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THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR I ON LITERATURE AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE NOVELS OF ROGER MARTIN DU GARD

by

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ABSTRACT

World War I was a turning point in both the nature of warfare and in the course of history. In literature, reaction to this event took the form of the war novel. This type of novel, initially a reaction to the horrors of war, gradually increased in scope as it became apparent that The War had marked the end of an era. In France, this increase in scope exhibited itself in the war novel of social definition, and it provided the prototype for later French novels whose concerns were with more general social problems. I have selected Roger Martin du Gard as an author to illustrate these effects of The War. The development of his own awareness of the significance of The War on society found expression in Summer 1914 for which he received the Nobel Prize in 1937. The following pages illustrate his development as a novelist to the point at which The War becomes his major concern. It further illustrates the evidence in Summer 1914 which implies this commitment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

World War I introduced a new concept to the military, that of total warfare. Its physical effects combined with concomitant developments in other fields to produce the basis for a new society. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that these new concepts invalidated the basis for the pre-war society. In either case, the confusion and instability of the post-war years can be attributed as much to this social revolution as to the devastation caused by The War. The first purpose of this paper will be to define the literary reaction to The War. It will be shown that this reaction took two forms, an initial reaction to the horrors of total warfare and a later attempt to define the social consequences of the conflict. The latter effort, in explaining a period of social transition, was itself representative of a period of transition in literature. The themes with which these novels are concerned, as well as the nature of this literary reaction in several countries, will then be illustrated through the discussion of several novels.

The remainder of the paper will illustrate this literary transition through the analysis of the works and life of one author, Roger Martin du Gard. Most important in this analysis will be Summer 1914, the first indication of Martin du Gard's concern with The War and the novel for which he received the Nobel Prize. Before turning to this particular novel, however, a summary of his life and works will be presented. This will serve to provide background for the later discussion of the contrast between his works which are related to The War and the novels which preceeded them. It will also illustrate the sources of many of his later themes, characterizations, and aspects of style. After these preliminaries are over, the direct explication and analysis of Summer 1914 and Martin du Gard's subsequent novel, Epilogue, will begin. Evidence will be presented which indicates a break in Martin du Gard's development at the time he began work on these two novels. It will also be shown that this break originated with his increased awareness of the social significance of The War. Finally, the extent and nature of his ideological commitment to the novel will be discussed, and its transitional nature will be more clearly defined.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR NOVEL

The dissolution of the League of Nations, the successes of Stalin and Hitler, and the outbreak of World War II have illustrated that the outward forms of democracy, national self-determination and international cooperation have had little to do with the inward meaning of the world after 1919. Terror and instability rather than peace and order were the heritage of the postwar years. This profound discrepancy between the idealism whose goals would be attained at the war's end and the actual state of affairs in postwar Europe was a powerful influence in those evaluations of the war which sought to comment on a wider scope of affairs than trench warfare alone. Pacifism became a dominant theme in these comments, but these feelings, powerful and eloquent as they were, were unable to prevent another and still more terrible war. To be sure, the end of that war has seen the upsurge of still another pacifism, but by now it seems only to be part of an ineffectual pattern.

Perhaps then, the chief lasting accomplishment of those intellectuals who reacted to World War I was the invention of the war (or antiwar) novel. This invention serves us now as a fictional record of the mood out of which the between-the-wars pacifism was born and of the hopes and fears which sustained it through the horrors of peace. Certainly the genre of the war novel had not existed before the 1920's although it was prophesied in the first two-thirds of Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage. Since the 1920's, however, it has become a standard form, used as both a way of responding to combat experience and a means by which to launch a literary career. In the United States, the examples of Hemingway and Faulkner have ensured the popularity of the genre; the latter struggling as early as *Soldier's Pay* (1926) and as late as *A Fable* (1954) to give shape to his sense of World War I, and the former providing a classic prototype once and for all in *A Farewell to Arms*. Similarly, in Europe such novels as Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet On The Western Front*, Henri Barbusse's *Le Feu*, and Jules Romains' *Verdun* illustrated a profound and violent reaction to the Twentieth Century's new conception of war.

These novelists, illustrative of the immediate, emotional reaction to The War, decried war and all its related activities. Most of these men had themselves occupied the trenches of which they wrote and had long since divorced themselves from the optimism which had led them into it. They could no longer see the possibilities for proving one's worth, bravery, or valor; they had experienced not an exciting scare with its moment of relief, but a five year siege of the physical and emotional strength of themselves and their nations. Their own pre-war conceptions had also been rejected but in this case their own apostasy went unrecognized.

> The idea of 'letting cold steel decide' was irresistibly comic. The very words 'cold steel' conjured up a whole chapter of pre-war stupidity, with its love of big words, its entire lack of imagination and intellectual honesty, its refusal to face facts, its inherent vulgarity--an attitude, in fact, that had been common to officials of every degree of eminence or obscurity.[1]

The principle theme, however, remains that of the hatred of war. This is illustrated by depicting The War's horrors and its terribly degrading effect upon the participants. All Quiet On The Western Front contains some of the most powerfully moving descriptions in literature.

> It is not men, they could not cry so horribly. It is the moaning of the world--the martyred creation.[2]

> We are insensible, dead men, who through some trick, some dreadful magic, are still able to run and to kill.[3]

> How senseless is everything that can be written, done, or thought when such things are possible.[4]

Affairs external to the battlefront are excluded except as they show further the debilitating nature of The War and the injustices which it spawned. For example, Verdun devotes several chapters to the profiteers who managed 'incidentally' to profit from The War and the civilian population which clung rather tenaciously to the illusion that the excitement of 'cold steel' warfare made rather a game of it all. In reality, the soldier's major concern was how many hours or days he could manage to prolong his existence.

> If these men are happy in spite of it all, as they come out of hell, it is because they are coming out of it. Today, every one of those men is confident that he will live yet a little while.[5]

The writers of Europe and America who fought in World War I were endowed with a unique freedom of expression which their successors have emulated by copying its forms of expression. Only the former, however, actually lived in the interval between two conventional ways of understanding war, serving as the gravediggers to one and the midwives to the other. For a thousand years or so, from the time of Charlemagne to 1914, war had been fought and victory celebrated in terms of a single continuous tradition. Within that tradition war was a holy endeavor and death in battle the most admirable and heroic of ends. For ten centuries this tradition dominated Europe, nurtured by scholastic association with Greek 'arete' and Roman 'vertu'. For ten centuries men died glorious deaths, perhaps not without a touch of doubt, but reassured by ballads and epics of the nobility of their fate. Yet this tradition, dominant though it was, was also dying. Only it happened so slowly that it required the impact of total war until those who fought were shocked into admitting that perhaps they no longer believed in what they fought for.

The last to learn of the death of the old tradition were the heads of state and the clergy. Their shabby slogans and bloody battle cries, always a bit incongruous, appeared suddenly nothing but ironical. However, it was not the followers or believers who felt the absurdity but only the disbelievers. Small wonder, then, that priest and potentate alike remained unaware that history had rendered them comic, since evidence of their changed situation came only from those whose opinions they discounted in advance. One function of totalitarianism in its manifold forms is precisely to forestall the moment of awakening, imposing by decree the heroic concepts which once flourished by consent. Not only in totalitarian societies, however, is the antiheroic spirit assailed by the guardians of the pseudoheroic. In more democratic nations, mass culture is assigned the job elsewhere entrusted to the secret police. The world seems reluctant to hear the comic-pathetic news: the Hero is dead. In this battle against war the outcome appears to be stalemate. The antiheroic satirists and novelists who have carried the day in the libraries and literary magazines seem to have made little impression elsewhere. The notion of the Christian Hero is no longer viable for creative imagination, having been destroyed by the literature of disenchantment following World War I and such satirical comedies as Jaroslav Hasek's The Good Soldier: Schweik.

Yet we fight wars still, ever vaster and more efficient wars, while senators and commissars alike speak, and are applauded for speaking, in all seriousness the very lines given caricatured senators and commissars in satirical antiwar novels. The antiwar novel, then, did not end war, but it memorializes the end of something almost as deeply rooted in the consciousness of the West: the concept of Honor. It comes into existence at the moment when in the West, men, still nominally Christian, come to believe that the worst thing of all is to die--more exactly, perhaps, the moment when it is possible to admit that no cause is worth dying for. There are various mitigated forms of this new article of faith: that no cause is worth the death of all humanity, or of a single nation, or simply of millions of lives; but inevitably it approaches the formulation: no cause is worth the death of a man, no cause is worth the death of me.

We inhabit for the first time a world in which men begin wars knowing their avowed ends will not be accomplished, a world in which it is more and more difficult to believe that these conflicts we cannot avert are in any sense justified. In this world, the draft dodger, the malingerer, all who make what Hemingway called "a separate peace," all who survive the latest refinements in destruction become a new kind of anti-heroic hero.

With the death of the heroic myth and the loss of faith in the clergy or national leaders, it is natural that a more eclectic novel form dealing with the social consequences of The War should arise. All of the Western nations were affected by this attempt on the part of the literati to explain the confusion of the 1920's. In England, Ford Maddox Ford examined this confusion in his four part tetralogy, Parade's End. In it, last post (taps) sounds for the death of an epoch, and men who must go on living know that its "parades" are now irrelevant to a more brutal and a more confused world. It is this thought that the chief character, Christopher Tietjens, "the last English Tory," expresses to a brave, but half-mad fellow officer.

> At the beginning of the war I had to look in on the War Office, and in a room I found a fellow... What do you think he was doing...what the hell do you think he was doing? He was devising the ceremonial for the disbanding of a Kitchener battalion. You can't say we were not prepared in one matter at least... Well, the end of the show was to be: the adjutant would stand the battalion at ease: the band would play 'Land of Hope and Glory,' and then the adjutant would say: There will be no more parades... Don't you see how symbolical it was: the band playing 'Land of Hope and Glory,' and then the adjutant saying There will be no more parades?... For there won't. There won't, there damn well won't... No more Hope, no more Glory, no more parades for you and me any more. Nor for the country... Nor for the world, I dare say... None... Gone... Napoo finny! No...more...parades![6]

The new age was [illegible] deprived of the [illegible]

The new age has been deprived of the moral and psychological stability inherent in the cult of the hero. In America, many of Fitzgerald's writings are indicative of the hectic pace, the confusion about social and sexual norms, and the facade of prosperity which existed in the 1920's. In Germany, the particular problems associated with the vanquished were added to the confusion of a world whose only truth seems to be: it is good to live and bad to die. The humiliation of Versailles and the defeat by the Allies quickly impressed upon the Germans the fact that the concepts of pre-war life no longer existed. The shock of adjustment, being sudden, was correspondingly more profound. Herman Hesse describes in Steppenwolf a condition which can most closely be described as a national neurosis. Thomas Mann, in the forward of The Magic Mountain, writes as early as 1924:

> The exaggerated pastness of our narrative is due to its taking place before the epoch when a certain crisis shattered its way through life and consciousness and left a deep chasm behind. It takes place, or, rather, deliberately to avoid the present tense, it took place, and had taken place in the long ago, in the old days, the days of the world before the Great War, in the beginning of which so much began that has scarcely left off beginning.[7]

Thus, out of the awareness of the social revolution which followed The War rises a second type of war novel. Not so concerned with horrors of war as with its effects and its implications, this type of novel is an attempt to define and stabilize a new concept of society. With these functions as goals, this new type of novel can be characterized as a novel of social definition.

As it was only just being recognized that the pre-war norms were no longer viable, these novelists must have seen themselves as varying combinations of planners, analysts, historians, and prophets. Engaged in such functions, it can be inferred that their themes, although originating from a universal phenomenon, total war, were more restricted to the concerns of a single nation. Often, when realism formed a major part of the style, these novels would take on the aspects of a national diary, although the analyses, born of hindsight, were the intended message.

In France, Roger Martin du Gard's Summer 1914 is most illustrative of this second wave of literary reaction to The War. It was written over twelve years after the end of The War and after an earlier novel, The Thibaults, which contains none of the characteristics of either class of war novel. Summer 1914 was a product of Martin du Gard's delayed reaction to the significance of the previous war and a compulsion to express his changed attitudes. One of the principle themes is the complete disintegration of the whole of pre-war Europe, the realization of which had proved the inspiration for virtually every one of the war novels of social definition. In order, then, to fully appreciate the effect of this realization upon Martin du Gard, and to understand the change of form and thought which it represents, it is necessary to examine Summer 1914 in the light of his previous life and works.

CHAPTER III

ROGER MARTIN DU GARD'S DEVELOPMENT AS A NOVELIST

Roger Martin du Gard was born on March 23, 1881. A long legal tradition existed on both sides of his family, he being the first to achieve success in the arts. Indeed, the painstaking research and documentation which were necessary for *Jean Barois* and *Summer 1914* and his careful, methodical approach to creativity shows a similarity between his methods and those of a lawyer. With his firm faith in the power of heredity, evidenced in the like-father-like-son theme of *The Thibaults*, Martin du Gard would probably not take issue with this comparison. In reality, however, the rigorous nature of his style may well have been a product of his years at the Ecole des Chartes, from which he graduated in 1905 with a degree as an archivist-paleographer. It is not intended to argue here the relative merits of heredity versus environment, but here appears the possibility, at least, of an excellent source for the style which later distinguished him. The rigid scientific discipline of the Ecole des Chartres, its meticulous regard for painstaking investigation and accuracy, are qualities which are exemplified to the highest degree in Martin du Gard's later life. A high regard for accurate scholarship, coupled with an intense desire to achieve a reputation based on literature of a superior quality, caused him three times to abandon work on which he had spent years. In addition to these general attitudes toward writing, the Ecole may also have been the source of his priceless ability to engage in the hard work necessary to bring the products of his inspiration to a polished reality.

The desire to become a novelist had developed even before he entered the Ecole Fénelon, at the age of eleven. At this school Martin du Gard had become acquainted with the Abbé Marcel Hébert, a modernist Catholic priest who also exercised a considerable influence over the boy's later development, perhaps, indeed, being responsible for Martin du Gard's later disavowal of Catholicism. Martin du Gard, in his turn, very generously dedicates his novel, Jean Barois, to the Abbé and, within the novel, portrays sympathetically the character of another intelligent priest, the Abbé Schertz, The Abbé Vecard in The Thibaults is another such figure, an intelligent man with a profoundly honest faith, though not limited by the necessity of dealing only in absolutes. The sympathetic portrayal of a priest became, then, probably through the Abbé Hébert's influence, one of Martin du Gard's principle characters. Indeed, the first instance in which his ambition exceeded his technical abilities was his early desire to write a novel in memory of the Abbé, a Tolstoyan work in three parts entitled Une Vie de Saint. Upon abandoning this novel, however, he spent several months touring hospitals and attending lectures in an attempt ot acquire some knowledge of medicine and psychology. Once again his experiences were incorporated in his novels, for often an illness or disease plays a major role in his themes, and it is the accuracy and vividness of his medical descriptions which, by their realism, helps to capture the interest and induce the involvement of the reader. In Jean Barois, the more principle themes of death and the loss or gain of faith are contingent upon the presentation, at the beginning and end of the novel, of a clinical but emotional debilitation by tuberculosis. The Thibaults contains two extremely powerful scenes constructed upon accurate medical descriptions. In the first, Antoine performs an emergency operation which shows him as the active, decisive, and very capable physician which he has become. The other major medical scene is the death of Mssr. Thibault by an extremely complicated and painful cancer.

Remaining cognizant of his goal as a novelist, however, he finally wrote a novel about an unsuccessful writer, a subject which he feared might be autobiographical. The first steps of his career had finally been taken. His next effort was Marise, a biography of a young woman, but this failed, largely due to his lack of familiarity with the female personality.

The three years following he spent at his parents' home in the country where he wrote Jean Barois. In it he incorporated many of the ideas which he had gleaned from his years of serious reading, and much of the novel's immediate success originated from the topicality of these ideas. The struggle between religion and science and the reaction to the Dreyfus case were concepts prominent among the concerns of the progressive classes at the beginning of the century. His passion for documentation, in particular, renewed interest in the Dreyfus case by accurately presenting the historical events in an atmosphere of emotional reaction.

Basically, the theme of the novel is Barois' spiritual development. As he attains maturity his scientific studies make it more and more difficult for him to adhere to the Catholic religion. Finally, after an intermediate stage during which he accepts the idea that Catholic dogma is symbolically, if not literally, true, he breaks from the Church altogether and becomes a crusader for the doctrine of rationalism, destroying his marriage in the process. He founds a review in which to propagandize his ideas, and in it becomes one of the leading advocates of revision in the Dreyfus case. When this is achieved, Barois stands at the height of his career, but, after an accident, foresees a possible weakness in his beliefs. He therefore dictates a spiritual testament in which he declares his complete belief in rationalism and denies in advance any recantations which he might make in his old age. His gradual decline is then depicted, and, weakened and diseased, he is reconverted to Catholicism and dies.

It is interesting that Martin du Gard's outline for the novel would have Barois die some years after the novel went to press. Clément Borgal estimates the earliest possible historical date for Barois' death as 1918.[8] We have, then, a novel based upon historical considerations, concerned with current issues and events, which, beyond a certain point, takes no further notice of historical fact. In addition, no indication whatsoever is given in the novel of the imminence of war, although events in 1913, the date of its completion, clearly indicated this possibility. These two facts strongly indicate that Martin du Gard was himself of the opinion that the peace would continue and, indeed, felt this so strongly that he was willing to complete a historical novel with the expectation of at least five more years of peace. This would place him among the group which he later condemned in Summer 1914. This was the group which either was not aware of current events or failed to recognize their importance, and the group which, when they finally became aware of war's approach, accepted it with such initial calm. Finally, this wayward step into the future provides further evidence of one of Martin du Gard's characteristics as an author. In every case in which he uses historical fact as material for his works, he seems to require a certain perspective gained only by the passage of time. It is as if history can only come to life for him after he has read and observed its effect on others. After the data has been gathered, however, he is a master at conveying history's implications to his reader. He is able to capture precisely those questions and issues which typify an age so as best to convey its spirit. This explains in part the delay in reacting to The War during the period in which he wrote The Thibaults. When The War's implications became clear, however, they were expressed, as will be shown, in Summer 1914.

Martin du Gard served the entire war as a non-commissioned officer in an army transport column and, during this period, produced no literature other than his correspondence with friends. His first reaction to war is strikingly similar to that of the first war novelists in its complete shock at humanity's barbarity and in his inability to extend his thoughts beyond the end of The War. He wrote, in a letter to Marcel Hébert:

> ... How sad this all is, what a disillusionment for me that all this "could have been possible"! I shall have great difficulty recovering from this blow; one can hope for nothing from the human race when one has seen what I see almost daily, the savagery of everyone, the best accepting, without profound internal revolt, this law of the strongest, the only law

> which counts today... One cannot tolerate hearing it said everywhere (when one is in regular contact with French soldiers) that we are engaged in the struggle of civilization against barbarism; on both sides there is the same vileness, the same cruelty, the same instincts revived; it is two barbarisms locked in struggle. What will come from it?[9]

As The War continued, Martin du Gard came to regard events as a shocking and terrible interruption in history. He believed that horrors of such magnitude could have no relationship to the security of pre-war Europe and constituted, therefore, an interlude in the normal and peaceful course of events. In his desire to negate The War he negated its future manifestations as well and made his preparations to occupy a future constructed in fundamentally the same manner as the past.

> Roger as a soldier denied that the war had the power to change anything in the world! Each of his letters affirmed that the war was only a suspension, a parenthesis, and we would, after its termination, find again and take up again things where we had left them.[10]

With this attitude he received his discharge and returned to a victorious but war-ravaged France. The nation was exhausted, but the tensions of five years of war had been released, and the ideals which had lured the nation into war had seemingly been vindicated. It was in this spirit, and with these ideals in mind that Martin du Gard sought to renew his literary career. His best previous novel had been Jean Barois. It had been accurate historically in its treatment of the Dreyfus case and timely in its consideration of pertinent ideology. Its success had also depended upon the skill with which he wielded his insights into character so as to create a subjective analysis of one individual's attempts to cope with the universal problems involved with death, science, and religion.

As he now again approached the creative process, he found it necessary to select a blend of the two approaches present in Jean Barois, both of which he was skilled in. The decision seems to have fallen to the psychological approach, for the initial volumes of The Thibaults, begun in 1920, concentrates on that spectacle of life which a skilled novelist can create through the careful selection and presentation of a few characters.

The basic structure of the novel is a chronicle of the lives of two brothers, the development of their characters and destinies. Temperamentally unsimilar, they are nevertheless closely linked by common hereditary and social origins. The first two volumes are concerned with the adolescence of Jacques Thibault and his friend Daniel de Fontanin. After they attempt to run away from home they are brought back to Paris, Daniel to be welcomed, and Jacques to be imprisoned in a reformatory of which his father was the founder. In time, Antoine Thibault becomes concerned over his brother's welfare and forces his father to allow Jacques to return again to Paris, this time to be put under the care of Antoine.

With the third volume, a period of five years has passed, and Jacques is a successful student at the Ecole Normale Supêrierue. In addition, Martin du Gard has introduced several sub-plots and characters. Among these are illustrations of Daniel's life and character, the relationship between his parents, Antoine's affair with the exciting and beautiful Rachel, and Jacques awakened interest in Daniel's sister, Jenny.

The final volumes did not appear until 1928, and 1929, although Martin du Gard published several other works in the interim. The first of these volumes is simply a description of the events in one day of Antoine's life as a doctor. Three more years have passed and it is necessary to fill in the events of the intervening years during the narrative. The final two volumes are concerned with the fatal illness of M. Thibault and its aftermath.

The decision to emphasize psychological qualities is clearly evident, the techniques used appearing similar to those of *Jean Barois*. A major difference occurs in the abandonment of the dialogue style, but Martin du Gard appears, in general, to be writing under his premise that The War was only an interruption and not a turning point in his development. Each of the major characters is revealed gradually and indirectly until the final conception of personality is present. The minor characters, it is true, are presented as brief sketches, but even here Martin du Gard does not use a character for the benefit of a single quality but rather for the effect of a total personality. One of his major techniques is that of variability. Each character changes somewhat during the course of his development. Relationships between characters also undergoes a change,,and such is the case with Jacques and Daniel and with Antoine and M. Thibault. The treatment of ideas and issues is not totally absent, of course, but this also appears to be a continuation of the concerns of Jean Barois. Once again, death is a principle theme. Jacques is almost continually obsessed with it, and one feels certain that Martin du Gard cannot end the story of the Thibaults until he dies. Disease, all the more real for its presentation in physiological terms, provides a logical prelude to the introduction of more morbid concepts and forms the material for several important scenes.

In Antoine, many of the 'ideas' of the novel are combined. There is, to begin with, his professional association with disease. This leads to the moral implications of euthanasia, first as a concept, later as a solution to the painfully laborious death of his father, and years later in the terrible irony of self administration. Antoine is also representative of the continuous revelation of character. He develops and matures into a robust, self-sufficient doctor, gradually eclipsing his father in stature. In his industrious and intelligent maturity, perhaps we see, on a smaller scale, Martin du Gard's conception of the norm to which France must return after The War.

The theme of Jean Barois continues in the conflict and the sympathetically presented Abbè Vècard. Antoine realizes a void exists somewhere in his life. He senses a lack of some final purpose, but prefers to shun the problem rather than engage in the metaphysics involved, the one area of knowledge in which he feels inferior.

> He had sometimes wondered: "Can I be really the man I think I am?" The mere suspicion left him dazed and startled; it came like a lightning-flash that slits the shadows, leaving them the darker for its passing. But he was always quick to brush the thought aside, and now again he flouted it.[11]

The presence of the earlier novel is also indicated in the final debate between the Abbé and Antoine. Here is the attitude of science, as Martin du Gard saw it, in conflict with the attitude of religion as he may have wished to see it. Indeed, the strength of the Abbé's arguments almost hint that Martin du Gard secretly wished that the religious point of view might win. In any event, it provides an extremely inconclusive note on which to end a novel and virtually necessitates further volumes. The religion-science question is completely up in the air and, although this may be acceptable, some adjustment is certainly necessary between Antoine's beliefs and his inexplicable morality.

As the novel proceeds, the incidence of 'ideas' seems to increase, the investigation of character appearing as the sole purpose of the earlier portions. The emphasis remains the same, however, for these new themes are themselves expressed as personal psychological problems. This may be due to the initial necessity for establishing the characterizations. The additional themes and sub-plots will then rest on this base. It might also be due to an increased feeling on the part of Martin du Gard that discussion of ideas in a realistic setting was part of his responsibility as a novelist. Either explanation is, admittedly, conjecture, but it is apparent that ideas are to represent an increasing percentage of the novel's content.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCERN WITH THE WAR: SUMMER 1914 AND EPILOGUE

The continuation of The Thibaults, was indeed Martin du Gard's intention, but, for various reasons, the continuation took a quite different form than that which had originally been conceived. In the original plan, the novel would have extended until 1935, a number of years into the future. This would have eliminated the possibility of using historical material and restricted the novel to abstract concepts and events on a purely psychological plane. It also implies a faith in the continued stability of Europe and a belief that the pre-war norm had been reestablished. We receive none of these implications, however, for, while recovering from a serious automobile accident in 1934, Martin du Gard made the decision to alter his plans and write a different ending to The Thibaults than that which he had first intended. His reasoning is not fully known, but we can and shall judge his concerns from the volumes which followed.

Summer 1914 begins in Geneva as Jacques is sitting for a portrait before Patterson, a young English painter. In their discussion we are afforded a description of Jacques and the knowledge that they are members of a group of revolutionaries whose meetings and discussions involve a large part of their lives. The central figure of their little group is Meynestral, also called the Pilot, an erratic figure of romantic origin who is completely dependent upon the presence of his mistress, Alfreda, to maintain his stability. It soon appears that Patterson is also interested in Alfreda. All the leading figures of this society then quickly make their appearance, Vanheede, a Belgian albino who is a devoted friend of Jacques, Meynestrel and Alfreda, and Mithoerg, an Austrian.

As Jacques talks with these last three and while being requested by Meynestral to journey to Vienna for some confidential information, his imagination is plagued with the thought that he had left his lamp burning. This trivial incident and his requested journey, together with the serious nature of discussion, combine to create an initial feeling of urgency. This feeling will grow during the course of the novel, especially as associated with Jacques. Events will increase their relentless pressure towards war, while he rushes from city to city and group to group in an increasingly futile effort to avert it. His reaction to this incident also serves as an opportunity to present an initial analysis of his personality. The first of his characteristics is, portentously, his basic lack of self control:

> How is it that at such moments I so utterly lose control of myself? The way I give in to anxiety is fantastic, positively morbid. And not only to anxiety, to scruples as well..[12]

Following this, we are made to see the egoism which separates Jacques from the rest of humanity. He was formally accepted by the other members of the revolutionary and, indeed, respected by them for his clear sightedness. Nevertheless, he felt that he did not belong to either of the categories, 'apostle' or 'expert,' in which the other members could conveniently be placed. He certainly had the potential to exert his influence or express his insights and did so in his discussions with individuals. As a member of the entire group, however, he never felt able to completely divorce himself from his bourgeois heritage.

> He could not bring himself to endorse the systematic, wholesale destruction of that bourgeois culture with which he felt he was still deeply imbued.[13]

This lack of identification with the group is related to his devotion to ideals and foreshadows his later inability to achieve a purely human relationship without idealizing it.

As the scope is broadened by the introduction of a host of minor characters, Jacques' position is further clarified. He analyzes the revolutionary character, implying that revolution by violence only creates the opportunity for the construction of a new tyranny on the remains of the old. His pacifism is bitterly opposed by Mithoerg who believes that any means of imposing the will of the revolutionaries on the masses will be acceptable, if the desired result is achieved. Their disagreement extends beyond the limits of polite discussion as Mithoerg charges that Jacques is not a true revolutionary, that he is not a believer, but only a dilettante. At this point their argument is interrupted by the news of the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo.

The effect of this first section has been to create a feeling of urgency and a relationship with current events amidst a great deal of political activity and discussion. Martin du Gard's previous emphasis on the psychologies of his characters is absent except in the case of Jacques, and even here, in the description of his bourgeois heritage and the control which ideals have over him, we are much more likely to accept him as a symbol. The reader certainly doesn't feel that the events associated with him derive their importance from the illustration of the destiny of one individual.

After a two-week break in the narrative, Jacques returns from Vienna with the news of symptoms of approaching war. The political realities which have led to this situation are then explained for the benefit of those present and for the reader as well. The revelation of the pressures developed by history as well as the recent secret alliances combine to convince them of the necessity for action on the part of the socialist international. Meynestral appears to agree with this decision but, in reality, is convinced of the necessity of war to provide the spark for the world wide uprising of the proletariat. His one fear is that this will occur before the forces of socialism have acquired strength enough in the individual countries to effect this reversal. Alfreda alone realizes his thoughts and is deeply wounded by this new evidence of his lack of humane feelings.

Another interruption occurs, this one of a week, and the scene switches to Antoine's residence in Paris. He has used his half of his father's estate to help raise his status as a physician. He has built and equipped a laboratory and library and staffed it with three competent assistants. The whole house has been transformed and the name on the door is Dr. A. Oscar-Thibault, Antoine having added the surname as his father had wished. Antoine has acquired an expensive mistress as well, Anne de Battaincourt, a sensual, socially useless woman, a complete slave to her desire for pleasure. The requirements of a successful career, however, limit the time which Antoine can afford to spend with her.

Jacques has been instructed by Meynestral to gather information in Paris and these are the circumstances which he perceives as he stops to visit with his brother. He also finds a complete lack of awareness upon the part of Antoine and his assistants with regard to the events with which he was so passionately concerned. Antoine refuses to become excited about the news which Jacques conveys, and, even later, when convinced of the possibility of war, he makes no move on his own or expresses no opinion of his own which would seek to avert it. On these grounds, Jacques suddenly decides that: "The gulf between Antoine and myself is.. unbridgeable."[14] And later:

> You don't seem to understand, Antoine. We've come to a pass when if everyone acts as you do, if everyone lets things drift, there'll be no chance of staving off disaster. Even as it is, any little thing, a shot fired by some hothead on the Austro-Servian frontier, would start war off.[15]

His brother finally seems to be affected, but his response exhibits the feelings of one who has grown accustomed to prosperity under the status quo. Indeed, his feelings are representative, as is Antoine at this point, of the vast bourgeois apathy in Europe which was one of the factors which allowed war to come about.

> Antoine made no comment. He had received a slight shock. A quick flush rose to his cheeks. He, like so many others in that summer of 1914, had experienced a vague feeling of being at the mercy of some collective hysteria--of a world-wide char-

> acter, perhaps--brooding in the air. And for a few seconds he was worried by a premonition he was powerless to overcome. Very soon, however, he got over that vague feeling of discomfort and, his reaction driving him to the other extreme (as was so often the case), he found a certain pleasure in contradicting his brother, though in a quite amicable tone.[16]

With his patronizing response Antoine argues back his equanimity and the two brothers begin a long, involved discussion of political events, France's leaders, and international socialism. Although Antoine wins a minor victory when Jacques is tempted to take a bath, the latter has upset him and forced him to recognize his own isolation.

> I'm an utter slave to my profession, that's a fact. I never have time to apply my thoughts to anything else. This business of keeping one's mind engrossed with patients, or even with medical research, isn't real thinking in the sense I mean. Am I right I wonder? Is a professional career really all that counts? Is it even the whole of my own life? I'm not so sure.[17]

Again, he is affected for only a short spell, but the awakening has taken place. Being a conscientious individual, Antoine will begin to take an interest in current events until, finally, in Epilogue it is one of his major preoccupations. An explanation of events from the point of view of the French government will now be afforded the reader through Antoine's talks with the diplomat Rumelles.

The contrast that we observe between the two brothers is important. Their attitudes toward The War are clear cut and, as will be shown, symbolic of the ideas which Martin du Gard wants to convey. Antoine is at the peak of his powers and completely wrapped up in his career. Later, he will come out of his egoism and grow in awareness, but only by gradually dying can he understand how he should have lived. Much the same might be said of Europe.

Jacques is already committed to the idealism which will destroy him, but the association with death which was so strong in The Thibaults and which will become an obsession with him has not yet appeared. Every meeting with his brother appears to be a trying experience for him, for their fraternal differences form a conflict with the similarities of their backgrounds. Seeing this and the nature of Antoine's life as well only emphasizes to Jacques that he cannot ever completely escape his bourgeois origins.

Dinner is finally interrupted when Jenny de Fontanin bursts in with the news that her father has shot himself, and ideology is forced to give way to personal drama. As they hasten to the deathbed of her father, it becomes clear that Jenny is very upset and that most of her discomfiture stems from this chance meeting with Jacques. Jacques, for his part, keeps seeing her in his mind's eye and finds himself relieved at his decision to return early to Geneva, thereby escaping from that portion of his past which had so suddenly appeared before him. To escape even more quickly, he finds a group of socialists and enters into their discussion.

When Jacques returns to Geneva, he quickly becomes acquainted with the activities of the socialist groups through all of Europe. Immediately, he is called on to make another trip, this time to Antwerp and Brussels where he receives some valuable documents. From Brussels he proceeds to Paris where, in discussions with other revolutionaries, he is informed of all the latest efforts at diplomacy.

Several of the minor themes now begin to develop further. They are liberally interspersed between accounts of Jacques' activities, which provide the major themes, and are often closely related to these activities. These minor themes are instrumental in several respects. Firstly, they create enough scope in the subject matter to more closely approach a novel which depicts a total society. Because of this, a more powerful effect is achieved than would have been possible by the symbolic presentation of only a few characters. An additional purpose of many of these themes is to provide some relief from the interminable discussion of events and ideology which surrounds Jacques. Most of the sub-plots, even those directly connected with Jacques, provide a respite from being only a monotonous exercise of the intellect. Finally, the minor themes provide an opportunity to present the characters in a variety of situations and, in doing so, to illustrate aspects of their character which could not easily be associated with the major themes. Martin du Gard has shifted his emphasis away from psychological presentation, but he is not averse to use these techniques to strengthen his novel.

In the present incident, Jacques again goes to see Daniel in an effort to recapture something of their old intimacy. They find themselves miles apart. Each feels, ironically, that the other has failed to develop in the right direction primarily because the course the other has taken has been different from his own.

The stage is also set for Jacques and Jenny to rediscover their love when Mme de Fontanin leaves to clear the family name from the debts incurred by her husband. They have been obsessed with each other ever since Jenny interrupted the dinner with Antoine, and they find the occasion for their reconciliation in seeing Daniel off at the train station. Jacques, in a scene illustrative of his passion for complete honesty, tells her of his love and begs her to forgive him for the past. She does so and their love is resurrected. It contains several unusual elements, however. Both are in love primarily with a self-conceived idealization of the other. In this sense and in their abstract intensity of feeling, a distinct element of narcissism is present. At times they recognize this lack of mutual understanding, but it only confirms their opinion of the other's perfection.

> She's perfection itself, yet how terribly mysterious! But that was nothing against her, to his mind. Was not the appeal Jenny had for him from the first due to that sphinxlike quality of hers? ..... Back in her room, Jenny stood for a few moments behind the closed door, listening to his receding footsteps...."How baffling he is!" she thought suddenly. Not that she would have had him any different. Her love for him was deep enough to vanquish even that eerie sense of dread he always left in his wake.[18]

Their love being an individual rather than a mutual creation, they also feel a paradoxical unity.

> For both of them it was a delicious temptation, to which they yielded at every moment, to feel themselves in unison, to declare themselves at one in everything.[19]

While the relationship between Jacques and Jenny is developing, European events continue their pressure toward war. The various French attitudes toward these events are illustrated in the attitudes of Antoine's assistants, and of Rumelles, Philip, and Antoine himself. Several group scenes occur in which each of these is allowed to argue his own point of view, from the militant nationalism of Manuel Roy to Jacques' own devout pacifism. Rumelles is particularly useful since his position allows him to contribute certain confidential information regarding the thoughts of the French Government. Antoine has by this time become quite concerned with events and, despite his lack of knowledge of contemporary history, his intelligence is able to perceive clearly the nature of the problem.

> At the moment, if I understand you properly, our fate is entirely in the hands of Russia. Or, to be more precise, everything depends on our loyalty to the Franco-Russian Alliance.[20]

His reaction to this state of affairs, however, is limited to the observation that: "It's a damnable business!"[21] and we are informed that Antoine will react to war in the same spirit of duty and responsibility with which he practices his profession.

The most unusual of Antoine's associates, for the purposes of the novel, is Philip. He appears only briefly in Summer 1914, much less than in The Thibaults, and his role is not so important as it will be in Epilogue, but his significance is considerable. In his first appearance he appears as in The Thibaults, as the very apotheosis of the scientific method. At the same time, with his 'snorting little chuckle' and 'mischievous twinkle,' he is a warm, likable character. Perhaps the best indication of his stature is Antoine's attitude toward him. Philip is the one person to whom his attitude is always one of deference, the one person whose approval is most to be desired. It certainly would not be surprising if the character who is most favorably presented would express views similar to those of the author. This is what Philip has to say in his second appearance:

> No, personally I foresee a very long war in which all the nations involved will wear themselves out and none have the desire, or even the ability, to call a halt....
> I suppose you think that old men like me are lucky to be out of it. You're wrong. Our lot is even worse than yours. Because our lives are ended..... Yes, my dear boy. Over and done with. July 1914 marks the end of something of which we formed part; a new era is beginning--in which we don't belong.[22]

The pure intelligence which these prophetic statements represent resulted in several difficulties. Firstly, a character such as Philip, who almost seems to exist on a higher plane than the others, would, if present to any great degree, completely dominate the novel. This can and has been avoided by limiting Philip's appearances, but the anomaly remains of 'a voice crying in the wilderness' in a novel depicting an age unaware of its own demise. Perhaps Martin du Gard thought the reader would also remain unaware without this sudden emphasis. A further problem, and one which will arise to a greater degree in Epilogue, is that of the treatment of events of which both the author and reader are already aware. This is also anomalous in that the author himself, as we have seen, had been completely unaware of the significance of what lay ahead when he had been in Philip's position. In the awareness gained from hindsight he seems to forget that, in 1914, such remarks as Philip's would be more likely to occur by complete chance than through the application of a brilliant mind to known facts.

In returning to the course of the narrative, we encounter another literary device. Jacques receives an urgent request from Meynestral to go to Berlin. From his contact there he receives papers stolen from the Austrian Colonel Stolbach, papers which contain absolute proof of collusion between the General Staffs of Austria and Germany. When Meynestral receives the papers, he realizes their value to those socialist forces seeking to avert war and, consequently, burns them. Alfreda, by this last indication of his inhumanity, finally decides to leave him for Patterson. This incident serves to introduce an element of suspense in the narrative and is excellently handled. It also increases the scope of the novel, as the activity of the German socialists are indicated and the frenetic nature of Jacques' activity is increased. Unfortunately, the incident is entirely without historical justification. Martin du Gard has been severely criticized for this, especially since the rest of the novel is so successful in achieving historical accuracy.

After Meynestral's disposal of the Stolbach documents, a further, and rather amusing indication appears of the author's ill-concealed knowledge of future events. Palazzolo, one of countless fellow socialists mentioned in the novel, has just received a letter from his friend, Benito Mussolini. The context is extremely ironic from the point of view of later events.

> War between nations is the bloodiest form of middle-class collaboration. The bourgeoisie gloats over such immolations of the workers on the altar of the Fatherland... The march of events leads inevitably to International Socialism.[23]

This incident occurs just prior to the opening of a gigantic meeting of the socialists of all Europe. After a dramatic speech by Jaurès, the crowd is left with the feeling that their united will cannot but prevail. In the morning, however, Jacques finds it necessary to save Meynestral from suicide, so despondent is he over the loss of Alfreda. Jacques also notices that Meynestral has burned the documents but makes no mention of the fact. Having been considerably sobered from the previous night's enthusiasm, he returns to Paris and begins to receive news, indicative of approaching disaster. He found many of the leading socialists espousing nationalism rather than socialism, particularly if the latter doctrine insisted upon being associated with pacifism.

Antoine encounters fresh information from Rumelles which indicates that the French Government anticipates war, and so depressed and anxious does he become, "that he would almost rather have been told then and there that war had been declared, and that he had only to go to his post."[24]

Jacques, however, is not deterred from the goals of pacifism. He speaks at a rally and, at Antoine's, argues again with Antoine's assistants. Before he leaves, Antoine forces from him his decision to resist the call to mobilization. Antoine's reply is a very cogent appraisal of the realities associated with Jacques attitude.

> I don't deny that it needs a rare moral courage to stand out, alone or almost alone, against an order for general mobilization. But it's a courage put forth in vain, that runs its head idiotically against a brick wall. A man of strong convictions who refuses to fight and gets himself shot for his principles has all my sympathy, and pity. But I regard him as a futile dreamer--and I say he's wrong.[25]

Later, when Jacques informs Antoine of his love for Jenny, he provides a further analysis of his character.

> You're fundamentally incapable of making anyone happy. Even in other circumstances, you'd never have been able to give Jenny a happy life... You've given way to a childish fancy that won't stand a moment's scrutiny.[26]

In Jacques reaction to Antoine's counseling, we begin to discern an element of imbalance. The increasing conflicts which his attitudes force into his mind have begun to destroy him. The loneliness of the idealist begins to oppress him, and much of his time is spent with Jenny. As the news arrives of Germany's and then France's mobilization, he begins to realize, at least unconsciously, that only in death will he be able to fully live up to his ideals. The only responsibility he has toward humanity is his responsibility toward Jenny. He now vaguely resents this attachment , the one thing which hinders him in the final expression of his ideals. As the indications of popular approval of a war grow, the idea gradually forms in his mind that his ideas must become translated into some definite action. He takes refuge in the thought that some single action might yet avert war. The inspiration for this action comes from Mourlan, who visualizes the effects that a single ray of truth would have if it fell, like a lightning flash, amidst the soldiers of the front lines. At this point, Mme de Fontanin returns and Jenny displays the same conviction of being misunderstood that Jacques earlier displayed before Antoine. Jacques, for his part, has suddenly become completely immersed in the germ of his great plan to save the world from war. When Jenny, grown repentant over her treatment of her mother, refuses to leave with him for Switzerland, he is only outwardly disappointed.

> The grief and disappointment conveyed by his demeanor were not feigned, but they were on the surface only. The last impediment had fallen; he was leaving alone, as a free man. Everything had become simple.[27]

In no time he had seen Meynestral, enlisted his aid, and made arrangements to have printed the thousands of leaflets which they would drop between the lines from their plane. It only remained to compose a manifesto which would stir men's minds and, to this end, he took a small room in Basel, not far from the shop which would print his 'ray of light,' The extent of the imbalance which has developed in him is now more fully illustrated. He has completely committed himself to the success of his mission, and, in the few days left to him, his mind is filled with dreams of the new society to which his deed will give birth. The pleasure which he takes in the thought of his sacrifice is so great that he will not leave the sweltering room he is in because it will remove him from a part of the suffering he feels necessary in pursuit of his cause. After a week of living in this dream, wrapped up in the task before him, he receives word from Meynestral. The imminence of his death shocks him out of his hallucinations and for a brief moment he sees his madness with cruel lucidity. In a moment the mind of the fanatic reasserts itself, and he feels a profound peace in the knowledge that he will have to endure these internal conflicts no longer,

> Whatever happens, my death's an act, an act that will bring honour back again. I'll have been faithful unto death, and useful. Useful at last! I'll have redeemed my life, made up for all the wasted years. And found the peace that passes understanding.[28]

We begin to see here that death is more important to him for personal reasons than for the ostensible motive of averting war. His death will prove to the world the purity of his ideals, and, if the act itself is futile, it also provides for no rebuttal. From this point on he will be almost completely cut off from reality, every object being distorted to fit his dream-like concept of the world. His imagination invents a court, by which he imagines he will be tried, made up of various resented figures of the past and symbolically representative of the militant authorities of the world. He stands alone before it, and, in a ringing speech, predicts the doom of the social system they represent. In the last few ineffectual minutes before Meynestral arrives , he imagines Jenny's presence and, savoring each moment of his sacrifice, denies that even she can understand what his act means.

After a very realistic flight scene in which the sensations of being aloft are transmitted through Jacques' impressions, they crash, having failed to drop any of their leaflets. Meynestral is killed instantly and Jacques is taken captive by the retreating French. He is severely injured and unable to speak and, as a result, is taken for a German spy. These are the scenes in which Martin du Gard most closely approximates the conditions at the front, the chief subject of war novelists of another genre. The confusion in the face of the German advance, and the fear, shame, and exhaustion of the retreating soldiers are all registered by the mute Jacques. War's ability to touch even the most innocent with its horror is illustrated by Jacques' death. The simple Marjoulat, who had previously never killed--not even an animal, is ordered to kill Jacques to help speed up the retreat. As he does so, he shouts an epithet, partly at himself and partly at Jacques, for he resents what this spy has made him do.

The significance of Jacques' death is apparent in its nature. He dies in complete anonymity without having affected the life of anyone except the simple Marjoulat. This, in contrast with the grandeur of his dreams of the new society and trial by a military court, indicates that his action was completely futile. Antoine's judgement has been vindicated and can be seen now to have prepared the reader to accept this denouement, as did Jacques' own occasional lucid apprehensions of his fate. But, although his death was futile as judged from its effect on society, the question remains; to what extent did his death justify his beliefs, and how necessary was it for him as an individual? Jacques himself felt that his death would 'bring honour back again.' Only a moment before, however, he had affirmed with equal vigor:

> One life is all we have. To cast it away is madness. No, it's worse--a crime, *the* crime against nature. Every act of heroism is criminal and absurd.[29]

The origins of this conflict lie with society. Jacques has abstracted certain principles from his rebellion against his bourgeois heritage and formed a set of ideals which he will in no way compromise. Without exception they are highly admirable ideals, at least as concepts, and his arguments for them are well presented and difficult to refute. Further indication of the extent of Martin du Gard's own approval is seen in the approval of Philip, the character who most nearly represents the novel's guiding intelligence.

> Who knows, Thibault? Perhaps those who think like your brother are forerunners. Perhaps this war's a necessary evil, an upheaval of this Old World that will throw up a crop of new half-truths of which we have no inkling. It would be pleasant to think so, anyway... Who knows? Perhaps the whole structure of our civilization will come out of the crucible cast in some new form. Yes, men have some terrible experiences to go through before the dawn of enlightenment--the day when they're content humbly to avail themselves of what science has to tell them for the ordering of their lives on earth.[30]

Philip's approval, however, is less for the individual than for the personality, the latter being necessary to bear the birth pangs of the new society which Philip foresees. For Jacques to remain a predecessor of a society yet to be born, he must not allow his ideals to conform to those of the existing society. This might have been possible in less troubled times, but in the decreased tolerance for unconventional beliefs brought about by the approaching war, his belief can remain consonant with his actions only in death. Society is unable to sustain his idealism, and for this he must die. The irony of the situation develops, however, when we remember that his ideals originated in society, and, for its failure to sustain idealism, it must also die. Jacques' death is, then, representative of the end of the age of idealism, in addition to being his personal solution to internal conflicts.

The treatment of many of the themes and characters is, at this point, conspicuously incomplete. Only Jacques' fate has been completely determined. The development of Antoine's character, in particular, has been left hanging in order to devote the novel's full attention to his brother, and the full explication of Philip's prophecies has yet to come. Despite this, Roger Martin du Gard was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1937 for Summer 1914. At the time, however, he was already deeply involved in writing a conclusion to this tale of the Thibault family, begun fifteen years previously. The concluding volume was entitled Epilogue and dealt with those problems just mentioned.

Once again Martin du Gard has avoided a direct treatment of The War. This volume skips a space of several years to May 3, 1918 and deals almost exclusively with Antoine. He is now in a hospital for gas casualties, having been gassed some months before during the performance of his duties as a medical officer. Remaining a doctor throughout, he takes a professional attitude toward his case and is convinced that he can recover by adhering to a rigid schedule of treatments. With the death of his aunt, an opportunity is presented to bring all the characters together in Paris. Antoine journeys to Paris and meets Gise. So wasted is his appearance, however, that she fails to recognize him. That evening he dines with Rumelles, on whom the strain and overwork imposed by The War has exerted a noticeable effect. Although both have obviously suffered, the contrast between the soldier home from the front and the man living behind the lines is apparent. Little moralizing is done, however, despite the opportunity to contrast the fighting men with the paper heroes. The concern is to show the necessity of avoiding war, not just to condemn the injustices which it produced. Their conversation also provides an opportunity to present some rather obvious antiwar propaganda. Rumelles ventures the opinion that a truce might be possible, but a lasting peace is far in the future. He also discusses the way The War is being run, the distrust among leaders, and the necessity of controlling the news media in order to keep the public satisfied with appropriately optimistic reports of The War--all this to save the stability of the government--to save face.

On the following day, Antoine travels to the old Thibault summer home. It has been transformed into a military hospital, and Mme de Fontanin seems to have found her calling as its director. She is violently anti-German, an attitude which Jenny, having completely adopted the ideals held by Jacques, cannot excuse. Jenny, for her part, has changed profoundly from the reserve and introspection which characterized her before The War. She is matronly, has become outspoken, and is courageously raising Jacques'illegitimate son, Jean-Paul without the self-pity exhibited by Daniel. He, in turn, has become a bitter cynic, refusing, because he has lost a leg, to return to his promising career as an artist. Later, it is revealed that the injury also emasculated him, and he is contemplating suicide. In this similarity to his father, who died by suicide and whose existence was also dependent upon the expression of his virility, we see further evidence of Martin du Gard's faith in heredity. The portrayal of Jean-Paul also exhibits this faith, and Antoine's observation of the old Thibault characteristics explains part of the reason for his concern over the child's future.

Much of the political discussion here centers around Jenny. She has adopted Jacques' ideas verbatim, although her discussions with Antoine are much more agreeable than were Jacques', for the older brother's attitudes now show many similarities to Jacques' pacifism. This shift in belief is, as is characteristic with Antoine, constructed around rational arguments, although the basis for his new beliefs, and for much of this search for understanding, is the fulfillment of an emotional need.

> In fact, at the base of every form of pacifism lies a belief in the ethical progress of mankind. I have that belief or, rather, I've an emotional need to feel it; I can't bring myself to admit that human nature isn't perfectible ad infinitum. I need to believe that one day man will contrive to bring order out of chaos and institute upon this planet a reign of universal brotherhood.[31]

Antoine and Jenny also find no small measure of agreement in the feeling that her present situation might provide more of the means for her happiness than would have been the case had Jacques lived.

> Yes, the truth had to be faced: if the Jacques of 1914 were to come back, by some miracle he were to appear in flesh and blood before the Jenny of today, well, she could not possibly restore to him the place in her heart which until now, as she believed, her faithful devotion had kept intact, inviolate for ever.[32]

She savors the memories of Jacques invoked by Patterson's portrait, but she realizes the discrepancy between it and the man. Her present life, and her future also, is concerned not with memories but with the raising of her child and with establishing her independence.

Upon returning to Paris, Antoine goes to see his old friend, Philip. up to this point he has been convinced of his eventual recovery, and, in conversation with his friend about his condition, allows himself to be reconvinced that his inherent good health will reassert itself. He now sees, however, in Philip's professional attitude toward him, the attitude of a physician toward a doomed man. Instantly, he sees his own observations in the light of reality and realizes that he has been deluding himself in foreseeing a recovery.

Their conversation also provides for Philip's prophesies, the content of which, indicates the effect of certain pre World War II events on the author.

> I'm afraid the age of liberalism is over and will not return for many a long year. Which, I admit is a hard blow for my generation. We were so absolutely sure that it had come to stay, our democratic freedom, and that such questions could never be reopened... Perhaps we deliberately shut our eyes to certain innate qualities of the race... Everything we've seen happening during the last four years has been absurd. And whatever these absurdities lead us to predict is equally absurd.[33]

There is in this passage an extreme pessimism concerning the fate of mankind, a feeling predictable in a man devoted to pacifism as the sounds of war again became ominous. Martin du Gard's attitude is also expressed through Antoine:

> What hope is there of anything really fine emerging from twentieth-century man? I can't discover anything to console me for being obliged to live among the ravening beasts that are the human race today...[34]

The importance which Martin du Gard places on statements and predictions of this sort is indicated both by the regularity of their occurrence and the extremity of their nature. He must have been aware of the fact that, by often boring the reader and removing him from the characterizations and other thematic development, the structure of the novel is considerably weakened. Furthermore, the disparity between the propaganda and the statements which even an enlightened individual of the period circa 1918 would make is too great. The foreshadowing of events to come in a novel based upon a realistic portrayal of a former era is too obvious to integrate into a historical setting. Despite these facts, central figures such as Philip and Antoine are perpetually concerned with this theorizing, and we can only infer that their statements are an important part of the message the novel is intended to convey.

This concern with the future is certainly not the only or even the major theme of the novel. It only becomes more obvious through its spotty integration with the other themes. In this case, the major theme reappears at the end of Philip's and Antoine's conversation as the latter realizes that he is soon to die. The remainder of the novel concern's Antoine's attempts to come to terms with his fate. In retrospect, the entire novel series has become progressively more concerned with this problem. This final effort is more ambitious in that it attempts to treat the problem of death from the inside, and, to be more dramatic, from within the mind of a doctor who cannot be deceived as to the progress and means of his debilitation. The question of euthanasia also arises anew but this time as a personal solution rather than a moral question. Another previous theme arises in Antoine's first reaction to his discovery.

> Unthinkingly he had lifted his eyes toward the lucid sky while searching his mind for someone with whom he could take refuge, someone to bestow the solace of a pitying glance.[35]

It is, of course, significant that, as Antoine seeks solace in the face of his own destruction, he sees in the bursting of shells the destruction of society itself. The solitude in which he finds himself, though, is not unique with him but had originated with his father and brother before him. It evidently is another of the Thibault family characteristics to form no significant personal attachments, being more concerned with other affairs. Antoine's isolation is more complete, however, than that of either his father or his brother for, at the moment of death, he is left no consolation. His father had experienced a rebirth of his faith, his brother had had the conviction that his death was a justification of his ideals, but Antoine is to die alone.

A series of letters interrupts the narrative at this point, and the concluding pages take the form of a diary. It is Antoine's initial purpose in the diary to record his thoughts as a diversion to kill time, and by recording subjectively his case-history to provide a service to the medical profession. He also writes much that is intended as advice for Jean-Paul when he is older, particularly regarding the choice of a profession. In his concern for Jean-Paul, he recognizes his desire for something of himself to survive. He realizes that much of his life, and his father's as well, has been organized around a desire to keep from being blotted out by death.

> That vitality I used to have, I attribute to the craving I had to perpetuate myself by creative acts; to "survive." An instinctive dread of disappearing. In my case a hereditary trait. Have been thinking a lot about Father. He was haunted by a desire to attach his name to all sorts of things. It was a craving to leave some trace behind him.[36]

Antoine has indeed been thinking a great deal about his father.

When he returned to his home in Paris and to his summer home as well, he had the feeling of "entering not my own place, but Father's!"[37] This feeling, as well as Antoine's general lack of orientation, can be explained by the influence of The War. The disorder which it bred removed a stable society and all the references on which he depended. His father, however, being part of the older society, remains a stable figure and, as such, can provide some of the references which Antoine needs. That M. Thibault is foreign to the new atmosphere is indicated by his servant's observation:

> Eh, M. Antoine, who'd ever have dreamed it--all we been through in the last few years. All these changes! As I often says to Adrienne, if the old master could come back on earth.... if he could see all that's happened since he left us..![38]

This last phrase repeats itself several times in Antoine's mind later in the volume by way of emphasizing the changes which he observes in and about him.

In the introspection of the hospital life, he is now forced into a reevaluation of his own character and pre-war existence.

> My career! All my life I've been obsessed by that idea; it was my watchword during fifteen strenuous years. Today, for Antoine Thibault lying in this bed, what irony is in that word "career"![39]

As he struggles to develop some concepts on which to rest his life, he gains in social maturity. His interest in politics is (conveniently) greater, and Martin du Gard uses this predilection to insert some very pro-Wilson theorizing, followed later by some (not surprisingly) accurate predictions of the failure of Wilson's ideals. His thoughts cover an increasingly wider range of subject matter as his mind seems gradually to be failing. Antoine himself recognizes this, and, in his desire to organize his death as he has his life, he chooses to end his life before his sanity gives way. He makes his death, as he did his life, an exercise of the will. With Antoine's death, the destruction of the old social order is complete. The future belongs to Jean-Paul who, although he has been endowed with certain hereditary characteristics, will have no paternal guidance. Is he, then, doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past? The lack of guidance implies that he will, although the choice will be his.

CHAPTER V

EVIDENCE FOR COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL THEMES

At one point in Summer 1914, Philip makes this statement:

> I've had three black moments in my career... The first was when the pious, provincial-minded youngster I was then found out one night, after reading the four Gospels in succession, that they were a tissue of inconsistencies. The second was when I realized that a certain poisonous fellow named Esterhazy had done a piece of dirty work known as the Dreyfus bordereau, and that instead of punishing the culprit the French authorities were torturing a wretched man whose only crime was to have have been born a Jew. The third came a week ago, when the papers published the text of the ultimatum, and I saw the billiard-strike that was being prepared for, a cannon to be made at the expense of millions of lives.[40]

That this statement is one of considerable importance can be seen from the fact that it is Philip speaking, whose opinions have been shown to be closely related to those of the author. The fact that the statement is incongruous, particularly in stating the expected results of the ultimatum, again implies that it has been forced into the narrative for reasons other than mere structural considerations. Its importance can be further seen from the fact that Martin du Gard already has treated the first two of these three subjects in Jean Barois and the second again in The Thibaults. It is a measure of his ambition as a novelist that he now appears to be attempting to treat the third in Summer 1914 and Epilogue. Before investigating the development of this theme further, it is to be emphasized again that The War and the changes which came with it are not the single concern of these last two volumes.

The development and portrayal of individual psychologies had been Martin du Gard's forte, and, in the face of his new diversity, he did not abandon his previous strengths. Questions of morality, vocational choice, the effects of environment and heredity, the theme of solitude, and, in particular, the theme of death are all presented through the reactions of individuals, and each could stand alone without the introduction of any social implications. Death is, in fact, the single most dominant theme of the novel. The reactions of a dying man to his own condition are handled so skillfully as to make the reader imagine Philip adding a fourth event to those most significant in his life, the moment of coming to grips with the fact of one's own mortality. The significance of The War as a theme, however, is not dependent upon emphasis alone. It is Martin du Gard's first conscious attempt to use subjects related to The War as major thematic material in a novel, this after over twelve years of peace. Furthermore, the war material, coupled with his already considerable ability to represent, through his characters, an entire society, results in a novel of social definition. The demise of the pre-war society is depicted and Martin du Gard thus makes his appearance among the ranks of the war novelists.

The material related to The War can be separated into two parts, that which depicts the destruction of the pre-war society and the propaganda presented as a consequence of Martin du Gard's pacifistic beliefs. The first of these motifs is more successfully integrated into the novel, as it is associated with the fates of the individual characters, particularly Jacques and Antoine. It also gains considerable strength from various implications of the death theme. There are several passages which indicate the presence of the concept of society's destruction. These serve to draw attention to the significance of events and also allow the reader to avoid the misconception which Martin du Gard himself held for many years, namely that The War was not an ending but only an interruption of the normal course of events. We are told what will happen ("July 1914 marks the end of something of which we formed a part."), and then we are shown.

A microcosm of the pre-1914 French culture has already been created in The Thibaults. These characters reappear in Summer 1914, but most of the pre-war ideals and traditions now center in and around Antoine. The various reactions to the approaching war are seen through his friends, and discussions of which he is a part illustrate the variety of opinions held. Except for his growing concern over this threat of war, Antoine undergoes little change before Epilogue. In this single post-war (or almost-post-war) volume, he has changed considerably. Physically, he has been greatly weakened by the effects of being gassed and will soon die. In his symbolic representation, we note the characteristics of pre-war Europe. Many of the individuals who composed pre-war France have also suffered and will, in the novel, totally give way at the end of The War to a new society. Antoine will live only seven days after the end of The War. It is also made clear that Jean-Paul is to be his beneficiary, although it is doubtful whether either he or the new society will seek to avail themselves of the experience of their predecessors.

Antoine also changes from an active to a passive character. His function now is to record for the reader those events which indicate the dying of the age. His death appears to have been deliberately deferred until after The War so the last reports of Allied victory can be conveyed to the reader. Ironically, at this time of victory, his thoughts are almost entirely of disease, and, rather than the promise of a new and glorious age, he is forced to come to grips with the meaning of death. His passivity had earlier been a source of speculation and thought, however, and the passive state becomes the media for much of Martin du Gard's last propaganda bombardment. Through Antoine, we also observe the fates of those other characters who made up the earlier microcosm. Some, such as Daniel, have been completely destroyed; many of Antoine's professional associates have been killed; some few, such as Jenny, can see a useful and productive life ahead, but it is invariably drastically different from their pre-war existence.

Antoine himself is an anachronism. He belongs to a pre-war era and has no sense of identity with the times he now lives in. The search for this lost identity will involve him in his later musings on life and death. Having lost his bearings, he no longer considers himself to belong to any specific period, a feeling which accounts for his impression, upon returning to his home, that it is owned by his father. In his father he recognizes the stability of a former age, and this desire to grasp some stable concept accounts for Antoine's feelings of M. Thibault's presence.

Another presence which is felt in _Epilogue_ is that of Jacques. The futility inherent in his death has already been discussed, but an irony now appears also in that Antoine's death will be equally futile. Furthermore, Jacques' ideas, so at odds with pre-war society as to cause his death, have been adopted by Jenny and are now the concepts from the earlier society which are most likely to survive with Jean-Paul.

The fates of all the characters have now been presented and can be seen against a background of a crumbling Europe. Alongside these greater forces, individual lives are diminished in importance. The introduction of the diary, because of its tendency to philosophize, heightens the impersonal attitude toward individuals. With all the main characters having been successfully disposed of, the novel can be brought to a close. The result of this sublimation of each character to be symbolic of a whole society is "to merge their individual destinies with that of the whole of Europe, giving the novel an altogether wider significance."[41]

To turn to a discussion of the various types of propaganda employed, we find that the author has found several uses for the frequent passages of discussion, argument, and contemplation. Much of the initial material is necessary to create the historical setting in which the novel takes place and to provide the detail which we need to understand the particular historical events with which the novel is concerned. It is also necessary to introduce the concepts of the revolutionary and the socialist and to introduce as well the principles under which these species operate. Further discussion occurs as Martin du Gard attempts to explain the factors leading to war.

Through Antoine's contact with Rumelles, it is made to appear that France's diplomats have entangled her in a system of alliances from which she can not withdraw gracefully. This same situation exists in other countries, and only a massive demonstration of the general opposition to war on the part of the people will be able to avert war. Into this rather simplified picture of reality are introduced Jacques and his spirit of pacifism. It is with him that we first realize that his arguments are not always a logical product of his environment but are imposed upon him.[42]

The weakness which Martin du Gard introduced into Summer 1914 through the introduction of opinions dating from a time subsequent to the action of the novel has already been mentioned. However, the fact that he would disrupt in this way a novel dependent upon historical accuracy gives an indication of the importance which he attributed to these ideas. The most obvious externally imposed concept in Summer 1914 is that of pacifism, and it is presented for the most part as Jacques' beliefs. Its presentation is handled with lucidity and conviction, and the absurdity of his fate is seen not so much as being due to the nature of his ideals as to his refusal to apply them to reality.

In Epilogue, Martin du Gard's intent becomes less clear. The spirit of pacifism is now illustrated through the terrible effects which war can have on individuals and on society. Philip describes a war of exhaustion and a European civilization which will not regain its stability for several generations. An emphasis on the policies of Woodrow Wilson also appears. Antoine is quite enamoured of these policies and devotes several long sections of his diary to an analysis of their efficacy. He seems to see in Wilson's ideas the one hope for the future.

> Yes, an unprecedented, glorious new day is breaking, the dawning possibility of world-wide disarmament. And Wilson's grasped that. That idea of disarmament he has broadcast to the world cannot but be welcomed enthusiastically by public opinion everywhere... Just now, there is no limit to one's hopes.[43]

There is a terrible irony here between Antoine's faith in a future founded upon Wilsonian concepts and the future of reality which contained none of them. It is certainly possible that this irony was Martin du Gard's single purpose in providing Antoine with this boundless faith in Wilson. It is certainly an apt choice of material, for Wilson's failure to convince the American people of the principles which he fought for at Versailles was one of the most ironic events of post-war history. The results were also tragic for Europe, and, in those months before the outbreak of World War II, events must have inspired a certain bitterness in a man devoted to pacifism. It is somewhat more pleasant to believe that Antoine's sentiments were also those of Martin du Gard, and the resulting irony was a means of putting a little steel into a message fundamentally pacifistic. Whatever the interpretation, political involvement in the novel has certainly reached its height, and Antoine, in the new maturity which his introspection has attained for him, has become more representative of Martin du Gard's own philosophy.[44] Martin du Gard also had occasion to undergo a long period of reflection, and it is significant that his concern for the implications of war arises after this period. Antoine recognizes his illness as the source of his new awareness, although to truly benefit him, he would, like Martin du Gard, have to survive.

> I am convinced that the most favorable condition for a knowledge of oneself (and of one's fellow-men) is to have been through an illness and recovered one's health.[45]

Martin du Gard has thus discussed some of the immediate horrors of war as well as its wider social implications. He has attempted to convey his belief that a certain type of society ceased to exist with the initial events of World War I. He has written a narrative, based upon historical fact, which attempts to define the social and political origins of The War. He has expressed a hope for the construction of a new society based upon considerations such as universal good will, peace, and disarmament, and he has done all this in a spirit of pacifism. All these are characteristics of the war novelist and, on the basis of these considerations, Summer 1914 should be classed among the war novels of social definition. This group of novels, written almost without exception after their authors had acquired the perspective of time, seeks to define the nature of the change which occurred in our civilization at the beginning of the First World War.

The indications of the existence of this change are as innumerable as the explanations for it. In literature, T. S. Eliot's The Waste Land (1922) "affected the work of an entire generation."[46] The concepts developed by Freud and elucidated for public consumption in A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (1920) have contributed to revolutionary thought in many fields, among them being psychology, literature, sociology, education, and religion. Basic absolutes such as space, time, and distance were destroyed by Einstein's General Theory of Relativity (1915), adding to the growing insecurity of the individual. Inventions such as the automobile, the airplane, and the wireless made enormous strides in the years just prior to 1920, helping to revolutionize warfare in the process. As a result of these rapid changes "technology was more feared than admired."[47] With the rise of complex ideas and processes, the domain of the individual was restricted, and he was forced to go to the specialist to acquire understanding. In addition, millions of Europeans had lost their homes and their friends to The War and, in the process, had lost faith in such venerable institutions as the church and government. The end result was a Europe characterized by a massive feeling of insecurity, particularly among the middle class.[48] A longing to return to the stability of the past arose, but the changes caused by progress proved irreversible. As a result, the future was viewed with apprehension. All these characteristics are discernible in Epilogue, although not necessarily as a result of this same line of reasoning. They do indicate further, however, the extent of Martin du Gard's awareness of the fact of social change.

In going from The Thibaults to Summer 1914, it is obvious that several new themes have been introduced. However, new themes alone do not indicate the political involvement that has been postulated in the case of Roger Martin du Gard. They also need not imply an origin in some profound influence. These factors are indicated in observing the nature and extent of the changes in his style. The basic approach has changed from the portrayal of the psychological problems involved in the attainment of individual destinies to the relationship of these problems to social destiny. The individual has lost his central position and is now important as he symbolizes a segment of society or as he illustrates the effects of an idea. This change is not absolute with the beginning of Summer 1914. Meynestral, for example, represents and effort to portray a revolutionary character, illustrating the effect of ideas on a personality. The ideas are thus, initially, subordinate, but, as the novel proceeds, the characters are used to illustrate the nature of ideas, and the characters become subordinate. After this shift in emphasis has occurred, the characters have lost their individual importance and serve as a media by which to illustrate changes in society. Another important change is the effort to preserve historical accuracy. Current events play no part in The Thibaults and no indication of the date is given until well into the novel. Summer 1914 is dependent upon historical accuracy. All the events take place in a carefully defined period of six weeks, and it is the actual events of this period which define the events of the novel. This is an important limitation as it means that only those themes which can be related to historical fact can be included in the narrative. The reason for most of these changes in style is to allow for the accomodation of more ideas or 'theories.' Their nature, their effect on society, their meaning to the individual, and their influence on the future are all problems to which the style must allow expression. The extent of these changes in style and the indication of a change in purpose both point toward a new purpose in writing on the part of Roger Martin du Gard.

The result of Martin du Gard's style changes has been shown to be a war novel of social definition. If, then, this change in style is to be attributed to a desire to convey his own understanding of the social significance of World War I, what delayed this change for a period of over twelve years? The value of the insight would have been no less had it been presented earlier, and it undoubtedly would have been had Martin du Gard been aware of its existence. It is always difficult to evaluate the position which contemporary events will hold in history. This difficulty diminishes as time provides a perspective from which to judge, and, in the case of the First World War, time also provided an opportunity for the effects of The War to become apparent. Several authors did realize the social implications of The War some years before Martin du Gard, however. In Germany both Thomas Mann and Herman Hesse gave evidence of such an insight as early as 1925 although, as the morale of the German people had been more completely destroyed, The War's social effects were correspondingly more pronounced. Martin du Gard had been among those who had considered The War to be only an interruption and that pre-war conditions would reassert themselves with the return of peace. In 1931, following an automobile accident, he was given the opportunity for meditation that he later granted to Antoine. During this period he decided to abandon his original plans for the Thibault series and substitute another conclusion.[49] In doing so, he abandoned both a finished volume and a highly polished style for techniques with which he was unfamiliar and an uncertain conclusion. This decision led him to the initial plans for Summer 1914 and Epilogue. The subsequent pressure of European contemporary events during the period in which he wrote must have firmed his resolve to write a novel of ideas, and the evidence for this growing conviction lies in the gradual ascendency of these ideas during the course of the two novels.

The conclusion of this novel series is one of terrible despair. All the chief characters have been killed, and in the cases of Jacques and Antoine, especially, their deaths have been associated with themes of futility and solitude. Antoine's last feelings are those of fear of the unknown.

> I write "never again" but catch only faint glimpses of the horror of great darkness behind those words.[50]

All these deaths are representative of society's death as well, and, Antoine having become increasingly representative of Martin du Gard's views, his feeling of horror betrays the author's lack of hope for the future. This is emphasized further in Antoine's opinion that The War has released the worst in men, Philip's earlier opinion that such destruction may be a periodic facet of man's nature, and in the tragic contrast between Antoine's hopes for the future and the conditions which actually existed at the time of writing. These conditions, indicative of the approach of yet another holocaust, might well be the source of the increasing sense of despair. Much of Summer 1914 is involved with the theme of pacifism, and to see the failure of this doctrine before its explication had even been completed must have caused some of the author's discouragement. Martin du Gard's position was parallel to that of Antoine. He saw approaching death and understood its nature, yet he was powerless to avert it.

The break in style and content between The Thibaults and Summer 1914 has already been attributed to a change in goals acquired as Martin du Gard became increasingly aware of the implications of World War I. In the subsequent expression of these goals, he has been, with several exceptions, successful. The incongruity of some statements, implying as they do an awareness of the future, has been seen to detract from the novel's historical authenticity. The expression of ideas is often poorly integrated into the narrative, and the development of some themes belies a change in emphasis through the course of the novel. However, this is only to be expected in a period of creativity lasting from 1932 to 1939, and none of the above defects seriously impairs either the expression of individual themes or the final emotional effect.

Through Summer 1914 and Epilogue Roger Martin du Gard has been shown to have entered the ranks of the war novelists. He discovered the effect of The War on pre-war society some years after Versailles, and both his style and his conception of the role of a novelist underwent an immediate change. The material for these two volumes reflects the extent of this change and indicates his greater political involvement. In 1937 he received the Nobel Prize for Summer 1914, an indication both of the importance of his new subject material and the success of his new style. Both novels have subsequently been shown in these pages to belong to a particular group of war novels involved with social definition. They belong, in this sense, to two classes of novels. In a historical sense, they are also representative of two classes, for, just as they represent a turning point in Martin du Gard's development, they represent a turning point in the emphasis of French literature in general. Put simply, it is the shift which occurs in going from novels emphasizing the psychology of the individual and the portrayal of character to the novel concerned with social concepts and their effect on the individual. Stendhal, Laclos, Balzac, and Constant are all illustrative of novelists of the former type while Malraux, Sartre, and Camus illustrate the latter. To do justice to the full implications of this aspect of Martin du Gard's novels would, unfortunately, require a paper similar in length to the present one. Knowledge of its existence, however, allows us to understand more fully the effect of The War on French literature and the dual role which Roger Martin du Gard played in its development. For, in defining a transitional period in history, he helped to create a transition in the form of the novel.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Jules Romains, *Verdun*, (New York: Knopf, 1939), p. 67.

[2] Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet On the Western Front*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1940), p.62.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

[5] Henri Barbusse, *Under Fire*, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1917), p. 51.

[6] Ford Maddox Ford, *Parade's End*, (New York: Signet, 1964), p. 310-311.

[7] Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, (New York: Vintage, 1952), p. 5.

[8] Clément Borgal, *Roger Martin du Gard*, (Paris: 1957), p, 113.

[9] David Schalk, "The novels of Roger Martin du Gard: A case study in the attainment of historical consciousness," unpublished Ph. D. thesis, (Harvard University: 1963), p. 83.

[10] Jacques Copeau, "Sa Vie," *Marianne* (November 18, 1937), p. 4.

[11] Roger Martin du Gard, *The Thibaults*, (New York: Viking, 1939), p. 587.

[12] Roger Martin du Gard, *Summer 1914*, (New York: Viking, 1941), p. 25.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 590-592.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 533.

[26] *Ibid.*m p. 597.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 670.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 711.

[29] *Ibid.*; p. 711.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 594.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 873.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 880.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 901.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 865.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 907

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 922.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 785.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 824.

[39] *Ibid.*, p 919.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 592.

[41] Denis Boak, *Roger Martin du Gard*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), p. 129.

[42] Schalk, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[43] Martin du Gard, *op. cit.*, p. 930.

[44] Schalk, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

[45] Martin du Gard, *op. cit.*, p. 988

[46] Louis Untermeyer, Ed., *Modern American Poetry*, (New York: 1958), p. 376.

[47] George L. Mosse, The Culture of Western Europe, (New York: Rand McNally, 1961), p. 289.

[48] Mosse, op. cit., p. 297.

[49] Schalk, op. cit., p. 143.

[50] Martin du Gard, op. cit., p. 1005.