October, 1918] *TST,* 234.

303. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 120.

In *The C.S. Lewis Handbook*, Colin Duriez conjectures that Digory Kirke the protagonist in Lewis's *The Magician's Nephew* may have been surnamed Kirke as "an affectionate tribute to his old tutor".

Colin Duriez, *The C.S. Lewis Handbook*, (Eastbourne: Monarch Pub., 1990), 101.

304. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 108.

305. White, *The Image of Man in C.S. Lewis*, 23.

306. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 40, 43, 306.

307. John Peters, *C.S. Lewis: The Man and His Achievements,* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1985), 19, 307.

308. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis, A Biography*, 73, 308.

309. Sayer, *Jack*, 49; Lewis, *Letters*, 27, 309.

310. Chad Walsh, "The Man and The Mystery", *Shadows of Imagination: The Fantasies of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien and Charles Williams* ed. Hillegas, 6,11.

311. Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 8.

312. John Lawlor, "The Tutor and The Scholar", *Light on C.S. Lewis*, ed. Gibb, 76.

Being at the receiving end of Lewis's formidable dialectic as a student at Oxford, Lawlor's comment may be biased. It is better considered as a reaction to Lewis's personal style than as a judgement on his writings. Lawlor subsequently states that the influence left Lewis unable to engage in mundane forms of conversation.

313. Clyde Kilby, "The Creative Logician Speaking", *C.S. Lewis*: *Speaker and Teacher*, ed. Carolyn Keefe (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), 28.

314. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 140.

315. Ibid., 105.

316. Ibid., 105.

Kirk's teaching was so effective, that not only did the wayward Warnie pass into Sandhurst, but as Lewis informs the reader in *Surprised by Joy*, Warnie was "placed among those very few candidates at the top of the list who received prize cadet ships".

317. W. T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis, April 1914, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 167.

318. W. T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis, April 1914, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 172.

319. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 108.

320. Ibid., 110 - 111.

321. Ibid., 110 - 111.

322. Ibid., 111; Sayer, *Jack*, 61.

323. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 112.

324. There are innumerable references by friends, colleagues, ex-students and critics to Lewis's dialectic technique. Carpenter in *The Inklings* states that "when teaching, he turned for a model to the method of his old tutor Kirkpatrick". [i] Similar remarks are expressed by Rossi in *The Politics of Fantasy* and Glover in *The Art of Enchantment.* [ii] Lewis's letters to his father and Greeves, evidence his absorption of Kirk's rational principles and dialectic technique. As early as 1915 Lewis was complaining to Greeves of his "extraordinary loose and obscure use of words" which "makes havoc of the sense". [iii] In 1916 he was reprimanding Greeves, "frequently in arguing with you by letter I have had to ask you to read what I say carefully before you rush onto answer it". [iv]

By 1920, Lewis was advising Greeves on the correct methods of study, "you have no idea how routine work and exactness improve the brain. I for instance have gained enormously in clearness and honesty of thought from my last years work".[v] An early letter to his father from Bookham reflects Kirk's growing influence. Lewis remarks that, "he [Lewis] really must expose the logical weakness of his [Albert] position". [vi]

i Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 58.
ii Rossi, *The Politics o f Fantasy*, 16; Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 25.
iii C.S. Lewis, Gastons to Arthur Greeves, 11 May 1915, Lewis, *TST,* 71.
iv Ibid., 18 October 1916, 137.
v Ibid., 19 June 1920, 280 - 281.
vi C.S. Lewis to Albert Lewis, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 240 - 241.

325. C.S. Lewis, University College to Albert Lewis, 28 March 1921, Lewis, *Letters*, 126; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 149; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 112.

326. C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Albert Lewis, 14 October 1914, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 226.

327. C.S. Lewis, University College to Albert Lewis, 28 March 1921, Lewis, *Letters*, 126.

328. Ibid., 126.

329. Ibid., 126.

330. See Sayer, *Jack* 48; Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 41; Thomas Howard, *C.S. Lewis: Man of Letters: A Reading of His Fiction*, (Worthing: Churchman Publishing 1987), 137 - 140; Haigh, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis*, 9; Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 198; Walsh, *The Literary Legacy*, 5; Richard L. Purtill "That Hideous Strength : A Double Story", *The Longing for a Form : Essays on*

the Fiction of C.S. Lewis, ed. Peter J. Schakel (Kent, Ohio : The Kent State University Press, 1977), 96.

Here is an example of MacPhee's conversation in *That Hideous Strength:* "Mrs. Studdock, I have no opinions - on any subject in the world. I state the facts and exhibit the implications. If everyone indulged in fewer opinions" (he pronounced the word with emphatic disgust) "there'd be less silly talking and printing in the world".

C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength,* 520.

331. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 120.

332. Ibid., 117.

Lewis lists the following authors studied at Bookham: Homer, Demosthemes, Cicero, Lucretius, Catallus, Herodutus, Virgil, Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus.

333. W.T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis, 28 March 1915, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 305. Kirk continued in the letter, "In Homer his achievement is unique - 13 books or more of the *Illiad* and 9 of the *Odyssey*. It will not surprise you to learn that in the Sophoclean drama, which attains a high level in poetic expression ... he could best me easily in the happy choice of words and phrases". See also W.T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis 26 November 1916, *Lewis Papers,* 5 : 147.

334. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 117.

335. Ibid., 114.

336. Ibid., 114.

337. Ibid., 114.

338. Ibid., 115.

339. Ibid., 117.

Lewis states that "my German has remained all my life that of a schoolboy" because he had begun too late with Kirk. Lewis is assured that had he been with Kirk for longer he would have become fluent in the language.

340. Sayer, *Jack*, 49.

341. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 42.

342. W.T. Kirkpatrick, Bookham to Albert Lewis, 16 September 1915, *Lewis Papers*, 5:16.

343. Ibid., 5: 186 - 187.

344. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 115.

For a detailed description of his routine see:
C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 12 October 1915, Lewis, *TST*, 84.

345. Peters, *The Man and His Achievement*, 19.

346. Lewis's reading which comprises authors from Malory through to Trollope, was almost always done in Lewis's spare time. He considered it his "ordinary reading". [i] It was never superficial, and he would re-read his favourite books several times noting that, "there is something awfully nice about reading a book again, with all the half-unconscious memories it brings back". [ii] Indeed he felt that a book needed to be read several times in order to master it, and gain new insights. [iii]

i C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 26 January 1919, Lewis, *TST*, 242.

ii C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 16 November 1915, Lewis, *TST*, 87.

iii C.S. Lewis, University College to Arthur Greeves, [19 June 1920] Lewis, *TST*, 280.

347. C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, [1 November 1916], Lewis, *TST*, 146.

348. Ibid., 146.

349. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by the author, 27 May, 1994, tape recording 1482 - 1676. Gresham reiterates these points in a second interview, 22 April, 1995, tape recording 609 - 683.

350. Ibid, 22 April, 1995, tape recording, 830 - 850.

351. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 117.

352. Ibid., 117.

353. W.T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis, January 1915, *Lewis Papers*, 4: 131.

354. Ibid, 131.

355. Sayer, *Jack*, 49.

356. Glover's literary analysis of the letters in the most comprehensive to date. He writes of the "strain of adolescent emotionalism and sentimentality" which runs through them but states that, "what is remarkable in even the earliest of his comments is his [Lewis] deeply felt response to nature, his dedication to the craftsmanship implicit in the production of an imaginative work of art and his insistence on a meaningful transformation of emotion through structured language into art".

Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 7. See also 7 - 42.

357. Lewis, W.H. "A Memoir" in Lewis, *Letters*, 26.

358. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 132.

359. Ibid., 119.

360. Lewis, *TST*, 85 - 86; 109; 127; 143 - 148.

361. C.S. Lewis, Bookham to Arthur Greeves, 28 June 1916, Lewis, *TST*, 116.

362. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 122.

363. Ibid., 123.

364. Ibid., 122.

365. Ibid., 123.

366. Sayer, *Jack*, 53.

367. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 44: Sayer, *Jack*, 58; Peters, *The Man and His Achievement*, 22.

Glover's comment on Lewis's conservative attitude is somewhat naive and undoubtedly simplistic. He wrote, "steeped as he was by early reading in the classics, it is understandable that he would take a conservative attitude towards the current literary avant-garde".
Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 11.

368. Lewis used the phrase 'rich harvest' in reference to a term's work at Bookham.

C.S. Lewis, Endsleigh Hospital, London to Arthur Greeves, 3 June 1918, Lewis, *TST*, 220.

369. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 146.

370. Sayer, *Jack*, 61.

371. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 73.

372. W. T. Kirkpatrick to Albert Lewis, see *Surprised by Joy*, 147.

373. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 120.

374. C.S. Lewis, *Spirits in Bondage: A Cycle of Lyrics*, (London: William Heinemann 1919; new ed. with an introduction by Walter Hooper, New York Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984).

375. John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, ed. Daniel M. O'Connell, (Chicago: Loyola University, 1927; repr., Hertfordshire: Anthony Clarke Pub., 1987).

376. Ibid., 197.

377. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 162.

378. Newman, *The Idea of a University*, 187.

379. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 149.

380. University College was Lewis's second choice, New College, Oxford being the first.

381. C.S. Lewis, University College to Arthur Greeves, 13 May 1917, Lewis, *TST*, 183.

382. See Sayer, *Jack,* 67.

383. Lewis's pleasure on studying the paintings of the pre-Raphaelites is understandable in the context of his reading. At that time William Morris, Dante, Gabriel Rossetti and Malory were among his favourite authors.

384. Lewis observes in *Surprised by Joy* that he did not dislike the Army as much as he had expected. It was bearable, he decided because unlike school he did not have to feign a liking for it. "Straight tribulation is easier to bear", he writes in *Surprised by Joy* "than tribulation which advertises itself as pleasure".

Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 151 - 152.

385. Lewis was billeted with Paddy Moore, the son of Janie Moore, a woman who played an influential role in Lewis's domestic life for over thirty years.

386. During the Battle of Arras, Lewis was wounded on Mount Bernenchon by an English shell. Suffering from three shrapnel wounds, he was moved to the Liverpool Merchants Mobile Hospital, Étaples and thence to Endsleigh Palace Hospital, London.

387. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 157.

388. Ibid., 157.

Nevertheless the war did effect Lewis. This description in *Surprised by Joy* of its horrors are as Rossi in *The Politics of Fantasy* suggests, "much more vivid than the imaginative moments" he would prefer to remember. [i] One particular passage in *Surprised by Joy* is so vividly and intensely realised that it must surely belies Lewis's declaration of the "unimportance" of the war in his life. He writes, "but for the rest, the war , the frights, the cold, the smell of H.E., the horribly smashed men still moving like half-crushed beetles, the sitting or standing corpses, the landscape of sheer earth without a blade of grass, the boots worn day and night till they seemed to grow to your feet - all this shows rarely and faintly in memory". [ii]

i Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy*, 5.
ii Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 157.

389. Lewis had encountered Chesterton's essays in February 1918 when he was hospitalised for pyrexia. In reading Chesterton, Lewis recounts in *Surprised by Joy* that he "did not know what I am letting myself in for". [i] Retrospectively, he realized that Chesterton's essays proved the great stumbling block to his atheism. He wrote in *Surprised by Joy,* "A young man who wishes to remain a sound atheist cannot be too careful of his reading". [ii] Bergson was read in France and England while he recovered from his "Blighty" wound. He declares in *Surprised by Joy* that Bergson had "a revolutionary effect" on his emotional outlook noting that, "From him I first learned to relish energy, fertility and urgency; the resource, the triumph, and even the insolence of things that grow".[iii]

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 154.

ii Ibid., 154.

iii Ibid., 159 - 160.

390. A letter to Greeves on 17 July 1918, (four months before the Armistice was signed) reveals that Lewis had already sent the M.S. of *Spirits* to the typist. [i] The manuscript was accepted by William Heinemann and was published in March 1919 under the pseudonym of Clive Hamilton. Lewis explained in a letter of his father that *Spirits* was analogous to Alfred

Tennyson's *In Memoriam* since, "such merits as it has depends less on the individual than on the combined effect of the pieces". [ii] *Spirits* was, Lewis continued, the "working out loosely ... of a general idea". [iii] That idea was, he confided in a letter to Greeves that, "nature is wholly diabolical and malevolent and that God, if he exists, is outside of and in opposition of the cosmic arrangements".[iv] Clearly, Arthur Schopenhauer's pessimism mediated through Kirk and Lewis's own reading of *The World as Will and Idea* pervades the theme. [v] Like Schopenhauer, the young poet dismisses God and free will, seeing the world as malign. The poem "De Profundis" typifies the general theme,

> And suddenly the earth grew black with wrong,
> Our hope was crushed and silenced was our song,
> The earth grew loud with weeping, Thou are strong.
>
> Come then and curse the Lord. Over the earth
> Gross darkness falls and evil was our birth,
> And our few happy days of little worth. [vi]

Edward G. Zogby in his essay "Triadic Patterns in Lewis's Life and Thought" summarises the theme of *Spirits*. [vii] He states that throughout the volume Lewis wrestles with the question of how, despite an evil world "man could predicate goodness, mercy and love to a Creator God. [viii] Walsh, in *The Literary Legacy* is correct in suggesting that the poems reveal a Lewis "bedevilled by the great religious and metaphysical questions" with "no systematic way of dealing with them".[ix] Perceptively, he notes that *Spirits* merely point to future achievements in prose, rather than poetry.[x] Wilson's glib dismissal in C.S. Lewis: *A Biography* cannot go unchecked however, for there is merit in some of C.S. Lewis's poems notably "De Profundis", "Dungeon Gates", "In Praise of Solid People" and "Songs of the Pilgrims". [xi] Lewis was not the most felicitous and fluent of poets, but in such a poem as "Irish Nocturne" he attempted not wholly unsuccessfully, to express a theme which William Butler Yeats would explore in September 1913:

> Bitter and bitter it is for thee, O my heart,
> Looking upon this land, where poets song,
> . . . . . .
> knowing the fog and cloud,
> In her peoples heart and head
> Even as it lies for ever upon her coasts
> Making them dim and dreary least her son should
> ever arise,
> And remember all their boasts;
> For I know that the colourless skies
> And the blurred horizons breed
> Lonely desires and many words and brooding and

never a deed. [xii]

i C.S. Lewis, Bristol to Arthur Greeves, [17] July 1918, Lewis, *TST,* 225.

ii C.S. Lewis, Bristol to Albert Lewis, 18 September 1918, Lewis, *Letters,* 90.

iii Ibid., 90.

iv C.S. Lewis, Bristol, to Arthur Greeves, 12 September 1918, Lewis, *TST*, 230.

v See Lewis *TST*, 234 - 235; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 113.

vi C.S. Lewis, "De Profundis", *Spirits*, 20.

vii Edward G. Zogby, S. J. "Triadic Patterns in Lewis's Life and Thought", *Longing for a Form,* ed. Schakel, 36.

viii Ibid., 36.

ix Walsh, *The Literary Legacy*, 41 - 42.

x Ibid., 40.

xi Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 60.

xii C. S. Lewis, "Irish Nocturne", *Spirits*, 9 - 10.

391. Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 12.

392. Peter Schakel in *Reason and Imagination in C.S. Lewis*, Houston Smith in *Patches of Godlight,* and Walsh in *The Literary Legacy* note that *Spirits* develop Lewis's adaptation of a Platonist theme. [i] They suggest that Lewis in *Spirits* sees the spirits of humanity imprisoned within man's mortal body. Schakel suggests that man means to free himself by contemplating higher things. [ii] This theme is most readily expressed in "Our Daily Bread":

> And some day this will work upon me so
> I shall arise and leave both friends and home
> And over many lands a pilgrim go
> through alien woods and foam,
>
> Seeking the last steep edges of the earth
>
> Whence I may leap into that gulf of light
> Wherein, before my narrowing Self had birth

Part of me lived aright. [iii]

(Echoes here of George Herbert's "The Retreat". Herbert was a poet whom Lewis later grew to admire).

Schakel, Rossi and White have also recognised the theme of the hidden country, of escape to a romantic land unknown. [iv] They refer to the tension which exists between the romantic and rational elements in Lewis's nature. They postulate that Lewis's romantic desires, so fully expressed in the Narnian Chronicles are anticipated in *Spirits*. The prologue anticipates the theme:

> In my coracles of verses I sing of lands unknown
> . . . . . .
> Sing about the Hidden Country fresh and
> full of quiet green,
> Sailing over seas uncharted to a
> part that none has seen. [v]

Analogies can be drawn between Lewis's romantic rebelliousness and the Yeats theme in *The Rose* and *The Wind Among the Reeds*. The Lewis of *Spirits* desires like the Fergus of *The Rose* to " pierce the deep woods woven shade/and dance upon the level shore?"[vi]

i Peter J. Schakel, *Reason and Imagination in C.S. Lewis: A Study of Till We Have Faces*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan : B. Eerdmans, 1984), 100 - 101; Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 23: Walsh, *The Literary Legacy*, 39.

ii Schakel, *Reason and Imagination*, 101.

iii C.S. Lewis, "Our Daily Bread", *Spirits*, 60.

iv Schakel, *Reason and Imagination* 93 - 99; Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy*, 17 - 18; White, *Images of Man*, 103 - 118.

v Lewis, "Prologue" *Spirits*, xli - xlii.

vi William Butler Yeats, "Who Goes With Fergus", in *The Collected Poems*, (London: Macmillan, 1979), 48 - 49.

393. See Sayer, *Jack*, 85; Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis,* 59; Wilson, *C.S. Lewis, A Biography,* 60.

394. C.S. Lewis University College to Albert Lewis, 27 January 1919, Lewis *Letters*, 100.

395. Lewis, *Diary*, 240.

396. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 5 March 1919, Lewis, *Letters* 103.

397. Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 62.

398. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 173.

399. C.S. Lewis, University College to Arthur Greeves, 26 January 1919, Lewis, *TST*, 242.

400. Sayer, *Jack*, 80.

401. See Lewis, *TST*, 240 - 243. Lewis's time-table was altered by the fact that by his second year he was living with the Moores.

402. C.S. Lewis, University College to Arthur Greeves, 26 January 1919, Lewis, *TST*, 242.

403. See Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 14.

404. Ibid., 14.

405. Walter Hooper, "To The Martlets", *Speaker and Teacher*, ed. Keefe, 53.

406. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Arthur Greeves, 16 February 1919, Lewis, *TST,* 247.

407. Hooper, "To The Martlets", C.S. Lewis, *Speaker and Teacher*, ed. Keefe, 49 - 83.

408. C.S, Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 6 June 1920, Lewis, *Letters*, 114.

409. Ibid., 114.

410. See footnote one in Lewis, *Letters*, 114, also footnote eight in Lewis, *TST*, 284.

411. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 27 [June 1921], Lewis, *Letters*, 136.

412. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 160.

413. Ibid., 160.

414. Ibid., 160.

415. C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love, A Study in Medieval Tradition*, (Oxford, University Press, 1936; repr, 1979).

416. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 161.

417. Ibid., 161.

418. Francis Joseph Moris, *Metaphor and Myth: Shaping Forces in C.S. Lewis's Critical Assessment of Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977, text-fiche CN77-91892).

419. Ibid., 11.

Lewis in *Surprised by Joy* sets the focal point of their relationship at the time of Barfield's conversion to Anthroposophy. [i] It was then that the celebrated "Great War" commenced. Moris in *Metaphor and Myth* summarises the topics of that war as ones relating to, "the epistemological potential of the human mind and the function of language and art to achieve that potential". [ii] The "Great War" as Lewis describes it was "an almost incessant disputation" which lasted for years. [iii] While the Antroposophical beliefs which underlined Barfield's argument hardly effected Lewis, he does admit in *Surprised by Joy* that Barfield's counter arguments "destroyed forever" two elements in this thought. [iv] Firstly it destroyed his "chronological snobbery", - i.e.; "the uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited". [v] Secondly, it demonstrated that Lewis's "Realist" philosophical stance "left no room for any satisfactory theory of knowledge". [vi] The realist position was also incompatible with assumptions about the objective validity of moral and aesthetic judgements. Lewis realised that if one kept to that position then one would be forced to "adopt a behaviouristic theory of logic, ethics and aesthetics" - a theory which was anathema to Lewis. [vii] He was therefore forced to abandon Realism for Idealism. (Theism was the next short step).

i Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 166.

ii Moris, *Metaphor and Myth*, 16.

iii Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 166.

iv Ibid., 167.

v Ibid., 167.

vi Ibid., 167.

vii Ibid., 167.

420. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 162; Lewis, *Letters*, 181.

421. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 29 [May 1921], Lewis, *Letters,* 134.

422. Newman, *The Idea of A University*, 186.

423. C.S. Lewis, University College to Arthur Greeves, June 1921, Lewis *TST*, 287.

424. Biographers record that while at Kemble, both Lewis and Moore had promised that they would take care of the other's family if something untoward should happen during the war.

425. Critics and biographers divide broadly into two groups on the subject of the relationship. Carpenter, Green and Hooper, tend towards Warnie's view that, "She [Janie Moore] was a woman of very limited mind, and notably domineering and possessive by temperament. She ... imposed upon him a heavy burden of minor domestic tasks ... Nevertheless, he continued in this restrictive and distracting servitude for many of his most fruitful years". Sayer and Wilson appeal for moderation, concentrating on Janie Moore's generosity and affection. All critics recognise the mother-son element in the relationship.

See Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 10 - 12; Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis*, 66; Warren H. Lewis "A Memoir" Lewis, *Letters*, 30 - 32; Sayer, *Jack*, 87 - 90; Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, 71 - 72.

426. Lewis spent much time with the Moore's in his first year, but he did not move into their home (for which he paid the rent) until his second year.

427. No trace of the essay remains.

428. C.S. Lewis, University College to Albert Lewis, 28 March 1921, Lewis, *Letters*, 127.

Lewis himself considered the essay "rather dull and metaphysical". He was glad of the prize however, confiding to Greeves that, "it is much more valuable as a means of self-advertisement and may help me towards a job".

C.S. Lewis University College to Arthur Greeves, June 1921, Lewis, *TST*, 285 - 286.

429. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Albert Lewis, 28 ;[October 1922], Lewis *Letters*, 175.

430. Ibid., 175.

431. Wilson in *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, observes that until the middle of this century English was considered by academics to be "too nebular in its

intellectual range", literary criticism was derided as a pseudo-science, the final insult being that it was a subject only fit for girls.

Wilson, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, 76.

432. C.S. Lewis, University College to Albert Lewis, 18 May 1922, Lewis, *Letters*, 161.

433. C.S. Lewis, 16 October 1922, Lewis, *Diary*, 120.

434. C.S. Lewis, 19 November 1922, Lewis, *Diary*, 140.

435. C.S. Lewis, 1 June 1923, Lewis, *Diary*, 240 - 241.

436. Ibid., 241.

437. See for example the discussion on Arts for Arts sake, Lewis, *Diary*, 184 - 186.

438. Ibid., 197 - 200.

439. C.S. Lewis, 16 October 1922, Lewis, *Diary,* 121.

440. Ibid., 119.

441. Lewis, *Diary*, 190 - 191; 194 - 195; 240 - 242.

442. Nevill Coghill, "The Approach to English", *Light on C.S. Lewis*, ed. Gibb, 54.

443. Ibid., 53.

444. Ibid., 52.

445. Lewis considered a dissertation on Russell, because in his book *Worship of a Free Man*, Lewis found, "a very clear and noble statement of what I believed a few years ago".

Lewis Papers, 8 : 172.

446. To earn some money, Lewis corrected Higher School Certificate examination papers. Of the papers he wrote in his diary: "there were very few really good essays and much ridiculous blundering, with ignorance and vulgarity beyond what I would have expected".

C.S. Lewis, 30 - 31, July 1923, Lewis, *Diary*, 261.

447. Lewis was a fellow at Oxford from 1925 - 1954. He relinquished the fellowship to become Professor of Medieval and Renaissance Literature at Cambridge.

448. C.S. Lewis, Oxford, to Albert Lewis, 7 December 1916, Lewis, *Letters*, 54.

449. C.S. Lewis, Oxford, to Warren Lewis, 1 July [1921], Lewis, *Letters*, 137.

450. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, 77.

451. This citation is a "borrowing" of a comment by Lewis on a fellow-student at University, "he is the standing example of intellect in the narrowest sense and industry, but without wisdom, imagination or humour".

C.S. Lewis, 22 May 1923, Lewis, *Diary*, 235.

452. C.S. Lewis, University College, to Warren Lewis, Lewis, *Letters,* 131.

453. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 173.

454. C.S. Lewis, Somerset, to Arthur Greeves, 11 April 1920, Lewis, *TST,* 273.

455. Lewis, "My First School" *Present Concerns,* 26.

456. J.A.W. Bennett, "The Humane Medievalist", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, no. 1 (Aldershot, Hants : Scolar Press, 1992), 66.

CHAPTER TWO

KEEPER OF THE FLAME: LEWIS'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

Part 1: Criteria of Education

1. C.S. Lewis "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays* ed., Walter Hooper (London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperback, 1990); Lewis, *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces* ; C.S. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

2. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording 7362 - 7379.

3. Sir Richard Livingstone was Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast from 1924 to 1933, and of Oxford University from 1944 to 1947. He was a classical scholar who published numerous books advocating a classical liberal education.
See Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory to History*, 267.

4. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory to History*, 270.

5. Ibid., 267 - 271.

6. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1961; repr., 1969), 101.

7. C.S. Lewis, and Charles Williams, *Arthurian Torso Containing The Posthumous Fragment Of The Figure Of Aruthur and A Commentary On The Arthurian Poems of Charles Williams,* (London : Oxford University Press, 1948), 192.

8. C.S. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays,* ed. Walter Hooper (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1969) 12.

9. Arthur Koestler cited in G.M. Bantock, "The Social and Intellectual Background", *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: The Modern Age,* ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), 32.

10. W.A. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 148-178.

11. *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopaedia of Great Britain And Ireland,* ed. Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 296-297.

12. Ibid. 197. See also A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914 - 1945* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1965, repr., Oxford University Press Paperback, 1992) 285-286.

13. C.S. Lewis, Magdalen College, to Dom Bede Griffiths, 17 January, 1940, Lewis *Letters*, 336.

14. A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914 - 1945*, 143.

15. C.S. Lewis, 1 May 1926, Lewis, *Diary, 384.*

16. Ibid., 384.

17. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes A Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* 9-27.

18. Ibid., 12.

19. Ibid., 12.

20. Lewis, "Modern Man and his Category of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 64.

21. Ibid., 65.

22. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707 - 1975*, 170.

23. Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy*, 77; C.S. Lewis, *The Last Battle* (London: The Bodley Head, 1956; repr., London : HarperCollins, Lions, 1980).

24. This point will be discussed in detail in Part Two of this chapter.

25. Taylor, *English History 1914 - 1945*, 176.

26. Ibid., 347.

27. Among the left-wing Oxford socialist supporters was W.H. Auden, a staunch admirer and pupil of C.S. Lewis.

28. Cardinal - Archbishop of Westminster, Letter, the *The Times* 2nd November, 1942, cited in Anthony Howard, *Rab: The Life of R.A. Butler* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1987), 128.

29. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 263.

30. Ibid., 263.

31. W.A.C. Stewart, *The Educational Innovators,* vol. 2, *Progressive Schools 1881 - 1967* (London : Macmillan, 1968), 84-85; 114-119. On an historical retrospective of radical progressive schools in Britain see pages 346-348.

32. Ibid, 114-119. See also Marion Yass, *Britain Between The World Wars 1918 - 1938,* The English Life Series (East Sussex: Wayland Publ., 1975), 102-103.

33 Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 263.

34. Lewis's portrayal of progressive schools has been commented upon by several critics. See, for example, Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 227; Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy*, 76; Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 163.

35. Taylor, *English History 1914 - 1945,* 211.

36. Ibid, 211.

37. For a very useful summary of the recommendations of the *Spens* and *Norwood Report* and the salient features of the Education Act see Michael Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling In England And Wales : A Documentary History* (London : Harper and Row, 1978), 246-269.

38. Yass, *Britain Between The World Wars 1918 - 1938,* 104.

39. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707 - 1975*, 172.

40. *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopaedia of Great Britain and Ireland,* ed. Haigh, 298 - 299.

41. G.H. Bantock, "The Social And Intellectual Background", *The Pelican Guide*, 36.

42. Speck, *A Concise History of Britain 1707 - 1975*, 177.

43. C.S. Lewis, Oxford to I.O. Evans, 22 December 1954, Lewis, *Letters,* 443.

44. *The Beveridge Report*, cited in Bantock, "The Social and Intellectual Background", *The Pelican Guide*, 35.

45. Roy Lowe, *Education in The Post-War Years: A Social History,* (London : Routledge, 1988), 5.

46. Ibid., 7.

47. Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling In England and Wales : A Documentary History,* 89.

48. Brian Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform* 1920-1940 *(London : Lawrence and Wishart 1974), 283.*

The tripartite system of education, endorsed by the Labour Party as beneficial to the socially disadvantaged, and generally viewed by the public as "a valid and indeed logical praiseworthy structure for education", did in fact perpetuate class distinction.[i] In *The Politics of Educational Reform*, Simon suggests that the form of secondary education tripartism which the Education Act of 1944 implemented"effectively maintain[ed] the old hierarchical pattern within society" and "justified the unjustifiable".[ii]

i. Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling In England and Wales: A Documentary History,* 113.

ii Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform,* 269, 283.

49. Howard, *Rab : The Life of R.A. Butler*, 119.

50. Chuter Ede, *Diaries*, British Library, additional M.S. 59692, diary entry 4th February, 1942 cited in Howard, *Rab : The Life of R.A. Butler,* 119.

51. Ibid., 120.

52. Ibid., 120.

53. Ivor Morrish, *Education Since 1800* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), 67.

54. Ibid., 67.

55. See John P. Wynne, *Theories of Education An Introduction to the Foundations of Education* (London: Harper and Row, 1963), 334-361; Howard A. Ozmon and Samuel M. Craver, *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (Columbus, Toronto: Merril Pub. Co., 1976), 7, 13-31.

56. Ozmon and Craver, *Philosophical Foundations of Education, 23.*

57. On Idealism as a philosophy of education, and for an enumeration of the aims of the idealist educator see Ozmon and Craver, *Philosophical Foundations of Education* 13-25.

58. Ibid., 17-18.

59. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 159 - 169.

60. Lewis, "The Idea of An 'English School'", *Rehabilitations And Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 64.

61. Lewis, *The Last Battle*, 160.

62. Ibid., 160.

63. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History,* 267.

64. Ibid., 267.

65. Sir Richard Livingstone, *Education for A World Adrift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943); *Some Tasks for Education* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946); *Education And the Spirit of The Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952). See also, Sir Richard Livingstone, *The Future in Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 23-24, 111-113.

66. Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*, 26, 31.

67. Ibid., 25.

68. Livingstone, *Some Tasks for Education,* 23.

69. Livingstone, *Education And The Spirit Of The Age,* 102.

70. Ibid., 103.

71. Ibid., 102.

72. W.O. Lester Smith, *Education in Great Britain,* 5th ed. Oxford Paperbacks University Series, vol. 24 (London : Oxford University Press, 1967), 13.

73. Ibid., 13.

74. Ibid., 13.

75. Livingstone, *Education For A World Adrift,* 10.

76. Ibid., 5.

77. Ibid., 6 - 7, 11.

78. Ibid., 149 - 150.

79. Ibid., 152.

80. Ibid., 155.

81. Ibid., 156.

82. Ibid., 158.

83. Lowe, *Education in the Post-War Years: A Social History,* 18.

84. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History*, 249.

85. C.S. Lewis, Unfinished autobiographical poem in *Lewis Papers,* 4 : 64.

86. C.S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1952; new and enl. ed. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1991), 7.

87. John Dewey, *Democracy And Education : An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York : Macmillan, 1916; repr., New York : The Free Press Paperbacks, 1966), 41-53. See also John Dewey, *Experience And Education,* The Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series (London : Collier Macmillan, 1963), 25-29.

88. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 86.

89. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 131.

90. Newman, *The Idea of a University,* 173.

91. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 138 - 141.

92. Ibid., 141.

93. Ibid., 137.

94. Ibid., 138 - 139.

95. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 85.

96. Ibid., 82.

97. Duriez, *The C.S. Lewis Handbook,* 57.

98. Ibid., 57.

99. C.S. Lewis, Magdalen College, to Dom Bede Griffiths, 16 July, 1940, Lewis, *Letters*, 354.

100. Ibid., 354.

101. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 81 - 93.

102. Plato *The Republic* trans. with an introduction by Desmond Lee, ed. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1974), 518ff.

103. Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants and other essays on Christianity,* ed. Walter Hooper (London : Fontana, 1975; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 33.

104. Ibid., 33.

105. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 84.

106. Plato *The Republic* 518 c-d.

107. Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 33.

108. Newman, *The Idea of a University*, 173.

109. Ibid., 173.

110. Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 63.

111. Ibid., 63.

112. Bantock "The Social and Intellectual Background", *The Pelican Guide*, 25.

113. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* cited in Bantock "The Social and Intellectual Background", *The Pelican Guide*, 25.

114. Ibid., 25.

115. Dewey, *Democracy And Education,* 274 - 275; Dewey, *Experience And Education,* 73 - 74.

116. C.S. Lewis, *The Great Divorce: A Dream* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1946; repr., London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 37.

117. Ibid., 37-38.

118. Ibid., 38.

119. Lewis, "The Parthenon and The Optative", *Of This And Other Worlds,* ed. Walter Hooper (London : William Collins Sons and Co. 1982; repr., London: Fount Paperbacks, 1984), 142.

120. Lewis, "On the Reading of Old Books" *First and Second Things : Essays on Theology and Ethics,* ed. Walter Hooper (London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1985), 25-26.

121. Ibid., 25.

122. Ibid., 25.

123. Ibid., 26.

124. Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 37.

125. Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 65.

126. Ibid., 66.

127. Lewis, *The Great Divorce* 41; Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 65.

128. Newman, *The Idea of a University,* 103.

129. Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 40.

130. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism*, 119.

131. Ibid., 199.

132. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 84.

133. Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 33.

134. Ibid., 33.

135. Ibid., 38.

136. Newman, *The Idea of a University,* 131.

137. Ibid., 131.

138. Ibid., 130 - 131.

139. Ibid. 131.

140. Ibid., 131.

141. Newman, *The Idea of a University,* 186.

142. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 7220 - 7285.

143. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays,* 12.

144. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 82.

145. Ibid., 81.

146. Ibid., 81-82.

147. See page 78.

148. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 82.

149. Ibid., 82.

150. Ibid., 82.

151. Ibid., 82.

152. Ibid., 82.

153. i. Alfred Whitehead, *Aims of Education* (London : Williams and Norgate, 1932, new ed. 1950)
ii. Curtis and Boultwood, *An Introductory History,* 251.
Alfred Whitehead stated in *Aims of Education* that "The antithesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal and no liberal education which is not technical : that is, no education which does not impart both technique and intellectual vision". Whithead, *Aims of Education,* 74.

154. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 81-83.

155. Ibid., 83 - 84.

156. Ibid., 85.

157. Ibid., 89.

158. David Carr, *Educating The Virtues : An essay on the philosophical psychology of moral development and education* (London : Routledge, 1991), 31.

159. Ibid., 30.

160. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 85.

161. L.C. Knight "Mr. C.S. Lewis and the Status Quo", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* Critical Thought Series : 1, ed. George Watson (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992), 142.

162. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 89.

163. Ibid., 85.

164. Ibid., 85.

165. Ibid., 85.

166. Ibid., 87.

167. Ibid., 87.

168. Ibid., 88 - 89.

169. Plato *The Republic,* 539d.

170. Newman, *The Idea of A University*, 473.

171. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 85-86.

172. Ibid., 86.

173. Ibid., 86.

174. Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 28.

175. Ibid., 26.

176. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations* 83.

177. Wynne, *Theories of Education : An Introduction to the Foundations of Education*, 352; Ozmon and Craver, *Philosophical Foundations of Education,* 21.

178. Bertrand Russell, *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, *The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell 1903 - 1959* ed. Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Denonn (London: Routledge, 1961; paperback ed. 1992), 402.

179. Ibid., 403.

180. Ibid., 402.

181. *Lewis Papers,* 3: 262-3.

182. Ibid., 3 : 262.

183. Ibid., 3 : 262.

184. George Sayer, Malvern, to the author, 10 October 1994, (see appendix E).

185. Russell, *The Basic Writings* 402.

186. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 7024 - 7120.

187. Ibid., tape recording, 5850 - 5889.

188. Ibid., tape recording, 5024 - 5282.

189. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* 102.

190. Lewis, "High And Low Brows", *Rehabilitations*, 114-115.

191. Lewis, Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 36-37.

192. Livingstone, *The Future In Education*, 17.

193. Dewey, *Experience And Education*, 19.

194. Lewis, "The Parthenon and The Optative" *Of This And Other Worlds*, 142.

195. Ibid., 142-143.

196. Ibid., 143.

197. Knight, "L.C., "Mr. C.S. Lewis and The Status Quo", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 143.

198. Lewis, *The Silver Chair,* (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1953; new ed. London: Fontana Lions, 1980), 16-17.

199. Ibid., 11.

200. Ibid., 11.

201. Ibid., 11.

202. Ibid., 11.

203. Ibid., 11.

204. Ibid., 205.

205. Ibid., 205.

206. Ibid., 206.

207. Lewis, *The Voyage Of The Dawn Treader*, (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1952; new ed. London: Fontana Lions, 1980), 31.

208. Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy* , 40; David Holbrook, *The Skeleton in the Wardrobe: C.S. Lewis's Fantasies : A Phenonomenological Study* (London : Associated University Presses, 1991), 181.

209. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion and other Essays,* 37.

210. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces*, 95-96.

211. Bertrand Russell, *Education and The Social Order* (London : Allen and Unwin, 1977) 43.

212. Plato *The Republic*, 536 d-e.

213. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 86.

214. Ibid., 86.

215. Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1972), 54.

216. C.S. Lewis "Is English Doomed?", *Present Concerns*, 30, See also Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", and "The Idea of An 'English School'", *Rehabilitations*, 88-89.

217. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 88-89.

218. Ibid., 88-89.

219. Ibid., 89.

220. Ibid., 89.

221. Ibid., 88.

222. Lewis, "The Idea of An 'English School'", *Rehabilitations,* 75.

223. Ibid., 75.

224. C.S. Lewis, The Kilns, to Martin, 29 September 1958, C.S. Lewis, *Letters to Children,* 83.

225. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 89.

226. Lewis, "The Parthenon and The Optative", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 142-143.

227. Ibid., 142-146.

228. Ibid., 145.

229. Lewis, "The Idea Of An 'English School'", *Rehabilitations*, 74.

230. Ibid., 75.

231. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 93.

232. Ibid., 93.

233. Ibid., 93.

234. Ibid., 88.

235. Lewis "The Idea of The 'English School'", *Rehabilitations*, 76.

236. Ibid., 76.

237. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 93.

238. This report is often entitled *The Norwood Report* after its chairman Sir Cyril Norwood. Lewis, "The Parthenon and the Optative", *Of This And Other Worlds*. 142-246.

239. Lewis, "Is English Doomed?", *Present Concerns*, 27.

240. Ibid., 27.

241. Ibid., 27.

242. Ibid., 30.

243. Ibid., 30

244. Ibid., 29.

245. Ibid., 29.

246. Ibid., 29.

247. G.M. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory,* Vol. 11, *The Minds and The Masses 1760-1980* (London: Allen and Unwin,1984), 338.

248. Lewis, "Is English Doomed?", *Present Concerns*, 29.

249. *The Norwood Report*, 93.

250. Ibid., 94-98.

251. Lewis, "Is English Doomed?", *Present Concerns*, 28.

252. Lewis, "The Parthenon and The Optative", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 144.

253. Ibid., 145.

254. Q.D. Lewis, "Review", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis* , ed. Watson, 146.

255. Ibid., 149.

256. Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 26.

257. Ibid., 26.

258. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 92.

259. Ibid., 92.

260. Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 55.

261. Ibid., 229. 230.

262. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 91.

263. Ibid., 93.

264. Ibid., 93.

265. Lewis, "The Idea of 'An English School'", *Rehabilitations*, 74.

266. Ibid., 74.

267. Leavis, *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 143.

268. Ibid., 147.

269. Knight, "Mr. C.S. Lewis and The Status Quo", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 143.

270. Ibid., 143.

271. Ibid., 143.

272. Leavis, "Review", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 148.

273. C.S. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* ed. Walter Hooper (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1967; new ed., London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1981; repr., 1991), 22; Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 121-129.

274. C.S. Lewis and E.M. W. Tillyard, *The Personal Heresy : A Controversy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).

275. Lewis in his emphasis on history and context in literary criticism, appeared to his colleagues as a stranded anachronism. Yet, as A.N. Nuttall in his fine essay "Jack the Giant-Killer" notes, Lewis was a "prescient-reactionary".[i] He anticipated the "New Criticism" principle in stressing that the author's intention should be of no relevance to a critical assessment of his work. George Watson in his "Introduction" to *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis* recognized that Lewis's innovative theory on narrative was presented to an undergraduate audience long before "narratology was ever a term or a concern of academic criticism".[ii] Watson also found in Lewis's *The Personal Heresy* "an anti-intentionalist case for studying the effects rather than the causes of literary masterpieces long before response-theory had become part of the armoury of Anglo-American critical debate".[iii]

i. A.D. Nuttall "Jack the Giant-Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 270.
ii. George Watson, "Introduction", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson , 5.
iii. Ibid., 4.

276. Lewis, "The Idea of An 'English School'", *Rehabilitations*, 74.

277. C.S. Lewis, *English Literature In the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama,* Vol. 3, *The Oxford History of English Literature,* (London : Clarendon Press, 1954; repr., 1962).

278. Lewis, "On the Reading of Old Books", *First and Second Things*, 28.

279. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays*, 12.

280. Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 35.

281. Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 62; Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays*, 1-14; Lewis "De Audiendis Poetis", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Walter Hooper (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1966), 1-3; Lewis, "On the Reading of Old Books", *First and Second Things*, 25-33.

282. Livingstone, *The Future in Education*, 25.

283. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, 140.

284. Ibid., 140.

285. Ibid., 140.

286. Ibid., 140.

287. Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 62.

288. Lewis "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays*, 4.

289. Ibid., 14.

290. A.D. Nuttall, "Jack the Giant-Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 269.

291. Livingstone, *The Future in Education,* 127.

Part II: Educating for Democracy

1. J.S. Mill, *On Liberty in focus,* ed. John Gray and G.W. Smith (London:Routledge, 1991), 85.

2. Nutall, "Jack the Giant-Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 280.

3. Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972); Everett Reimer, *School is Dead : an essay on alternative education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

4. T.S. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), F.R. Leavis, *Education and The University : A Sketch for an 'English School'*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1979); F.R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition. George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1962).

5. Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns*, 18.

6. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns*, 34.

7. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 501; Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants* 20, Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns,* 17.

8. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*, *The Cosmic Trilogy,* 501.

9. Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns*, 18.

10. Ibid., 20.

11. Ibid., 20.

12. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 19.

13. Ibid., 23.

14. Ibid., 23.

15. C.S. Lewis, *Perelandra* (London: The Bodley Head, 1943; ned ed., *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy*, London: The Bodley Head and Pan Books, 1990), 340.

16. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 19; Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns,* 17.

17. Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns*, 19.

18. Ibid., 19.

19. Ibid., 19.

20. Ibid., 20.

21. Ibid., 20.

22. Ibid., 20.

23. Ibid., 20.

24. Ibid., 20.

25. Ibid., 18.

26. Ibid., 18.

27. C.S. Lewis, "A Confession", *Poems,*, 15.

28. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 27.

29. Ibid., 36.

30. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, 41; "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays*, 30.

31. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion and Other Essays*, 30; Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections*, 38.

32. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture,* 19.

33. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 27.

34. Ibid., 39.

35. Ibid., 41.

36. Ibid., 41.

37. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism*, 130.

38. Ibid., 3.

39. Ibid., 86.

40. Ibid., 75, 132.

41. Ibid., 74.

42. Ibid., 74.

43. Ibid., 124.

44. Ibid., 126.

45. Ibid., 127.

46. Ibid., 8-9.

47. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 25.

48. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, 48.

49. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 39.

50. Ibid., 39, 34.

51. Ibid., 35.

52. Ibid., 38-40; Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism, 99.*

53. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 37-42.

54. Ibid., 39.

55. See section on Criteria of Educational Processes, 84-86.

56. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 41. Lewis's list of leadership qualities are very close to Plato's in *The Republic*. See *The Republic*, 535b.

57. Ibid., 41.

58. Ibid., 41.

59. Ibid., 43.

60. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture,* 108.

61. Ibid., 43, 106.

62. Lewis, "On the Transmission of Christianity", *First and Second Things*, 65.

63. Ibid., 65.

64. Ibid., 65.

65. Ibid., 65.

66. Ibid., 65.

67. Ibid., 67.

68. Ibid., 66.

69. Ibid., 66.

70. Ibid., 66.

71. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture,* 109, 99.

72. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections*, 37.

73. Ibid., 41.

74. Lewis commented in "Lilies that Fester", that pupils "come[s] increasingly from businessmen's flats or workmen's cottages in which there are few books or none".

Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion And Other Essays,* 35.

75. C.S. Lewis "A Reply to Professor Haldane", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 105.

76. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 19.

77. Ibid., 18-19.

78. Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns,* 17.

79. Lewis, "A Reply to Professor Haldane", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 105.

80. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* 18.

81. Ibid., 18.

82. Ibid., 24.

83. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 13.

84. Ibid., 11.

85. Ibid., 13, 12.

86. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 122.

87. Ibid., 87.

88. Lewis, "The Necessity of Chivalry", *Present Concerns,* 16; Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces*, 22-25.

89. Lewis, "The Necessity of Chivalry" in Lewis, *Present Concerns*, 16. See also Lewis, "Equality", *Present Concerns,* 21.

90. Lewis, "The Necessity of Chivalry", *Present Concerns,* 16.

91. Ibid., 15.

92. Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1981) cited in Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory,* 312.

93. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory,* 312.

94. Lewis, "The Necessity of Chivalry", *Present Concerns,* 16.

95. Lewis, "Talking about Bicycles", *Present Concerns,* 71 - 72.

96. Ibid., 72.

97. Ibid., 72.

98. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns,* 32.

99. Ibid., 32.

100. Ibid., 32.

101. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform,* 247-249; G.H. Bantock, "Equality and Education", *Education Equality and Society,* ed. Bryan Wilson (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975), 115.

102. Bantock, "Equality and Education", *Education Equality and Society,* ed. Wilson, 116.

103. Ibid., 116.

104. Ibid., 116-117, 136.

105. Ibid., 136.

106. See Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920 - 1940*, 327.

107. Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History*, 92.

108. Ibid., 92-94. See also Morrish, *Education Since 1800*, 57-59.

109. Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History*, 102-107.

110. Ibid., 104-105.

111. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform* 1920 - 1940, 240 - 241.

112. Ibid., 246 - 248.

113. Ibid., 244.

114. Ibid., 246.

115. Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development", *Education, Economy and Society : a reader in the sociology of education,* ed. A.H. Halsey, J. Floud and C. Anderson, (London : Collier - Macmillan, 1965).

116. Lewis, "High and Low Brows", *Rehabilitations,* 114; Lewis, "Interim Report", *Present Concerns,* 98.

117. Lewis "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns,* 34.

118. Ibid., 34.

119. Ibid., 34.

120. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes A Toast and other pieces,* 24.

121. Bantock, "Equality an Education", *Education Equality and Society*, ed. Wilson, 117.

122. Ibid., 117; Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), cited in Bantock, "Equality and Education", *Education Equality and Society,* ed. Wilson, 117.

123. Ibid., 135.

124. Ibid., 137.

125. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns*, 32.

126. Ibid., 33.

127. Ibid., 33.

128. Ibid., 33.

129. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* 21.

130. Ibid., 19.

131. Ibid., 19.

132. Ibid., 23.

133. Ibid., 22.

134. Ibid., 23.

135. C.S. Lewis, *The Four Loves* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1960; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 47.

136. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns*, 33.

137. Ibid., 32.

138. Ibid., 33.

139. Lowe, *Education in the Post-War Years : A Social History*, 188.

140. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns,* 32-33.

141. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes A Toast", *Screwtape Proposes A Toast and other pieces*, 23.

142. Bantock, *Studies in The History of Educational Theory,* 327.

143. Lewis, "Screwtapes Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces,* 21, 24.

144. Ibid., 21.

145. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory,* 317.

146. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes A Toast", *Screwtape Proposes A Toast and other pieces*, 25-26.

147. Ibid., 24.

148. Ibid., 21, 25.

149. Ibid., 17.

150. Ibid., 17.

151. Ibid., 16.

152. Ibid., 13.

153. Ibid., 14.

154. Ibid., 14.

155. Lewis, "Lilies that Fester", *Christian Reunion and other essays,* 35.

156. Ibid., 35.

157. Ibid., 36.

158. Ibid., 36.

159. Ibid., 36.

160. Ibid., 37.

161. See section on Knowledge and Cognitive Perspective, 74-79.

162. Lewis "Screwtape Proposes A Toast", *Screwtape Proposes A Toast And Other Pieces,* 14.

163. Ibid., 13-15.

164. Mill, *On Liberty,* 87-89.
On the need to maintain healthy antagonists to challenge the autocracy of the state and public opinion, Lewis echoes the arguments of Mill in *On Liberty* where he rails against the loss of diversity in English society, writing that individuality must assert itself against the yoke of public opinion, unless society wishes to emulate Chinese society, and have "a people all alike, all governing their thoughts and conduct by the same maxims and rules". Mill fears that "If resistance waits till life is reduced *nearly* to one uniform type, all deviations from that type will come to be considered impious, immoral, even monstrous and contrary to nature".

165. See Chapter One, 31-32.

166. See thesis page 120.

167. Sir Eric James, *Education and Leadership* (London: George G. Harrap, 1951), 42.

168. See Lewis's "The Inner Ring" for a clear exposition of his attitude to élites.
Lewis, "The Inner Ring", *Screwtape Proposes A Toast and other pieces*, 28-40.

169. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns*, 35.

170. Ibid., 34.

171. Ibid., 35.

172. Ibid., 35.

173. Ibid., 35.

174. Ibid., 35.

175. Ibid., 36.

176. Plato *The Republic,* 433b.

177. Lewis "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns* 36.

178. See thesis pages 112-113.

179. W.H.G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 237.

180. Ibid., 238.

181. Lewis, "On the Transmission of Christianity", *First and Second Things*, 68.

182. Lewis, "My First School", *Present Concerns,* 26.

183. Dewey, *Democracy and Education,* 101.

184. I.L. Kandal, *Times Educational Supplement,* 10 January 1948, 17; cited in Hyndman, *Schools and Schooling in England and Wales : A Documentary History,* 115.

185. C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves, 8 July 1930, Lewis, *TST*, 369.

186. On the origins of *Abolition*, and initial reacts to it see Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 218; Sayer, *Jack,* 182.

Part III: Education in a Brave New World

1. Lewis recalls that he was disturbed by receipt in 1940 of a review copy of an elementary English textbook. Giving its authors the pseudonyms of Gaius and Titius, and entitling the textbook *The Green Book*, Lewis was actually referring to the *The Control of Language* by Australian authors Alex King and Martin Ketley. See Kate Filmer, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis: Mask and Mirror* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 65.

2. Lewis, *Abolition*, 9-10.

3. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, 197.

4. Alduous Huxley, *Brave New World* (London : Chatto and Windus, 1932).

5. Lewis, *Abolition,* 29, 39-40.

6. Lewis states that he derives his definition of Magnanimity from Plato, *The Republic*, 442b,c and from Alanus ab Insulis, *De Planctu Prosa*, iii See Lewis, *Abolition*, 60.

7. Lewis, *Abolition*, 17-19.

8. Ibid., 19.

9. See thesis pages 112-113.

10. W.A. Myers, "C.S. Lewis's Argument for Natural Law Ethics", *Man's "Natural Powers": Essays For and About C.S. Lewis,* ed., Robert P. Tripp, (Denver: Onny Press, 1975), 43; Filmer, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis: Mask and Mirror*, 65; Sayer, *Jack*, 182-183; Owen Barfield, "Introduction", *Light on C.S. Lewis*, ed. Gibb, xx.

11. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 186. See also 108-124.

12. Nuttall, "Jack the Giant Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 277, 283.

13. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 180.

14. Lewis, *Abolition*, 15-16.

15. Ibid., 15, 16, 29.

16. Ibid., 27, 29.

17. Lewis, "On Ethics", *Christian Reflections*, 78.

18. Lewis, *Abolition*, 49.

19. Ibid., 31.

20. Lewis, "The Poison of Subjectivism", *Christian Reflections*, 104.

21. Lewis, *Abolition*, 29.

22. Lewis, "On Ethics", *Christian Reflections*, 78.

23. Lewis, *Abolition*, 32.

24. Walsh, *The Literary Legacy*, 211.

25. Lewis, *Abolition*, 16.

26. Ibid, 49 - 59.

27. Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless at Heart : Essays on Theology,* ed. Walter Hooper (London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1987; repr. 1991), 39.

28. Nuttall, "Jack the Giant-Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 283.

29. Lewis, *Abolition,* 15.

30. Ibid., 15, 32.

31. Nuttall, "Jack the Giant Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 282; Lewis, *Abolition,* 15-17.

32. Filmer, *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis: Mask and Mirror,* 65.

33. Lewis, *Abolition*, 13.

34. Ibid., 8.

35. Ibid., 8. Lewis simply reveals that the stance of the authors (if they wished to preserve logical consistency) would force them to maintain that "you are contemptible" means "I have contemptible feelings" in fact "that your feelings are contemptible means" my feelings are contemptible.

36. Ibid., 9.

37. Ibid., 11.

38. Ibid., 11.

39. Ibid., 11.

40. Ibid, 15.

41. Ibid., 9.

42. Ibid., 9.

43. See thesis pages 84 - 92.

44. Lewis, *Abolition*, 13.

45. Ibid., 13.

46. Ibid., 13.

47. Ibid., 13.

48. Ibid., 13.

49. Lewis cites Shelley who believed that man had a power of "internal adjustment", Traherne, who suggested that things were made to be prized according to their value; St. Augustine, who suggested that every object is accorded its appropriate degree of love, Aristotle who believed that "the aim of education is to make the pupil like and dislike what he ought", Plato, who believed that through a good education the youth "would see most clearly whatever was amiss in ill-made works of man and ill-grown works of nature". Lewis, *Abolition,* 14-15.

50. Ibid., 15.

51. Ibid., 17.

52. Ibid., 18.

53. Ibid., 18.

54. Ibid., 19.

55. Ibid., 19. See also C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image. An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 155-164.

56. Ibid., 19.

57. Ibid., 19.

58. Ibid., 20.

59. Ibid., 37.

60. Ibid., 37. Writing *Abolition* at a period which saw the devastation of Europe by the conditioned young soldiers of Hitler's Germany, Lewis could not fail to feel justified in his argument against modern "Conditioners" who in Germany and Fascist Italy had successfully indoctrinated youth with their own values. Nor did Lewis need to look so far afield to find those adversaries who taught "the tenets of cultural disintegration". As Wilson has noted in *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, A.A. Ayer, a fellow Oxfordian, exposed the future leaders of the state to his brand of logical positivism Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, 198.

61. Ibid., 37.

62. Ibid., 37.

63. Ibid., 37.

64. Ibid., 38.

65. Ibid., 38.

66. Ibid., 38.

67. Ibid., 38.

68. Ibid., 38.

69. Ibid., 39.

70. Ibid., 39-40.

71. Ibid., 39.

72. Ibid., 39.

73. Nuttall, "Jack the Giant-Killer", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 277.

74. Ibid., 277.

75. Lewis, *Abolition*, 21.

76. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays*, 7.

77. Lewis, *Abolition*, 47.

78. Ibid., 48.

79. Ibid., 48.

80. See thesis pages 113-114.

81. C.S. Lewis, *Narrative Poems* ed. Walter Hooper (London: Geoffrey, Bles, 1969), 8.

82. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography*, 199.

83. Walsh, *The Literary Legacy*, 210.

84. C.S. Lewis, *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm* (London: Geoffrey Bles. 1964; new ed. Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 93.

85. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy* 340.

86. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, The Holy Bible, 2:9.

87. Livingstone, *The Future of Education*, 113.

88. Livingstone, *Education And the Spirit of The Age,* 9.

89. Plato *The Republic* 56lc.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPROBABLE GURU: LEWIS AS PEDAGOGUE

1. Plato *The Republic,* 442d.

2. Lewis, *Abolition,* 31-32.

3. Lewis, *The Discarded Image,* 158; Lewis, *Abolition,* 32.

4. Plato *The Republic*, 532b.

5. Douglas Gresham, in an interview with the author, illuminated some aspects of Lewis's use of dialectic when he stated that "Dialectic can be used in a very bombastic way or in a gentle way, depending on the circumstances . . . . Jack would have used both. He would have teased information and he would have gently extracted a view point from students who were not outgoing by nature. The bombastic extrovert he would deal with".
Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 2215-2266.

6. Owen Barfield, "C.S. Lewis in Conversation", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, ed. G.B. Tennyson, 34.

7. Ibid., 34 - 35.

8. Derek Brewer, Cambridge University, to the author, 24 April 1995, 2, (see appendix A).

9. Ibid., 2.

10. Kathleen Raine, "From A Poet", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 103.

11. Both compilations are comprised of general essays and interviews by ex-colleagues, friends and acquaintances of Lewis.

12. Plato *The Republic* 534e.

13. Derek Brewer, Cambridge University, to the author, 23 November, 1994, (see appendix A).

14. Luke Rigby, "A Solid Man", *C.S. Lewis at the Breadfast Table,* ed. Como, 39; Derek Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 41; Kenneth Tynan, "Exhilaration", *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed. Schofield, 7; Coghill, "The Approach To English", *Light On Lewis*, ed. Gibb, 65, R.W. Burchfield, telephone conversation with the author, 2 November 1994, field notes, 1; W.R. Fryer, "Disappointment at Cambridge?", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 29.

15. Sayer, *Jack*, 143-144. See also Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 46.

16. See Sayer, *Jack*, 144; Helen Gardner, "British Academy Obituary", *Proceedings of the British Academy, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed, Watson, 15.

17. Sayer, *Jack,* 144.

18. Peter Bayley, "From Master to Colleague", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 79.

19. Derek Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 43.

20. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April, 1995, tape recording 1758-1805.

21. Ibid., tape recording, 1909 - 1969.

22. Lawlor, "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 71, 75.

23. Gervase Mathew, "Orator", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 97.

24. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by the author, 22 April, 1995, tape recording, 2030-2063.

25. See Derek Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 46; Lawlor, "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On Lewis*, ed. Gibb, 70.

26. Francis Warner, St. Peter's College, Oxford, to Walter Hooper, Oxford, 28 March, 1995, 4. This letter much of which is to be included in Walter Hooper's forthcoming publication, *Companion to C.S. Lewis,* was generously forwarded to the author on 31 March, 1995 by Francis Warner. Hereafter the letter will be referred to as Warner to Hooper with appropriate page number, (see appendix F).

27. C.S. Lewis to Leo Baker, letter cited in Leo Baker, "Near the Beginning" ,*C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed Como, 18.

28. Lawlor, "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 72.

29. Ibid., 67, 80.

30. C.S. Lewis and E.M.W. Tillyard *The Personal Heresy : A Controversy* 49.

31. Lawlor, "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 70.

32. E.L. Edmonds, "C.S.Lewis, the Teacher", *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed. Schofield, 47.

33. E.L. Edmonds, University of Prince Edward Island, to the author, 19 November 1994, (see appendix B).

34. Bayley, "From Master to Colleague", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 79.

35. Ibid., 79.

36. Peter Philip, "South African View", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 95.

37. Ibid., 95.

38. Ibid., 95.

39. John Wain, *Sprightly Running Part of An Autobiography,* (London: The Quality Book Club, 1962), 138 - 139.

40. Ibid., 138-139.

41. Ibid., 139. See also Lawlor "The Tutor And The Scholar", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 15; Baker, "Near The Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed., Como, 17.

42. Nathan C. Starr, "Good Cheer And Sustenance", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed., Como, 125.

43. A.J. P. Taylor, *A Personal History* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Coronet Books, 1984), 179.

44. Obituary, "In Memoriam: C.S. Lewis", *Cambridge Review, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 22.

45. Coghill, "The Approach To English", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 62.

46. Alan Rook, "The Butcher"; Norman Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 11-15; 17-27.

47. Rook, "The Butcher", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 13.

48. Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 18.

49. Ibid., 25.

50. George Sayer, Malvern, to the author, 18 November 1994, (see appendix E).

51. Derek Brewer, Cambridge University, to the author, 23 November 1994.

52. Edmonds, University of Prince Edward Island, to the author, 19 November 1994.

53. Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 58.

54. Ibid., 58.

55. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape reocrding,1510-1606.

56. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 64.

57. Ibid., 52.

58. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording 2438 - 2482.

59. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 april 1995, tape recording 2204-2216.

60. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 64.

61. Francis Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, 1 November 1994, field notes, 1.

62. Ibid., 2.

63. Warner to Hooper, 3.

64. Francis Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, field notes, 2.

65. Sayer, Malvern, to the author, 18 November 1994.

66. Ibid., 18 November 1994.

67. Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, field notes, 1.

68. Warner was working on a doctoral thesis entitled *A Bibilographical Edition of the Latin Text of De Occulta Philosophia, H. Cornelius Agrippa edited together with a revision/translation of the text published by J.F. in 1651.*

69. Ibid., 2; Warner to Hooper, 1.

70. Warner, Oxford Univerity, interview by author, field notes, 2.

71. Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, field notes, 1.

72. Warner to Hooper, 1.

73. Warner to Hooper, 1.

74. Obituary, "In Memoriam : C.S. Lewis", *Cambridge Review, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 22.

75. Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, field notes, 1; Warner to Hooper, 1.

76. Warner, Oxford University, interview by author, field notes, 1.

77. Ibid., 2.

78. Warner to Hooper, 1-2.

79. Ibid., 2.

80. Ibid., 3; John Wain, *The American Scholar*, (Winter 1980 - 1981), cited in *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed., Schofield, 26.

81. Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 18.

82. Ibid., 18.

83. Ibid., 23.

84. E.L. Edmonds, "C.S. Lewis, the Teacher", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 40.

85. Ibid., 41.

86. Patricia Berry, "With Women at College", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 70.

87. Patricia Berry, Supplementary statement in *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 173.

88. Sayer, *Jack,* 144.

89. C.S. Lewis to Dom Bede Griffiths, 1932 letter cited in Sayer, *Jack*, 144.

90. Lewis, *TST,* 441.

91. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 42.

92. Ibid., 42. See also Lewis "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations,* 83-89.

93. See in particular Lewis "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 85-87.

94. Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 43.

95. Lawlor, "The Tutor and the Scholar", *Light On Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 73.

96. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 43.

97. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 2806-2830.

98. Brewer, "The Tutor : A Portrait", C.S. Lewis *at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 42.

99. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 2910 - 3012.

100. R.W. Burchfield, telephone conversation with the author 2 November, 1994, field notes, 1.

101. Ibid., 2.

102. Ibid., 2.

103. Ibid., 2.

104. Brewer, Cambridge Univeristy, to the author, 23 November 1994.

105. Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil"; Philip, "South African View", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 26; 94.

106. Luke Rigby, "A Solid Man", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 39.

107. Ibid., 39.

108. George Bailey, "In the University", *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher*, ed. Keefe, 115.

109. Ibid., 114.

110. Ibid., 115.

111. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 3413-3458.

112. Ibid., tape recording, 1845 - 1909.

113. See for example, Patricia Berry "With Women at College", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 70.

114. Kenneth Tynan, "Exhilaration", "*In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 4; Coghill, *The Approach to English", Light* On *C.S. Lewis*, ed. Gibb, 57; Baker,

"Near the Beginning" *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 15; Brewer, "The Tutor: A portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 47.

115. Tynan, "Exhilaration", *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed. Schofield, 4.

116. Kathleen Tynan, *The Life of Kenneth Tynan* (London: Methuen, 1988), 54.

117. Ibid., 54.

118. Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait"; Baker, "Near the Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 47, 15.

119. Coghill, "The Approach To English", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 57.

120. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 41.

121. Rigby, "A Solid Man", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 39, Coghill, "The Approach To English", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 66; Warner, Oxford University, interview with author, field notes, 1; Bayley, "From Master to Colleague", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 81.

122. Bayley, "From Master to Colleague", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 81.

123. Bailey, "In the University", *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher,* ed. Keefe, 112.

124. Ibid., 113.

125. Tynan, "Exhilaration", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 7, 4.

126. Fryer, "Disappointment at Cambridge?", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 29.

127. Sayer, Malvern, to the author, 18 November 1994.

128 Malcolm Muggeridge, "The Mystery", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 130.

129. Baker, "Near The Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 12.

130. Obituary, "In Memoriam : C.S. Lewis", *Cambridge Review, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 22-23.

131. John Wain, "C.S. Lewis", *Encounter,* 22, 1964, cited in *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 36.

150. See for example, Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil"; Edmonds "C.S. Lewis, The Teacher"; Rosamund Cowan, "With Women At College", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 24, 43, 62; Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 54.

151. Taylor, *A Personal History,* 183.

152. Mathew, "Orator", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 96.

153. David Hunt, "Observations of a Magdalen Don", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 124.

154. Carpenter, *The Inklings,* 59.

155. Lawlor, "The Tutor and the Scholar", *Light On Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 71-72.

156. Bradshaw "Impressions of a Pupil"; Rook, "The Butcher", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 11-27.

157. Schofield, *In Search of C.S. Lewis;* Como, *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.*

158. Rosamund Cowan, "With Women at College", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 63; Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 54; Burchfield, telephone conversation with author, field notes, 2.

159. Cowan, "With Women At College", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 63.

160. Burchfield, telephone conversation with author, field notes 2.

161. Ibid., 2.

162. Brewer "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 54.

163. Sayer, *Jack,* 145.

164. Burchfield telephone conversation with the author, field notes, 2.

165. Bradshaw, "Impressions of a Pupil", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 24.

166. Watson, "Introduction", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* 2.

167. Keefe, "Notes on Lewis's Voice", *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher,* 171 - 178.

168. Eric Routley "Stunning Effect", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 98.

169. Bailey, "In the University", *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher,* ed. Keefe, 110.

170. Brewer, "The Tutor: A Portrait", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 43.

171. Rook, "The Butcher", *In Search of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 13.

172. Ibid., 11.

173. Rigby "A Solid Man", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 40.

174. C.S. Lewis, *A Preface To Paradise Lost* (London : Oxford University Press, 1942, repr., 1963).

175. Muggeridge, "The Mystery", *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed. Schofield, 129.

176. Bailey, "In the University", *C.S. Lewis : Speaker and Teacher,* ed. Keefe, 122.

177. Obituary, *Cambridge Review, Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 22.

178. Bennett, "The Humane Medievalist", *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Watson, 66.

179. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 Aprill 1995, tape recording, 1426-1510.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

Part I: The Case for Imagination

1. C.S. Lewis, Magdalen College, Oxford, to the Milton Society of America, undated letter, Lewis, *Letters*, 443-444.

2. C.S. Lewis, "Bluespels and Flalanferes : A Semantic Nightmare", *Rehabilitations*, 157.

3. *The Symbolic Order : A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate*, ed. Peter Abbs (London: The Falmer Press, 1989).

4. *Myth And Symbol In Education : A Symposium,* ed. Peter Abbs, Tract/Cockpit Arts Workshop Joint Issue, 29 and 30.

5. Francis Moris, *Metaphor and Myth,* 115; James T. Como, "Introduction : Within the Realm of Plenitude" , *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, xxxi.

6. C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams, *Arthurian Torso,* 101.

7. Cassirer's, Jung's ,and Abbs's, view of symbol of myth will be examined in Part Two of this chapter.

8. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms,* vol. 1, *Language* trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1953), 105 - 107.

9. See Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism*, 137-141.

10. Ibid., 138.

11. C.S. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress : An Allegorical Apology for Christianity, Reason and Romanticism* (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1933; repr., HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 171.

12. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 177.

13. Ibid., 177.

14. Ibid., 177.

15. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 217.

16. Peter Abbs, "Education, Symbol, Myth", *Myth and Symbol in Education : A Symposium,* ed. Abbs, 5.

17. C.S. Lewis, "On Science Fiction", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 95.

18. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April, 1995, tape recording, 6440 - 6455.

19. Owen Barfield interview by Francis Moris, 16 March 1977 cited in Moris, *Metaphor and Myth*, 215.

20. Glover, *The Art of Enchantment*, 93.

21. C.S. Lewis and Owen Barfield, The "Great War" correspondences, largely undated, photocopy collection Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS, FACS, c.54; originals in The Wade Collection, Wheaton College, Illinois.

22. Ibid., MS, FACS, C.54, 8.

23. Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction : a study in meaning* (London : Faber and Faber, 1928).

24. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 161.

25. Owen Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 72.

26. Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 206.

27. Ibid., 102.

28. Ibid., 89, 102.

29. Percy Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of a Prophecy,* ed. David Lee Clark (Albuquerque : The University of New Mexico Press, 1954), 279. George MacDonald, whose works exercised an inestimable influence on Lewis's thoughts, made a similar observation when he wrote in *Orts* that "all words, then, belonging to the inner world of the mind, are of the imagination, are originally poetic words", and declared that "The coldest word was once a glowing new metaphor and bold questionable originality". George MacDonald, *Orts* (London : Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882), 9.

30. Ibid., 281.

31. Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 92.

32. Ibid., 102.

33. Ibid., 203-206.

34. Ibid., 81, 92.

35. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, ed. Clark, 278.

36. Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 86, 92.

37. Ibid., 92.

38. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, ed. Clark, 278.

39. Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 108.

40. Ibid., 143.

41. Barfield first encountered the teachings of Rudolf Steiner in 1922/1923 and remained committed to Steiner's beliefs all his life. A useful summary of Barfield's and indeed Lewis relation to the Steiner's thought can be found in Gareth Knight, *The Magical World of the Inklings : J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, Owen Barfield* (Shaftesbury, Dorset : Element Books Ltd., 1990), 220-221.

42. C.S. Lewis, Preface to *Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth* by D. E.Harding (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 9.

43. Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances : A Study in Idolatry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 145.

44. Ibid., 146-147.

45. Ibid., 185.

46. Ibid., 147.

47. Owen Barfield, "Lewis and /or Barfield", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 109-110.

48. Owen Barfield, interviewed by Moris, 30 June 1976, cited in Moris, *Metaphor and Myth*, 70.

49. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 71.

50. Ibid., 75.

51. C.S. Lewis, "Historicism", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 53.

52. C.S. Lewis, *Miracles : A Preliminary Study,* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1947; repr., HarperCollins Religious, 1974); Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections.*

53. Owen Barfield, conversation with G.B. Tennyson, 1987, *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 141.

54. Lewis, *Miracles*, 165. On Barfield's view of evolution's u-shaped progression see Reilly, *Romantic Religion: A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien,* 22.

55. Ibid., 165.

56. Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 177.

57. Ibid., 178.

58. Owen Barfield, conversation with Clifford Monks, December 1984, *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis*, 137.

59. Lewis, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS. FACS, C.54, 2.

60. Lewis to Barfield, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS. FACS, C.54, 4.

61. Ibid., 4.

62. Ibid., 5.

63. Ibid., 2.

64. Ibid., 3.

65. Ibid., 8-9. See also, Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of A Prophecy*, ed. Clark, 283.

66. Barfield to Lewis, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS. Fac. C.54, 14.

67. Ibid., 16.

68. Owen Barfield, interviewed by Moris, 30 June 1976, cited in Moris, *Metaphor and Myth*, 49.

69. Barfield to Lewis, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS. Fac, C.54, 21.

70. Ibid., 23.

71. Lewis to Barfield, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS, Fac, C.54, 56-57.

72. Ibid., 55.

73. Ibid., 55.

74. Lewis to Barfield, WhitSunday 1928, cited in Moris, *Metaphor and Myth*, 70.

75. Lewis to Barfield, The "Great War" Correspondences, MS. Fac, C.54, 55.

76. Ibid., 72.

77. See Lewis "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock*, 43.

78. Owen Barfield, interviewed by Moris, 30 June, 1976, cited in Moris, *Metaphor And Myth,* 50.

79. Lewis, "Bluespels and Flalansferes : A Semantic Nightmare", *Rehabilitations,* 133-158.

80. Ibid., 135-158.

81. C.S. Lewis, *Clivi Hamiltonis Summae Metaphysices contra Anthroposophos Libri 11* photocopy in Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS. FACS. B.91. Original sold at Sotherby's 18th December, 1986, (Hereafter this handwritten document is referred to as the *Summa*).

82. Ibid., 33.

83. Barfield's response to Lewis's *Summa* is also included with the document as *Replizit Anthroposophos Barfieldus*, 49.

84. Ibid., 52.

85. C.S. Lewis to Daphne Harwood, March 1933, cited in A.C. Harwood, "About Anthroposophy", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 27.

86. Lewis, "Bluespels and Flalansferes" : A Semantic Nightmare" *Rehabilitations*, 150.

87. Ibid., 135-136.

88. Ibid., 154-158.

89. Ibid., 153.

90. Ibid., 156.

91. Ibid., 157.

92. Ibid., 154.

93. Ibid., 155.

94. Ibid., 155.

95. Ibid., 157.

96. Ibid., 157.

97. Ibid., 157.

98. Ibid., 140.

99. Ibid., 158.

100. Ibid., 158.

101. Ibid., 158.

102. Owen Barfield, "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 98.

103. Ibid., 98

104. Barfield, conversation with Tennyson, *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 151.

105. Barfield, "Lewis, Truth, and Imagination", *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis,* 103.

106. Ibid., 103.

107. Houston Smith, *Patches Of Godlight*, 145.

108. C.S. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 84.

109. Ibid., 83-84.

110. Ibid., 82.

111. Ibid., 92.

112. Ibid., 90.

113. Ibid., 83.

114. Eliot's postulating of a sacramental consciousness becomes a central argument in Charles Moorman's work *Arthurian Triptych : Mythic Material in Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis, and T.S. Eliot,* (Berkley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1960).

115. T.S. Eliot "The Dry Salvages", *Collected Poems* 1909 - 1962 (London : Faber and Faber, 1963, repr., 1974), 213.

116. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 83.

117. Ibid., 91.

118. See chapter five section 5:5 The Doctrine of Transposition.

119. Ibid., 91.

120. Ibid., 91.

121. Ibid., 89-90.

122. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Prose Or The Trumpet Of A Prophecy,* ed. Clark, 293.

123. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria,* (London : J.M. Dent, 1906; repr., Every man's Library, 1993), 167.

124. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 167.

125. Ibid., 146.

126. George MacDonald, "The Diary of an Old Soul", 29 May, *Poetical Works,* cited in C.N. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1975), 96.

127. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 105; Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 15, 16.

128. William Wordsworth, "Lines Composed A Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey", *The Works Of William Wordsworth,* (Ware, Hertfordshire : The Wordsworth Poetry Library, 1994), 206.

129. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 18.

130. Ibid., 18.

131. Ibid., 18.

132. Ibid., 164.

133. C.S. Lewis, "Psycho-Analysis and Literary Criticism", *Selected Literary Essays,* 282 - 300.

134. Ibid., 290.

135. Ibid., 290.

136. Ibid., 290.

137. Ibid., 289.

138. Ibid., 290.

139. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism*, 50-51.

140. Ibid., 55.

141. Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 43.

142. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 206.

143. C.S. Lewis, *A Preface To Paradise Lost,* 49.

144. C.S. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 88.

145. Ibid., 88.

146. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 18, -20.

147. See Corbin Scott Carnell, *Bright Shadow Of Reality : C.S. Lewis and the Feeling Intellect* (Grand Rapids, Mich : W.B. Eerdmans, 1974); Peter J. Kreeft, "C.S. Lewis's Argument from Desire", *The Riddle of Joy G.K. Chesterton And C.S. Lewis,* ed. Michael H. MacDonald and Andrew A. Tadie, (London : Collins, 1989), 249 - 272.

148. See Owen Barfield "Either : Or : Coleridge, Lewis and Romantic Theology", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 55-56.

149. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 176.

150. Barfield conversation with Monks, *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 128-129.

151. Ibid., 129.

152. Ibid., 129.

153. Carnell, *Bright Shadow Of Reality : C.S. Lewis and the Feeling Intellect*, 13.

154. Ibid., 35.

155. Reilly, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams and Tolkien,* 102.

156. Lewis states "Joy is distinct not only from pleasure in general but even from aesthetic pleasure. It must have the stab, the pang, the inconsolable longing". Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 61-62.

157. Carnell, *Bright Shadows Of Reality : C.S. Lewis And The Feeling Intellect*, 78, 94.

158. Ibid., 15.

159. Lewis, S*urprised by Joy,* 20.

160. Ibid., 190.

161. Barfield, "Either : Or: Colerdige, Lewis, and Romantic Theology", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 56.

162. C.S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1940; repr., London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 117.

163. Ibid., 117.

164. Barfield "Either: Or: Coleridge, Lewis, and Romantic Theology", *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis,* 56.

165. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 118.

166. Ibid., 118. See also Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 235.

167. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 190.

168. Colin Manlove, *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present* (London : Macmillan, 1992), 252.

169. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 18.

170. Ibid., 12.

171. Ibid., 12.

172. David Leigh, S.J., "The Psychology of Conversion in Chesterton and C.S. Lewis", *The Riddle of Joy : G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis,* ed. Michael H. MacDonald and Andrew A. Tadie, 290 - 304.

173. Ibid., 295.

174. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 12.

175. Ibid., 12.

176. Ibid., 61-62.

177. Ibid., 17.

178. Ibid., 17.

179. Ibid., 19.

180. Ibid., 19.

181. Ibid., 20.

182. Ibid., 20.

183. Ibid., 62.

184. Ibid., 62.

185. Ibid., 62-63.

186. Ibid., 66.

187. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 14.

188. Ibid., 15.

189. Ibid., 15.

190. Ibid., 15.

191. Ibid., 15.

192. Lewis to Barfield, the "The Great War" Correspondences M.S. Fac. C. 54, 3.

193. Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 175.

194. Ibid., 176.

195. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 164.

196. Ibid., 175.

197. Ibid., 175.

198. Ibid., 176.

199. Lewis, *Prayers : Letter to Malcolm*, 23.

200. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 331.

201. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost, 48.*

202. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 145.

203. Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 60.

204. Ibid., 60. See also Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 146.

205. C.S. Lewis, Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology*, (London : Collins, 1946).

206. Ibid., xxi - xxv.

207. Ibid., xxx.

208. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy by Joy,* 144.

209. Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Gardens : A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature*, 72-73.

210. Ibid., 73.

211. See Manlove, *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies*, 64-65; William Raeper, *George MacDonald*, (Tring, Herts : Lion Publishing, 1987), 311.

212. Martha C. Sammons, "*A Better Country*", 9.

213. Raeper, *George MacDonald*, 311.

214. Ibid., 311.

215. Ibid., 311.

216. F. Hal Broome, "The Scientific Basic of George MacDonald's Dream - Frame", *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald,* ed. William Raeper, (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 87.

217. George MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination", *The Gifts of the Child Christ : Fairy Tales and Stories for the Childlike,* vol. 1, ed. Glen Sadler (London and Oxford : A.R. Mowbay and Co., 1973), 27.

218. George MacDonald, *Orts,* 2.

219. J.R.R. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories", *The Monster And The Critics and other essays,* ed. Christopher Tolkien (London : Allen and Unwin, 1983).

220. MacDonald, *Orts*, 25.

221. MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination", *The Gifts of the Child Christ*, 23-28.

222. Ibid., 24.

223. Ibid., 27.

224. MacDonald, *Orts,* 2-3, 36, 41.

225. Colin Manlove, "MacDonald and Kingsley : A Victorian Contrast", *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald*, ed. Raeper, 145.

226. MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination" *The Gifts of the Child Christ*, 24. MacDonald is careful to note in *Orts* that there is "no imagination without intellect, however much it may appear that intellect can exist without imagination". Anticipating Barfield and Lewis's argument that no new knowledge can be created without the imagination MacDonald writes that "Intellect, must labour, workman - like, under the direction of the Architect, Imagination. He cites Novalis's statement that "The imagination is the stuff of the intellect". MacDonald, *Orts,* 11,14.

227. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* 132.

228. MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination" *The Gifts of the Child Christ*, 24.

229. MacDonald, *Orts,* 26; "The Fantastic Imagination", 27.

230. MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination", 27.

231. Ibid., 28.

232. Ibid., 28.

233. See J.R.R. Tolkien to Milton Waldman, undated letter, Tolkien, *Letters,* ed. Carpenter, 143-145; Lewis, "On Criticism", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 177-179.

234. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies,* 64.

235. MacDonald, *Orts,* 4.

236. Manlove, *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 To The Present,* 165.

237. Ibid., 166.

238. Margaret Sayer, review of *The Harmony Within : The Spiritual Vision of George MacDonald,* by Roland Hein, cited in Stephen Schofield, "The Master : George MacDonald", *In Search Of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schofield, 161.

239. George MacDonald, *Phantastes and Lilith* with an Introduction by C.S. Lewis (London : Victor Gollancz, 1962).

240. Barfield "Lewis, Truth and Imagination", *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis,* 97.

241. MacDonald, *Phantases and Lilith,* 404-405.

242. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 146.

243. Ibid., 145.

244. Ibid., 146.

245. Ibid., 146.

246. James Joyce, *Ulysses,* new ed. (London : The Bodley Head, 1960).

247. Ibid., 45.

248. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 144.

249. Ibid., 145.

250. Lewis, Preface to *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxxii.

251. Ibid., xxxii.

252. Ann Swinfen, *In Defence Of Fantasy : A Study of the Genre In English and American Literature Since 1945,* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); Eliane Tixier, "Imagination Baptized, or "Holiness" in the Chronicles of Narnia", *The Longing For A Form : Essays On The Fiction Of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schakel, 136-159.

253. Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy*, 149.

254. Gillian Avery, "George MacDonald and the Victorian Fairy Tale", *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald*, ed. Raeper, 164.

255. Ibid., 137.

256. Catherine Durie, "George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis", *The Gold Thread : Essays On George MacDonald,* ed. Raeper, 164.

257. Ibid., 164, 167.

258. Ibid., 168.

259. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy, 145-146.*

260. Durie, "George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis", *The Gold Thread : Essays On George MacDonald,* ed. Raeper, 168.

261. Stephen Prickett, "Fictions and Metafictions : 'Phantastes', Wilhelm Meister' and the Idea of the 'Bildungsroman' ", *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald,* ed. Raeper, 109-126.

262. Ibid, 9.

263. Ibid., 112-113.

264. Ibid., 113.

265. Ibid., 113.

266. Ibid., 117.

267. Peter Schakel, *Reason And Imagination In C.S. Lewis : A Study of Till We Have Faces*, 181 - 182.

268. Ibid., 159-160.

269. Walter Hooper, Oxford, to the author, 14 June 1994, (see appendix D).

270. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 138.

271. The problem of the seeming polarity in Lewis between reason and imagination would demand a full study in itself. A statement by Barfield in his essay "Lewis and/or Barfield" which was first delivered as an address to the Oxford C.S. Lewis Society, 19th November, 1985, sheds considerable light on what has become a hoary old chestnut for Lewis critics. He contends that while Lewis seems to have *lived* a polarity between reason on the one hand and imagination on the other, "he did not think that polarity was part of Lewis's system of ideas. He very forcefully stated he *knew* that it wasn't". Barfield, "Lewis and/or Barfield", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 110.

272. Durie, "George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis", *The Gold Thread : Essays on George MacDonald,* ed. Raeper, 168.

273. Glenn Edward Sadler, "The Fantastic Imagination in George MacDonald", *Imagination And The Spirit : Essays in Literature and the Christian Faith presented to Clyde S. Kilby,* (Grand Rapids, Michigan : William B. Eerdmans, 1971), 217.

274. Ibid., 217.

275. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies*, 242.

276. Barfield conversation with Monks, *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 133.

277. Houston Smith, *Patches Of Godlight*, 155.

278. Ibid, 155.

279. Ibid., 155.

280. Eliane Tixier, "Imagination Baptized or "Holiness" in the Chronicles of Narnia", *The Longing For A Form : Essays On The Fiction of C.S. Lewis,* ed. Schakel, 136-159.

281. Ibid., 138-139.

282. Ibid., 139.

283. Ibid., 140.

284. Ibid., 141-142.

285. Ibid., 141.

286. Ibid., 142-143.

287. Lewis, Preface to *George MacDonald An Anthology* xxxiii.

288. Ibid., xxxiv.

289. C.S. Lewis to A.C. Harwood, 28 October, 1926, cited in Harwood, "About Anthrosposophy", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 26.

290. Lewis was quite familiar with Carl Jung's ideas concerning archetypes and myths. While he felt that Jung had not got to the heart of things concerning the origins of archetypes, he did have a greater degree of sympathy with Jung's view than with Sigmund Freud's. For a fuller discussion see part two of this chapter. See Lewis, "Psycho - Analysis and Literary Criticism" *Selected Literary Essays,* 296.

291. C.S. Lewis to Sr. Penelope, 25 March, 1943, unpublished letter, Bodleian Library, Oxford, c/220/1, item 28.

292. Dom Bede Griffiths, *The Golden String*, (London : Harvill Press, 1954), 33.

293. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 88, 54.

294. Ibid., 54.

295. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections*, 22.

296. Ibid., 169.

297. Kathleen Raine, "From A Poet", *Light on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 105.

298. Manlove, *Christian Fantasy : From 1200 to the Present,* 250; Stella Gibbons, "Imaginative Writing", *Light on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 97.

299. Houston Smith, *Patches Of Godlight,* 130.

300. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 135.

301. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 130.

302. Lewis and Tillyard, *The Personal Heresy : A Controversy,* 49-69; Lewis, "Dante's Similes", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, 76-77.

303. Lewis, "Dante's Similes", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature,* 76-77.

304. Lewis owed a huge debt to MacDonald in regard of this view. See MacDonald, "The Fantastic Imagination", *The Gifts of the Child Christ*, ed. Sadler, 24.

305. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy*, 69.

306. Ibid., 136.

307. Ibid., 136.

308. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 98.

309. Lewis, *The Discarded Image,* 203-204.

310. Ibid., 222.

311. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm,* 88.

312. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 183.

313. C.S. Lewis to T.S. Eliot, 2 June, 1931 cited in Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis,* 126.

314. Ibid., 126.

315. Ibid., 126.

316. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 79.

317. Ibid., 79-80.

318. Barfield conversation with Tennyson, *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 141.

319. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 79.

320. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 135, 137.

321. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost,* 54.

322. Ibid., 54.

323. David Best, "Feeling and Reason in the Arts: The Rationality of Feeling", *The Symbolic Order : A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate*, ed. Abbs, 71.

324. Ibid., 77.

325. Abbs, "Education, Smybol and Myth", *Myth And Symbol In Education : A Symposium,* ed. Abbs, 10.

326. Ted Hughes, "Myth and Education", *The Symbolic Order : A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate,* ed. Abbs, 166.

327. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April, 1995, tape recording, 6192 - 6213.

328. Ibid., 6104 - 6111.

329. Ibid., 6122 - 6140.

330. Abbs, "Education, Smybol And Myth", *Myth and Symbol In Education : A Symposium,* ed. Abbs, 6-7.

331. Ibid., 7.

332. William Wordsworth, "Ode : Intimations of Mortality", *The Works of William Wordsworth,* 588.

Part II : Reviving Old Forms : Myth In Education

1. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, cited in Carnell, *Bright Shadow of Reality : C.S. Lewis and the Feeling Intellect,* 95.

2. Barfield "Lewis, Truth and Imagination", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 95 - 96.

3. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 45.

4. C.S. Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock,* new ed., London : Harper Collins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1979) 43; Lewis, *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxviii.

5. David Bidney, "Myth Symbolism And Truth", *Myth : A Symposium* ed., Thomas A. Sebek, (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1970), 21.

6. Ibid., 21.

7. Ibid., 21.

8. Ibid., 22.

9. C.G. Jung, *Psychology And Alchemy,* CW12.28.
In any reference to *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung,* the first number refers to the volume number, the second to the paragraph number. Thus CW12.28 refers to *Collected Works,* Volume 12, Paragraph 28. When a volume is initially cited the individual title will also be given. Note also that CW9i refers to Volume 9, Part I, and CW9ii to Volume 9, Part II.

10. Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay On Man : An Introduction To A Philosophy of Human Culture* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1944), 221.

11. Barfield, "Lewis, Truth and Imagination", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 95.

12. Susanne Langer, Susanne K. Langer *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), 237-38.

13. Ibid., 238.

14. Ernst Cassirer, *Language and Myth,* trans. Susanne K. Langer (London : Harper and Brothers, 1946, new ed., New York : Dover Publications, 1953) 99; Cassirer, *An Essay On Man,* 207; Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 143 - 144.

15. Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 144.

16. Ibid., 89, 201.

17. Ibid., 92.

18. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 10.

19. Ibid., 14.

20. C.S. Lewis, "Dogma and the Universe", *God In The Dock: Essays on Theology,* ed. Walter Hooper, new ed. (London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1979), 31-32.

21. Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock,* 43.

22. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 33.

23. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 45.

24. K.K. Ruthven, *Myth* (London: Methuen, 1976), 74-45; G.S. Kirk, *Myth : Its Meaning and Functions In Ancient And Other Cultures* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1970), 265.

25. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 88.

26. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love,* 73.

27. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 91 - 92.

28. Ibid., 91.

29. Lewis, *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxvi - xxvii.

30. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 171.

31. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 8, 32 - 33.

32. Ibid., 8.

33. Ibid., 9.

34. Ibid., 9 - 10.

35. Cassirer, *An Essay On Man,* 169.

36. Bidney "Myth, Symbolism, and Truth",*Myth : A Symposium,* ed. Sebek, 12.

37. F.W.J. Shelling, *Philosophy of Mythology* cited in Bidney, "Myth, Symbolism, and Truth", *Myth : A Symposium,* ed. Sebek, 6.

38. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 89 - 90.

39. Cassirer, *An Essay On Man,* 87.

40. Bidney, "Myth, Symbolism, And Truth", ed. Sebek, *Myth: A Symposium,* 16.

41. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 33.

42. Kirk, *Myth : Its Meaning And Functions in Ancient And Other Cultures,* 265.

43. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 44.

44. Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock,* 44 - 45.

45. Cassirer, *The Philosophy Of Symbolic Forms,* vol. 2, *Mythical Thought,* 73-74.

46. C.S. Lewis, "Edmund Spenser, 1552-99", *Studies in Medieval And Renaissance Literature,* 137.

47. Lewis, "Psycho-Analysis And Literary Criticism", *Selected Literary Essays,* 296.

48. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 62.

49. J.J. Clarke, *In Search of Jung : Historical and philosophical enquiries* (London : Routledge, 1992), 5, 11.

50. Ibid., 11.

51. C.G. Jung, *Sychronicity : An Acausal Connecting Principle* (London : Routledge, 1985), 95.

52. C.G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* CW9i.62,69,80.

53. Ibid., CW 9i. 149 - 151.

54. Ibid., CW9i. 5, 149.

55. Ibid., CW9i.6.

56. Lewis "Psycho - Analysis And Literary Criticism", *Selected Literary Essays,* 297.

57. Ibid., 297.

58. Lewis, "On Stories" in *Of This And Other Worlds,* 33.

59. Lewis, *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxviii.

60. Lewis, "On Science Fiction", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 90.

61. Lewis, "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 132.

62. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm,* 80.

63. C.G. Jung, *Aion,* CW9ii.278.

64. C.S. Lewis, "Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot", *Selected Literary Essays,* 205.

65. Ibid., 205.

66. C.G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation,* CW5.611, 329.

67. C.G. Jung, *Psychology And Alchemy,* CW12.28.

68. C.G. Jung, *Psychology And Religion : West And East* CW 11.6. See also CW9i.261.

69. Ibid., CW11.6.

70. Ibid., CW11.6.

71. C.G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation,* CW5.467, See also CW5.450; CW9ii.305.

72. Lewis, "De Audiendis Poetis", *Studies In Medieval And Renaissance Literature,* 13.

73. C.S. Lewis, "Is Theism Important?", *Timeless At Heart : Essays on Theology,* ed. Walter Hooper, (London : HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1987)108.

74. Ibid., 108.

75. Manlove, *Christian Fantasy,* 257; Howard, *C.S. Lewis : Man of Letters : a reading of his fiction,* 25, 42, 48; Sammons, "*A Better Country",* 78; Glover, *The Art of Enchantment,* 146.

76. Lewis, "De Audiendis Poetis", *Studies In Medieval And Renaissance Literature,* 13.

77. Ibid., 14.

78. Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 144.

79. C.G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* ed., Aniele Jaffé (London : Collins and Routledge 1963; London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1977), 347 - 348.

80. Ibid., 348.

81. Jung, *Alchemical Studies,* CW13.299 - 303.

82. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* 281.

83. Jung, *Alchemical Studies,* CW13.301-302.

84. C.G. Jung, "Approaching The Unconscious", *Man And His Symbols* (London : Pan Books, 1978), 84-85.

85. Lewis, *The Discarded Image,* 42.

86. Ibid., 215.

87. Lewis, "De Audiendis Poetis", *Studies In Medieval And Renaissance Literature,* 13.

88. Ibid., 18.

89. Lewis, "The Anthropological Approach", *Selected Literary Essays,* 308.

90. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* 342 - 343.

91. C.G. Jung, *Two Essays On Analytical Psychology,* CW7.343.

92. See for example, CW9i.490; CW8.432.

93. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* 342.

94. Ibid., 7.

95. Ibid., *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 358, 373.

96. Mel Marshak, "On The Need for Mythical Time", *Myth And Symbol In Education : A Symposium,* ed. Abbs, 29.

97. Lewis, "The Mythopoeic Gift of Ryder Haggard", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 131.

98. Jung, *Civilization In Transition,* CW10.825. See also CW8.284, 625, CW18.577, 1658.

99. Jung, CW5.466; June Singer, *Boundaries of the Soul : The Practice Of Jung's Psychology* (London : Victor Gollancz, 1973), 98; Jung, CW5.466; CW5.343.

100. Lewis, "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 131.

101. Lewis, "Religion Without Dogma", *Timeless At Heart,* 87.

102. Jung, CW9i.50; CW9i.289.

103. Lewis, "On Science Fiction", *Of This And Other Worlds*, 94.

104. Holbrook, *The Skeleton in the Wardrobe : C.S. Lewis Fantasies : A Phenomenological Study,* 87, 250, 258, 237.

105. John Hollwitz, *The Mythopoeic Art of C.S. Lewis*, (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1980, text-fiche, 80-26831; Leigh, "The Psychology of Conversion in Chesterton and Lewis's Autobiographies", *The Riddle of Joy : G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis,* ed. Michael H. MacDonald and Andrew Tadie, 290-304, Manlove, *Modern Fantasy : Five Studies,* 99-151; Knight, *The Magical World of the Inklings,* 20-108.

106. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 71.

107. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* trans, Willard R. Trask (San Diego, New York : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 95.

108. Ibid., 95.

109. Kirk, *Myth : Its Meaning And Functions In Ancient And Other Cultures,* 255.

110. Cassirer, *Language And Myth,* 87 - 88.

111. Eliade, *The Sacred And The Profane,* 95.

112. Ibid. 92.

113. Ibid., 92.

114. Ibid., 94.

115. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 198.

116. Tolkien, Oxford to Chris. Bretherton, 16 July 1964, Tolkien, *Letters,* 349.

117. Knight, *The Magical World Of The Inklings,* 12-13.

118. See section 4.6.

119. Knight, *The Magical World Of The Inklings,* 13.

120. For a reconstruction of the discussion of that meeting see Carpenter, *The Inklings*, 42-45; Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 124 - 127.

121. Baker, "Near the Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 16.

122. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 62. On details concerning *Loki Bound* see chapter one, page 33.

123. Ibid., 106.

124. Lewis, *TST,* 134 - 137, 426 - 428.

125. Lewis, Gastons, to Authur Greeves, Belfast, 12 October 1916, Lewis, *TST,* 135.

126. See chapter four, section 4.6.

127. Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 102.

128. Lewis, *Summa,* 33-46.

129. Ibid., 33.

130. Ibid., 33.

131. Ibid., 34-35.

132. Ibid., 34.

133. Ibid., 36.

134. Ibid., 36.

135. Ibid., 33.

136. Moris, *Metaphor And Myth*, 101.

137. Lewis, The Kilns, to Arthur Greeves, Belfast, 5 September 1931, Lewis, *TST*, 420.

138. Lewis, The Kilns, to Arthur Greeves, Belfast, 18 October, 1931, Lewis, *TST,* 427.

139. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 143-144.

140. Ibid., 122.

141. Ibid., 122.

142. R.J. Reilly, "Tolkien And The Fairy Story", *Tolkien And The Critics : Essays on J.R. R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings.* ed. Neil D. Isaacs and Rose A. Zimbardo, (Notre Dame, Indiana : University of Notre Dame Press, 1968; repr., 1970),141.

143. Ibid., 141-142.

144. Ibid., 142.

145. Tolkien, "On Fairy - Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 138 - 139.

146. Ibid., 140.

147. Ibid., 139.

148. Ibid., 156-157.

149. Ibid., 145.

150. Ibid., 156.

151. Tolkien, Oxford to Peter Hastings, Oxford, September 1954, Tolkien, *Letters,* 188.

152. Tolkien "On Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 140.

153. Ibid., 132, 140.

154. Ibid., 132.

155. Ibid., 132.

156. Ibid., 140.

157. Ibid., 140.

158. Ibid., 145.

159. Ibid., 146.

160. Ibid., 147 - 148.

161. Ibid., 150 - 153.

162. Ibid., 153.

163. Ibid., 153.

164. Ibid., 155 - 157.

165. Ibid., 155.

166. Ibid., 156.

167. Ibid., 156.

168. Reilly, "Tolkien and the Fairy Story", *Tolkien And The Critics : Essays On J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings,* ed. Isaacs and R.A. Zimbardo, 150.

169. Lewis, The Kilns, to Arthur Greeves, 18 October, 1931, Lewis, *TST,* 426.

170. Lewis, *TST,* footnote, two, 428.

171. Ibid., 428; Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 126; William Griffin, *C.S. Lewis : The Authentic Voice,* new ed. (Tring, Herts : Lion Publishing, 1988), 87.

172. Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 143.

173. Ibid., 143-144.

174. Ibid., 143.

175. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 127.

176. Lewis, The Kilns, to Arthur Greeves, 1 October 1931, Lewis, *TST,* 425.

177. Baker, "Near The Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed. Como, 17.

178. Tolkien, "On Fairy- Stories", *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 144.

179. Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 102.

180. Baker, "Near the Beginning", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 24.

181. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 74.

182. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress, 194.*

183. Ibid., 194.

184. Ibid., 195.

185. Ibid., 196.

186. Ibid., 196.

187. Ibid., 196.

188. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 74 - 75.

189. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 171.

190. Ibid., 171.

191. Ibid., 217.

192. Ibid., 217.

193. Cassirer, *The Philosophy Of Symbolic Forms,* vol 3, *The Phenomenology of Knowledge,* 73 - 74; Barfield, *Poetic Diction,* 102; Tolkien, On Fairy-Stories, *The Monster And The Critics,* ed. Tolkien, 155.

194. Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock,* 42-45. Cassirer writes that "what we call reality can never be determined from the standpoint of material alone but that into every mode of positing reality there enters a definite motif of symbolic formation". Cassirer, *The Philosophy Of Symbolic Forms,* vol. 3, *The Phemenology of Knowledge,* 87.

195. Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God In The Dock,* 43.

196. Ibid., 43.

197. Ibid., 43.

198. Ibid., 43.

199. Ibid., 43 - 44.

200. Ibid., 44.

201. Ibid., 45.

202. Lewis, *Miracles,* note one, 137.

203. Ibid., 137 - 138.

204. Ibid., 138.

205. Ibid., 138.

206. Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 50-51; *Mere Christianity,* 51; "The Weight of Glory" *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 107; "Religion Without Dogma", *Timeless At Heart,* 87; *Surprised by Joy,* 188; *Reflections on the Psalms,* new ed. (London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977), 89-90.

207. Moris, *Metaphor and Myth,* 85.

208. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 45.

209. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love,* 45.

210. Ibid., 48; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lay Sermons,* vol. 6, *The Collected Works,* ed. R.J. White (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 30.
Coleridge continues his definition of symbol by stating that a symbol "always partakes of the reality which it renders intelligible; and while it enunciates the whole, abides itself as a living part in that unity, of which it is representative". This exactly reflects Lewis's view of symbol.

211. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love,* 220 - 221.

212. Lewis, *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxviii.

213. Lewis, "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 130.

214. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 41.

215. Ibid., 41.

216. W.H. Auden, "Grimm and Anderson", *Forewords And Afterwords* (London : Faber and Faber, 1973, new ed., 1979), 203.

217. Auden, "George MacDonald", *Forewords And Afterwords,* 268.

218. Hughes "Myth and Education", *The Symbolic Order,* ed. Abbs, 165.

219. Wain, *Sprightly Running Part Of An Autobiography,* 182.

220. Cylde S. Kilby, "Till We Have Faces : An Intrepretation", *The Longing for A Form,* ed. Schakel, 171.

221. Glover, *The Art of Enchantment,* 187 - 199; Schakel, *Reason And Imagination in C.S. Lewis : A Study of Till We Have Faces,* 2 - 86.

222. Barfield, "Introduction", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis,* 29.

223. Ibid., 29.

224. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 6198 - 6327.

225. Ibid., tape recording, 6327 - 6390.

226. Ibid., tape recording, 6389 - 6390.

227. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces : A Myth Retold,* (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1956; repr., HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks 1978), Note.

228. Schakel, *Reason And Imagination In C.S. Lewis : A Study of Till We Have Faces,* 61.

229. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero's Journey : Joseph Campbell On His Life And Work,* ed. Phil Cousineau, (New York : Harper And Row, 1990) 205.

230. C.S. Lewis, "The Morte D' Arthur", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature,* 110.

231. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces,* Note.

232. Ibid., Note.

233. Gunnar Urang, *Shadows of Heaven : Religion and Fantasy in the Writing of C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Philadelphia : Pilgrim Press, 1971), 49; Carpenter, *The Inklings, 245.*

234. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces,* 129.

235. Ibid., 129.

236. Glover, *The Art of Enchantment,* 190.

237. Schakel, *Reason and Imagination In C.S. Lewis : A Study of Till We Have Faces,* 162.

238. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces,* Note.

239. Edward G. Zogby, "Triadic Patterns in Lewis's Life and Though", *The Longing for a Form*, ed. Schakel, 31.

240. Lewis, "Shelley, Dryden and Mr. Eliot", *Selected Literary Essays,* 205.

241. Ibid., 205.

242. Lewis, *George MacDonald : An Anthology,* xxviii.

243. Ibid., xxviii.

244. Ibid., xxviii.

245. Lewis, "Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to be Said", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 74.

246. Lewis, "On Science-Fiction", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 93.

247. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 43-44.

248. Ibid., 43-44; Bruno Bettleheim, *The Uses of Enchantment : The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (London : Thames and Hudson, 1976; repr., Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1991), 26, 39.

249. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 49.

250. Lewis, "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 132.

251. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love,* 120.

252. Lewis, "Hedonics", *Present Concerns,* 55.

253. Ibid., 55.

254. Lewis, *A Preface To Paradise Lost,* 57.

255. Ibid., 55.

256. Ibid., 57.

257. Aristotle *Ethics*, 11, i cited in Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost,* 57.

258. Lewis, "On Juvenile Tastes", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 76.

259. Lewis, *Miracles,* 138.

260. Tolkien, Oxford to Charlotte and Denis Plimmer, 8 February 1967, Tolkien, *Letters,* 378.

261. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 6396 - 6426.

262. Among the critics who consider Lewis's imaginative writings as allegory are Paul Holmer, *C.S. Lewis : The Shape of His Faith and Thought* (London: Sheldon Press, 1977), 42; Stella Gibbons, "Imaginative Writings", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 100; Charles Moorman, "Now Entertain Conjecture of a Time" - The Fictive Worlds of C.S. Lewis and J.R. Tolkien", *Shadows of Imagination : The Fantasies of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, and Charles Williams,* ed. Hillegas, 60, Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy,* 115.

263. Lewis, "Sometimes Fairy Stories May Say Best What's to Be Said", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 73.

264. Lewis to William L. Kinter, 14 February 1951 cited in Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 179.

265. C.S. Lewis, "Unreal Estates", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 180-192.

266. Ibid., 183.

267. Brian Stableford, *Scientific Romance in Britain 1890 - 1950* (London : Fourth Estate, 1985), 292.

268. Ibid., 292.

269. Ibid., 299.

270. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 147-152; Moorman, *Arthurian Triptych : Mythic Elements in Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and T.S. Eliot,* 122; Reilly, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien,* 219; Walsh, *The Literary Legacy,* 106-107; Sammons, *"A Better Country",* 135.

271. See for example, Walsh, *The Literary Legacy,* 92-101; Reilly, *Romantic Religion: A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams and Tolkien,* 130-131. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 102.

272. Sammons, *"A Better Country",* 135 - 136; Moorman, *Arthurian Triptych : Mythic Elements in Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and T.S. Eliot,* 123 - 125; Reilly, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien.* 130 - 131.

273. Sammons, *"A Better Country"*, 135.

274. Ibid., 135.

275. Lewis, *Out of the Silent Planet,* 154.

276. Reilly, *Romantic Religion : A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams and Tolkien,* 130.

277. Ibid., 130.

278. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 185.

279. Lewis, *Out of The Silent Planet* (London : The Bodley Head, 1938; new ed. London : Longmans, 1966), 81.

280. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 235.

281. C.S. Lewis to William L. Kinter, 30 July 1954, cited in Green and Hooper, *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* 179.

282. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 533.

283. See pages, 186, 246 - 247.

284. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 712 - 717.

285. Jung, CW9ii . 67; CW10.373; *Man And His Symbols,* 68-74.

286. Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 56-58; Lewis, "The Funeral of a Great Myth", *Christian Reflections,* 110 - 123.

287. Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 56.

288. Ibid., 56.

289. Lewis, "The Funeral of a Great Myth", *Christian Reflections,* 123.

290. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 328.

291. Ibid., 328.

292. David K. Kuhn, "The Joy of The Absolute : A Comparative Study of the Romantic Visions of William Wordsworth and C.S. Lewis", *Imagination And The Spirit,* ed. Huttar, 194.

293. Ibid., 193.

294. Lewis, *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* 274.

295. Ibid., 274.

296. Marjorie Evelyn Wright, *"The Cosmic Kingdom of Myth : A Study in the Myth - Philosophy of Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1960, text-fiche 60-4025), 142.

297. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 4940 - 4970.

298. Ibid., tape recording 3957 - 4239.

299. Lewis, "On Criticism", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 179.

300. Swinfen, *In Defence of Fantasy,* 189; Rossi, *The Politics of Fantasy,* 9; Walsh, *The Literary Legacy,* 145; Wilson, C.S. Lewis : *A Biography,* 225; Filmer, The Fiction of C.S. Lewis, 43; White, *Images of Man In C.S. Lewis,* 54; Wright, *The Cosmic Kingdom of Myth",* 67; Holbrook, *The Skelton in the Wardrobe,* 284-285; Knight, *The Magical World of the Inklings,* 27.

301. Peter Schakel, *Reading with the Heart : The Way Into Narnia* (Grand Rapids, Mich : W.B. Eerdmans, 1979); Kathryn Lindskoog, *The Lion of Judah in Never-Never Land,* (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans, 1973).

302. Lindskoog, *The Lion of Judah in Never-Never Land,* 50.

303. Schakel, *Reading With The Heart - The Way Into Narnia,* 131.

304. Ibid., 131.

305. Lewis, "Sometimes Fairy Stories Say Best What's to be Said", *Of This And Other Worlds,* 73.

306. Lewis, *The Lion, The Witch And The Wardrobe,*(London : Geoffrey Bles, 1950; new ed. London : Lions, 1980), 93-101; Lewis, *The Vogage Of The Dawn Treader,* 176 - 185; *The Magician's Nephew,* (London : The Bodley Head, 1955; new ed. London : Lions, 1980), 97-108; *The Silver Chair,* 185; *The Horse And His Boy,* (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1954; new ed. London : Lions, 1980), 99 - 109; *Prince Caspian,* (London : Geoffrey Bles, 1951; new ed. London : Lions, 1980), 101 - 104.

307. Lewis, *The Lion, The Witch And The Wardrobe,* 153.

308. Gerard Manley Hopkins, "Spring", "God's Grandeur", *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins,* ed. W.H. Gardner and N.H. MacKenzie. 4th ed. (London : Oxford University Press, 1967), 67, 66.

309. Kathleen Raine, "From A Poet", *Light On C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 104.

310. Abbs, "Education, Symbol and Myth", *Myth and Symbol in Education : A Symposium,* 18.

311. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April 1995, tape recording, 6440-6455.

312. Ibid., tape recording, 6560 - 6590.

313. Abbs, "Education, Symbol and Myth", *"Myth and Symbol in Education : A Symposium,* 5.

314. Jerome Bruner, "Myth and Identity", *The Symbolic Order*, ed. Abbs, 175.

315. Ibid., 174 - 175.

316. Ibid., 177.

317. Ibid., 175.

318. Hughes, "Myth and Education", *The Symbolic Order,* ed. Abbs, 164.

319. Ibid., 171 - 172.

320. Ibid., 171.

321. Ibid., 171.

322. Ibid., 171.

323. Ibid., 166.

324. Ibid., 173.

325. Ibid., 170.

326. Ibid., 170.

327. Ibid., 170.

328. George Sayer, Malvern, to the author, 10 October 1994, (see appendix E).

329. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording, 6977 - 7014; 22 April 1995, tape recording, 5709 - 5723.

330. Abbs, "Education, Smybol and Myth", *Myth And Symbol in Education: A Symposium,* 5.

331. Ibid., 8 - 9.

332. Ibid., 10; Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 22 April, 1995, tape recording, 640 - 6455.

333. Gresham, 22 April, 1995, tape recording 6450 - 6455.

334. Abbs, "Education, Symbol and Myth", *Myth And Symbol In Education : A Symposium;* 19.

335. Ibid., 19.

336. Bettleheim, *The Uses of Enchantment,* 5.

337. Ibid., 5.

338. Ibid., 37.

339. Ibid., 39.

340. Ibid., 39.

341. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 44.

342. Lewis, "The Dethronement of Power", *Tolkien And the Critics,* ed. Isaacs and R.A. Zimbardo, 15.

343. Ibid., 16; Bettleheim, *The Uses of Enchantment,* 25.

344. Bettleheim, *The Uses of Enchantment,* 5.

345. Neil Philip, "The Function of Myth in Children's Literature", *Myth And Symbol In Education : A Symposium,* 74.

346. Ibid., 74.

347. Ibid., 78.

348. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, inteview by author, 22 April 1995 tape recording, 6610 - 6623.

349. Ibid., tape recording 3709 - 3734; 3820 - 3835.

350. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, interview by author, 27 May 1994, tape recording 6390 - 6500.

351. Friedrich Schiller, *The Piccolomini,* III, cited in Bettleheim, *The Uses of Enchantment,* 5.

352. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces,* 83-84.

353. Lewis, *The Last Battle,* 160.

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES

PART I : Defining Relationships

1. See for example Lewis *Christian Reunion*, 83-86; Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 119.

2. Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Christian Reflections, 14-15.*

3. See for example, *Miracles*, 137, *Christian Reflections,* 178, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 14.

4. Lewis, "Cross-Examination", *Christian Reunion*, 86-87.

5. Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless At Heart*, 45.

6. Lewis, "On Ethics", *Christian Reflections, 65.*

7. See his essay "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 7-26.

8. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 23.

9. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 147.
In his essay "The Poison of Subjectivism" Lewis attempts to explain the nature of our difficulty, in understanding how three distinct persons can remain distinct yet also be one. He uses the analogy of imaginary men, "flatlanders", who only experience reality in two dimensions. His explanation is as follows:

> Flatlanders, attempting to imagine a cube, would either imagine the six squares coinciding, and thus destroy their distinctness, or else imagine them set out side by side, and thus destroy the unity. Our difficulties about the Trinity are much of the same kind.

It is one of the few Lewis analogies that does not work very effectively. Lewis, "The Poison of Subjectivism", *Christian Reflections*, 106-107.

10. Lewis, *Miracles*, 89; Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 147.

11. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 20 – 21.

12. Ibid., 19.

13. Ibid., 19.

14. Ibid., 20.

15. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 147.

16. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections*, 20-21; Lewis, *Miracles*, 79. Lewis also expressed his concern on the validity of his view of divine sonship in a letter to Dom Bede Griffiths. Lewis, *Letters*, 264.

17. Lewis "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 20.

18. Lewis, *Miracles,* 89.

19. Ibid., 81.

20. Lewis, *Miracles,* 94.

21. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 148.

22. Ibid., 148.

23. Ibid., 148.

24. Ibid., 148 – 149.

25. Ibid., 149.

26. Ibid., 149.

27. Ibid., 149.

28. Lewis, *Perelandra,* 340.

29. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 20.

30. Ibid., 21.

31. Ibid., 21.

32. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 148.

33. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature, *"Christian Reflections*, 20.

34. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 24.

56. Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer,* 86.

57. Ibid., 86.

58. See for example thesis, pages 217-220.

59. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 93 – 94.

60. Ibid., 93.

61. Ibid., 93.

62. Douglas Gresham, Carlow, Ireland, Interview by author, 17 August 1998, transcript of taped interview, 397-398.

63. Ibid., 397-398.

64. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Propose a Toast,* 105.

65. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 46.

66. Ibid., 47.

67. Ibid., 93.

68. Ibid., 72.

69. Ibid., 72.

70. Ibid., 72.

71. Ibid., 71.

72. Ibid., 75.

73. Lewis, "Pindar Song", *Poems,* 30.

74. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 81.

75. Lewis, *The Four Loves,* 116.

76. See thesis, page 288.

77. Lewis, *Prayer: Letters To Malcolm,* 74.

78. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 45.

79. Ibid., 45.

80. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 73.

81. Ibid., 72.

82. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 81.

83. Lewis, *Prayer: Letters To Malcolm*, 72.

84. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 66.

85. Lewis, *Miracles,* 123; *Screwtape,* 44.

86. Lewis, *Screwtape,* 44.

87. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 97.

88. See thesis, pages 190-192.

89. Lewis, *Screwtape,* 46.

90. Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless At Heart,* 35.

91. Ibid., 35.

92. Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 70.

93. Lewis, *The Four Loves,* 86.

94. Ibid., 89; *Mere Christianity,* 125.

95. Richard L. Purtill, *C.S. Lewis's Case for the Christian Faith* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981) 72-79; Meilaender, *The Taste For The Other,* 36-38; Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer,* 159-160; Lewis, "Is Theism Important", *Timeless At Heart,* 105.

96. Meilaender, *The Taste For The Other,* 36-37; Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 74.

97. Lewis, "Is Theism Important; *Timeless At Heart,* 105.

98. Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 62-63.

99. See thesis, page 143.

100. Lewis, *Miracles,* 18, 27.

101. Lewis, "Religion; Reality or Substitute?", *Christian Reflections,* 63.

102. Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless At Heart,* 34.

103. Gresham, transcript, 399-400.

104. Lewis, "Is Theism Important", *Timeless At Heart,* 106.

105. Ibid., 106.

106. Ibid., 107.

107. Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 61.

108. Ibid., 62.

109. Ibid., 74.

110. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 122.

111. Lewis, "On Obstinacy in Belief", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 72.

112. Lewis, "Religion; Reality or Substitute", *Christian Reflections,* 61.

113. Ibid, 61-63.

114. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 120.

115. Ibid., 120.

116. Lewis, *Letters,* 365.

117. Gresham, transcript, 397-398.

118. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 125.

119. Lewis, "Religion; Reality or Substitute", *Christian Reflections,* 163.

120. Ibid., 63.

121. Lewis, *Letters,* 477.

122. Lewis, "Is Theism Important", *Timeless At Heart*, 109.

123. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 172.

Part II: Building Relationships: The Sacred Paradox

1. Lewis, *Letters to an American Lady*, 95.
2. Lewis, *Reflections On The Psalms,* 112.
3. Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer*, 74-80.
4. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 86, 92.
5. Leanne Payne, *Real Presence: The Holy Spirit in the works of C.S. Lewis* (Eastbourne: Monarch Publications, 1989), 163.
6. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 75-93.
7. Ibid., 79-81.
8. Ibid., 80.
9. Ibid., 81.
10. Ibid., 82.
11. Ibid., 83.
12. Ibid., 81.
13. Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 9.
14. See for example thesis, page 218.
15. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 90.
16. Lewis, *Miracles,* 95.
17. Ibid., 92.
18. Ibid., 92.
19. Ibid., 92.

20. Ibid., 92.

21. Payne, *Real Presence,* 29-32.

22. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 83.

23. Ibid., 83.

24. Ibid., 90.

25. Ibid., 91.

26. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 112.

27. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 54-57; Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 51.

28. Ibid., 51.

29. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 152.

30. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 73.

31. Lewis, *Letters,* 305, 383.

32. Ibid., 382-383.

33. Ibid., 383.

34. Ibid., 305.

35. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 152.

36. Ibid., 152.

37. Ibid., 184.

38. Ibid., 154.

39. Payne, *Real Presence,* 163.

40. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 90.

41. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 111-112.

42. Ibid., 97.

43. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 93.

44. Ibid., 87-88.

45. Lewis, *Miracles, 129.*

46. Ibid., 116-119.

47. Ibid., 116, Lewis, "The Grand Miracle", *God in the Dock,* 59.

48. Lewis, *Miracles,* 115.

49. Ibid. 115-116. See also Lewis, "The Grand Miracle", *God In the Dock,* 63.

50. Ibid., 116.

51. Ibid., 124.

52 Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 163.

53. Ibid., 163.

54. Lewis, *Miracles,*116.

55. Ibid., 124. See also Lewis, *The Four Loves,* 24; Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 70.

56. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 162, 187.

57. Gresham, transcript, 401.

58. Ibid., 401.

59. Ibid., 401.

60. Lewis, "Transposition", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 91.

61. Payne *Real Presence* 163: Houston Smith, *Patches of Godlight,* 8.

62. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 97.

63. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 167.

64. Ibid., 184.

65. Ibid., 135.

66. Ibid., 136.

67. Ibid., 159.

68. Ibid., 159-160.

69. Lewis, *Miracles,* 123.

70. Ibid., 123.

71. Ibid., 119-125.

72. Ibid., 120.

73. Ibid., 122.

74. Ibid., 122.

75. Ibid., 124.

76. Ibid., 124.

77. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 127.

78. Ibid., 127.

79. Ibid., 185.

80. Ibid., 55-56.

81. Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer,* 58-63.

82. Ibid., 79-80.

83. Ibid., 60-61.

84. Ibid., 61.

85. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 153.

86. Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer,* 61.

87. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 128; Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless At Heart,* 39.

88. Ibid., 56.

89. Ibid., 56.

90. Ibid., 56.

91. Ibid., 57.

92. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm, 73.*

93. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 57.

94. Lewis, *Miracles,* 134.

95. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms,* 106.

96. Ibid., 106.

97. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 46.

98. Lewis, *Letters,* 383.

99. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 72.

100. Lewis, *Miracles*, 139.

101. Ibid., 139.

102. Ibid., 127.

103. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 100; Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 83.

104. See for example Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 44; Lewis, "A Slip of the Tongue", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 125.

105. Lewis, *The Great Divorce,* 115.

106. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters To Malcolm,* 53; Lewis, *Screwtape,* 139.

107. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 83.

108. Ibid., 83.

109. Lewis, *The Great Divorce,* 67, 113; Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 122; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 170.

110. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 109; Lewis, *Surprised by Joy,* 170.

111. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 107-111.

112. Ibid., 110.

113. Ibid., 110-111.

114. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 64; Lewis, "The Seeing Eye", *Christian Reflections,* 211.

115. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 23.

116. Lewis, "On Ethics", *Christian Reflections,* 66.

117. Lewis, *Letters,* 383.

118. Lewis, *Screwtape,* 37; Lewis, *Miracles*, 123.

119. Lewis, *Letters*, 383.

120. Lewis, "Religion: Reality or Substitute?", *Christian Reflections,* 62-63.

121. Lewis, *Screwtape*, 45.

122. Ibid., 45.

123. Lewis, *The Problem Of Pain,* 81.

124. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 97.

125. Lewis, "A Slip of the Tongue", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 125.

126. Lewis, *Screwtape*, 47; Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless,* 37.

127. Lewis, "Two Ways With the Self", *Christian Reunion,* 58; Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 105.

128. Lewis, "Poem For Psychoanalysts And/Or Theologians", *Poems,* 127.

129. Lewis, *Prayer: Letters To Malcolm,* 22-23.

130. Ibid., 22-23.

131. Ibid., 23.

132. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 162.

133. Ibid., 162-163.

134. Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 124-125.

135. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 64.

136. Ibid., 121.

137. Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 103-105.

138. Ibid., 104; 107.

139. Ibid., 109.

140. Ibid., 109.

141. Ibid., 109-110.

142. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 120.

143. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 15-16.

144. Ibid., 18.

145. Lewis, *Christianity and Culture,* 27; Lewis, "The Weight of Glory", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 108.

146. Lewis, *Miracles*, 163.

147. Lewis, "On Being Human", *Poems*, 49.

148. Ibid., 49.

149. Lewis, *The Four Loves,* 125.

150. Ibid., 106.

151. Ibid., 106.

152. See thesis, pages 108-109.

153. Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress,* 108.

154. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 41.

155. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 19-21.

156. Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought,* 82.

157. Ibid., 72.

158. Ibid., 72-73.

159. Lewis, *The Four Loves,* 128.

160. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 23.

161. Ibid., 24.

162. Lewis, *The Personal Heresy: A Controversy*, 10-11; 57-67.

163. Lewis, *Letters,* 343.

164. Lewis, "Membership", *Fern-Seed And Elephants,* 24.

165. Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections,* 22.

166. See for example thesis, pages 115-116.

167. Lewis, *Mere Christianity,* 129.

168. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain,* 122.

169. Ibid., 122.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PASTORAL PEN: LEWIS AS RELIGIOUS EDUCATOR

Part 1: Lewis as Apologist

1 Lewis, "The Apologist's Evening Prayer" *Poems*, 143.

2 Thomas C. Peters, *Simply C.S. Lewis* (Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, 1997), 141 – 184.

3 Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 25.

4 Griffiths, "The Adventure of Faith", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed., Como, 4.

5 See chapter four pages -

6 Ibid.,
See also Lewis, *Letters*, 359.

7 Lewis, *Letters* 398. Undated letter before 9 Jan 1950.

8 Ibid., See chapter two.

9 Kenneth Tynan, "Exhilaration", *In Search of C.S. Lewis*, ed., Schofield, 4.

10 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 133. See also, Lewis, *Miracles*, 84.

11 Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 63 – 65, Lewis, *Miracles*, 169.

12 See chapter five pages -

13 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless At Heart*, 15.

14 Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 178.

15 Gresham, *transcript*, 404; Wilson, *Lewis : A Biography*, 214 : Lionel Adey, *C.S. Lewis : Writer, Dreamer and Mentor* (William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1998), 232-237.

16 Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 14.

17 Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 107.

18 Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 25; Urang, *Shadows of Heaven,* 5; Wilson, *Lewis : A Biography* 214; Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer* .

19 Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 18; Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer*, 172, 164.

20 Como, "Introduction, Within the Realm of Plentitude", *C.S. Lewis at The Breakfast Table*, xxvv, xx.

21 Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 26.

22 Ibid., 31, 34, 24.

23 Ibid., 37.

24 Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, 93.

25 Ibid., 8.

26 Manlove, *C.S. Lewis : His Literary Achievement*, 7, 5.

27 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 30.

28 Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer*, 172.

29 Ibid.,

30 Ibid., 180.

31 Ibid., 181.

32 Ibid., 181.

33 Ibid.,

34 Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, 109.

35 Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, 95; Manlove, *C.S. Lewis : His Literary Achievement*, 7-8; Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 37; Griffiths "The Adventure of Faith", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed., Como, 23; Payne, *Real Presence*, 50, 113-130; Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer*, 267.

36 Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, 95.

37 Ibid., 110.

38 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 13-30.

39 Ibid., 14.

40 Ibid., 15

41 Ibid., 16.

42 See for example, Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity", *Timeless*, 43; Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry"?, *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 42.

43 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 19.

44 Ibid., 20.

45 Ibid., 20.

46 Ibid., 20.

47 Ibid., 20 – 21. See also Lewis, *God in the Dock*, 98 – 99.

48 Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 32.

49 Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 13.

50 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 21 – 24.

51 Ibid., 25 – 26. See also Lewis, "Horrid Red Things", *First and Second things*, 35.

52 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 29.

53 Lewis, *Miracles*, 9 – 28.

54 Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 30 – 32; Lewis, "The World's Last Night", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 72; Lewis, *Miracles*, 169; Lewis "The Funeral of a Great Myth", *Christian Reflections*, 110 – 123.

55 Lewis, "The Funeral of a Great Myth", *Christian Reflections*, 123; Lewis, *Miracles*, 84.

56 See chapter two page
See also Lewis, "The Empty Universe", *Present Concerns*, 81 – 86.

57 Lewis, *Miracles*, 169; Lewis, "Modern Man and his Categories of Thought", *Present Concerns*, 66.

58 Lewis, "On the Reading of Old Books", *First and Second Things*, 27.

59 Lewis, "Learning in War-time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 34.

60 Ibid., 34.

61 Lewis, "Good Work and Good Works", *A Toast*, 113; Lewis, "On the Transmission of Christianity", *First and Second Things*, 68.

62 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless,* 24.

63 Ibid., 24.

64 Lewis, "Rejoinder to Dr. Pittenger", *Timeless*, 117.

65 Ibid., 18.

66 Ibid., 18.

67 Houston-Smith, *Patches of Godlight*, 155.

68 Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 172.

69 Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 74.

70 Lewis, "Christian Apologetics", *Timeless*, 30.

71 Ibid., 30.

72 Lewis, "The Inner Ring", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 28.

73 Lewis, "Fern-Seed And Elephants", *Christian Reflections*, 193; Lewis, *Christian Reunion*,20.
See also Lewis, "Answers to Questions on Christianity" *Timeless*, 45; Lewis, "Fern-Seed And Elephants", *Christian Reflections*, 191; Lewis, "Horrid Red Things", *Miracles*, 74.

74 Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections*, 48.

75 Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 66.

76 Ibid, 66; Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 16; Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 14.

77 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 6.

78 Gresham, transcript, 391.

79 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 54.

80 Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 106.

81 Lewis, *Miracles*, 7.

82 Ibid., 7-15.

83 Lewis, "Bulverism", *First and Second Things*, 15.

84 Ibid., 15.

85 Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 172.

86 Ibid., 172.

87 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 132.

88 Ibid., 133.

89 Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 172.

90 Ibid., 172.

91 Lewis, "The Efficacy of Prayer", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 102. See also chapter five.

92 Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 106.

93 See also Lewis, *Miracles*, 74.

94 Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 172 – 173.

95 Lewis, "Dogma and the Universe", *God in the Dock*, 37.

96 Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 115.

97 See, for example, Griffiths, "The Adventure of Faith", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table,* ed., Como, *23. Farrer, "The Christian Apologist",* Light on Lewis, ed., Gibb, *37.*

98 *Lewis, Prayer: Letters to Malcolm*, 104 – 105.

99 Gresham, transcript, 404.

100 Ibid., 404.

101 Ibid., 404.

102 Ibid., 404.

103 Farrer, "The Christian Apologist", *Light on Lewis*, ed., Gibb, 37.

104 Griffiths, "The Adventure of Faith", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed., Como, 23.

105 Gresham, transcript, 393.

106 Holmer, *The Shape of His Faith and Thought*, 93 – 97; Meilaender, *The Taste For the Other*, 240 – 241.

107 Meilaender, *The Taste For the Other*, 240 – 241.

108 Ibid., 240.

109 Griffiths, "The Adventure of Faith", *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table*, ed. Como, 22.

110 Ibid., 12.

111 Burson and Walls, *Lewis and Schaeffer*, 240.

112 Ibid., 241 – 245.

113 Ibid., 242.

114 Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 95.

115 Ibid., 98.

116 Lewis, God *in the Dock*, 101.

Part II: Lewis as Religious Artist

117 See chapter five.

118 Lewis, *Abolition*, 46.

119 See chapter five.

120 See chapter two.

121 See chapter

122 See chapter

123 See chapter

124 Lewis, *Surprise by Joy*, 118.

125 See chapter

126 Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 115.

127 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 69.

128 Gresham, transcript, 403.

129 Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms*, 9; Lewis, *Miracles*, 7-8.

130 See chapter five.

131 Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 18 – 19.

132 See chapter two.

133 Lewis, *Letters*, 321.

134 See chapter four.

135 Lewis, *Letters*, 321.

136 Gresham.

137 Lewis, "Cross-Examination", *Christian Reunion* 86 – 87.

138 Ibid., 87.

139 Ibid., 88.

140 Lewis, "Is Theology Poetry?", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast*, 54; Lewis, "Horrid Red Things", *First and Second things*, 38. Lewis, "The Language of Religion", *Christian Reflections*, 177.

141 Gresham, tape recording, 27th May 1994, 6529-6570.

142 Lewis, "Myth Became Fact", *God in the Dock*, 42 – 43.

143 Lewis, *Letters*, 346.

144 Lewis, "Christianity and Literature", *Christian Reflections*, 25.

145 See chapter two.

146 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 72.

147 Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism*, 86.

148 Ibid., 84.

149 Ibid., 126 – 129.

150 Ibid., 129.

151 Ibid., 129.

152 Ibid., 129.

153 Ibid., 119.

154 Ibid., 119.

155 Ibid., 119.

156 Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 131.

157 Ibid., 131.

158 Lewis, "Learning in War-Time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 28.

159 Ibid., 33.

160 Lewis, *Letters*, 268.

161 Lewis, *The Four Loves*, 124 – 125.

162 Lewis, "*Learning in War-Time*", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 34; Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections*, 41.

163 Lewis, "Learning in War-time", *Fern-Seed And Elephants*, 33.

164 Ibid., 38.

165 Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 130.

166 Ibid., 16-19.

167 Ibid., 138.

168 Ibid., 138.

169 Ibid., 138.

170 Ibid., 138.

171 Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 111.

172 Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism*, 140.

173 Lewis, Christianity and Culture, Christian Reflections, 41.

174 Ibid., 41.

175 Ibid., 41.

176 Ibid., 41.

177 Ibid., 40.

178 Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm*, 33.

179 Lewis, "Religion Without Dogma", *Timeless*, 86.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", *Selected Literary Essays*, 13-14.
2. Michael Moorcock, *Wizardry and Wild Romance : A study of epic fantasy* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1987), 124.
3. Ibid., 126, 127, 137.
4. Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy : The Literature of Subversion* (London : Methuen, 1981), 2, 155.
5. Ibid., 155.
6. Barfield, "C.S. Lewis and Historicism", *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis*, 67-68.
7. C.G. Jung cited in Edmund Cusick, "MacDonald and Jung" *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald,* ed. Raeper, 56.
8. Lewis, *The Discarded Image,* 223.
9. Lewis, "Our English Syllabus", *Rehabilitations*, 86.
10. Lewis, "The Idea of 'An English School'", *Rehabilitations,* 75.
11. Lewis, "Democratic Education", *Present Concerns,* 34.
12. Lewis, "Screwtape Proposes a Toast", *Screwtape Proposes a Toast,* 24.
13. Lewis, "Christianity and Culture", *Christian Reflections,* 41.
14. Lewis, *Prayer : Letters to Malcolm,* 37.
15. Ibid., 37.
16. Ibid., 37.
17. Lewis, *An Experiment In Criticism,* 140.
18. Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry,* in Shelley's *Prose or the Trumpet of a Prophecy,* ed. Clark, 278.
19. Raine, "From a Poet", *Light on C.S. Lewis,* ed. Gibb, 102-103.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I: PRIMARY SOURCES

Lewis, C.S. *The Abolition of Man or Reflections on education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of schools.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1978.

_____. *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; reprint 1979.

_____. *All My Road Before Me: The Diary of C.S. Lewis 1922 - 1927.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1991.

_____. and Charles Williams. *Arthurian Torso Containing The Posthumous Fragment Of The Figure Of Arthur and A Commentary On The Arthurian Poems Of Charles Williams.* London: Collins, 1985.

_____. *Boxen: The Imaginary World Of The Young C.S. Lewis.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: Collins, 1985.

_____. *Christian Reflections.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1967; new ed. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1981; reprint, 1991.

_____. *Christian Reunion And Other Essays.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1990.

_____. *The Collected Poems of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1994.

_____. "The Dethronement of Power". *Tolkien And The Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings.* Edited by Isaacs, N. D., and Rose A. Zimbardo, 12-16. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968; reprint, 1970.

_____. *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

_____. *English Literature In The Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama.* Vol. 3, *The Oxford History of English Literature.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954; reprint, 1962.

_____. *An Experiment In Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961; reprint, 1969.

_____. *Fern-Seed And Elephants and other essays on Christianity.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: Fontana, 1975; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *First and Second Things: Essays on Theology and Ethics.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1985.

_____. *The Four Loves.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1960; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *The Great Divorce : A Dream.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1946; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *God In The Dock: Essays on Theology.* Edited by W. Hooper; new ed. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1979.

_____. *The Horse And His Boy.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1954; new ed. London: Lions, 1980.

_____. *The Last Battle.* London: The Bodley Head, 1956; reprint, London: HarperCollins, Lions, 1980.

_____. *Letters to an American Lady.* Edited by C.S. Kilby. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969.

_____. *Letters to Children.* Edited by Dorsett, L.W., and Marjorie L. Mead. London: William Collins Sons and Co., 1985; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1986.

_____. *Letters of C.S. Lewis.* Edited with a memoir by W.H. Lewis, new rev. and enl. ed., edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1988.

_____. *Letters: C.S. Lewis/Don Giovanni Calabria : A study in friendship.* Translated and edited by Michael Moynihan. London: Collins, 1989.

_____. *The Lion, The Witch And The Wardrobe.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1950; new ed. London: Lions, 1980.

_____. *The Magician's Nephew.* London: The Bodley Head, 1955; new ed. London: Lions, 1980.

_____. *Mere Christianity.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1952; new enl. ed. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1991.

_____. *Miracles: A Preliminary Study.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1947; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1974.

_____. *Narrative Poems.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1969.

_____. *Of This And Other Worlds.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: William Collins Sons and Co., 1982; reprint, London: Fount Paperbacks, 1984.

_____. *Out of The Silent Planet.* London: The Bodley Head, 1938; new ed. London: Longmans, 1966.

_____. *Perelandra.* London: The Bodley Head, 1943; new ed., *Perelandra, The Cosmic Trilogy,* London: The Bodley Head and Pan Books, 1990.

_____. and E.M.W. Tillyard. *The Personal Heresy: A Controversy.* London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

_____. *The Pilgrim's Regress: An Allegorical Apology for Christianity, Reason and Romanticism.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1933; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *Prayer: Letters to Malcolm.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1964; new ed, London: Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. Preface to *George MacDonald: An Anthology.* London: Collins, 1946.

_____. Preface to *Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth,* by D.E. Harding. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.

_____. *A Preface to Paradise Lost.* London: Oxford University Press, 1942; reprint, 1963.

_____. *Present Concerns: Ethical Essays.* Edited by W.Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1986; reprint, 1991.

_____. *Prince Caspian.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1951; new ed. London: Lions, 1980.

_____. *The Problem of Pain.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1940; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious; Fount Paperbcks, 1977.

_____. *Reflections on the Psalms.* New ed. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *Rehabilitations And Other Essays.* London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

_____. *The Screwtape Letters: Letters From A Senior To A Junior Devil.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1942; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *Screwtape Proposes a Toast and other pieces.* London: Fontana Books, 1965; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *Selected Literary Essays.* Edited by W.Hooper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

_____. *The Silver Chair.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1953; new ed. London: Fontana Lions, 1980.

_____. *Spirits in Bondage: A Cycle of Lyrics.* London: William Heinemann, 1919; new ed. with an introduction by W. Hooper. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984.

_____. *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature.* Edited by W. Hooper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

_____. *Studies In Words.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967; reprint, 1991.

_____. *Surprised by Joy: The shape of my early life.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965; reprint, London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1977.

_____. *That Hideous Strength.* London: Bodley Head, 1943; new ed. *That Hideous Strength, The Cosmic Trilogy.* London: The Bodley Head and Pan Books, 1990.

_____. *They Stand Together: The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves 1914 - 1963.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: Collins, 1979.

_____. *Till We Have Faces: A Myth Retold.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1956; reprint, HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1978.

_____. *Timeless at Heart: Essays on Theology.* Edited by W. Hooper. London: HarperCollins Religious, Fount Paperbacks, 1987.

_____. *The Voyage Of The Dawn Treader.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1952, new ed. London: Fontant Lions, 1980.

II: UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Lewis, C.S. *Clivi Hamiltonis Summae Metaphysices contra Anthroposophos Libri II.* Photocopy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. FACS.B.91; original sold at Sotherby's, 18 December 1986.

Lewis, C.S. and Owen Barfield. The "Great War" correspondences, largely undated, photocopy collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. FACS, c54; originals in The Wade Collection, Wheaton College, Illinois.

The Lewis Papers : Memoirs of the Lewis Family 1950 - 1930. Eleven volumes. Edited by Warren Lewis. Leeborough Press, 1933. Originals in Wheaton College, Illinois, copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Text-fiche B.P.D. 4881.

Lewis, Warren. *C.S. Lewis : A Biography,* typescript in the Wade Collection, Wheaton College, Illinois.

III: SECONDARY SOURCES

Abbs, Peter, ed. *Myth And Symbol In Education: A Symposium.* Tract/Cockpit Arts Workshop Joint Issue, 29 and 30.

_____. ed. *The Symbolic Order: A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate.* London: The Falmer Press, 1989.

Adamson, John William. *English Education 1978 - 1902.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930.

Adey, Lionel. *C.S. Lewis: Writer, Dreamer and Mentor.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1998.

Akenson, Donald Harmon. *Education and Enmity: The Control of Schooling in Northern Ireland 1920 - 1950.* Devon: David and Charles Holdings Ltd., 1973.

Anstey, F. *Vice Versa.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Puffin, 1981.

Armytage, W.H.G. *Four Hundred Years of English Education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

Auden, W.H. *Forewords And Afterwords.* London: Faber and Faber, 1973; new ed. 1979.

_____. "Honour". *The Old School : Essays by Divers Hands.* Edited by G. Greene. London: Jonathan Cape, 1934; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

_____. *The Orators: An English Study.* London: Faber and Faber, 1966.

Avery, Gillian. *Childhood Patterns: A Study of the heroes and heroines of Children's Fiction 1770 - 1950.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975.

_____. George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis". *The Gold Thread: Essays On George MacDonald.* Edited by W. Raeper, 163-184. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.

Bailey, George. "In the University". *C.S. Lewis: Speaker and Teacher.* Edited by C. Keefe, 103-122. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974.

Baker, Leo. "Near the Beginning". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 3-10. London: Collins, 1980.

Bantock, G.H. "Equality and Education". *Education Equality and Society.* Edited by B. Wilson, 110-154. London: Allen and Unwin, 1975.

_____. "The Social and Intellectual Background". *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: The Modern age,* ed. Boris Ford, 13-54. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.

_____. *Studies in the History of Educational Theory.* Vol. II. *The Minds and The Masses 1760 - 1980.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1985.

Barfield, Owen. *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis.* Edited by G. B. Tennyson. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

_____. *Poetic Diction: a study in meaning.* London : Faber and Faber, 1928.

_____. *Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry.* London: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Bayley, Peter. "From Master to Colleague". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 77-86. London: Collins, 1980.

Bennett, J.A.W. "The Humane Medievalist". *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, No. 1, 32-75. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

Bernstein, Basil. "Social Class and Linguistic Development". *Education, Economy and Society : a reader in the sociology of education.* Edited by Halsey, A.J. Floud and C.Anderson. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965.

Berry, Patricia. "With Women at College". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 67-73. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Best, David. "Feeling and Reason in the Arts: The Rationality of Feeling". *The Symbolic Order: A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate.* Edited by P. Abbs, 70-85. London: The Falmer Press, 1989.

Bettleheim, Bruno. *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1976; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991.

The Beveridge Report. Cited in G.H. Bantock. "The Social and Intellectual Background". *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: The Modern Age,* ed. Boris Ford, 25. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.

Bidney, David. "Myth, Symbolism, And Truth". *Myth: A Symposium.* Edited by Thomas A. Sebek, 3-23. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.

Bradshaw, Norman. "Impressions of a Pupil". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 17-27. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Brewer, Derek. "The Tutor: A Portrait". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 41-66. London: Collins, 1980.

Broome, F. Hal. "The Scientific Basis of George Macdonald's Dream-Frame". *The Gold Thread: Essays on George Macdonald.* Edited by W. Raeper, 87-109. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.

Bruner, Jerome. "Myth and Identity". *The Symbolic Order: A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate.* Edited by P. Abbs, 174 - 179. London: The Falmer Press, 1989.

Burson, Scott R., and Jerry L. Walls. *C.S. Lewis and Frances Schaffer Lessons for a New Century from the Most Influential Apologists of Our Time.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1998.

Campbell College Register 1894 - 1954. 4th ed. Belfast: Thos. Brough, Cox and Dunn, 1954.

Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero's Journey: Joseph Campbell On His Life And Work.* Edited by P. Cousineau. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.

Carnell, Corbin Scott. *Bright Shadow Of Reality: C.S. Lewis and the Felling Intellect.* Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans, 1974.

Carpenter, Humphrey. *The Inklings: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams and Their Friends.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1978.

_____. *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography.* London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1977.

_____, ed. *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien.* London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1981.

_____. *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1985.

Carr, David. *Educating The Virtues : An Essay on the philosophical psychology of moral development and education.* London: Routledge, 1991.

Cassirer, Ernst. *An Essay On Man : An Introduction To A Philosophy of Human Culture.* New Haven: Yale University press, 1944.

_____. *Language and Myth.* Translated by Susanne K. Langer. London: Harper and Brothers, 1946, new ed., New York; Dover Publications, 1953.

_____. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms.* 3 Volumes. Translated by Ralph Manheim. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

Christopher, Joe R., and Joan K. Ostling, comp. *C.S. Lewis: An Annotated Checklist of Writings about him and his Works.* Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1974.

Clark, David Lee, ed. *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of a Prophecy,* Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1954.

Clarke, J.J. *In Search of Jung : Historical and philosophical enquiries.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Coghill, Nevill. "The Approach to English". *Light On C.S. Lewis.* Edited by J. Gibb, 51-66. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965.

Coleridge, Samuel T. *Biographia Literaria.* London: J.M. Dent, 1906; new ed. Everyman's Library, 1933.

_____. *The Collected Works.* Edited by R.J. White. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Como, James, T., ed. *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences.* London: Collins, 1980.

Cousineau, Phil, ed. *The Hero's Journey: Joseph Campbell On His Life And Work.* New York: Harper and Row, 1990.

Cowan, Rosamund. "With Women at College". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 61-66. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Curtis, S.J., and M.E.A. Boultwood. *An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800.* London: University Tutorial Press, 1960.

Cusick, Edmund. "MacDonald and Jung". *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald.* Edited by W. Raeper, 56-85. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.

Derrick, Christopher. "Some Personal Angles on G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis". *The Riddle of Joy: G.K. Chesteton and C.S. Lewis.* Edited by MacDonald, M.H., and Andrew A. Tadie, 3-19. London: Collins, 1989.

De. S. Honey, R.R. "Tom Brown's Universe: The Nature and Limits of the Victorian Public Schools Community". *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution - A Symposium.* Edited by Simon, B., and Ian Bradley, 19-33. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Dewey, John *Democracy And Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1916; reprint, New York: The Free Press Paperbacks, 1966.

_____. *Experience and Education.* The Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series. London: Collier Macmillan, 1963.

Dickens, Charles. *Hard Times.* London: Penguin, 1994.

_____. *Nicholas Nickleby.* London: Penguin, 1994.

Duriez, Colin. *The C.S. Lewis Handbook.* Eastbourne: Monarch, 1990.

Ede, Chuter. *Diaries.* British Library, additional M.S. 59692. Cited in Anthony Howard. *Rab: The Life of R.A Butler,* 119. London: Jonathan Cape, 1987.

Edmonds, E.L. "C.S. Lewis, the Teacher". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 37-51. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Egner, Rober E., and Lester E. Denonn. *The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell 1903 - 1959.* London: Routledge, 1961; paperbck ed., 1992.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion.* Translated by Williard R. Trask. San Diego, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959.

Eliot, T.S. *Collected Poems 1909 - 1962.* London: Faber and Faber, 1963; reprint, 1974.

_____. *Notes towards the Definition of Culture.* London: Faber and Faber, 1948.

Filmer, Kate. *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis: Mask and Mirror.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Freire, Paulo. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

Fryer, W.R. "Disappointment at Cambridge?" *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 29-35. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Gardner, Helen. "British Academy Obituary", *Proceedings of the British Academy. Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, edited by George Watson, No. 1, 10-21. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

Gibb, Jocelyn, ed. *Light On C.S. Lewis.* London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965.

Gibbons, Stella. "Imaginative Writing". *Light On C.S. Lewis.* Edited by J. Gibbs, 81-101. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965.

Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. Cited in G.H. Bantock. *Studies in the History of Educational Theory.* Vol. II. *The Minds and The Masses 1760 - 1980,* 312. London: Allen and Unwin, 1984.

Glover, Donald E. *C.S. Lewis: The Art of Enchantment.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981.

Grant, Nigel. *Soviet Education.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970. Cited in G.H Bantock, "Equality and Education". *Education Equality and Society.* Edited by B. Wilson, 30. London: Allen and Unwin, 1975.

Gray, John, and G.W. Smith, ed. *On Liberty in focus.* London: Routledge, 1991.

Green, Roger Lancelyn, and Walter Hooper. *C.S. Lewis: A Biography.* London: Collins, 1974; reprint, London: Suvenir Press, 1988.

Greene, Graham, ed. *The Old School: Essays by Diverse Hands.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1934, reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Griffin, William. *C.S. Lewis, The Authentic Voice,* new ed. Tring, Herts: Lion Publishing, 1988.

Griffiths, Dom Bede. *The Golden String.* London: Harvill Press, 1954.

Haigh, Christopher, ed. *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Haigh, John. *The Fiction of C.S. Lewis.* Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1962.

Haines, Keith. *Neither Rogues Nor Fools: A History of Campbell Colege and Cambellians.* Belfast: Campbell College, 1993.

Halsey, A.J. Floud and C. Anderson, eds. *Education, Economy and Society: a reader in the sociology of education.* London: Collier - Macmillan, 1965.

Harries, Richard. *C.S. Lewis: The Man and His God.* London: Fount Paperbacks, 1987.

Harwood, A.C. "About Anthroposophy". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 25-30. London: Collins, 1980.

Hillegas, Mark R., ed. *Shadows of Imagination: The Fantasies of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien and Charles Williams.* Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969.

Holbrook, David. *The Skelton in the Wardrobe: C.S. Lewis's Fantasies: A Phenomenological Study.* London: Associated University Presses, 1991.

Hollowitz, John. *The Mythopoeic Art of C.S. Lewis.* Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1980. Text-fiche 80-26831.

Holmer, Paul. *C.S. Lewis: The Shape of His Faith and Thought.* London: Sheldon Press, 1977.

Hooper, Walter. "To The Marlets". *C.S. Lewis: Speaker and Teacher.* Edited by C. Keefe, 47-85. London: Hodder And Stoughton, 1974.

Hopkins, Gerard Manley. *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Edited by Gardner, W.H. and N.H. MacKenzie. 4th ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Houston Smith, Robert. *Patches of Godlight: The Pattern of Thought of C.S. Lewis.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981.

Howard, Anthony. *Rab: The Life of R.A. Butler.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1987.

Howard, Thomas. *C.S. Lewis: Man of Letters: A Reading of His Fiction.* Worthing, England: Churchman, 1987.

Hughes, Ted. "Myth And Education". *The Symbolic Order: A Contemporary Reader on the Arts Debate.* Edited by P. Abbs, 161-173. London: The Falmer Press, 1989.

Hunt, David. "Observations of a Magdalen Don". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 123-125. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Huttar, Charles A., ed. *Imagination And The Spirit : Essays in Literature and the Christian Faith presented to Clyde Kilby.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1971.

Huxley, Aldous. *Brave New World.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1932.

Hyland, Áine and Kenneth Milnse, eds. *Irish Educational Documents: A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish Education from the earliest times to 1922.* Vol. I. Dublin: C.I.C.E., 1987.

Hyndman, Michael. *Schools and Schooling In England and Wales: A Documentary History.* London: Harper and Row, 1978.

Illich, Ivan. *Deschooling Society.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1992. Zimbardo.

Isaacs, N.D., and Rose A. Zimbardo, eds. *Tolkien And The Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968; reprint, 1970.

Jackson, Rosemary. *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion.* London: Methuen, 1981.

James, Eric Sir. *Education and Leadership.* London: George G. Harrap, 1951.

Joyce, James. *Ulysses.* New ed. London: The Bodley Head, 1960.

Jung, C.G. *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung.* 20 Volumes. Edited by Read, H.M. Fordham and G. Adler. Translated by R.F. C. Hull. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

_____. *Man And His Symbols.* London: Pan Books, 1978.

_____. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections.* Edited by A. Jaffe. London: Collins and Routledge, 1963; London: Fontana Books, 1977.

_____. *Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle.* London: Routledge, 1985.

Kandall, I.L. *Times Educational Supplement,* 10 January 1948. Cited in Michael Hyndman. *Schools and Schooling In England and Wales: A Documentary History,* 115. London: Harper and Row, 1978.

Keefe, Carolyn. "Notes on Lewis's Voice". *C.S. Lewis: Speaker and Teacher.* Edited by C. Keefe, 169-178. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974.

Kilby, Clyde. "The Creative Logician Speaking". *C.S. Lewis: Speaker and Teacher.* Edited by C.Keefe, 17-47. London: Hodder And Stoughton, 1974.

_____. "Till We Have Faces: An Interpretation". *The Longing for a Form: Essays On the Fiction Of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by P. Schakel, 171-181. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977.

Kirk, G.S. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions In Ancient And Other Cultures.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Knight, Garreth. *The Magical World of the Inklings: J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, Owen Barfield.* Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element Books Ltd., 1990.

Knight, L.C. "Mr. C.S. Lewis and the Status Quo". *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, No. 1, 140-145. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

Kreeft, Peter J. "C.S Lewis's Argument from Desire". *The Riddle of Joy: G. K. Chesterton And C.S. Lewis.* Edited by MacDonald, M.H., and Andrew A. Tadie, 249-272. London: Collins, 1989.

Kuhn, David K. "The Joy of The Absolute: A Comparative Study of the Romantic Visions of William Wordsworth and C.S. Lewis". *Imagination And The Spirit: Essays in Literature and the Christian Faith presented to Clyde S. Kilby.* Edited by C.A. Huttar, 189-214. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1971.

Langer, Susanne K. *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed From Philosophy In A New Key.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.

Lawlor, John. "The Tutor And The Scholar". *Light On C.S. Lewis.* Edited by J. Gibb, 67-85. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965.

Lawson, John and Harold Silver. *A Social History of Education in England.* London: Methuen and Co., 1973.

Leavis, F.R. *Education and The University: A Sketch for an 'English School'.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

_____. *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962.

Leavis, Q.D. "Review". *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, No. 1, 145-149. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

Lee, J.J. *Ireland 1912 - 1985 Politics and Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Lee-Milne, James. *Another Self (*1970). Cited in Isobel Quigly. *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story,* 23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Leigh, David, S.J. "The Psychology of Conversion in Chesterton's and Lewis's Autobiographies". *The Riddle of Joy: G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis.* Edited by MacDonald, M.H. and Andrew A. Tadie, 290-304. London: Collins, 1989.

Leister Journal (12 August 1936). Cited in Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870,* 116. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960.

Lester Smith, W.O. *Education in Great Britain.* 5th ed., Oxford Paperbacks University Series, Vol. 24. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Lewis, Warren. *Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis.* Edited by Kilby, Clyde S., and Majorie Lamp Mead. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982.

Lindskoog, Kathryn. *The Lion of Judah in Never-Never Land.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans, 1973.

Livingstone, Richard, Sir. *Education And the Spirit of The Age.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.

_____. *Education for A World Adrift.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943.

_____. *The Future in Education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941.

_____. *Some Tasks for Education.* London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946.

Lowe, Roy. *Education in The Post War Year: A Social History.* London: Routledge, 1988.

Lucie-Smith, Edward. *The Burnt Child* (1975). Cited in Isobel Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story,* 23. Oxford: Oxford University press, 1984.

MacDonald, George. *The Gifts of the Child Christ: Fairy Tales and Stories for the Childlike.* Vol. I. Edited by Glen Sadler. London: A.R. Mowbay and Co., 1973.

_____. *Orts.* London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882.

_____. *Phantastes and Lilith* with an Introduction by C.S. Lewis. London: Victor Gollancz, 1962.

_____. *Poetical Works.* Cited in C.N. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies,* 96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

MacDonald, Michael H., and Andrew A. Tadie, eds. *The Riddle of Joy: G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis.* London: Collins, 1989.

McElligott, T.J. *Education in Ireland.* Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1966.

Mangan, J.A. "Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ideology". *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution - A Symposium.* Edited by Simon, B., and Ian Bradley, 147-167. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Manlove, Colin. *Christian Fantasy: From 1200 to the Present.* London: Macmillan, 1992.

_____. "MacDonald and Kingsley: A Victorian Contrast". *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald.* Edited by W.Raeper, 140-162. Edinburgh, Edinburgh: University Press, 1990.

_____. *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Marshak, Mel. "On The Need for Mythical Time". *Myth and Symbol In Education: A Symposium.* Edited by P. Abbs, 21-29. Tract/Cockpit Arts Workshop Joint Issue, 29 and 30.

Mathew, Gervase. "Orator". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J. T. Como, 96-97. London: Collins, 1980.

Meilander, Gilbert. The Taste for the Other The Social and Ethical Thought of C.S. Lewis. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1978.

Mill, J.S. *On Liberty in focus.* Edited by Gray, J., and G.W. Smith. London: Routledge, 1991.

Moorcock, Michael. *Wizardry and Wild Romance: A study of epic fantasy.* London: Victor Gollancz, 1987.

Moorman, Charles, *Arthurian Triptych: Mythic Material in Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and T.S. Eliot.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.

_____. ""Now Entertain Conjecture of a Time" - The Fictive Worlds of C.S. Lewis and J.R.R.Tolkien". *Shadows of Imagination: The Fantasties of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, and Charles Williams.* Edited by M.R. Hillegas, 59-69. Carbondale and Edwardville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969.

Moris, Francis Joseph. *Metaphor and Myth: Shaping Forces in C.S. Lewis's Critical Assessment of Medieval and Renaissance Literature.* Ph.D.diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977. Text-fiche CN77-91892.

Morrish, Ivor. *Education Since 1800.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970.

Muggeridge, Malcolm. "The Mystery". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S.Schofield, 127-130. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Myers, W.A. "C.S. Lewis's Argument for Natural Law Ethics". *Man's Natural Powers: Essays For and About C.S. Lewis.* Edited by R.P. Tripp, 43-48. Denver: Onny Press, 1975.

Newman, John Henry. *The Idea of a University.* Edited by D.M. O'Connell. Chicago: Loyola University, 1927; reprint, Hertfordshire: Anthony Clarke Publ., 1987.

Newsome, David. *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal.* London: Cassell, 1961.

Nuttall, A.D. "Jack the Giant-Killer". *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, No. 1, 269-284. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

Obituary. "In Memoriam: C.S Lewis", *Cambridge Review. Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed., George Watson, No. 1, 22-23. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

O'Connell, Daniel, M, ed. *The Idea of a University.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1927; reprint, Hertfordshire: Anthony Clarke Publ, 1987.

Orwell, George. Letter to Cyril Connolly. *Encounter* (1962). Cited in Isobel Quigly. *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story,* 23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Ozmon, H.A., and Samuel M. Craver. *Philosophical Foundations of Education.* Columbus, Toronto: Merril Publ. Co., 1986.

Payne, Leanne. Real Presence: *The Holy Spirit in the works of C.S. Lewis.* Eastbourne: Monarch Publications, 1989.

Peters, John. *C.S. Lewis: The Man and His Achievements.* Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1985.

Peters, Thomas C. *Simply C.S. Lewis*. Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1997.

Philip, Neil. "The Functions of Myth in Children's Literature". *Myth and Symbol in Education: A Symposium.* Edited by P. Abbs, 73-94. Tract/Cockpit Arts Workshop Joint Issue, 29 and 30.

Philip, Peter. "South African View". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 93-96. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Plato *The Republic.* Translated with an introduction by Desmond Lee. Edited by Betty Radice. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974.

Popper, Karl. *The Open Society and Its Enemies.* Cited in G.H. Bantock. "The Social and Intellectual Background". *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: The Modern Age,* ed. Boris Ford, 25. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.

Prickett, Stephen. "Fictions and Metafictions: 'Phantastes' 'Wilhelm Meister' and the Idea of 'Bildungsroman'. *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald.* Edited by W.Raeper, 109-124. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.

Purtill, Richard L. C.S. Lewis's Case for the Christian Faith. San Francisco: Harper Row, 1981.

Purtill, Richard L. "That Hideous Strength: A Double Story". *The Longing for a Form: Essays on the Fiction of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by P.J. Schakel, 91-105. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977.

Quigly, Isobel. *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Raeper, William. *George MacDonald.* Tring, Herts: Lion Publishing, 1987.

_____, ed. *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.

Raine, Kathleen. "From A Poet". *Light on C.S. Lewis.* Edited by J. Gibb, 102-105. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1965.

Reilly, R.J. *Romantic Religion: A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971.

_____. "Tolkien And The Fairy Story". *Tolkien And The Critics: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings.* Edited by Isaacs, N.D., and Rose A. Zimbardo, 128-150. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968; reprint, 1970.

Reimer, Everett. *School is Dead: an essay on alternative education.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.

Report of the Public School Commission (1864). Cited in Curtis, S.J. and M.E.A Boultwood. *An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800,* 83-84. London: University Tutorial Press, 1960.

Rigby, Luke. "A Solid Man". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 38-40. London: Collins, 1980.

Rook, Alan. "The Butcher". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 11-15. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Rossi, Lee D. *The Politics of Fantasy: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien.* Ann Arbour, Michigan: Umi Research Press, 1984.

Routley, Eric. "Stunning Effect". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 97-101. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Russell, Bertrand. *Education and The Social Order.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1977.

_____. *Principles of Social Reconstruction. The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell 1903 - 1959.* Edited by Egner, R.E., and Lester E. Denonn. London: Routledge, 1961; paperback edition, 1992.

Ruthuen, K.K. *Myth.* London: Methuen, 1976.

Sadler, Glen Edward. "The Fantastic Imagination in George MacDonald". *Imagination And The Spirit: Essays in Literature and the Christian Faith presented to Clyde S. Kilby.* Edited by C.A. Huttar, 215-227. Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans, 1971.

Sale, Roger, "England's Parnassus: C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams and J.R.R. Tolkien". *Hudson Review* 17 (Summer 1964): 203-225.

Sammons, Martha C. *"A Better Country" The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Sayer, George. *Jack: C.S. Lewis And His Times.* London: Macmillan, 1988.

Sayer, Margaret. Review of *The Harmony Within: The Spiritual Vision of George MacDonald by Roland Hein.* Cited in *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 161. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Schakel, Peter J., ed. *The Longing for a Form: Essays On the Fiction of C.S. Lewis.* Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977.

_____. *Reading with the Heart: The Way into Narnia.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: B.Eerdmans, 1979.

_____. *Reason and Imagination in C.S. Lewis: A study of Till We Have Faces.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1984.

Schiller, Friedrich. *The Piccolomini.* Cited in Bruno Bettleheim. *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales,* 5. London: Thomas and Hudson, 1976; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991.

Schofield, Stephen ed. *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Sebek, Thomas A., ed. *Myth: A Symposium.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.

Shelley, Percy. *A Defence of Poetry.* In *Shelley's Prose or The Trumpet of a Prophecy.* Edited by D. Lee Clark. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1954.

Shelling, Freidrich. *Philosophy of Mythology.* Cited in David Bidney. "Myth, Symbolism, and Truth". *Myth: A Symposium.* Edited by T.A. Sebek, 6. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970.

Simon, Brian. *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920 - 1940.* London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

_____. *Studies in the History of Education 1700 - 1870.* London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960.

_____, and Ian Bradley, eds. *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution: A Symposium.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Singer, June, *Boundaries of the Soul: The Practice of Jung's Pschology.* London: Victor Gollancz, 1973.

Sitwell, Osbert. *The Scarlet Tree* (1946). Cited in Isobel Quigly. *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story,* 23. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Speck, W.A. *A Concise History of Britain 1707 - 1975.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Stableford, Brian. *Scientific Romance in Britain 1890 - 1950.* London: Fourth Estate, 1985.

Starr, Nathan C. "Good Cheer and Sustenance". *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table.* Edited by J.T. Como, 120-125. London: Collins, 1980.

Stewart, W.A.C. *The Educational Innovators.* Vol. 2. *Progressive School 1881 - 1967.* London: Macmillan, 1968.

Swinfen, Ann. *In Defence of Fantasy: A Study of the Genre In English and American Literature Since 1945.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.

Taylor, A.J.P. *A Personal History.* Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, Coronet books, 1984.

_____. *English History 1914 - 1945.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; reprint Oxford University Press Paperbacks, 1992.

Tennyson, G.B., ed. *Owen Barfield On C.S. Lewis.* Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

Tixier, Elaine. "Imagination Baptized or "Holiness" in the Chronicles of Narnia". *The Longing For A Form: Essays On the Fiction of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by P.J. Schakel, 136-159. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977.

Tolkien, Christopher, ed. *The Monster and the Critics And Other Essays.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1983.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien.* Edited by H. Carpenter. London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1981.

_____. *The Monster and the Critics And Other Essays.* Edited by C. Tolkien. London: Allen and Unwin, 1983.

Tynan, Kathleen. *The Life of Kenneth Tynan.* London: Methuen, 1988.

Tynan, Kenneth. "Exhilaration". *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 3-9. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

Urang, Gunnar. *Shadows of Heaven: Religion and Fantasy in the Writing of C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and J.R.R. Tolkien.* Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1971.

Vance, Norman. "The Ideal of Manliness". *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution: A Symposium.* Edited by Simon, B., and Ian Bradley, 115-128. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Verschoyle, Derek. "Indian Innocence Ltd." *The Old School: Essays by Divers Hands.* Edited by G. Green. London: Jonathan Cape, 1934; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wain, John. *The American Scholar (*Winter 1980 - 1981). Cited in *In Search of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by S. Schofield, 26. South Plainfield, New Jersey: Bridge Publishing, 1983.

_____. "C.S. Lewis", *Encounter:* 22. *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis.* Critical Thought Series, ed. George Watson, No. 1, 24-36. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

_____. *Springtly Running Part of An Autobiography.* London: The Quality Book club, 1962.

Walls, Jerry L., and Scott R. Burson, Scott R. *C.S. Lewis and Frances Schaffer Lessons for a New Century from the Most Influential Apologists of Our Time.* Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1998.

Walsh, Chad. *The Literary Legacy of C.S. Lewis.* London: Sheldon Press, 1979.

_____. "The Man and The Mystery". *Shadows of Imagination: The Fantasties of C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien and Charles Williams.* Edited by M.R. Hillegas, 1-15. Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969.

Watson, G, ed. *Critical Essays on C.S. Lewis,* Critical Thought Series, No. 1. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1992.

White, William Luther. *The Image of Man in C.S. Lewis.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970.

Whitehead, Alfred. *Aims of Education.* London: Williams and Norgate, 1932; new ed., 1950.

Wilson, A.N. *C.S. Lewis: A Biography.* London: William Collins and Sons, 1990; reprint, London: HarperCollins, 1991.

Wordsworth, William. *The Works of William Wordsworth.* Ware, Hertfordshire: The Wordsworth Poetry Library, 1994.

Wright, Marjorie Evelyn. *The Cosmic Kingdom of Myth: A Study in the Myth - Philosophy of Charles Williams, C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien.* Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1960. Text-fiche 60-4025.

Wynne, John P. *Theories of Education: An Introduction to the Foundations of Education.* London: Harper and Row, 1963.

Yass, Marion. *Britain Between the World Wars 1918 - 1938.* The English Life Series. East Sussex: Wayland Publ., 1975.

Yeats, William Butler. *The Collected Poems.* London: Macmillan, 1979.

Zogby, Edward G. "Triadic Pattern in Lewis's Life and Thought". *The Longing for a Form: Essays On The Fiction Of C.S. Lewis.* Edited by P.J. Schakel, 20-40. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1977.

INTERVIEWS

Gresham, Douglas. Interview by author, 27 May 1994. Carlow, Ireland. Tape Recording.

Gresham, Douglas. Interview by author, 22 April 1995. Carlow, Ireland. Tape Recording.

Gresham, Douglas. Interview by author, 17 August 1998. Carlow, Ireland. Transcribed Video Recording.