Into the World of Destruction:  
The Allegory of Nazism in C. S. Lewis’s  
*The Pilgrim’s Regress*

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Introduction

In the summer of 1932, C. S. Lewis (1898-1963) wrote his very first fiction, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, when the new political order began to emerge in European countries. The title evokes *The Pilgrim’s Progress* by John Bunyan, and *The Pilgrim’s Regress* is indeed an allegorical tale in which a protagonist makes a spiritual journey in the form of a dream.¹ The protagonist, John, lives in a city called Puritania. Being tired of the harsh rules set by the Landlord, who is an allegorical representation of God, John is attracted to the vision of the Island. In order to pursue this vision, he begins his journey to the West, leaving the Landlord and the eastern mountains. On his way to the West, he meets various characters that embody political movements, thoughts, and theories, at the beginning of the twentieth century. These characters try to answer John’s questions related to the Landlord and the Island from their perspectives, though he is not satisfied with them.² He finally reaches the West with his companion, Vertue, an allegorical representation of John’s conscience. After accomplishing this, John realizes that truth lies in the East, and he starts to “regress” to the eastern mountains. Although *The Pilgrim’s Regress* was not a commercial success, critics praised its high degree of perfection.³ As it is a story of a man’s search for spiritual satisfaction that eventually
leads to Christianity, some researchers point out similarities between Lewis and John’s conversions.4 Because of the Christian elements, the influence of the rise of German Nazism on The Pilgrim’s Regress has seldom been brought into focus. The purpose of this paper is to examine the allegory of Nazism in the novel closely.

This article consists of four sections: “Historical Background and Previous Studies,” “Savage and Dwarfs as Allegories of Nazism: Philosophy,” “Savage and Dwarfs as Different Species: Pseudo-Darwinian Principle,” and “Savage and Dwarfs as Tempting Threats: Religious Elements.” In the first section, the historical background of the novel and previous studies will be discussed. Following the first section, the second one studies the mythological characters, Savage and dwarfs, as allegorical representations of the political movements based on the particular philosophical doctrine. The third section focuses on the term “species,” as used by Vertue, in order to examine the Nazi principle of exclusivism supported by pseudo-Darwinism. The final section investigates Nazism’s religious elements described in Vertue’s attraction to Savage, before concluding with an examination of anti-fascist elements within The Pilgrim’s Regress.

1. Historical Background and Previous Studies

Although The Pilgrim’s Regress seems to reflect the political situation around the time of its composition, its relationship to the historical background has largely been neglected. As Lewis left a letter demonstrating his belief that the historical background shapes the novel, its importance cannot be overemphasized. This section chiefly examines the situation in Europe around the time of the publication of The Pilgrim’s Regress. Firstly, this section focuses on the rise of the new political movements from the 1920s to the 1930s. With reference to the historical background, it will also be explained here how the fascist movement correlates with Lewis’s
writing and publishing of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*. Then, Lewis’s attitude towards fascism, especially Hitler’s Nazism, will be analyzed from Lewis’s letters. Before concluding this section, previous studies on the historical background of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* will be discussed.

Considering the publication year of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, it is important to examine how the political situation affected the novel. After the Russian Revolution and the First World War, the established order in Europe began to disintegrate. People, thus, started to search for new means to transform the world. This significant change led them to espouse the new political movements: Communism and Fascism (including Italian Fascism and German Nazism). The Communist movement began to develop in Britain when the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) was founded in 1920. Following the formation of CPGB, the Soviet Union was founded to prove the validity of new regime. CPGB never became a mass party in Britain, and another movement started to flourish at the beginning of the 1930s. In Germany, the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, commonly referred to as the Nazi Party, began to extend its power. Heavily influenced by Hitler and Mussolini, Sir Oswald Mosley became the leader of the British Union of Fascists (BUF) in October 1932. Although Mosley’s fascist political party could not seize power, some British citizens began to be wary of the rise of fascism in Britain. Only a month before the formation of BUF, Lewis wrote the first draft of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* while visiting Arthur Greeves’s house in Belfast from 15 to 29 August 1932 (Green et al. 127). A few months later, Lewis sent the revised manuscript of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* to J. M. Dent and Sons, and published on 25 May 1933 (Green et al. 131). Meanwhile, Adolf Hitler was appointed as Chancellor of Germany in January 1933. *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, accordingly, was written and published when this political movement began to affect European countries.
It is noteworthy that Lewis was conscious of the rise of Nazism around the time of the publication. Some of Lewis’s letters, papers and other publications imply that he often set himself in direct opposition to Nazi Germany. His attitude to Nazism is partly embodied in a letter to Greeves on 5 November 1933, which was written six months after the publication of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*. Here, Lewis explains the reason for his anger against Nazism:

... nothing can fully excuse the iniquity of Hitler’s persecution of the Jews, or the absurdity of his theoretical position. Did you see that he said “The Jews have made no contribution to human culture and in crushing them I am doing the will (sic.) of the Lord.” Now as the whole idea of the “Will of the Lord” is precisely what the world owes to the Jews, the blaspheming tyrant has just fixed his absurdity for all to see in a single sentence, and shown that he is as contemptible for his stupidity as he is detestable for his cruelty. (*C. S. Lewis: Collected Letters* vol.2 128)

Calling Hitler “the blaspheming tyrant,” Lewis demonstrates his attitudes from his position as a Christian. In the same letter, Lewis also indicates that his idea about Nazism is depicted in *The Pilgrim’s Regress*. Following the descriptions of his resentment against Hitler’s political position in the letter, Lewis states as follows: “read the chapter about Mr. Savage in the *Regress* and you have my views” (*CL* vol.2 128). This letter suggests that Lewis linked the novel to the contemporary political situation. Clearly the fascist movement had some influence on the writing of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*.

In addition to Lewis’s letter to Greeves, Lewis repeatedly describes his antipathy towards German Nazism and Communism in the 1940s. Exchanging letters with his friends and brother, Lewis often argues about Christianity, frequently mentioning Stalin and Hitler. On 16 April 1940,
Lewis sent a letter to Bede Griffiths, theologian and Lewis’s lifelong friend, discussing the difficulty of prayers for Hitler and Stalin. “The practical problem about charity (in our prayers) is very hard work, isn’t it? When you pray for Hitler and Stalin, how do you actually teach yourself to make the prayer real?” (CL vol.2 391). In a letter to his brother on 4 May 1940, he also refers that he is tempted to hate Stalin and Hitler (CL vol.2 408). Lewis obviously regards them not only as the enemy of Britain but of Christians generally. Lewis’s anti-fascist or anti-communist perspectives imply how Lewis saw these movements as an existing evil. After World War II, Lewis wrote to Don Giovanni Calabria, founder of the Congregation of the Poor Servants of Divine Providence, on 20 September 1947 as follows:

> Even now we see more charity, or certainly less hatred, between separated Christians than there was a century ago. The chief cause of this (under God) seems to me to be the swelling pride and barbarity of the unbelievers. Hitler, unknowingly and unwillingly, greatly benefited the Church! (CL vol.2 804)

By the end of the war, Lewis, even humorously, describes Hitler’s role as uniting separated Christians. Though Lewis’s view changed in the course of time, the letter to Greeves in 1933 and the subsequent letters during the 1940s suggest that Lewis’s aversion is based on his position as a Christian apologist.

Although the study of Lewis’s theology is pursued actively, the allegory of the impending threat of Nazism in The Pilgrim’s Regress has been little discussed. The importance of its historical background is highlighted by some researchers. Mona Dunckel, for example, points out that The Pilgrim’s Regress is invaluable not only as Lewis’s autobiography but also as a social history of the post-World War I period (47). Dunckel, however, does not examine the novel as a portrait of political movements. Kath
Filmer investigates Lewis's political views, including his attitudes to science, technology, and ethics. Even though she states that Lewis developed his political ideas in *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, she does not mention the allegory of Nazism (57). Lindskoog, on the other hand, clearly points out the relationship between *The Pilgrim’s Regress* and the rise of Nazism in her book, *Finding the Landlord*. Here, Lindskoog links the publication year and the rise of Nazism as follows: “Hitler had just been elected chancellor of Germany when Lewis wrote this” (64-65). Although her attention to the novel’s background is significant, her research does not grasp the importance of Nazi principles in the novel.

From this viewpoint, it is important to examine the Nazi philosophy, principle and characterization described in the novel in order to pursue Lewis’s perspective on the situation in the interwar period. As researchers often concentrate on Lewis as a Christian apologist, medievalist, and novelist, he has not been regarded as a political thinker. The new approach to *The Pilgrim’s Regress* proposed here, therefore, should shed light on Lewis’s identity as a novelist in wartime.

### 2. Savage and Dwarfs as Allegories of Nazism: Philosophy

As mentioned earlier, Lewis clarifies that the character called Savage demonstrates Lewis's own views on Nazism in the letter to Greeves. Savage appears in the sixth chapter, “Furthest North,” in Book Six, “Northward along the Canyon.” Savage is a semi-giant who lives with his vassals, the dwarfs. Vertue, who meets Savage instead of John, says that Savage plans to lead the dwarfs to war someday. This section mainly examines Savage and the dwarfs as allegories of Nazism in the light of Lewis’s indications. Before investigating the philosophy adopted by Nazism, Lewis’s headlines which imply his intention within his allegory will be considered. Then, this section turns to Savage’s characterization
embodying the philosophy of heroic nihilism. Finally, it will be expressed how Savage’s vassals, the dwarfs, represent political movements around Europe in the early twentieth century.

It is important to notice that Lewis’s headlines make it easy for readers to understand the meaning of the allegory. When the novel was first published, readers found it difficult to understand its implications. Therefore, Lewis inserted headlines on each page explaining what the story is about, in the revised edition published by Geoffrey Bles of London in 1943 (Hooper 801-02). According to Lewis’s headlines, Savage is represented as “heroic nihilism” (PR 115) and the dwarfs as “the revolutionary sub-men” (PR 111). What is apparent from these headlines is that Savage embodies an abstract concept, while the dwarfs represent concrete revolutionary movements.

Nihilism, which Savage embodies, is a doctrine that had a great impact on German thinkers and philosophers who consolidated the foundation of Nazism. The relationship between nihilism and Nazism can be traced back to Nietzsche’s theory. Nietzsche proposed that European societies encounter a purposeless state in the age of nihilism, following the death of God (Gillespie 80). Referring to Nietzsche’s views, Ernst Jünger established a theory derived from his experience as a German soldier. According to Kitchen, Jünger observed that a heroic act is manifested in the meaningless fulfilment of one’s duty, not in individual bravery because mankind is determined by the available technology (8). Jünger’s nihilistic vision of war was admired by German people, such as Martin Heidegger who attached himself to the Nazi Party. Heidegger imagined that this doctrine would produce a heroic community infused with fearless dynamism (Kitchen 9). Heroic nihilism was adopted in order to legitimate Nazism and to foster extreme nationalism by some philosophers; for example, Alfred Baeumler insisted that heroic nihilism would make the German
people conscious of their rootedness in the German earth (Bambach 275). Based on the thoughts provided by these philosophers, heroic nihilism can be characterized by two features: resignation of the current situation and fearlessness of the new world.

In *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, these two features of heroic nihilism are portrayed in Savage’s attitude. The following quotation is from the scene in which Savage clarifies his position, declaring how he perceives the world:

The rot in the world is too deep and the leak in the world is too wide. They may patch and tinker as they please, they will not save it. Better give in. Better cut the wood with the grain. If I am to live in a world of destruction let me be its agent and not its patient. (*PR* 116)

In this extract, Savage’s lament over the rotten world is noticeable. His statement is derived from his perception that nothing can save this situation. To put it precisely, this description indicates Savage’s resignation regarding the existing world. Savage, however, does not end up enduring deterioration. He is confident, aggressive, and arrogant because of his fearlessness of the new world that he would build in the future. Through Savage’s statement above, one can realize that he embodies significant features of heroic nihilism.

The allegorical meanings of Savage’s servants, accordingly, provide suggestions of political movements based on his claim. Following Lewis’s headlines, Lindskoog plainly calls the dwarfs “Fascists and Communists,” and she indicates that the Communists are referred to as the dwarf warriors called Marxomanni, while the Italian Fascists are Mussolimini, the German Nazis are Swastici, and other gangsters Gangomanni (64-65). Here, Lewis evokes words and names that remind us of these movements such as Marx, Mussolini, and Swastika.10 These descriptions suggest that the German Nazis, Italian Fascists, and the Communists are the ugly
siblings. Although these movements started to develop from different contexts, they are expressed as identical because of their violent, cruel, and perilous features. Thus, it is obvious that these dwarfs directly represent the inhumanity of the totalitarian state of these regimes.

Consequently, provided *The Pilgrim's Regress* reflects the political situation around that time, it is clear that the novel demonstrates how the political movements are seemingly justified by the philosophy. Nazism’s belief in changing the deplorable situation is advocated by qualified thinkers and philosophers. On the other hand, the accompanying movements legitimated by it are represented as sub-human. These allegories, therefore, indicate that even though philosophy is well established to justify Nazism’s validity, its movement only proves another type of totalitarian violence.

3. Savage and Dwarfs as Different Species: Pseudo-Darwinian Principle

Assuming that Savage and some dwarfs represent Nazism and related movements, *The Pilgrim’s Regress* can be understood as expressing an anti-fascist point of view allegorically. This standpoint is implied not only in Savage’s violent statements but in Vertue’s impressions of Savage and the dwarfs’ physical appearances. This section mainly examines Vertue’s exclusivism of Savage and the dwarfs and Nazi exclusivism of the non-Aryans in terms of Darwinism. First, it will be explained how Vertue manages to keep a distance from Savage and the dwarfs by conceiving of them as different types of species. Second, this section focuses on the term, species, and how it historically justified the Nazi concept of exclusivism. Added to this, Lewis’s standpoint described in a post-World War II paper will be investigated in order to examine how he regarded the Nazi concept. Finally, this section discusses how Vertue’s statement reflects his percep-
tion of Savage and the dwarfs, by comparing it with Nazi exclusivism.

Vertue’s emphasis on the physical differences of Savage and the dwarfs from mankind suggests a clear line drawn between them. As Savage is a semi-giant and the dwarfs are tiny creatures, these two also have significant differences from each other. Vertue, however, lumps them together to distinguish himself from them, categorizing them into different species. The dwarfs, for example, are described as follows: “They were not men, you know, not dwarf men, but real dwarfs — trolls. They could talk, and they walk on two legs, but the structure must be quite different from ours” (PR 111). It is obvious from this extract that Vertue does not regard the dwarfs as simply short men because they seemingly have independent physical structures. “Dwarf” is a term frequently used for men, so Vertue uses a different word, “trolls,” in order to separate them from mankind. Following this, Vertue says “It is a different species – however it came there” (PR 111). Here, Vertue determines to regard the dwarfs as a “different species.” If the dwarfs are an allegory of political movements, Vertue seems to persuade himself that these political movements have no affinity to him. Likewise, Savage is regarded as a different species from Vertue, though he is a semi-giant who could be conceived as merely a big man. Vertue confesses: “I had the same feeling about him that I had about the dwarfs. The doubt about the species” (PR 112). Vertue’s emphasis on species leads to an assumption that he keeps a distance from nonhuman creatures. These allegorical portraits suggest the reflection of a gap between Nazism and other ideologies in Europe around that time.

Vertue’s emphasis on species leads to the Nazi concept of exclusivism of the non-Aryan species. Historically, the word “species” was used by Charles Darwin, the English natural historian and geologist in the nineteenth century. Darwin’s published work, On the Origin of Species (1859), had a fundamental effect on the Christian concept of human beings. The
relationship between Darwinism and the Nazi movement has been studied by many scholars. Robert Paxton, for example, regards fascism as the system of people who justify their violence in the struggle of Darwinism (342). Yvonne Sherratt states that Ernest Haeckel had the greatest influence on the Nazi concept. She states that Haeckel, following Darwin’s theory, eventually developed his theory that the Aryans are the fittest. Haeckel asserted the superiority of the Aryans and the inferiority of the other species (Sherratt 87-91). In Nazi Germany’s adoption of this twisted form of Darwinism, the victims of the holocaust were considered to be different species — for example, Jews, homosexuals, physically or mentally handicapped people, and others. It can be concluded that the term, species, indicates a Nazi concept based on the claim of superiority of their race.

Lewis was fully aware of Nazi Germany’s exclusivism and he declares his position against its principle. His paper entitled “Vivisection” (1948) demonstrates his idea of how one’s exclusivism possibly allows inhuman acts. As the title implies, Lewis deals with the problem of the vivisection of animals. He claims that people have a sentiment for mankind, and it justifies the vivisection of animals. However, he suggests that this sentiment for mankind is easily transformed into a sentiment for a particular race, class, or political party. Lewis takes examples of a sentiment of the white people against the black people and that of progressive people against savage people (“Vivisection” 227). It is obvious that Lewis was conscious of the fact that utter exclusivism leads us to justify the massacre of other humans. He says that “If we cut up beasts simply because they cannot prevent us and because we are backing our own side in the struggle for existence, it is only logical to cut up imbeciles, criminals, enemies, or capitalists for the same reasons” (“Vivisection” 227). This means that not only animals but people, stigmatized as different species, can easily become
victims of a group that despises them. In terms of Nazism, Lewis also
takes the example of a sentiment for the master race (Herrenvolk) against
the non-Aryans. In addition, Lewis notes that Nazi scientists did vivisec-
tion on men during the war (227). As an anti-fascist, Lewis is concerned
about vivisection as an elimination of different species, associating how
Nazi concepts justified their acts.

*The Pilgrim's Regress* highlights the issue of species. As mentioned
earlier, Vertue claims that Savage and the dwarfs, the allegories of Nazism
and related movements, are different species. Vertue’s exclusion of Savage
and the dwarfs leads to his intention to abolish any political movements
based on heroic nihilism. By applying the term that reminds contempo-
rary readers of Nazi exclusivism, the novel uses their arguments against
them. In short, Vertue deliberately employs a Nazi concept in order to
reverse its significance. Accordingly, Vertue’s emphasis on the difference
leads to a concept of binary opposition between human and nonhuman
creatures. Assuming that they are allegories reflecting the situation in the
early twentieth century, it also suggests another binary opposition: human-
ity and Nazism. Thus, it can be concluded that Vertue’s claim in terms of
the difference of species allegorically indicates the other European coun-
tries’ intention to exclude the Nazi movement.

In general, it is clear that Vertue’s statement represents Nazism as a
dangerous, irrational and uncivilized doctrine based on pseudo-Darwin-
ism. Thus Vertue, assuming that Savage and the dwarfs are different spe-
cies, keeps a distance from them. Through the emphasis on the term,
species, Vertue offers a binary opposition which parallels the one in con-
temporary European society. Thus, Vertue’s statement can be understood
as the declaration of an anti-fascist in the 1930s.

However, *The Pilgrim’s Regress* also explains the attraction of the
Nazi movements through suggesting a biological relationship between
mankind and dwarfs. Vertue hears from Savage that mankind and the dwarfs are related to each other, even though the dwarfs are seemingly a different species. The following quotation points out Vertue’s discovery:

It is hard to understand it without being a biologist. These dwarfs are a different species and an older species than ours. But, then, the specific variation is always liable to reappear in human children. They revert to the dwarf. Consequently, they are multiplying very fast; they are being increased both by ordinary breeding among themselves and also from without by those hark-backs or changelings. (PR 114)

Vertue’s statement indicates that human beings easily revert to dwarfs. This is the allegorical representation of how people are easily attached to Nazi movements. Writing around the time of the rise of the Nazi movement, Lewis warns that Nazism can easily seduce European people in The Pilgrim’s Regress. The next section demonstrates how Nazi principles could tempt people and thus collapse the binary opposition between Nazism and others.

4. Savage and Dwarfs as Tempting Threats: Religious Elements

Although The Pilgrim’s Regress expresses anti-fascist aspects, it also suggests its perilous attraction simultaneously. Through Vertue’s perplexity, this novel offers how Nazism could be so enticing and attractive that one can easily choose it as a substitution of one’s religious belief. This section mainly examines the religious elements of Nazism. First, this section focuses on Vertue’s attraction toward Savage and how he regards Savage as equivalent to the Landlord. Second, Nazism as political religion will be investigated in order to demonstrate how it won popularity and gained power. Third, the fatal defect of Nazism as a political religion will be discussed. Finally, this section demonstrates how the religious ele-
ments are implied in *The Pilgrim’s Regress*.

Although Savage’s destructiveness is demonstrated, he is also described as embodying an enticing doctrine. After coming back to John’s place, Vertue confesses his doubt in the Landlord and attraction toward Savage. The following extract is a conversation between Vertue and John:

“Do you know that I nearly decided to stay with Savage?”

“With Savage?”

“It sounds like raving, but think it over. Supposing there is no Landlord, no mountains in the East, no Island in the West, nothing but this country.” *(PR 121)*

As the Landlord represents Christian God, it is notable that Vertue is about to choose Nazism instead of Him. As Vertue allegorically represents John’s conscience, this scene suggests a sign of precariousness of John’s ability to judge his true master. In other words, Nazism is considered to have power which overwhelsms Christianity.11

The religious elements in Nazism have been argued for years since the rise of totalitarianism. The sacralization of politics was originally recognized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the eighteenth century, and the religious aspect in totalitarian systems has been studied by researchers since the 1930s (Augusteijin et al. 2-3). German people admired Hitler as their Messiah, and the Nazi regime obviously succeeded in maintaining its hold on the society (Augusteijin et al. 3). Nazism, thus, was considered to be a grave threat because of German people’s feelings of national and religious unity strengthened by Hitler’s charismatic leadership.

However, the Nazi system as a political religion was perilous because it united people without ideology. The following remark by Steigmann-Gall indicates that the religious elements of Nazism depended on its forms, not its contents: “The political religion thesis presumes the attraction to Nazism was based on emotion instead of idea, on form instead of
The ‘religion’ of political religion theory becomes the act of believing, not that which is believed” (“Nazism and the Revival of Political Religion Theory” 86). Here, it is suggested that people believed in the Nazi system even though it had no reasonable political doctrine because the act of believing became more important to them. The following quotation from Hermann Rauschning, who once associated himself with the Nazi Party, represents that Nazism was a political system that attained power without concrete ideas:

The movement was without even vague general ideas on the subject; all it had was boundless confidence: things would smooth themselves out one way or another. Give rein to the revolutionary impulse, and the problems would find their own solution. . . . that was what enabled National Socialism to win through in its own way with its practical problems. Its strength lay in incessant activity and in embarking on anything so long as it kept things moving. (23)

Nazism, even though it was a mere shell of a system exhibiting violence, extreme nationalism and exclusivism, gained power because German people’s worship of the Führer as God played an important role. The pseudo-religious elements of Nazism, thus, supported its dictatorship.

In *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, Nazism provides one’s escape from Christianity. Being tired of the world ruled by the Landlord, Vertue cannot help being attracted to Savage’s country. Though Nazi Germany completely lacked concrete ideology, it had its own systematic form of dictatorship, determined to create better country without “different species.” Through Vertue’s confusion, Lewis allegorically implies how Nazism could bring people into its system, which might make them abjure their true faith.

Viewed in this light, *The Pilgrim’s Regress* illustrates the religious elements of Nazism. Apart from its philosophy and pseudo-biological principle, its attraction as a political religion is so strong that even the allegory
of one’s consciousness, Vertue, is attracted to its system. Lewis’s apprehension of Nazi Germany, therefore, originated not only from its irrational system but its religious characterization overwhelming Christianity. Thus, The Pilgrim’s Regress represents how the binary opposition of Nazism and other ideologies could easily collapse because of its scheme.

**Conclusion**

It can be concluded that The Pilgrim’s Regress allegorically demonstrates philosophical, biological and religious features of Nazism — its heroic nihilism, twisted Darwinism, and political religion. The backbone of the Nazi movement, heroic nihilism, evokes a destructive impulse in order to create the new world dominated by Herrenvolk. The superiority of the Aryans is supported by a twisted Darwinism, which justified exclusivism and subsequently allowed the holocaust of different species. The solidarity of Nazi Germany was strengthened by its philosophy and concept so that it is regarded as a political religion. All these elements are described in the scene of Savage and the dwarfs in the novel. Although Vertue manages to distinguish himself from them, he is attracted to them. This representation suggests two aspects of Nazism; its danger and attraction. Judging from Lewis’s letters and papers declaring himself against Nazism, it is clear that he was conscious of the core of its system. Through The Pilgrim’s Regress, Lewis describes the perilous and confusing situation in Europe in the 1930s. Although Lewis is not regarded as an anti-fascist writer, and The Pilgrim’s Regress is not considered equivalent to an anti-fascist novel, this work still provides an allegorical view of Europe in the interwar period, predicting the upcoming period of destruction.

**Notes**

1. In 1936, Lewis published his scholastic work, The Allegory of Love, a study of
medieval conception focusing on allegorical methods. In this book, Lewis defines allegory as follows:

Allegory, in some sense, belongs not to medieval man but to man, or even to mind, in general. It is of the very nature of thought and language to represent what is immaterial in picturable terms. (AL 55)

Clearly Lewis regarded allegory as a general method to reveal substantial ideas and thought. David Jasper points out that The Allegory of Love provides the rhetorical backdrop to The Pilgrim's Regress (225).

2. The characters called Mr. Enlightenment and his son, Sigismund Enlightenment, are good examples to examine Lewis's allegory. On his way to the West, John meets Mr. Enlightenment. He says that there is no Landlord because no one can prove his existence. Mr. Enlightenment is considered to be a personification of nineteenth-century rationalism. On the other hand, his son Sigismund clearly implies Freudianism, his name evoking Sigmund Freud. Freud insisted on the importance of the unconscious. Sigismund, therefore, calls his father a "vain and ignorant old man" (PR 52). In terms of the Island, Sigismund states that "the Island was the pretence that you put up to conceal your own lusts from yourself" (PR 53). This parent-child relationship indicates that the value of reason has been replaced by the natural impulse in the twentieth century. As these allegories imply, it is plain that The Pilgrim's Regress is influenced by the theories existing around the time of its publication.

3. In The Times Literary Supplement, The Pilgrim's Regress received an excellent review: "It is impossible to traverse more than a few pages of the allegory without recognizing a style that is out of the ordinary" (6 July 1933, q.t.d. Green et al. 131) In Blackfriars, George Sayer said that "Thanks to a mind of quite remarkable acuity, he [Lewis] is able to expose, in only a few lines, the most essential weakness of almost every contemporary doctrine" (4 January 1936, q.t.d. Green et al. 131-32). On the other hand, some critics assumed Lewis was a Roman Catholic, and they congratulated him for making a contribution to Catholic Literature (Hooper 185). Although Lewis did not emphasize his identity as an Anglican believer while he worked as a Christian apologist, Alister E. McGrath explains that Lewis was conscious of his denominational position as an Anglican.
4. As *The Pilgrim’s Regress* was written only one year after Lewis’s conversion to Christianity, it has been regarded as a record of Lewis’s own experience of conversion. Hooper states that this novel is “an attempt to explain the elusive experience he called Joy and the part it played in his conversion” (181). Dunckel and Rowe also discuss the similarities between John and Lewis (271). Lewis, however, did not encourage readers to approach the novel as an autobiography. He wrote: “you must not assume that everything in the book is autobiographical. I was attempting to generalise, not to tell people about my own life” (*PR* 243). In this statement, Lewis is convinced of the importance of universal themes. Thus, John’s journey is not necessarily related to Lewis’s personal history of conversion.

5. Arthur Greeves was one of Lewis’s closest friends, and they exchanged letters for almost fifty years. When Lewis asked Greeves for his criticisms on *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, he suggested that all the Latin and Greek quotations should be translated or omitted (Hooper *C. S. Lewis* 130-31). Lewis’s letters to Greeves were compiled and published as *They Stand Together* (1979).

6. Two years after the original 1933 publication of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* by J. M. Dent and Sons in Britain, the second edition was published by Sheed and Ward in 1935. In the same year, *The Pilgrim’s Regress* was first published by the same publishing company in America. The third edition, with Lewis’s afterword and headlines, was published in 1943 by Geoffrey Bles (Hooper 801).

7. The descriptions of the dwarfs and giant are related to Norse mythology. It is well known that Lewis and his friend, J. R. R. Tolkien, the English writer and lecturer at Oxford, were heavily influenced by it. In Lewis’s autobiography, *Surprised by Joy* (1955), he expresses his love for the poem of Bardor, and *The Ring of the Nibelung*, especially *Twilight of the Gods*. Lewis even admits that he wrote an epic poem entitled *Loki Bound*. Lewis’s admiration for Norse mythology laid a foundation for his later fictions, such as the series of *The Chronicles of Narnia* (1950-56).

8. In the novel, Vertue heads for the furthest north with his companion, Drudge. Drudge is Mr. Sensible’s servant who appears in Book Five, “The Grand Canyon.” He later joins the group of the red dwarfs called Marxomanni. Drudge’s master, Mr. Sensible, is an allegory of “a scatterbrain who hides his
ignorance behind a cascade of seemingly erudite quotations” (Lindskoog 49).

9. All the headlines in the scene of Savage and the dwarfs are expressed as follows: “The revolutionary sub-men / Whether of the Left or the Right / Who are all alike vassals of cruelty / Heroic Nihilism laughs / At the less thoroughgoing forms of Tough-Mindness / And they have no answer to it” (PR 111-17).

10. “Swastici” is derived from swastika. A swastika is “[the] symbol (with clockwise projecting limbs) used as the emblem of the German (and other) Nazi parties” and it is also referred to as a Hakenkreuz (“swastika” def.2).

11. The relationship between Nazism and Christianity has been argued about for years because Christianity played a crucial role in the Nazi movement, though Nazism is often considered to be anti-Christian (Steigmann-Gall The Holy Reich 4). This paper does not focus on how the Nazi Party interpreted and adopted Christian doctrine, but concentrates on how Nazism’s religious elements persuaded German people to follow its regime.

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The first book written by C. S. Lewis after his conversion, The Pilgrim's Regress, is, in a sense, the record of Lewis's own search for meaning and spiritual satisfaction—a search that eventually led him to Christianity. Here is the story of the pilgrim John and his odyssey to an enchanting island which has created in him an intense. In The Great Divorce, Lewis paints a picture of how a smart, competent person could voluntarily choose hell over heaven. In his story, a man gets on a bus later revealed to be a bus that takes people from hell to heaven. The problem is, everyone in hell is pretty content right where they are. The moment they step into heaven the difference between heaven and hell becomes shocking evident. The men were as they had always been. The Pilgrim's Regress is a book of allegorical fiction by C. S. Lewis. This 1933 novel was Lewis's first published work of prose fiction, and his third piece of work to be published. Lewis described the novel to his publisher as "a kind of Bunyan up to date," in reference to John Bunyan's 17th century novel The Pilgrim's Progress, recast with the politics, ideologies, philosophy, and aesthetic principles of the early 20th century. As such, the character struggles with the modern phoniness, hypocrisy, and intellectual vacancy of the Christian church, Communism, Fascism, and various philosophical and artistic movements. The series is peppered with Christian allegory and ethics and rates among the most important writing for children in the 20th century. The Pilgrim's Regress. By C. S. Lewis. Ratings: Rating: 3 out of 5 stars (210 ratings). Length: 284 pages. Description. The first book written by C. S. Lewis after his conversion, The Pilgrim's Regress, is, in a sense, the record of Lewis's own search for meaning and spiritual satisfaction—a search that eventually led him to Christianity. Though the dragons and giants here are different from those in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Lewis's allegory performs the same function of enabling the author to say simply and through fantasy what would otherwise have demanded a full-length philosophy of religion.