CHAPTER-II

SOCIAL AND LITERARY MILIEU
In this chapter, an attempt has been made to study extensively the origin and growth of Indian English Poetry from its genesis. It is, therefore, pertinent to identify and define what Indian English literature is and what it really means. Indian English literature designated variously as 'Indo-Anglian Literature', 'Indian Writing in English' and 'Indo-English literature' “began as an interesting by-product of an eventful encounter in the late eighteenth century between a vigorous and enterprising Britain and a stagnant and chaotic India”1. The words vigorous and enterprising imply a sense of order, action or progress, while stagnant and chaotic in turn imply inaction or disorder. The failure to make clear-cut distinction on the designated terms has often led to confusion with ‘Anglo-Indian Literature’. E.F.Oaten in his *A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature* (1908) considers the poetry of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio as part of ‘Anglo-Indian literature’. Again in his essay on *Anglo-Indian Literature in the Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol.XIV Ch.10) the same critic
includes Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Rabindranath Tagore and Arabindo[sic] Ghose among ‘Anglo-Indian Writers’ along with F.W. Bain and F.A. Steel. Bhupal Singh’s *Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction* (1934) similarly deals with both British and Indian writers on Indian subject. In his book, *English in India: Its present and Future* (1964) V.K Ghokak interprets the term ‘Indo-Anglian literature’ as comprising ‘the work of Indian writers in English’ and ‘Indo-English literature’ as consisting of translations by Indians from Indian literature into English. K.R.Srinivasa Iyengar in his massive survey *Indian Writing in English* (1962) includes English translations of Tagore’s novels and plays done by others in his history of Indian creative writing in English. However, H.M.Williams excludes these works of Tagore’s from *Indo-Anglian Literature 1800-1970; A Survey* (1976). One thing, which should be kept in mind, is that translations from the Indian languages into English cannot form part of Indian English literature, except when they are creative translations by the authors themselves. The works of Homer, Virgil, Dante and Dostoevsky translated into English do not become British literature as such there is little or no reason of Tagore’s works translated into English by others to form part of Indian English literature. However, a work like *Gitanjali*, a creative translation of the author himself should be qualified for inclusion. John B.Alphonso Karkala in his book *Indo-English Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1970) uses the term ‘Indo-English Literature’ to mean literature produced by Indians in English. As such, strictly speaking, Indian English literature may be defined as literature written originally in English by authors Indian by birth, ancestry or nationality. The term Indian English Literature is a controversial and problematic issue for the various appellations named to it from time to time. However, Sahitya Akademi has recently accepted ‘Indian English Literature’ as the most suitable appellation for this genre of writing. |
Indian English poetry is a distinct offshoot of Indian English Literature. Poets like Derozio, Toru Dutt, Sri Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Nissim Ezekiel, P. Lal, Dom Moraes etc. have nurtured it and in their hands it has grown richer. Gordon Bottomley describes Indian poetry in English as “Mathew Arnold in a saree” but to V.K Gokak it is also “Shakuntala in Skirts.” M.K. Naik in his article ‘Echo and Voice in Indian Poetry in English’ in the book *Contemporary Indian English verse: An Evaluation* pointed out that the story of Indian poetry in English begins in 1830, with Kashiprasad Ghose.

Generally, Indian English poetry can be divided into two parts – the pre-Independence and the post Independence. The significant poets of the earlier part of the pre-Independence phase include Derozio, Kashiprasad Ghose, Rajnarain Dutt and Michael Madhusudan Dutt. Grand names like Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Sarojini Naidu can be included in the later phase of pre-Independence poetry. But most poets today comprises of academics or professionals unlike the earlier Indian English poets who were mostly from Bengal owing to the existence of a large Anglicized Bengali upper class with literary interests.

Without question, critics have considered Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831) as the pioneer and father of Indian English Poetry. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio’s father was a mixed Portuguese and Indian descent, while his mother was an English woman. Derozio’s *The Fakeer of Jungheera: A Memorial Tale and Other Poems* (1828) mark the first milestone in the development of Indian English poetry. *The Fakeer of Jungheera* is an extremely competent narrative of the tragic life of Nuleeni, a high-caste Hindu widow, rescued from the funeral pyre by her young lover a robber-chief. Nuleeni’s relatives are, determined to reclaim her from the robber-chief. The
lover is killed in the ensuing battle. Both the robber-chief and Nuleeni died in the end and they are finally united in death. Derozio played an important role in shaping the literary and intellectual life of Bengal, the birthplace of Indian English poetry. Derozio became a professor of English at Hindu College, Calcutta, when he was barely eighteen. But unfortunately, Derozio got dismissed from the College in 1831 charged with having corrupted the minds of Hindu youths. The Hindu College is now known as The Presidency College. This College, founded in 1817 became the nursery of Indian writing in English. Derozio died of Cholera on 23 December 1831 at a time when he drifted to journalism and left the teaching job.

Derozio lived for a short period of life. However many critics have felt the significance of Derozio as the pioneer of Indian English writers. A.N. Dwivedi appreciates him:

Derozio has been aptly called the National Bard of Modern India, a true predecessor of Rabindranath Tagore... As a poet, his achievements are creditable. His Sonnets and poems are sustained by deep feelings and executed with wonderful craftsmanship... Like Keats and Toru Dutt, he is one of the 'inheritors of unfulfilled renown'.

Mr. Oaten also compares Derozio to Keats:

for in both men there was a passionate temperament combined with unbounded sympathy with nature. Both died while their powers were not yet truly developed.

Derozio was “the marvellous boy who perished in his prime”. Derozio and Keats wanted to make pain a pleasure. They were of the view that man needs to
endeavour in order to find delight in the bosom of melancholy. Derozio did not confine himself to teaching only but he did help to establish a debating club and a magazine where one can raise and question all socio-political issues of the day including the place of women in society and orthodox Hindu religious practices. He was a reformer trying to reconstruct the orthodox Hindu Society and wished to uplift the status of women. Thus, he was not only the first Indian English poet but also a great humanist poet.

A successor to Derozio who kept the torch of Indian English poetry burning is Kashipurasad Ghose (1809-1873). He did it by publishing his book *The Shair or Minstrel* in 1830. M.K Naik calls him the first Indian English Poet of “pure Indian blood” while he calls himself the “first Hindoo who has ventured to publish a volume of English poems.”7 There is an echo of Sir Walter Scott’s work in the writings of Ghose. For this, Professor Dunn has branded his verse as “agreeably imitative and everywhere pleasing.”8 Ghose was the first Indian to publish regular volumes of English verse. Ghose having obtained a fair knowledge of prosody and versification excels Derozio in this domain. H.M. Williams in his book *Indo-Anglian Literature 1800-1970: A Survey* wrote,“Kashipurasad Ghose’s whose *The Shair and Other Poems* (1830) though much less valuable than Derozio, caused a stir in English-speaking circles and made people aware of the existence of an Indo-Anglian ‘School’ of poetry.”9

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century emerged talented members from the Dutt’s family. The publication of *The Dutt Family Album* (1870) in London impressed the poetry-reading public. Govind Chunder Dutt, Omesh Chunder Dutt, Greece Chunder Dutt and Hur Chunder Dutt contributed to *The Dutt Family Album*. 
According to M.K. Naik, “Toru Dutt is the first Indian English poet to make an extensive use of myth and legend.” Toru, the forerunner of Indo-English poetry was the pioneer builder of the tradition of Indo-Anglian poetry. Toru had a fair knowledge of Sanskrit and was well versed in French. She published *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876), comprising 165 lyrics, which is a work of translations from the French poets. Toru Dutt does most of the translation from French into English. The volume also includes eight poems of Toru’s elder sister Aru. Edmund Gosse after making an evaluation describes *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* as “A wonderful mixture of strength and weakness.” Her only volume of original poetry culled in *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) is enough to give us a peep into the classical Indian tradition, which is full of religious fervour and philosophical speculation. The volume was published after five years of Toru’s death. The work explains Toru’s deep love for the motherland, its folklores and legends, and, its ancient tales of high moral and spiritual character. C.Paul Verghese says:

Toru Dutt made an effort to reveal the soul of India through the medium of poetry by narrating stories sung in divine poetry thousands of years ago.

Though a proselytized Christian, Toru had a deep love for Indian legends and classics. C.D. Narasimhaiah made the following attributes to Toru Dutt:

For an Indian girl in her teens to demonstrate in English such acquaintance with Greek mythology, Christian and Hindu symbolism, a rare feeling for words coupled with a reliance on speech rhythms, an enviable control of the sonnet form and above all to vindicate with such seeming playfulness the strength of her own tradition – it is not surprising that Edward Thompson so often critical of Tagore (on whom he writes a whole book) should bracket Toru with Sappho and Emily Bronte.
Even though some of the imminent critics had praise Toru Dutt’s poetry, David Mc Cutchion made the following comments:

Poets and journalists who in England would never find their way beyond the school magazine or provincial newspaper are not only made part of literary history here but elevated to the rank of masters.\(^\text{14}\)

However, the Dutts family had distinguished themselves for their literary activities in the whole of Bengal. Keeping aside their political, social and religious positions, the Dutts’ family made a remarkable contribution to the growth of Indian English poetry by publishing *The Dutts Family Album* (1870).

Michael Madhusudan Dutt like Derozio had a chequered life. He died before his creative powers could be fully manifested. He is regarded a poet’s poet to Bengali poets. The language used by Madhusudan is richer than that of Kashiprasad Ghose. It is said that there is a deep lingering voice of Milton over his mind. He describes *Satan* in a few lines:

A form of awe he was – and yet it seemed  
A sepulchre of beauty – faded, gone.\(^\text{15}\)

Michael Madhusudan Dutt became one of Macaulay’s ‘native Englishman.’ According to C.Paul Verghese, “his only ambition was to win recognition as a poet in the English language and to go to England.”\(^\text{16}\) Michael Madhusudan Dutt did not win any recognition in the initial stage of his poetic career. He turned to write in Bengali and became famous. Thus, later he chose to show his commitment to his culture by putting a stop to writing in English and switched over to Bengali. This is why R.Parthasarathy calls him:

The paradigm of the Indian poet writing in English.\(^\text{17}\)
Another Indian English poet who yearns for foreign land is Manmohan Ghose (1869-1924). This longing for England sets him apart from the main tradition of Indian English poetry. Ghose left for England at the age of ten and returned to India most reluctantly in 1894. He considered himself “four fifths an English man if not entirely one” and lamented that in India he felt “denationalised.” Manmohan Ghose gained recognition abroad. He felt at home in England in the company of poets like Lawrence Binyon and Oscar Wilde. His long stay in England westernised his education, idea and thought. Oscar Wilde once commented, “Mr. Ghose ought someday to make a name in our literature.” Deeply immersed to the western culture and language with his entire education done in the west, Ghose failed to comprehend Indian ethos, religion and culture. In England, Ghose along with his friends, Arthur Cripps, Laurence Binyon and Stephen Phillips, published a volume of poems called *Primavers* (1890). George Sampson rightly called him the most ‘remarkable of Indian poets who wrote in English’ His career is a case of ‘xenalgia’ (longing for foreign lands) doomed to inflict the Indian Writing in English again and again.

Another eminent poet, who made a mark in Indian English Poetry, is Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). He is the only Nobel laureate of India who got the prize for literature and carved a niche for himself in world literature. Sadhindranath Datta wrote on Tagore:

Judge by the totality of his creative output, Rabindranath should head the list. Tagore made Shakespeare himself dwindle into insignificance.”

Buddhadeva Bose commented on Tagore’s *Gitanjali* as follows:

It has been rightly praised by the world: it is the quintessence of Rabindranath and a miracle of
translation. The miracle is not that so much has survived, but the poems are re-born in the process, the flowers bloom anew on a foreign soil. Denuded of the sensuous metrical arrangements of the original and the more than Swinburnian rhymes, they are more quiet in English, more docile, the surrender more utter...

Gitanjali is more than a great work in English, it is the work of a great English poet.\(^2\)

According to C.D. Narasimhaiah, Tagore, is the very “God of letters” to the Bengalis and a greater God they haven’t known after Kalidasa. Narasimhaiah compares the first poem of Gitanjali with the first stanza of Hopkins’ The Wreck of Deutschland as both are in the nature of devotional hymns. Tagore receives innumerable praises but the applause coming from various angles could not save him from criticism. In spite of all the attributes given to Tagore one could also say that the award of the Nobel prize to Tagore was more or less a historical accident. W.B. Yeats, the poet who was partly responsible in awarding the Nobel Prize to Tagore in 1913 said in 1935:

Damn Tagore. We got out three good books... and then, because he thought it more important to see and know English than to be a great poet, he brought out sentimental rubbish and wrecked his reputation. Tagore does not know English, no Indian knows English. Nobody can write with music and style in a language not learned in childhood and ever since the language of his thought.\(^23\)

However, in spite of all the criticism it received and the praises rendered, the appearance of Gitanjali had made W.B. Yeats and the English and the American critics carried off their feet, marking it a sure proof of a great work. Tagore’s novel Gora is the epic of India in transition at the most crucially intellectual period of its modern history. Krishna Kripalani says that it is to
Indian fiction what Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* is to the Russian. Another critic, Sukumar Sen, says the novel is “something like a Mahabharatta of modern India.” Tagore’s *Gitanjali* has drawn worldwide attention. It leaves the poet a lasting name. He is recognised now as not only a poet of India but also a poet of the world known in diverse facets as the poet, the storyteller, the novelist, the Philosopher, the educationist but most of all he is the prophet of enlightened humanism. Tagore was one of the greatest humanists of our country and the world for teaching the whole generations of the country to be humanist. For his fervent love of man, Tagore believes that nothing in creation is higher than the spirit of man. He deals with the theme of humanism in his novels like *Binodini*, *The Wreck* and *Chaturanga* by relating them to some pressing social human issues of his time. Tagore’s humanism consists of his love for humanity and his emphasis on “man’s role for emancipation of himself through emancipation of the whole of mankind.” Tagore’s humanism involves his universality and sense of identity with all men and his revolt against all types of tyranny and injustice.

Another humanist poet who is one of the outstanding figures in Indian English poetry is Sri Aurobindo. Tagore is known throughout the world but Tagore’s knowledge of the literature of the world is limited. However, Sri Aurobindo is well versed in many of the world famous languages like Greek, Latin, English, German, Italian, Sanskrit and Bengali. Thus, Sri Aurobindo had assimilated ideas from different literature of the world and his writings could bear comparison with other great works of world literature. P.Lal and K. Raghuvendra Rao who had initially expressed their dissatisfaction with Sri Aurobindo changed their attitude and later on appreciated Aurobindo. P.Lal applauded him as follows:

Sri Aurobindo happens to be our Milton and Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Mannmohan Ghose and
Harindranath Chattopadhyaya our Romantic Singing birds. They provide sufficient provocation to experiment afresh, set new standards, preserve what is vital in the tradition and gave a definition to the needs of the present.27

Aurobindo’s poem \textit{Savitri} is his masterpiece. The poem \textit{Savitri} is a retelling of the well-known legend of prince Satyavan and Savitri, his devoted wife who rescues him from Death. This poem is a story of pure love, which conquers death. Savitri is a symbol of devotion of the true wife and her devotion is so powerful that she can defeat even death. Moreover, Savitri is an embodiment of tender love and sacrifice for other fellow beings. Her feelings of love and sacrifice represent Sri Aurobindo’s humanism. Satyavan is truth personified. The story of Savitri and Satyavan is a perfect example of the triumph of beauty, love and power with truth. Aurobindo himself declared, “\textit{Savitri} was an attempt to catch something of the Upanishadic and Kalidasian movement so far as that is possible in English.”28 Professor Raymond Frank Piper has praised immensely on \textit{Savitri}. He says:

\begin{quote}
I venture the judgement that it is the most comprehensive, integrated, beautiful and perfect cosmic poem ever composed... \textit{Savitri} is perhaps the most powerful artistic work in the world for expanding man’s mind towards the Absolute.29
\end{quote}

Although \textit{Savitri} is considered a masterpiece of Aurobindo, some critics do not like it. P.Lal criticising the work says:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Savitri} as ‘greasy, weakspined and purple-adjective’ and concluded: ‘we think that poetry must deal in concrete terms with concrete experience’30
\end{quote}
Nissim Ezekiel while reviewing K.R.Srinivasa Iyengar's book on Aurobindo in the *Sunday Standard,* denounced *Savitri* as "a confused unconscious parody of the worst features of English rhetorical style grafted on a degenerate Eastern mysticism." However, C.D.Narasimhaiah considers Sri Aurobindo as a distinguished poet and a critic. He even tells that English language has gained from Sri Aurobindo. He compares Sri Aurobindo with Joseph Conrad. Thus, he observes:

Like Conrad who broadened the descriptive range of the English language, it may be said of Sri Aurobindo that he made the English language accommodate certain hitherto unknown (inconscient) areas of experience both through his prose work "Life Divine" and through his epic, *Savitri,* not to speak of the numerous translation from Sanskrit poetry and drama as well as his other less known but important works.

R.Parthasarathy writes, "Savitri" fails as a poem because Ghose's talent and resourcefulness in the use of English were limited. However, Keki N. Daruwalla says:

It is rather unfair to pick on Sri Aurobindo because no other Indian poet was half as bad, none so nebulous or verbose who so thoroughly confused, the inflated with the sublime.

M.K. Naik wonders:

It is strange that certain Indian critics who recently genuflect before "The Wreck of the Deutschland," "Ash Wednesday" and "The Four Quartets" should turn up their (not always well shaped) noses at these mystical lyrics, perhaps because some Westerners, who probably have neither the time nor the inclination
to try to understand their complex symbolism have dismissed them [Aurobindo works] as too ornate.\textsuperscript{35}

The importance of Sri Aurobindo in India is not confined to Indian writing in English. He is regarded as one of the remarkable Indians who laid the foundation of modern Indian civilization. An ashram was founded after his name at Pondicherry called ‘The Aurobindo Ashram’, which has now become a centre of Pilgrimage for those who long for meditation and yoga.

Another celebrated Indian poet is Sarojini Chattopadhyaya (1879-1947). She is later known as Sarojini Naidu. She was known as ‘The Nightingale of India.’ That her being borne of a blue blood and her involvement in the political affairs availed her the title. M. Prabha asserts the conferred title was undeserving to the woman. Sarojini’s first collection of poems \textit{The Golden Threshold} (1905) made her famous in the whole of the English-speaking world. Srinivisa Iyengar calls Sarojini Naidu “an Indian Elizabeth Barret Browning”\textsuperscript{36} Sarojini Naidu, politically, a freedom fighter wrote love lyrics. The patriarchal mode of the subordination of woman in the love relationship between man and woman is highlighted. In her poem “Caprice”, she registered a protest against the indifference of man towards woman:

\begin{quote}
You held a wine cup in your fingertips,  
Lightly you raised it to indifferent lips, 
Lightly you drank and flung away the bowl  
Alas! It was my soul.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

Sri Aurobindo applauded her lyrics and write:

\begin{quote}
Some of her lyrical work is likely, I think, to survive among the lasting things in English literature and by these, even if they are fine rather than great, she may take her rank among the immortals.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}
According to V.K. Gokak, Sarojini Naidu is the Yeats of India and Sri Aurobindo a great innovator in the art of versification. In regards to Sarojini Naidu, C.D. Narasimhaiah comments:

Where she succeeded in keeping her emotion somewhat tidy, her sentiment genuine and her rhythms faithful to the folk songs of South India she did compose some very good verses as in the poems, ‘Corn Grinders,’ ‘Indian Weavers’, ‘Festivals of Serpents’ (Song of Radha the Milkmaid) and ‘Leile’.39

However, Sarojini later abandoned poetry as she became more involved with the Indian national movement. P.E. Dustoor eulogises that she “unhesitatingly abandoned poetry for Politics.”40

P. Lal and K. Raghavendra Rao reacting to the poetry written in English by Indians before Independence assert, “We claim that the phase of Indo-Anglian romanticism ended with Sarojini Naidu.”41 According to A.N. Dwivedi, the age of major Indian English romantics as described by M.K Naik ended with Tagore and Sri Aurobindo.

The pre-independence period from the maiden publication of Indian English poetry known as Poems by Derozio in 1827 until 1947 was predominantly phallocentric period. Because the period produces a host of poets from Derozio to Harindranath Chattopadhyaya but paradoxically, only two women poets Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu published their poems. It is not known what kind of poetry Toru Dutt would produce if she had lived longer. Her poems are mostly based on ancient Indian legends. In her poem “Savitri”, she recreates a bold woman who chooses her own bridegroom and engages herself in
a long pursuit to win back her husband’s soul from Yama, the supernatural king of death. Asserting the rights of her individual self, she writes:

He for his deeds shall get his due
As I for mine: thus here each soul
Is its own friend if it pursue
The right...

V.S. Naipaul considers Indian fiction in English as a mere mimicry of the west, while Indian poetry in English for Buddhadev Bose is a ‘blind alley, lined with curio-shops, leading nowhere.’ Dom Moraes dismisses the early writers of Indian English and remarks, “William Wordsworth had more talent in his big toe than all of the poets up to Sarojini Naidu put together and they were fossilized in terms of language while they were still alive.”

Indian Writing in English today gains much recognition. The American scholar Thomas Pyle accords the same legitimacy to Indian English as to any other variety of English in the world. He observes:

There are, of course, in addition to American English, Australian English, Canadian English, South African English, Indian English, among others – all as legitimately English as that form of the language, which happens to be spoken in the mother country.

It will not be wrong to say that the British rule in India has brought the birth and growth of Indian writing in English. In course of time, Indian writers writing in English have gloriously achieved a distinct reputation of producing a genre of English writing. Now “Indo-Anglian” literature is no longer regarded as a sub-standard variety. A.N Dwivedi says:
In fact, it comes next only to English and American literature, but is far ahead of the literatures of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

The proper Anglo-Indian literature [literature created by Englishmen] begins only with Sir Williams Jones towards the close of the 18th Century. However, this genre of writing has inevitably lost its distinctive status with the dawn of Indian independence. No doubt, both the English and American writers still produced books with recognisable Indian background.

A.N.Dwivedi asserts that Indo-Anglian poetry has sown its seeds in an adverse circumstance while the country was still groaning under British governance. In 1780, James Augustus Hicky brought out India’s first newspaper, Hicky's Bengal Gazette in Calcutta. Lord Warren Hastings established and endowed the Calcutta Madrassa in 1781. He encouraged the revival of Indian learning. Sir William Jones was a lover of Indian people and her sacred literature. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta in 1784. The idea to set up a network of schools for teaching English was first proposed by Charles Grant, a Civil Servant of the East India Company. But Charles Grant did not succeed. The Christian missionaries contributed greatly in spreading English education and Christianity. William Carey stands foremost among the missionaries. Carey was a shoemaker by profession and became a Baptist Missionary in later life. He came to India in 1793. Carey and his friends set up schools and published Bengali translations of the Bible. Thus, they laid the foundations of English education and Bengali prose literature.

John Adams (1735-1826), the second U.S. President predicted the universal role of English on 23 September 1780, where he states:
English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the close of this one.46

Adam’s prediction on English has proved true. Thus, English has become the means of communication for the educated people who do not belong to the same linguistic community.

The earliest Indian writers of English were more “Anglo” than “Indian.” Perhaps, for them the second category existed only in their unconscious mind. M.Subha Rao thinks the early decades of the 19th Century marked the beginning of English writing in India. This period may also be regarded as an incubated period. Thomas Babington Macaulay’s Minute of 2 February 1835 denounced a classical Indian learning and pleaded in favour of Western education. The Minute gradually strengthened the study of English language in India. With the implementation of the educational policy of Macaulay, a social, cultural and literary renaissance swept over the whole of India. But Macaulay’s dream to completely anglicize the mentality of the Indians were not fulfilled. Macaulay expected Indians to renounce their history, traditions and culture. But his expectation did not come true. However, Macaulay’s Minute resulted in the adoption of English as the official language of India. In the wake of Lord Macaulay’s celebrated Minute, Lord William Bentinck made the following statement on 7 March, 1835:

The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.” 47
What Bentinck has said greatly attracted many Indians who grabbed the opportunity as a blessing that led to the emergence of the class of Indian "baboons." The middle-class Hindus mostly reaped the advantages of English education. The study of European literature or English education created opportunities for the Indians to learn English language. Initially English was the most powerful weapon of colonisation. But later it proved to be equally powerful weapon of decolonisation in the hands of a few Indian litterateurs.

Indian from the cultural point of view passes through where the Indians generally appreciated all the English goods and their cultural values. Ironically, they condemned everything India. In his *Letters from Europe* Syed Ahmed Khan declares:

> All things spiritual and worldly which should be found in man have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, especially on England. Without flattering the English, I can say that the natives of Indian high and low... when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man.\(^{48}\)

This statement of Khan is absurd. If he had known the minds and hearts of the Indians, he would not have made such provocative statements. Perhaps, many Indians at this time-shared Macaulay's view of "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India."\(^{49}\) Influenced by this concept Raja Ram Mohan Roy denounced Sanskrit as "for ages a lamentable check to the diffusion of knowledge," and the Sanskrit system of education as "best calculated to keep this country in darkness"\(^{50}\) which results to a vigorous protest against the establishment of a Sanskrit School under Hindu Pundits in place of an English school. At the turn of twentieth century, Vishnusastri
Chiplunkar, the well-known Marathi writer, eulogised the English language as the "milk of the tigress" and exhorted his fellow citizens to feed on it if they wanted to make a progress. The earlier poets and writers were influenced by the culture and language of the British in their writings. But this influence did not remained unchanged. It changed gradually. However, the real change on the use of a new Indian English language is noticed in the works of modern Indian poets and novelists.

In one of his famous essays *The American Scholar*, Emerson states his dissatisfaction of what the American literature confronted before it broke the umbilical cord, which bound it to mother England in his well-known manifesto:

> We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe... We will walk on our feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds.

What Emerson had written in *The American Scholar* is equally relevant to Indian writers in English, who too had run after strange gods for too long, neglecting their own age-old altars. They should be original Indian *Kokils* instead of being a parrot for too long. In this regard, it would be appropriate to mention Edmund Gosse's advise to Sarojini Naidu:

> I implored her to consider that from an Indian of extreme sensibility, who had mastered not merely the language but the prosody of the West, what we wished to receive was, not a rechauffe of Anglo-Saxon sentiment in an Anglo-Saxon setting, but some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere penetrating analysis of native passion, of the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East long before the west had begun to dream that it had a soul.
M.K. Naik in his *A History of Indian English Literature* highlighted the significance of the emergence of a new phase after Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Sri Aurobindo in the Indian Freedom struggle in “The Gandhian whirlwind, 1920-1947”. The political scene in the first decade of the twentieth century set the arena ready for the entry of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Gandhi’s entry into Indian politics occurred soon after his Satyagraha triumph in South Africa. Naik has aptly commented on Gandhi’s contribution to Indian struggle for freedom in the following:

The end of the First World War – a watershed in European history – proved to be an equally significant period in Indian life, when the Gandhian whirlwind began to sweep over the length and breadth of the land, upsetting all established political strategies and ushering in refreshingly new ideas and methods which shook Indian life in several spheres to the core. As Nehru puts it, “Gandhi... was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breathes.”

Political writing drew immense strength from the Gandhian philosophy. His essays and political speeches are unique instances of a non-native language providing the clue for decolonization of the indigenous self. Besides political writing, Gandhi influenced in the creative writing of Indian English fiction. He influenced the writings of the much-acclaimed Indian trio – Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan. These writers continued to be hard-core Gandhians. But they also revealed their own individualistic idea in their fictional writings. Anand’s fiction has been shaped by what he himself calls “the double burden on my shoulders, the Alps of the European tradition and the Himalayas of the Indian past.” Nehru who is an heir to Gandhi in politics and literature made a
remarkable contribution to Indian writing in English with his *Glimpses of World History* (1934) and *The Discovery of India* (1946). In course of time many eminent leader from all aspects of society made their contribution to Indian Writing in English. Srinivasa Iyengar has summed up in the following lines:

Indo-Anglian literature was once ‘a tool’ in the hands of the leaders of the Indian renaissance ‘to rouse the prostrate nation’ to protest against the evil of foreign domination’, but has now grown ‘into a creative akshay patra, amuda surabhi’. Today it has been cultivated in Indian universities as ‘an academic discipline,’ but only as an integral part of the studies of English literature.56

The Indians who were writing in English adopted their own way of using the English language. Mulk Raj Anand has clearly stated in the following how he was inspired to write in Indian English:

My own sanction for writing in Indian English came from the poet W.B. Yeats’ exhortation to Irish writers of fiction and poetry in English language, that they should write not in English-English, but in Irish English like John Millington Synge and Lady Gregory, who cover the sounds of the Celtic tongue, its imagery and associations into their writings. Yeats called Irish English ‘Pigeon Irish’. I called my Indian English ‘Pigeon Indian’.57

The use of Indian English, which is quite different from the native speakers’ English, was mainly the result of Indian freedom struggle and the Indian nationalist movement. Indian freedom struggle for the first time had become a deep-rooted nationalistic upsurge in the Thirties. Even fictional writing had gained greater prominence through the works of some outstanding novelist like R.K Narayan, Raja Rao and Mulk Raj Anand.
K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar defines Indian writing in English as something, which has to be recognizably Indian to the Indian reader and recognisably English to the English reader. According to Iyengar, English is one of our national languages and Indo-Anglian literature too is one of our national literatures. C.D. Narasimhaiah believes that Indian writing in English is primarily part of the literature of India, in the same way as the literatures written in various regional languages are or ought to be Indian literature so long as the operative sensibility of the writer is essentially Indian. Iyengar, in fact, offers a caveat by suggesting that English used by an Indian writer is bound to be different from Standard English. Raja Rao, one of the pioneers in this genre in his Forward to *Kanthapura*, generally regarded as the manifesto of Indian writing in English asserts:

One has to convey in a language that is not one’s own the spirit that is one’s own... yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up—like Sanskrit or Persian was before but not of our emotional make-up.\

Raja Rao does not regard English as an alien language. A witty Khushwant Singh says he regards English as his mother tongue despite the fact that his mother knew no English. Again, Mahesh Dattani, a Gujarati and the leading contemporary Indian English playwright when people asked him, Why don’t he write in his own language? Replying to this question Mahesh Dattani says that he write in his own language, which is English. In his assessment on the value of Indo-Anglian poetry in his second book, entitled *The Indian Contribution to English Literature* (1945), Iyengar remarks that the best Indo-Anglian poets gave us something that neither English poetry nor any of our regional literatures can give. In other words, they have practiced a kind of writing characterised by Indian poetic experience expressed in English formulae of verse. Independent
India has not banished English from its soil but has brought a new self-confidence to the prospective Indian writers in English broadened and widened to include American literature as a storehouse of models, and motifs to follow.

Salman Rushdie in *The New Yorker* brought out in 1997 to mark fifty years of India's independence made the outrageous remark that Indian English writers have produced a more substantial body of work than their counterparts writing in our 'vernacular' languages during these fifty years. In their attack on Rushdie for his infamous claim, some writers and critics have gone to the other extreme of suggesting that all that is written in English by Indians is either worthless or not truly Indian. U.R. Ananthamurthy, the Jnanpith award winning Kannada writer says:

> A lot of new writers who get the kind of attention that Rushdie gives them are writers who write for export. It is a shame that in the whole world only Indian writers in English write for export. He also, on another occasion, called them, "Restaurant-Keepers of Indian culture" who catered only to a certain market.59

Murthy ironically made this remark while he was the Chairman of the Kendriya Sahitya Academy, whose organisation not only recognize but also award a prize every year to the most outstanding Indian English work as it does in the case of all the other Indian languages. According to C.R. Reddy, Indo-Anglian literature is not essentially different in kind from Indian literature.

Language is permanently changing. Chinua Achebe the renowned Nigerian poet and novelist, while giving her opinion on the uses of language writes that a great number of poets and writers in the 1980s are neither using English like a native speaker, nor do they need to as it is neither necessary nor
desirable for one to be able to do so. It is also theoretically unsound to expect from non-native English writers to write like the native English speakers for every language has different way of speaking and pattern of discourse. Contrary to the expectations of the pre-eighties Indian English writing has shown no signs of extinction. As we notice the tension of the environment and experience in fiction writers, in poetry too we find the same. The Indian English poets like the novelists see the Indian life in its socio-cultural and politico-economic changes. There is an expression of frustration, of the hollowness of existence, of the contemporary ennui and disappointments, of the various facts of cosmopolitan reality, of poverty and illiteracy, of rural masses of social realism. Poets like Nissim Ezekiel introspect and plead for values, conviction, and attempt to reveal deep perception of life and humanity. In this regard, Nar Deo Sharma writes:

Poetry works out spell over emotional and intellectual levels. The emotional level of poetry assimilates theme, poetic trends, network of thoughts while intellectual level comprises styles like diction, figures of speech etc. In modern poetry the emotional level of humanism fastens the interest of the readers on account of the intellectual level of styles.

What is important and which is worth mentioning here is that in modern poetry the emotional level of humanism fastens the interest of the readers. Most of the Indian poets and novelists who write in English firmly believe that learning English do us many good. It shapes our personality and makes us wholly a different kind of character from what we should have been if we did not know the language. P.Lal who is a significant force behind new English poetry in India sums up the creative challenge for Indian poets in English succinctly:

I should like to add that part of the excitement of writing in English comes from the challenge of
creating a special ‘idiom’. Tone can be, and often is, learnt from experience of life and its palimpsest subtleties; but the texture of language, its idiom comes generally by wearing out one’s heart (as Yeats put it) on the rocks of craft learning. The task of any self-respecting Indian writer of English is to discover a suitable ‘idiom’ for the bewilderingly rich material he has in front of him waiting to be creatively transformed.61

A somewhat similar opinion has also been expressed by Subhas Chandra which is observed from a different point of view. He writes:

Indian English poetry, has offered over the period of one hundred and seventy years a chequered history of growth and development that continuously made, unmade and remade itself through constant experiments in matters of themes and styles. Indian English poetry has undergone several phases of experimentation resulting in varied phenomenon of ceaseless poetic activities that vouch for the inner strength of the succeeding poets.62

Some of the projected themes of Indian English poets both in the pre-Independence and post-independence are social reforms, the individual ecstasies, the agonies of living personae as well as mythical characters, love and nature, rejuvenation of legends, and metaphysical queries. The feminist movement too has become very popular. This movement swept through Europe, America, Canada and Australia since 1960s. India is not spared of this movement of the global trend but rather it is at par with the rest of the European countries. Some daring women poets emerged since 1960s who dared to protect and fight against the traditionally accepted Indian norms. Indian poetry in English experienced a swift thematic change in its poetry in 1960s with the arrival of poets like Kamala
Das, Eunice de Souza, Mimta Kalia, Tada Patel, Imtiaz Dharkar, Charmayne D’Souza, and Sujata Bhatt. The Indian women poets in the 1960s are not behind the zeitgeist.

The gestational experiences of the traditional women of India until now had been relentlessly delivered by the Indian women poets of this era. Their writings are the mouthpiece of Indian women. The hidden and inner feelings of an Indian woman like lust, desires and sexuality are very openly expressed through their poems and writings. The women poets of the 1960s have enriched Indian English poetry with a wealth of new themes and experiences. The emergence of the feminist poetry gave Indian English poetry a new strength and a new vista in the realms of Indian English poetry. The era experienced a great change and a milestone as the repressed thoughts and desires of Indian women have found a new form to express themselves in the new millennium. The poems of these Indian women writers show that Indian writing in English is not isolated from the moving global trends.

Earlier, women in the pre-Independent India were behind Purdah, confined to a house, dominated and marginalised. They were utilized generally as sex objects by the patriarchy in the Indian society with their voices suppressed. But the 1960s marked a change in Indian English poetry with the appearance of women poets who resisted male domination, registered their voices of protest, and asserted their independence and freedom in the choice of the modes and ways of life they prefer.

It is an interesting coincidence that the emergence of modern Indian English poetry can be dated from the Independence. *The Illustrated Weekly of India* began featuring the writings of young poets like Nissim Ezekiel, A.K. Ramanujan, and Dom Moraes. The death of Sri Aurobindo Ghose in 1950, just
before the publication of Nissim Ezekiel’s first book was symbolic. No two poets could be more so different:

Ghose, militant nationalist turned mystic, is content with nothing less than the infinite and the eternal, which he descants upon in sonorous blank verse. Small wonder that Ezekiel, whose aesthetics is akin to that of his British Contemporaries of the Movement – he aims at “clarity above all, controlled, meaningful statements, avoiding extremes of thought and expression– should believe that anyone who thinks highly of Sri Aurobindo as a poet has no feeling for the English language.”

While the modern poets are sneering at their predecessors, they are not free of an attack from an influential body of Indian writers and critics who scoff at the notion that Indians could use English with genuine creativity. Buddhadev Bose sees Indo-Anglian poetry as the outcome of the “Anglomania”, which seized some upper class Indians in the early years of British rule. In spite of much sneering and criticism, a substantial change occurred over the past few decades as cultural and academic establishments have accommodated the Indian English writings. In British and elsewhere Indian writing in English is brought under the umbrella of Commonwealth Literature.

P. Lal in the second issue of the Workshop journal, The Miscellany in 1960 argued that poetry in any Indian language is bound to be regional. One can only achieve an “Indian” flavour by writing in English. Nissim Ezekiel uses terse metrical lines in order to highlight the typically Indian conflicts between the traditional and the contemporary, the urban and the rural, the spirit and the flesh and to register their impact on his finely tuned rational humanist sensibility.
Prof. V.K. Gokak classifies the Indian poets in English into two groups as ‘neo-symbolists’ and ‘neo-modernists’. The neo-symbolists phase is brought in by the poetry of Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. As a whole, the neo-symbolists dive deep into mysticism while the neo-modernists vision is coloured by humanism. Again, Paul C. Verghese in his article “Indian Poetry in English Today” in the book *Commonwealth Literature* regarded the poetry of Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and those who wrote before them as old poetry and distinguished their poems from the poetry written in the post-Independence era. Romanticism and mysticism are the main characteristics of the old poetry or neo-symbolists. Sarojini Naidu’s writing is marked with abundance of romanticism while the works of Tagore and Sri Aurobindo are coloured with that of mysticism. The pre-independence poetry is largely in traditional verse and generally fails to come to grip effectively with the physical reality of India. The emergence of the neo-modernists phase is perhaps a reaction to the neo-symbolists. The new phase brings about a new revolution in Indian poetry in English. The poems of the neo-modernists are recordings of impressions based on their perceptions. They seem to agree with Wallace Stevens who says:

> Poetry has to be something more than a conception of the mind. It has to be a revelation of nature. Concepts are artificial. Perceptions are essential.

What we discern in Nissim Ezekiel’s poems is the perception as in poems like “The Professor” and “A Very Indian Poem in Indian English,” A.K. Ramanujan’s personal poems, or Kamala Das’s “The Fatalists on Stone Benches.” The most important characteristics of “Neo-modernist” poetry is its humanism and irony.
To Bijay Kumar Das, a serious contemporary poet in English began to be written in the sixties and after, not just after Indian Independence. Modern Indian English poetry to him is post-1960 Indian poetry in English. According to John Oliver Perry refers Indian writing refers to post-Independence writing by Indian nationals, usually done in India. However, works by Diaspora Indians, like A.K. Ramanujan or Meena Alexander comes within the ambit of Indian writing in English. Nissim Ezekiel and Dom Moraes came back to India after staying abroad for sometime. Their works were also naturally included.

Critics attributed innumerable round of applause to Nissim Ezekiel’s poetic works. Hailed as founding father of modern Indian English poetry and eulogized as a trendsetter Nissim Ezekiel groomed the budding poets, and was generous to them. His contribution to Indian English poetry is indeed remarkable. Nissim Ezekiel is a source of inspiration to many young practitioners of English verse in India. He sets up a salutary example of his discipline art before them. Bruce King says that Nissim Ezekiel emerged as the leader of the group of poets attempting to create a modern English poetry in India.

Bruce King says that the story of Nissim Ezekiel’s life and role as a founding father of Indian English poetry is now well known. It is with Nissim Ezekiel that Indian English poetry began on a new basis rooted in what were first felt to be the tradition of modern poetry. Ezekiel uses contemporary urban images, language and concerns. Personal and unsentimental feelings are expressed in tonal ironies with a complexity of emotions and consciousness. There are certain things Nissim Ezekiel ponder at while writing poetry. They are preciseness of image, consciousness, and exactness of language, feeling, and
Nissim Ezekiel contributed to the idea that poetry is a discipline taking a large share of one's life, which is not a hobby for amateurs.

Nissim Ezekiel is among the first Indian poets to be recognized internationally as the new poet of Indian English literature, others being Moraes, Ramanujan and Kamala Das. Kaiser Haq comments:

Ezekiel was undoubtedly the first major figure in Indian English poetry who found a resonant, authentic Indian voice. This would not have been possible without his essential commitment to the place of his birth.65

Linda Hess observes:

In my attempts to survey the work of Indian poets writing in English today, one man has emerged as most outstanding in craftsmanship, maturity, range and depth of sensibility. That man is Nissim Ezekiel. Equally at home in free verse or in metre and rhyme, channelling a large and fluid sensibility through tightly controlled instruments of form and refinements of thought, juxtaposing and fusing intense intellectuality with passionate sensual experience, Ezekiel entwines the reader's mind and emotions in his verses. His perception is complex, in the way that Eliot suggested a modern poet must be complex in order to comprehend the variety and complexity of modern civilization. But his expression is simple in a way that Eliot's often was not.66

William Walsh in order to bring out the greatness of Ezekiel as a poet refers to Coleridge and George Santayana. According to him, "If poetry, as Coleridge said, is 'rationalized dream', then the emphasis in Ezekiel is very
much on its rationality and that Nissim Ezekiel’s work calls to mind a remark of George Santayana that Art is a thing which supplies constantly to contemplation which nature seldom affords in concrete experience of the union of life and peace. K.R.S. Iyengar, C.D. Narasimhaiah, M.K. Naik and V.A. Shahane the leading Indian critics of the twentieth century praise Ezekiel. They honour him as one of the most remarkable poets among the Indian English poets of our time.

When Naipaul for his sullen and aloof manner could discover only an obtuse Indian, Nissim Ezekiel retained his genial sympathy and his social warmth. He also retained his human touch. Naipul is not at ease in Bombay’s crowds but Ezekiel has the humility in being one among the crowds. Nissim Ezekiel’s honest feeling is known from his reaction after his reading of Ruth Jhabvala’s *Heat and Dust*. After reading this novel, he said that he could write a similar novel about England to be entitled *Cold and Snow*. The haughtiness of new colonials like Naipaul hurts Nissim Ezekiel. Naipaul discovered the darkness in India he pre-determined to be hostile to his environment. Whereas Ezekiel has not withdrawn himself from his environment but has been part of India’s cultural complex. He prays:

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Confiscate my passport, Lord,
I don’t want to go abroad,
Let me find my song
Where I belong.
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C.D. Narasimhaiah giving a compliment on Ezekiel says:

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But to the extent he has availed himself of the composite culture of India to which he belongs he must be said to be an important poet not merely in the context, but in a consideration of those that are writing poetry anywhere in English.
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If William Walsh observed that there is a double impulse in Nissim Ezekiel, it is because the humanism in the poet cannot ignore his private history and aspiration nor can he neglect his environment. He committed himself to the backward place he stays.

The publication of Nissim Ezekiel’s *A Time to Change* (1952) by Fortune Press is a landmark for it begins the history, or at least the tradition of modern Indian poetry in English. Nissim was the first of the ‘new’ poets to publish a collection of poems. Despite the small number of copies printed, Ezekiel’s first volume of poems came to the notice of a generation of budding poets. Kersey Katrak is one of the poets who would cite to Nissim Ezekiel’s work in his own poetry. Nissim Ezekiel’s first volume was modern, intellectual, and showed the influence of twentieth century masters like W.B. Yeats, T.S. Eliot and W.H. Auden in its dramatization of the self, purity of image and concern with technique. On the other hand, he shares the anti-romanticism, rational clarity and most important of all a common sense view of life.69 Bruce King commenting on the first volume of Ezekiel writes:

*A time to Change* was an uneven volume of poems but showed that an Indian could write poetry in English comparable to most British poets. The attitudes and manner were up-to-date, and untempted by the nationalist sentiments, spiritual visions, and long-windedness that had marred much previous Indian English verse. Ezekiel had his own distinctive personality, character, and themes which he expressed within the perspective of a modern intellectual. He brought to Indian English poetry the scepticism, restlessness, feeling of alienation, openness to experience, self-consciousness and quest for some meaning to life that is so much a part of the modern mind.70
Some of the Indian poets writing in English had done their best work in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century to become the harbinger of modern Indian English poetry. However, some, in fact had ceased writing poetry by the last quarter of the century for one reason or another. P. Lal had published his *Collected Poems* in 1977. He then totally devoted himself to the task of “transcreating” the *Mahabharata*, an ambitious project of more than 2,00,000 verses on which he embarked in 1968. P.Lal was still working on the book when M.K. Naik and Shyamala A. Narayan were writing their book *Indian English Literature 1980-2000: A Critical Survey*, which was published in 2004. Another poet of the same age is Adil Jussawala. After the publication of his *Missing Person* (1977), Jussawala shifted to Journalism and ceased to publish poetry. Yet again, R. Parthasarathy, a poet who was agonizingly concerned with roots seems to have deserted his country, his root and his muse after his *Rough Passage* (1977). He then settled in America. Arun Kolatkar is a bilingual poet of English and Marathi. Much was expected from him after his *Jejuri* (1976) which won him the Commonwealth Poetry prize in the same year. However, he seems to have chosen to remain silent in both the languages after sometime. Pritish Nandy is another well-known poet of this period who also left poetry for politics. M.K. Naik and Shyamala A. Narayan in their book *Indian English Literature 1980-2000: A Critical Survey* writes:

Pritish Nandy perhaps discovered that the wild energy, verbal belligerence and incantatory fire of *Tonight This Savage Rite* (1977) could not be sustained anymore.(one cannot, alas, remain angry and young forever). The poet once cried, “Calcutta, if you must exile me” seems to have exiled himself from poetry with remarkable lack of fuss.71
Nandy has taken his refuge in the succulent pastures of politics, having had his brief flirtation with journalism.

R. Raj Rao mentioned in his book *Nissim Ezekiel: The Authorized Biography* (2000) that Nissim Ezekiel prepared a new collection of poems towards the end of May in 1994 to dispatch it to Oxford University Press. But sadly, it did not see the light of day. The prepared new collection mainly seems to comprise of *Singapore Sequence* and poems from the *Edinburgh Interlude*. Though it could not be published, the plan signalled that Nissim penned poetry until his memory sustained him. The preparation to publish the new collection was not materialised probably because the dreaded Alzheimer disease had hold of him. Because of which Nissim’s poetic career virtually ended with his *Collected Poems 1952-1988* (1989). Nissim Ezekiel is one of the several poets of note who remained active in this field. Other poets, as mentioned earlier who made a mark in the poetic field have left it for reasons known to them. But, Nissim Ezekiel had “shopped around” in various jobs always to remain a lover of poetry, and he never ceased to work on poetry till his memory sustained him.

For all his contributions in modern Indian English Poetry, Ezekiel’s place in Indian English literature in general and particularly in poetry remains secure and unquestionable. His place in the annals of modern India poetry in English is significantly made distinct with his philosophy of humanism, which will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.
Notes


24 *Brilliant Tutorials, UGC(H)/English/Indian English IV-9*, p.9.


28 *Brilliant Tutorials, UGC(H)/English/Indian English IV-9*, p.11.

30 M.Prabha, *The Waffle of the Toffs: A Socio Cultural Critique of Indian Writing in English*, p.10

31 M.Prabha, Ibid.


33 Bijay Kumar Das, Ibid.

34 Bijay Kumar Das, Ibid, p.20

35 Bijay Kumar Das, Ibid, p.19


51 Chirantan Kulshrestha (Ed.), *Contemporary Indian English Verse: An Evaluation*, p.36.


70 Bruce King, Ibid, pp, 30-31.