A Critical Approach to A Chronicle of Ancient Sunlight

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PART II — THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In the second phase of the narrative of the *Chronicle*, the years of the First World War and their limmediate aftermath, Williamson shows the development of Phillip's character between the ages of nineteen and twenty-four; from rather callow naivety to a hard-won early maturity. In the second and third parts of *How Dear is Life* he presents Phillip's military experience up to the end of November 1914, although (as noticed earlier) his initial plan was to include in the novel the first part of *A Fox Under My Cloak* which ends in early 1915 with Phillip expecting a commission in the Gaultshires (drawn from the Bedfordshire Regiment) while on sick leave, visiting his relatives at Beau Brickhill with his mother.

The change from civilian to military life is excellently handled by Williamson. Phillip reports in uniform to Headquarters and Willie, who accompanies him, is able to join the London Rifles. For a week the young men are allowed home at night but then this privilege is withdrawn and Phillip has the strange experience of being billetted in a school. With simple-hearted generosity he volunteers for service overseas 'on lines of communication' after an appeal by the Bishop of London. In contrast Theodora recognizes the coming of the evil hysteria of war leading to lack of truth and she deplores the tragedy of conflict between the cousin nations of Britain and Germany. The sale of the Maddison family land is a cause of bitter regret to her, because had it been retained, Phillip and Willie could have farmed in partnership after graduating at a university. As it is, they have become 'two very young urbanised pawns' in what is 'basically a European Industrialists' War, for markets, Germany being the latest competitor.'62 After a brief period of training excellently described, Phillip goes to France with his battalion, some members of which are presented well as minor characters. The expectation that duty will be confined to guarding lines of communication is soon proved to be false. The London Highlanders take part in the First Battle of Ypres (as historically the London Scottish did). The battle scenes are marvellously portrayed by Williamson; the reader feels deeply involved in them, even sharing in imagination Phillip's experience of funk. By a happy chance Phillip encounters Horace Cranmer, who as a regular guardsman or 'Bill Brown', is able to return something of Phillip's kindness to him in former years by giving him companionship and practical help. In late November the fighting dies down and Phillip leaves the line, not believing at this time that he could get a commission.

In the first part of A Fox Under My Cloak, which as I have pointed out, was originally meant to conclude How Dear Is Life, the main episode is the Christmas Truce. Using his actual experience as a base, Williamson constructs upon it a convincing fictional narrative which he integrates successfully into the development of the novel. On Christmas Eve Phillip hears a German soldier singing Stille Nacht. Which his German nurse Minny had sung to him as a child:

The grave and tender voice rose out of the frosty mist; it was all so strange; it was like being in another world, to which he had come through a nightmare; a world finer than the one he had left behind, except for beautiful things like music and springtime on his bicycle in the country.⁶⁴

On Christmas Day itself he fraternizes with some German troops and imprudently explores behind the German lines on a bicycle. He meets Willie who has understood more of the meaning of the Truce than he has, realizing that each side thinks that God is in support of it as it fights for civilization. Thus there is no real quarrel between the opposing front-line troops. Furthermore, Willie declares that the light which appeared above the German trenches and which Phillip thought was a lantern on a pole was in fact the Morning Star, symbol for Williamson of hope and reconciliation. However the actual destructiveness of the war is brought home to the cousins by personal loss; each has lost a good friend in the fighting; Phillip's friend Cranmer is posted missing and Willie's friend Jack Temperley has been killed.

A change of pace and scene is now introduced. Having fallen ill with enteritis and frostbite, Phillip is sent to hospital and in due course home to England. Granted three weeks leave he arrives at Randiswell (drawn from Ladywell). After his experiences in battle it now seems small, and when he

reaches home he withdraws upstairs to weep. This I am sure is very true to life of many young soldiers returning home from the front for the first time. However Phillip revives and goes with Desmond Neville to Freddy's pub (drawn from the 'Castle' in Lewisham High Street). Desmond is only sixteen, but has joined the London Electrical Engineers. The friends are beginning to grow up. Nevertheless Phillip is still unsure of himself sexually. On a visit with his mother to Beau Brickhill while waiting for his commission in the Gaultshires, he finds himself still attracted to his cousin Polly. He gets her to come to his bed, but owing to neurosis is unable to make love.

At the beginning of the second part of the novel (originally planned as the beginning) Phillip's commission comes through, dated 22 March 1915. During an initial training period at Sevenoaks he offers a brooch to Helen Rolls, who refuses it, remaining unattainable. He has still not realized that his suit to her is hopeless. He remains very far from maturity, behaving with cringe-making ineptitude during a training period with a T.A. unit in Suffolk. His brother officers consider him to be a bounder. In a singularly foolish attempt at a joke he sets fire to the Colonel's newspaper as he sits reading in the mess. It is little wonder that in the end he suffers the humiliation of a subalterns' court martial. Fortunately he now does begin to mature, subjecting himself to bitter self-analysis. When he leaves to go back to the front-line, the members of the mess are quite kind to him.

Phillip's life at this time, as is usual in the *Chronicle*, is set in a rich social context. The officers of the Cantuvellaunians (drawn from the Cambridgeshire Regiment) are portrayed with vivid individuality: notably the rich but stupid Baldersby, considered by the middle-aged Brendon to be trying virtually to buy his second pip; the courteous and helpful O'Connor; and among others the agreeable senior officers 'Crasher' and 'Little Willie'.

In the third part of the novel Phillip takes part in the Battle of Loos (September, 1915) as a gas-officer. He has the immense good fortune to meet Captain West (nicknamed 'Spectre') of the Gaultshires and to serve with him. Spectre is to be in many ways a father-figure to Phillip, helping him to conquer his fear, because he himself is afraid and yet is able to steel himself to sustain combat. When Spectre is severely wounded Phillip takes over command and leads his troops to outflank the Lone Tree, a key position, feeling that Cranmer is with him. Furthermore he is able to help his old comrades in the Cantuvellaunians before leaving the line. Excellent comic relief is provided by the scenes involving Phillip's batman 'Twinkle' with his racy cockney speech and droll remarks. However comedy is soon succeeded by tragedy when it turns out that Twinkle is in fact a deserter known as 'Mad Jack' and is shot by firing squad. An element of pathos is added when it is revealed that he is the son of Grannie Nobbs, one of those helped by Theodora in her work in the East End. The story of Twinkle emphasizes the fact that although there may be lighter episodes in the war, its underlying nature is to be destructive of life. The transfer to the Middlesex Regiment for which Phillip had applied before leaving England now comes through and he returns home on leave. Once more he encounters Polly Pickering and being now more self-assured successfully makes love to her on the Hill.

The Golden Virgin is one of the finest and richest novels in the sequence and has been analyzed in depth by David Hoyle. ⁶⁵ I shall consider it here much more briefly in accordance with the approach I am adopting to the *Chronicle*. At the beginning of the novel (originally intended as the end of *A Fox Under My Cloak*) Phillip is still on leave and is behaving in a foolish and uncontrolled way, coming home drunk at nights and giving his sister Mavis ammunition in her verbal war against him. However a letter arrives from Spectre deservedly praising him for his part in the Battle of Loos and regretting his leaving the Gaultshires.

Returning to duty, Phillip falls under another benign influence; his new Company commander, Captain Kingsman, who invites him to stay at his house, Tollemere Park, near Chelmsford in Essex. Phillip realizes that the Kingsmans are happy people, not broken by the death of their only son serving in the R.F.C. at Loos. Also staying in the house is a Catholic priest, Fr. Aloysius, formerly a curate at St. Saviour's, Wakenham. He helps Phillip with sound counsel and is broad-minded enough to praise the agnostic Thomas Hardy as a naturally religious man and a visionary.

The quality of life in Phillip's mess at Grey Towers is poor, but he is able to escape to London for social amusement. There he meets Frances, Spectre's cousin, who tells him of the high regard in which Spectre holds him. She tells him also that Spectre hates the war and hopes to become a country parson in Gaultshire when it is over.

In the new year of 1916 Phillip goes on a machine-gun course which he passes. On leave once more, he discovers that his father now has an allotment at Joy Farm (its real name). The instincts of the countryman are still strong within him. On a brief visit to Beau Brickhill Polly once more comes to

Phillip's bed, but their relationship remains essentially an immature one. In Freddy's bar however he meets Lily Cornford and a more serious relationship develops. She is a girl with a tragic past, having had an abortion when only fourteen after being seduced by the disagreeably corrupt Detective-Sergeant Keechy. A complication is that Desmond resents what he regards as Phillip's enticing away of his girl-friend and this leads to the first major breach between the friends. Although Phillip does not realize it, in fact Lily is in love with him rather than Desmond. In a significant episode he gives her a delightful trip on his motor-cycle to the countryside which means so much to him — the Fish Ponds on Reynard's Common (drawn from Keston), Knollyswood Park (drawn from Holwood Park) and its lakes. She reacts positively to what she sees, seeming to fit into the countryside, as though she had known it all her life. Impressed by Phillip's knowledgeable conversation, she remarks that he must have studied many books. Disclaiming this he makes the reply:

But out in a place like this, thoughts come to one, somehow. I think it is the spirit of the earth, which is hidden under pavements. I had a wonderful time out here when I was a boy, it was so wild and so quiet, the beautiful colours of the leaves and ferns, and if you sat still, you saw the life going on around you, all in beautiful shapes and forms. ⁶⁶

The idyll is short-lived; that night Phillip is recalled to duty as the 'big push' in France is coming. Desmond, who is genuinely in love with Lily, resents bitterly Phillip's attentions to her and parts from him in anger.

Phillip rejoins his old comrades, commanded by Kingsman on the Somme front. By a happy providence Spectre West is senior commander, although as a result of the wounds received at Loos he has lost an eye and a hand. Realizing that Phillip has been unsure of himself, he gives him some kind words of encouragement in private, reassuring him that he is good enough for his position and does not need to lie that he has been up at Cambridge. Wise as ever, Spectre sees that the battle-plan is wrong; the German dug-outs are deep in the chalk and will withstand bombardment. A quick rush upon the enemy positions is what is needed, not prolonged bombardment and a slow advance. For voicing these views to General Rawlinson he is relieved of his command and sent back to the Gaultshires.

Before the battle Phillip writes to his mother, describing the march up to the line. He recalls picnics on Reynard's Common and acknowledges his faults, expressing appreciation of the happiness which his parents and family have brought to him. He tells how discussions with Fr. Aloysius have helped him towards a better understanding of true values. This letter shows him to have grown greatly in spirit, but sadly he does not feel equal to sending it.

Although on the eve of the battle the Adjutant says to Phillip "With so much stuff going over it will be a cake-walk", Spectre is proved right and the attack on 1 July 1916 fails, with heavy casualties. Phillip is hit and as he lies in a shell-hole, Fr. Aloysius comes and gives him spiritual comfort. Many of Phillip's brigade are killed, including Kingsman, but he himself survives and is sent home to hospital. Afterwards during leave, he finds that he is now bored by Freddy's bar, as he continues to mature. He gives further evidence of this by purchasing some plants to replace those stolen from his father's allotment. Richard is quite moved by this and significantly Phillip meets his eyes for the first time since he was beaten when three years old for opening his father's butterfly case. Furthermore Phillip finally realizes the hopelessness of his love for Helen Rolls when he learns that she has become engaged to Joe Milton, her former fiancé Phillip's cousin Bertie Cakebread having been killed. Wise aunt Theodora is charmed by Phillip's growing mind when he visits her in Devon during leave. Nevertheless he still has not grown out of making love to Polly, who with Doris, Willie and Percy Pickering have accompanied him to Devon. Later Polly lies that she is expecting Phillip's child; the reader realizes that sadly her feelings for him are much deeper than his for her. After the young people have returned from Devon, the war impinges savagely upon their lives. Percy is killed at the battle of Flers and Lily Cornford and her mother are killed in a Zeppelin raid.

The novel ends on a muted but more hopeful note. Phillip and Desmond make up the quarrel over Lily and Phillip apologizes to Mavis for having been beastly to her. At the funeral of a Zeppelin crew in Essex he cannot accept the local vicar's changing the words of the Burial service from 'our dear departed brothers' to 'these men here departed', saying inwardly: 'Goodbye brothers: Your mortal envelopes lie here on Mother Earth, your spirits drift as gossamer across the sea, to where thoughts of love will help you on your journey to the Sun.'68 On a brief visit to Tollemere Park he learns that Fr. Aloysius has died of wounds. Fr. Aloysius represents the best of the chaplains in the First World War; kind and wise, he

gives his life in the exercise of his priesthood on the battlefield, as for example did the celebrated Fr. Willie Doyle S.J.⁶⁹ Chastened by recent events, Phillip resolves to do better in future: 'What Spectre West could do, he could do.'⁷⁰

A new beginning opens for Phillip in *Love and the Loveless*, when he trains to be a Transport Officer with the Machine Gun Corps. Before going on embarkation leave he reads the works of Francis Thompson, recommended to him by Aunt Theodora, and finds that they come home to him. His appreciation of literature is increasing as his mind matures. However, on embarkation leave, he experiences something of the frenetic life of London in wartime when he visits Flossie Flowers's hotel (drawn from the well-known Cavendish Hotel in Jermyn Street, run by Mrs Rosa Lewis).⁷¹

In France once again, Phillip finds his company is attached to a brigade of the East Pennine Division second-line territorials recently arrived in the B.E.F. He can still be tactless, being rebuked by the Veterinary Officer for saying that the East Pennines are no good. Nevertheless his insight into individuals is deepening. He recognizes that Sergeant Rivett's selfishness in not housing properly two drivers stems from the fact that he 'had not yet broken out of the soft-shelled maternal egg.' Furthermore his power of self-analysis is increasing as he realizes that he himself had been like that 'until he had had the raggings which cracked his self-conceit, or self-conception; and later been lucky to meet men like "Spectre" West and Jasper Kingsman.'72 In December 1916, walking in the old Noman's-land of Mash Valley where he had been on 1 July, he thinks of the dead who fell there: 'His mother's face came to him, while he thought that the spirit of a million unhappy homes had found its final devastation in this land of the loveless.'73 He believes that the lack of love in pre-war society has in a sense led to the war. This is a profound reflection which shows that Phillip can now think in an illuminating way on abstract questions.

After another spell in Flanders in Spring 1917 when his popular commanding officer 'All-weather' Jack Hobart is killed, Phillip once more gets leave. He has now had enough of the Machine Gun Corps and requests to be returned to the Gaultshires. Taking a train home, he gets out at St. John's Station (its real name) and walks over the Hill. His continuing growth in maturity of outlook is seen clearly in his realization, as he walks, that an understanding of other people's points of view is of vital importance. The tension he has experienced with his father is in fact similar to the un-understanding of the nations at war. At lunch at home, for which he has thoughtfully brought some smoked salmon and ham, he takes an interest in his father's allotment and listens carefully to his story about the Silvertown explosion at the Brünner-Mond chemical works.

When he returns to the front, Phillip encounters Spectre West again, who continues to be a benign influence upon him. A tragic personality, he confides to Phillip that he does not really want to survive the war. Phillip remembers his frustrated love for his cousin Frances and at the end of the novel, is told by Sasha, a habituée of Flossie Flowers's hotel, that he is a locked-away personality. Nevertheless, when he and Phillip go to the chapel in the hop-loft at Tubby Clayton's Toc H house at Poperinge, Spectre weeps silently. He is in fact a man of profound spiritual feeling and on this occasion he allows this feeling to flow forth in his tears. In contrast to Spectre, who always treats Phillip in a kindly way, Downham, a former colleague at the Moon Office, is very disagreeable to him. He is without battle experience and the reader rejoices that in due course he receives a well deserved come-uppance, when he loses his grip after a bomb attack and is deservedly arrested by his second-in-command Teddy Pinnegar. Deciding that he had a fever he is sent to the M.O. and does not return to his command. Shortly before this he had sent Phillip on a course at the notorious Infantry Base Depot at Etaples. While he is there, mutiny breaks out. This historical fact is vividly described by Williamson, who makes good fictional use of it. Phillip shows resolution and courage by going into the town in a private's uniform so that he can report on the situation there. He is no longer the timid recruit of the First Battle of Ypres! He shows further resolution by defying the stupid Assistant Provost Marshall, Major Brendon, whom he first encountered with the Cantuvellaunians. He seizes his horse to ride to tell Haig about the state of the battlefield and the position of the new German line at Passchendaele, Spectre having been hit once again and thus unable to take back this important information himself. After action at the Battle of Cambrai, in the course of which, in an exciting episode, Phillip loses his way when returning with his Machine Gun Company from the front line, he is sent home to hospital and then to Landguard Fort, Suffolk. He is very grateful to Spectre for arranging that he should be returned to the Gaultshires and not to the Middlesex Regiment. In an attractive scene, Phillip accompanies Spectre on New Year's Eve 1917 on a visit to his parents at their public-house, 'The Grapes', Lime Street in the City of London. There he sees a photograph of Spectre's two younger brothers who, Mrs West tells him, had been killed at Hill 60 when

serving in the Post Office Rifles. Spectre had been good to them she says, as indeed the reader reflects, he has been to Phillip. She speaks of his hopes to take Holy Orders after the war, a calling which we feel is in accord with his true nature.

A Test to Destruction is the last of the war novels in the Chronicle and in it Phillip faces the severest test he has yet met and triumphs over it. He has now attained a hard-won courage and is recommended for a D.S.O. during the German Spring Offensive of 1918. He is generous and tolerant in his attitude to his amusingly eccentric if difficult comrade, Bill Kidd. Bill is for me and I am sure for many other readers, one of the most delightful characters in the Chronicle. Ostensibly something of a miles glorious, who refers usually to himself in the third person, and is given to playing the mouth-organ, he is nevertheless brave to the point of rashness. In a memorable episode he infuses some steadiness into very young, inexperienced and nervous troops:

... in the grey morning mist as Phillip was going with Naylor along the line, he saw Kidd walking forward to look over the near-level wilderness of the old battlefield extending down to Oostaverne. While he was standing up about two hundred yards in front of the outposts a Fokker flew over low and fired at him. Instead of dodging, Kidd stood still. The biplanes turned and coming down low, opened up again. While bullets kicked up earth all around him, Kidd jerked an arm with two-finger insults at the pilot. As the Fokker flew away, they heard him shouting, "Green Hun, you can't shoot straight! Go back and tell Fatty Ludendorff to put you on a course!" Then lighting a fag he strolled back, to arrive coughing and doubled up, to say after a pause in his rusty voice, "You young Boche-eaters can laugh! Wait till you cop a packet of rotten eggs!" More laughter and cries of "Good old Kiddo!" ... Towards noon the sun, a silver shilling in the early hours, became a gold sovereign. More Maltese-crossed aircraft came over. The young soldiers loosed off with their rifles, and shouted insults in imitation of 'Kiddo'.74

Believing that Bill's bravery merits an M.C., Phillip tells Spectre about it, who advises him to recommend the award, promising to support it.

Another of Phillip's eccentric comrades in this novel, presented also by Williamson with warm good humour is Lt. Col. Moggerhanger ('Moggers') a blunt and coarse ranker-officer whose underlying kindness and decency Phillip comes to appreciate. He saves Phillip from death when a stove gives off carbon-monoxide fumes, and his knowledge from his early years of the habits of farm animals proves very useful when a claim for the death of a pig has to be settled. The pig had escaped from a burning barn but died shortly afterwards. Bill Kidd accepted the farmer's allegation that the pig had died by feeding in the army latrines. However Moggers points out that pigs are 'choosy feeders' and that the pig must have been sick to start with. The result is that a modest *ex gratia* payment is made rather than more substantial compensation.

Temporarily blinded by mustard-gas Phillip is sent home and while in hospital at Husborne Abbey (drawn from Woburn) he encounters the small girl Melissa, who later is to play an important part in his life. No longer does he have the support of Spectre, who has been drowned when the troop ship bringing them home hits a mine in the Channel and sinks. Just as Fr. Aloysius represents the best of the First World War chaplains, so Spectre represents the best of the volunteer officers, hating war and yet doing his duty nobly, bravely and wisely. It is in fact a happy providence that he should die; he is seriously disabled and likely to be more so; he has been unable to win the girl he loves and the reader feels it is unlikely that he would ever be fit enough to be ordained.

As the war draws to a close Phillip feels disorientated and alienated from his family. He feels that he would like to go to the West Country and live in the woods. Nevertheless his mind continues to expand. Attending a Minden Day service (1 August, 1918) he is moved almost to tears while his mind burns 'within ancient sunlight of Somme and Bullecourt, Poperinge, the Bull Ring at Etaples, the white chalk parapets of the Bird Cage, the brown desolation of the Messines Ridge.'⁷⁵ He realizes however that such tears are in a sense vain, they cannot bring back the dead physically to life; he remembers the sad comment of Francis Thompson (in his essay on Shelley) on the tears of posterity over the tomb of Keats: 'Never a bone the less dry for all their tears.'⁷⁶

Phillip is invested with his D.S.O. and appropriately lunches afterwards with his family at Simpson's, although his earlier plan had been to meet some military chums. He has done the right thing, but is uneasy about his irresolution in the matter. Calling upon Mrs. Neville later in the day, he encounters Desmond and finds him more friendly. He is engaged now, but Phillip learns in due course that he does not really love his fiancée, his heart having been given to Lily.

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After the Armistice Phillip is sent to a Dispersal Unit at Shorncliffe and later to a Rest Camp just behind the Leas at Folkestone. There he has a brief and unsatisfactory affair with Eveline Fairfax, who also plays a large part as Willie's friend in *The Dream of Fair Women* in *The Flax of Dream* sequence. However, his mind continues to grow. While he reads Galsworthy, Hardy and Conrad, it is borne in upon him that he too has the power to write creatively. This is a crucial moment for him. It is enhanced when Willie calls upon him unexpectedly and introduces him to Jefferies's *The Story of My Heart* from which he reads rapturously. The result is that after demobilization in the Autumn of 1919, Phillip begins secretly to write a novel 'with a setting in a far imagined countryside, with imagined characters derived from memories of his boyhood with Percy Pickering and his village friends at Beau Brickhill and others of his own boyhood, including Cranmer.'77 Writing is to be his true vocation, but it is a long time before he realizes that he must not swerve from it.

At this stage in the narrative the reader is likely to feel that Phillip has passed his 'test to destruction' by emerging from the war with courage and humour. However a more severe test of a different nature now confronts him. The places he loved as a boy are being destroyed; the Seven Fields of Shrofften are strewn with building material for houses. He walks with the sinister Ching up the River Randisbourne towards its source through a tragically polluted and desecrated environment. For Williamson a 'clear water stream' is a symbol of spiritual health and clarity. Conversely, a polluted stream is a symbol of spiritual disease and confusion. The journey, which is conveyed very vividly and with great feeling for the ravaging which nature has suffered there, leads to the disastrous incident in which Ching foolishly and maliciously sets fire to a hut. Phillip quixotically takes the blame for this and is sent to prison for a month. He resigns his D.S.O. and seems to have reached the nadir of his fortunes. However a new life begins for him. He goes to the Parnassus Club in Long Acre, founded to encourage young writers (drawn from the Tomorrow Club) and is helped by his grandfather to become a journalist in Fleet Street. Furthermore, he wants to write a novel of family life to be better than Galsworthy's in that he will try to be more impartial towards his characters, seeking to understand rather than to criticize. Frustratingly, after the death of his grandfather, his uncle Joey Turney burns his grandmother's diaries which he had hoped would help him in his project. Nevertheless, the novel ends on a note of hope. Bidding farewell at the railway station to his cousin Maudie after their grandfather's funeral, Phillip declares:

"Keep your heart high, cousin! One day I shall bring back the old faces and the old places we knew, which may seem to have been destroyed, but their spirit is still in the sunlight ..."

Then comes the final supremely important comment:

The train went under the bridge, and he turned back feeling a sense of power with which to face the future, because now he understood what had not always been clear in the past. No man could be destroyed once he had discovered poetry, the spirit of life. 78

Phillip has triumphed over his most dangerous test to destruction and is ready to develop his gift as a writer.

NOTES (numbered to follow those in Part I)

- 62 How Dear is Life, chapter 12, p. 165. 63 A Fox Under My Cloak, chapter 3, p. 37. 64 Ibid., pp. 37-8.
- 65 'Why I think Henry Williamson is still worth Reading', The Henry Williamson Society Journal, no. 11 (April, 1985), pp. 15-28.
- 66 The Golden Virgin, chapter 12, p. 195. 67 Ibid., chapter 18, p. 273. 68 Ibid., L'envoi, p. 447.
- 69 See A. O'Rahilly, Father William Doyle, S.J.: a Spiritual Study (1920).
- 70 The Golden Virgin, L'envoi, p. 448.
- 71 See John Homan, 'Flossic Flowers Revealed', *The Henry Williamson Society Journal*, no. 22 (September, 1990), pp. 42-3.
- 72 Love and the Loveless (1958), chapter 6, p. 102. 73 Ibid., p. 104.
- 74 A Test to Destruction (1960), chapter 9, pp. 168-9. 75 Ibid., chapter 16, p. 285.
- 76 Ibid., see Francis Thompson, 'Shelley', The Works of Francis Thompson, vol. iii, p. 15.
- 77 Ibid., chapter 21, p. 389. 78 Ibid., chapter 23, p. 461.

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