Palm-Wine and Drinkards: 
African Literature and its Critics

PETER SABOR

The fecundity of modern African literature is matched by the fertility of its critics: as fast as palm-wine is distilled, drinkards are reporting on the vintage. Gerald Moore, Eustace Palmer, and Robert Fraser, who have previously published well-known works on African writing, are here concerned with some of its most recent and interesting developments.¹

Moore's first book, Seven African Writers,² was a pioneering study in an uncharted field. Twelve African Writers is loosely based on its predecessor, but it is largely rewritten and greatly expanded. Two of Moore's original authors (Amos Tutuola and David Diop) are omitted, and seven new ones are added. Seven Anglophone and five Francophone writers from West, East, and Southern Africa are chosen, and poetry, fiction, drama, and criticism are all discussed. Palmer, author of An Introduction to the African Novel,³ has written an entirely new work. Misleadingly entitled The Growth of the African Novel, ten of its twelve chapters are devoted to West African writers (six Anglophone, four Francophone); the two concluding chapters on the Kenyans Ngugi and Meja Mwangi thus seem oddly detached. Fraser’s monograph, The Novels of Ayi Kwei Armah, studies the five novels of the controversial Ghanaian writer, whose Two Thousand Seasons is also discussed by Palmer.

Moore begins his elegantly written work with an account of its scope and its critical premises. Inevitably, major authors have been neglected; apart from Diop, who died in 1960, and Tutuola, no longer active, Moore regrets the absence of such new writers as Nuruddin Farah, Ebrahim Hussein, Kole Omotoso, and Femi Osofian, and established ones, such as Armah and Elechi Amadi.
The selection is well balanced, both geographically and linguistically, and the chronological arrangement is more effective than a regional one in indicating the development of African literature. Moore locates his critical approach between the extremes of pure formalism and sociological inquiry. His models are works such as Terry Eagleton’s *Criticism and Ideology* and Tony Bennett’s *Formalism and Marxism*, which seek to reconcile Marxist and formalist criticism. Moore also takes a stand between critics like Palmer, who contend that African literature should be judged by universal criteria, and those who speak of a “black aesthetic.”

Moore’s interest in diverse modes of criticism is one of the strengths of his book: another is command of both French and English African writing. Most of the translations of Francophone authors are his own, and they are admirably sensitive to nuances of meaning, rhythm, and tone. A comprehensive primary bibliography provides publishing details of French and English works and of English translations, and there is also a list of further reading.

Of the five revised chapters, the most lightly touched is that on Léopold Senghor, who has published little new poetry in the last two decades. Moore does add a brief account of *Lettres de l'Hivernage* (1972), but this “quietist” work, contrasting strangely with the sonorous public poetry of Senghor’s maturity, is evidently not to Moore’s taste. Camara Laye, who died in 1980, also published little new work after the 1950’s. Moore finds his third novel, *Dramouss* (1966), a sad anticlimax after the hauntingly autobiographical *L’Enfant Noir* (1953), and the richly symbolic *Le Regard du Roi* (1954). A fourth work, *Le Maître de la Parole* (1978), appeared too late for inclusion in Moore’s study, although there is a brief account of it as work in progress.

In his other revised chapters, Moore has a wealth of new material to consider. Es’kia Mphahlele’s second last novel, *The Wanderers* (1971), is treated as a *roman à clef*, with Emil identified as the critic Ulli Beier. This approach impoverishes the fiction, and Moore’s assertion that “the reader is bound to test the verisimilitude of the author’s characters against their originals” (p. 61) is unwarranted. More fruitful are a discussion of Mphahlele’s seminal critical work, *The African Image*, and some brief
but astute remarks on the multiple cultural strands of South African literature. A chapter on the "coloured" novelist Alex La Guma complements that on Mphahlele. Moore's account of La Guma's powerful first book, _A Walk in the Night_ (1962), is routine, but his analysis of the two most recent novels, _In the Fog of Season's End_ (1972) and _Time of the Butcherbird_ (1979) are of especial interest. More admires La Guma's range of characterization (contrasting with the stereotyped depiction of whites and Indians in Mphahlele's fiction), and he writes eloquently of La Guma's rendition of the "raw, sharp flavour of experience in a society where racism is the very air we breathe" (p. 107).

Chinua Achebe's celebrated trilogy — _Things Fall Apart_ (1958), _No Longer at Ease_ (1960), and _Arrow of God_ (1964) — receives extensive treatment in a much revised and expanded chapter. Moore rightly, I believe, regards _Arrow of God_ as Achebe's masterpiece, "by virtue of its complexity, richness of texture and moral depth" (p. 136), and he is acutely aware of the fascinating ambiguity of Ezeulu's actions. _A Man of the People_ (1966), in contrast, is rapidly dismissed as a merely topical work, and the stories, poetry, and criticism that Achebe has published in the 1970's are all seen as postscripts to the trilogy. Moore has high praise for some of the stories in _Girls at War_ (1972), but he describes them as "vignettes," in contrast to the "major statement which the novel offers" (p. 143). The critical assumptions here are dubious: surely the short story can achieve greatness, and should not be seen as inevitably inferior to full-length fiction.

The most interesting of the revised chapters is that on Mongo Beti, whose reputation rests largely on the four novels he wrote between 1954 and 1958, all discussed in _Seven African Writers_. After a sixteen year hiatus, however, there came a new flourish of activity: two novels published in 1974, _Remember Ruben_ and _Perpétue et l'Habitude du Malheur_, a memoir, _Main Basse sur le Cameroun_ (1977), and a seventh novel, _La Ruine Presque Cassée d'un Polichinelle_ (1979). Moore's discussion of _Remember Ruben_, which he has recently translated, as an epic novel is especially valuable; _Perpétue_, which Moore sees as a lesser work, is given briefer consideration. It is unfortunate that the memoir and the seventh novel were published too recently to receive much
attention here; a fuller analysis of the relationship between the historical chronicle Main Basse sur le Cameroun and its fictional treatment in Remember Ruben, as well as a study of La Ruine as a sequel to Remember Ruben, is much needed.

Moore’s interest in the African epic novel is reflected in his fine accounts of Sembène Ousmane’s Les Bouts de Bois de Dieu (1960), and Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s Petals of Blood (1977). Moore suggests that “the modern prose epic must generally avoid the supernatural and the marvellous which predominated at the birth of the form, but it must retain the heroic dimension and offer us the spectacle of a people transcending themselves before the challenge of extraordinary events” (p. 75). This useful definition serves as a basis for Moore’s survey of the epic novel in Cameroon, Senegal, and Kenya, with Petals of Blood seen as a pinnacle. Ngugi, Moore contends, has linked “the art of fiction with the traditional arts of his people” (p. 286): the marriage of the imported novel form to an indigenous African culture has been consummated.

Wole Soyinka, author of some fifteen plays, four books of poetry, two major novels, a memoir, and numerous incisive critical essays, is the least amenable of Moore’s twelve writers to chapter-length treatment. Moore believes that “a substitution of mythic for historical consciousness” unifies the diverse writings of Soyinka, for whom “the heroic gesture is an assertion of will which has value, whether it succeeds in its objective or not” (p. 218). Most of the chapter, however, is devoted to Soyinka’s post-Civil War works, so that the assertion of unity cannot be properly demonstrated. Moore discusses a recent play, Death and the King’s Horsemen (1975), and the second novel, Season of Anomy (1973), at some length, but the other writings are given only cursory consideration. There are many tantalizing observations — “Soyinka as an artist is a combination of tragic pessimist and exuberant pessimist” (p. 235) — but to see them developed the reader must turn to Moore’s recently revised monograph. The chapter is one of the shortest in the book, as though Moore had realized the impossibility of his task.

Like Soyinka, the Ghanaian Kofi Awoonor has published poetry, fiction, and drama, as well as a major critical work, The
Breast of the Earth (1975), surveying African history, culture, and literature. In an extensive study of Awoonor's poetry, Moore traces the intertwining of American images with the Ewe poetic tradition. Moore also devotes a delightful paragraph to Awoonor's vitriolic "Songs of Abuse" and the tradition of African abuse poetry: "what matters is not the accuracy of the epithets, but that they should overwhelm the opponents with superior violence or more deadly venom" (p. 253). Awoonor's allegorical novel, This Earth my Brother (1969), is read in conjunction with Armah's Fragments (1970). The comparisons are suggestive: both novels are richly symbolic, both have complex numerological structures, and each writer urges "a return to the true spiritual values of his people, without taking account of those values being rooted in a way of life which has itself vanished" (p. 250). Moore's perceptive remarks on Fragments, and his subsequent comparisons between Two Thousand Seasons and Petals of Blood as epic novels, make one wish for a separate chapter on Armah's fiction. Armah also features prominently in the published excerpt from Awoonor's novel Comes the Voyager at Last, in which he appears, thinly disguised, as the writer of "real tough books which set out not only his hatred for everybody and everything — his country, his mother, and even those who secretly admired him, but also for himself" (p. 251). Moore, however, is not amused by the satire.

In contrast to the remarkably prolific and versatile Soyinka and Awoonor, the Ugandan poet Okot p'Bitek is known for one outstanding work, the Song of Lawino (1966). Moore rightly treats the poem not as a soliloquy but as a dramatic monologue, pointing out the inaccuracy of the publisher's subtitle, "A lament by Okot p'Bitek," and noting that "Okot has created a dramatic persona who is not himself, whose life experience and horizons are not his own, and whose song is just as full of anger, scorn and triumph as it is of lamentation" (p. 171). Moore's comparison of Okot's two versions of the poem, originally written in the Lwo language of northern Uganda but first published in English, is especially illuminating: the English poem loses the richness of rhyming and aural effects of the original, but preserves its economy of expression. The Song of Lawino was followed by the Song
of Ocol (1970), in which Lawino’s unrepentant husband is given a monologue of his own. Moore has little sympathy with this work, contending that the persona of Ocol is too foolish to be of interest and that Okot’s poem is “notably poorer and slighter than his earlier masterpiece” (p. 183). Of greater significance are the Two Songs published in 1971, the “Song of Prisoner” and “Song of Malaga” (Prostitute). Less well known than the Song of Lawino these poems are equally powerful, and Moore’s discussion does justice to their remarkable energy and eclecticism.

Okot’s contemporary, the Congolese poet Tchicaya U Tam’si, is the author of two recent plays and seven collections of poetry, a selection of which Moore has already translated. It is, however, regrettable that as in his chapter on Senghor, Moore provides few quotations in the original French, but discusses complex poetic effects in translation. To savour the “torrent of freely associating images which flow backwards and forward within the poems” (p. 151), enthusiastically described by Moore, the reader must seek out the original versions.

Five of Moore’s twelve authors — Achebe, Beti, Soyinka, Ousmane, and Ngugi — are studied in Palmer’s The Growth of the African Novel. Palmer’s earlier work, An Introduction to the African Novel, was severely criticized by many African writers for its persistently European frame of reference. The redoubtable Chinweizu, for example, was appalled to learn that Palmer, born in Sierra Leone, had been mistaken for a Westerner by an English reviewer, “a blatant example of the successful assimilation of an African writer into Eurocentric consciousness”; while Adeola James saw the incident as revealing “the extent of his detachment and his complete lack of involvement.”

Palmer’s introduction to The Growth of the African Novel is largely concerned with refuting these changes. The novel, he points out, unlike poetry and drama, “is not an indigenous African genre” (p. 5), and the African novelists are more indebted to their Victorian predecessors than to the African oral tale. The critic of the African novel is therefore justified in using such characteristically Western criteria as “social relevance and artistry” (p. 10), which Palmer contends are universal. Palmer is evidently
undeterred by his detractors, and the critical stance taken here is very close to that of his earlier work.

Strangely absent from the introduction is any explanation of the choice of authors and works to be studied. Two of the seven novelists represented in An Introduction to the African Novel, the Nigerians Gabriel Okara and Elechi Amadi, are dropped. Okara has published no new fiction since his fascinating experimental novel, The Voice (1970), but Amada has completed a fine trilogy with the publication of The Slave (1978), and his omission here is regrettable. Two novels are studied in isolation from their authors' other works: Ngugi's Petals of Blood and Armah's Two Thousand Seasons. Since Palmer has a chapter on Ngugi's three previous novels in An Introduction, and since Petals of Blood is worth a chapter to itself, the procedure here is justifiable, but to select Armah's worst novel for special consideration seems perverse. The inclusion of Tutuola and Cyprian Ekwensi can be explained on historical grounds, but the publisher's claim that these writers, the subjects of numerous articles and monographs, have been neglected is absurd.

The contrast between Palmer's and Moore's critical approaches is exemplified by their respective chapters on Achebe. Both admire his first novel, Things Fall Apart, but for different reasons. Palmer perceives "a mastery of plot and structure, strength of characterization, competence in the manipulation of language and consistency and depth of thematic exploration" (p. 63) — the very qualities found in the great Victorian novels. Moor, however, is concerned with questions of verisimilitude: "The novelist presents to us a picture of traditional Igbo life as just as he can make it" (p. 125). Palmer regards Arrow of God as a lesser work than Things Fall Apart, lacking its structural unity, range of characterization, and masterful control of language. For Moore, in contrast, Arrow of God is Achebe's masterpiece, providing "both a deeper and a fuller account of traditional Igbo civilization in decline" than the other novels (p. 132). A Man of the People is merely modish for Moore, despite its stylistic brilliance. For Palmer, however, the work is distinguished by Achebe's "ironic manipulation," "control over the language," and "ability to bend it to accommodate his insights" (p. 83). It is evi-
dent that Palmer and Moore are seeking different qualities in the African novel. For Palmer, Achebe’s art develops in his final novel as his linguistic control increases: for Moore it declines as his exploration of Igbo society becomes more superficial.

Palmer’s chapter on Soyinka is the longest and most impressive in his book. Dealing entirely with the two novels, The Interpreters (1965) and Season of Anomy (1973), it has a much clearer focus than Moore’s rapid survey, and Palmer’s patient expository technique is well suited to the clotted texture and intricate structure of Soyinka’s fiction. One may disagree with Palmer’s contention that Season of Anomy is “a more satisfying work of art” (p. 268), but the contrasts made between the two novels are consistently suggestive. Palmer is sensitive to Soyinka’s rapid shifts of tone and to the mingled beauty and violence, comedy and horror that characterize the novels.

Palmer’s treatment of the Francophone novelists Mongo Beti, Sembène Ousmane, and Ferdinand Oyono is much less adroit. He truncates Beti’s oeuvre at both ends, ignoring Ville Cruelle (1954)⁹ (and mistakenly describing Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba as Beti’s first novel) as well as the three most recent novels. Finding Le Roi Miraculé (1958) much inferior to its predecessors, Palmer states that “it remains to be seen whether it really marks the decline of Mongo Beti” (p. 159). Since both Remember Ruben and Perpétue had been published five years before Palmer’s study, nothing “remains to be seen.” Palmer apparently depends entirely on English translations for his knowledge of French African literature, and this creates odd gaps in his coverage. Ville Cruelle, for example, has never been translated, so Palmer ignores its existence; while the translations of the two novels of 1974 appeared too late for his work. A note criticizing Peter Green’s translation of Mission Terminée (1957) is likewise unsatisfactory: a responsible critic dissatisfied with published translations should provide his own.

Similar problems mar Palmer’s chapters on Ousmane and Oyono. Unlike Moore, who traces the evolution of Les Bouts de Bois de Dieu from Ousmane’s two previous novels, Palmer ignores these works, presumably because they have not yet appeared in English translation; an author’s oeuvre thus becomes a matter
of chance. Palmer’s statement that Ousmane’s “cinematic tech­
nique” in Les Bouts de Bois de Dieu “gives glimpses of the artistry 
of the . . . successful film director” (p. 197) is also incomplete 
without at least a brief account of the director’s films, which few 
of Palmer’s readers, either in Africa or in the West, will have had 
the opportunity to see. Ferdinand Oyono’s two early novels, Une 
Vie de Boy and Le Vieux Nègre et la Médaille, were both first 
published in 1956. They are splendidly vigorous satires, and 
Palmer does justice both to their comic verve and to their serious 
social concerns, but again the chapter is abruptly foreshortened, 
with no mention of the as yet untranslated Chemin d’Europe 
(1960) and Le Pandémonium (1971).

Palmer’s two opening chapters are on the pioneering Nigerian 
 novelists Tutuola and Ekwensi. The survey of Tutuola’s fiction is 
mechanical, and a schoolmasterly listing of grammatical errors 
leads to the bathetic discovery that “Tutuola’s English is demon­
strably poor” (p. 25). Comparing Tutuola’s six novels, Palmer 
observes that since The Palm-Wine Drinkard (1954) “there has 
been a distinct falling off of power” (p. 28), an uninspiring con­
clusion. In An Introduction to the African Novel, Palmer dis­
m issed Ekw ensi as unworthy of critical attention: “his literary 
affinities are really with fourth-rate American sex-and-crime fic­
tion” (p. xii). Here he takes a more moderate stand, stressing the 
seriousness of Ekwensi’s social and political interests as well as his 
artistic shortcomings. Ekwensi, he concludes, is “relevant to Afri­
cans” (p. 67), an incongruous statement in a work which has 
rejected the use of “indigenous criteria” in criticizing the African 

novel.

Palmer is expert at revealing the design of a well-crafted novel, 
such as Things Fall Apart or Petals of Blood, but the method is 
too ponderous for the works of popular novelists, such as Tutuola, 
Ekwensi, or T. M. Aluko. In each case Palmer finds himself 
drawing up lists of weaknesses: thus Aluko’s comic novel One 
Man, One Wife (1959) has “poor characterization, lack of psy­
chological penetration and consistency, lack of thematic clarity, 
little sensitivity to language, little sense of plot and structure and 
an overabundance of melodrama” (p. 110). So, of course, do
most best-sellers, but such matters are unlikely to deter their un­sophisticated readers.

Palmer's strength in comparative analysis, revealed in his fine chapter on Soyinka's novels, is also a feature of his consecutive chapters on Yambo Ouologuem's only novel, *Le Devoir de Violence* (1968), and Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973). Palmer begins his chapter on *Two Thousand Seasons* with an admirably clear distinction between the two works:

The similarity with Ouologuem is obvious; but where the anti-Negritudist Malian author seeks to dispel all the myths about African history, declaring that black notables, no less than Arab and European conquerors and imperialists were responsible for the historical degradation of the continent, Armah adopts an essentially Negritudist position, the net effect of his presentation being the total condemnation of the Arabs and Europeans as the destroyers of the pristine values of a pure Africa. (p. 221)

Both authors, he notes, make use of the African oral narrative tradition, and both, of course, devote large parts of their novels to lavish presentations of violent sexuality, exotic perversions, and torture. In the case of *Le Devoir de Violence*, Palmer argues that the persistent cruelty is "absolutely necessary to the author's purposes," since Ouologuem "seeks to dispel all the myths about Africa and to reveal the candid truth" (pp. 199-200). *Two Thousand Seasons*, however, cannot be justified so readily, and Palmer concedes that "there is no mistaking the relish with which Armah describes the killing of the white men" (p. 237). Nevertheless, Palmer agrees with Soyinka that "the work is rescued from a destructive, negative racism by the positive nature of its message" (p. 238) — an argument that could also be used in support of *Mein Kampf*.

In his monograph on Armah, Robert Fraser also studies *Two Thousand Seasons* in conjunction with *Le Devoir de Violence*, but he contrasts them in terms of their seriousness. Armah's novel, he believes, is "*littérature engagée* at its most earnest," whereas Ouologuem's has "a certain glibness" (p. 70). Like Palmer, Fraser resorts to strained arguments to defend the novel's racism. The depiction of whites as bloodthirsty ogres, he contends, is taken so
far "that it no longer occupies the domain of realist art" (p. 72); surrealist bigotry is thus acceptable.

Fraser's study falls naturally into two parts: the first on Ar­mah's brilliant early novels set in contemporary Africa — *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968), *Fragments* (1970), and *Why Are We So Blest?* (1972); the second on the very different historical fictions, *Two Thousand Seasons* and *The Healers* (1978). Fraser points out some of the special features of the last two novels: their lack of a clear narrative structure, the vast tract of time covered, the virtual absence of individual personalities, and the insistent presence of an authorial commentator. He does not, however, concede what must seem obvious to many: that there is a catastrophic decline in quality in the histories. They are described, in Fraser's concluding paragraph, as "instruments of persuasion . . . valid not merely for the individual reader in his study or schoolroom, but for the community at odds with itself" (p. 106). But communal readings of novels are rare, and divided societies might be united but not enlightened by racist invective.

Armah's first three novels deserve more sophisticated readings than Fraser's pedestrian monograph, with its copious plot summaries, provides. Fraser seems to be writing for an audience that has read neither Armah's novels nor much else, as a paragraph glossing "Promethean" suggests (p. 61). This is also an ill-written work, replete with grammatical errors and solecisms. The links that Fraser draws between Armah and Frantz Fanon in an introductory chapter are suggestive, but the conclusion, speaking of Armah's work as "no mean feat" and supplying "a resolute and probing beam" (p. 106), takes refuge in tired clichés. Perhaps the most useful part of the book is its bibliography, listing British, American, and African editions of Armah's novels and other writings, as well as a selection of secondary sources. The reader of *Two Thousand Seasons* may be astonished to find Armah publishing short stories in those bastions of the white establishment, *Atlantic* and *Harper's Magazine*.

The profusion of plot summary in both Fraser's and Palmer's works suggests that they are aimed at readers beginning an acquaintance with African literature. Gerald Moore is writing for a more scholarly readership, and his comprehensive survey is one of
the best yet published. After twenty years of activity in the field, however, the demand for such surveys must surely be dwindling. A plethora of overviews of African literature, of collections of critical essays by one or by several hands, of monographs on established writers such as Achebe and Soyinka, and of articles on single works has been published; what is now most needed are studies of the new wave of major writers. Valuable monographs on Okot p’Bitek, Ngugi, and Laye have recently appeared. It is unfortunate that Fraser’s book on Armah, whose first three novels make a rich contribution to African literature, fails to clarify the achievement of an immensely gifted writer.

NOTES


6 In Okike, 7 (1975).


9 Ville Cruelle was published under the pseudonym of Eza Boto. Mongo Beti is itself a pseudonym for Alexandre Biyidi-Awala.

10 Palmer twice writes One Man, One Matchet (the title of Aluko’s second novel) for One Man, One Wife (pp. 102, 103).

11 Some excellent articles on the five novels have been published, including Kolawole Ogungbesan’s “Symbol and Meaning in The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born,” African Literature Today, 7 (1975), 93-110; Edward Lobb’s “Armah’s Fragments and the Vision of the Whole,” Ariel, 10 (1979), 25-38, and “Personal and Political Fate in Armah’s Why Are We So Blest?,” World Literature Written in English, 19 (1980), 5-18; and Charles Nnolim’s “Dialectic as Form: Pejorism in the Novels of Armah,”

12 “Hopefully” and “totally,” for example, are misused throughout; and on the second page Fraser gives a singular subject a plural verb (“his consciousness of the needs of a wider audience have caused”). There also are errors in titles: Awoonor’s The Breast of the Earth appears as The Bread of the Earth (p. 81); while Fanon’s The Wretched of the Earth becomes, perhaps appropriately, The Wretched of the East (p. 14).