

**REFLECTIONS ON THE
DEATH OF A PORCUPINE**

AND OTHER ESSAYS

D. H. LAWRENCE

**EDITED BY
MICHAEL HERBERT**



**CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
<http://www.cambridge.org>

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British Library cataloguing in publication data

Lawrence, D. H.

Reflections on the death of a porcupine and other essays. –
(The Cambridge edition of the letters and works of D. H. Lawrence)

I. Title II. Herbert, Michael, 1949–
824'.912 PR6023.A93

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885–1930.

Reflections on the death of a porcupine and other essays.
(The Cambridge edition of the letters and works of D. H. Lawrence)

Bibliography
I. Herbert, Michael 1949– . II. Title.
III. Series: Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885–1930.
Works. 1979.
PR6023.A93R4 1987 824'.912 87-10977

ISBN 0 521 26622 x hardback
ISBN 0 521 35847 7 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 1999

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INTRODUCTION

1915 'The Crown'

'The Crown' is the centre-pin of this volume. Its 1915 and 1925 versions neatly mark the outside dates of the decade during which it and all the other essays in the volume were written, and many of these other essays came under its influence, from those placed earliest in the chronological order¹ to those written at the time of its revision and collected with it in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* in 1925. But 'The Crown' also has connective functions reaching beyond the present volume. To take some of the most obvious examples, it is an intermediate stage between *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, between the 'Study of Thomas Hardy' and such later 'philosophicalish'² writings as 'The Reality of Peace', and between the original travel sketches of *Twilight in Italy* and the book version with its admixture of philosophy. Some of the links in the chain are lost, but enough evidence remains to put the main features beyond doubt.

The chain begins at least as early as the first of Lawrence's 'philosophicalish' essays, the 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*' he wrote in Italy in January 1913.³ In the largely Bible-inspired prose of the 'Foreword' the opposition starts off – in reaction to St John – between the Word and the Flesh, the Son and the Father, continuing with Man and Woman, systole and diastole, and other prefigurings of dualist notions found in later writings. However, Lawrence insisted that he 'wanted to *write* a Foreword, not to have one printed. . . I would die of shame if that Foreword

¹ The order of the essays in this volume is the order of composition. Where an essay is later revised ('The Crown' and 'Education of the People') the date of rewriting determines the place in the order. The consequent placing of 'The Crown' well on in the volume, rather than at the start, manifests the fact that the revised version is a relatively late work. This edition enables readers to distinguish between what Lawrence wrote in 1915 and what he wrote in 1925: see Appendix II.

² *Letters*, ii. 292.

³ Inaccurately printed in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Aldous Huxley (1932), pp. 95–102; to be included in the edition of *Sons and Lovers* to be published by Cambridge University Press.

were printed',⁴ and by his own account it was the war that drove him to begin the first of his philosophical writings he did intend to publish. On 5 September 1914 he sent his literary agent J. B. Pinker this personal declaration: 'What colossal idiocy, this war. Out of sheer rage I've begun my book about Thomas Hardy. It will be about anything but Thomas Hardy I am afraid. . .'⁵ During the following year, as the war took hold until it 'had gone pretty deep',⁶ 'The Crown' evolved from this 'sort of Confessions of My Heart' (ii. 235) through a series of rewritings and changes of title.

Though work on *The Rainbow* was Lawrence's chief literary occupation at the beginning of 1915, he did not forget his other intention, which soon became associated with his New Year hopes, succeeding 'my time in the sepulchre' (ii. 276) of the first five months of the war, for a revolution in society. On 24 February, when 'very, very near the end of the novel' (ii. 293), he wrote two letters outlining his plans. One was to Mary Cannan:

We must form a revolutionary party. I have talked about it with various people – also Bertrand Russell. I am going to stay with him in Cambridge, March 6th–8th. Then we shall go into it more thoroughly. The book I wrote – mostly philosophical, slightly about Hardy – I want to re-write and publish in pamphlets. We must create an idea of a new, freer life. . .⁷

The other was to Bertrand Russell himself. That patroness of artists and intellectuals, Lady Ottoline Morrell, another recently-made friend, had brought Russell to visit the Lawrences earlier in the month, and the philosopher had been as quickly enlisted for support as the hostess. The letter gives Russell more views about the better life, adding:

I wrote a book about these things – I used to call it *Le Gai Savaire*.⁸ I want now to re-write this stuff, and make it as good as I can, and publish it in pamphlets, weekly or fortnightly, and so start a campaign for this freer life. I want to talk about it when I come to Cambridge. (ii. 295)

⁴ *Letters*, i. 510. (Subsequent references to *Letters*, i., ii. and iii. are given in the text with volume and page number.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 212. For the commissioning of the book, and its subsequent fate as the essay known as 'Study of Thomas Hardy', see *Hardy* xix–xi. It was not published in DHL's lifetime.

⁶ See 'Note to The Crown' below, 249:3.

⁷ *Letters*, ii. 292–3. Mary Cannan (1867–1950), the actress Mary Ansell, former wife of Sir James Barrie, married the novelist and dramatist Gilbert Cannan in 1910.

⁸ 'Le Gai Savaire', the title on typescripts of the Hardy essay, is a French version (derived from the Provençal art of the troubadours, 'Gai Saber') of Nietzsche's *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882–7): 'The Joyful Science'. See *Hardy* 255 (note on 7:2).

Lawrence could not wait until the Cambridge visit before telling Russell about it again on 2 March, the day he finished *The Rainbow*, feeling 'very glad': 'Also I feel very profound about my book "The Signal" – "Le Gai Saver" – or whatever it is – which I am re-beginning. It is my revolutionary utterance' (ii. 300). The same day he told Viola Meynell the same things, in the same excited tones: 'I am going to begin a book about Life – more rainbows, but in different skies – which I want to publish in pamphlet form week by week – my initiation of the great and happy revolution.'⁹

Although the revolution never materialised, some of the pamphlets did. However, it was to be over seven months, with almost as many rewritings, before the first pamphlet appeared. Progress was hindered by disappointments, changes of attitude and other interruptions. Two days after triumphantly finishing *The Rainbow* and returning with joy to his revolutionary utterance, Lawrence was busy with his 'philosophish book – called (pro tem) The Signal – or the Phœnix (which?)' (ii. 303); two days after that came his ill-fated visit to Cambridge.¹⁰ This completely changed his mood, as a letter to Russell later that month bears witness:

It is true Cambridge made me very black and down. I cannot bear its smell of rottenness, marsh-stagnancy. I get a melancholic malaria. How can so sick people rise up? They must die first.

I was too sad to write my 'philosophy' (forgive the word) any more. I can't write it when I'm depressed or hopeless. (ii. 309)

Nevertheless, early in April Lawrence tried again. Meanwhile he had started revising *The Rainbow* as it came back from Viola Meynell, its typist (ii. 308). On Good Friday (2 April) he begged Lady Ottoline, to whom he was late in sending the first typed part of the novel, also to 'wait, wait, wait' for his own revolution-initiating "'Contrat Social'":¹¹ 'I can't do it yet. Soon I shall try' (ii. 312). By the following week he had made another start, with another Nietzschean title, kept in German this time, 'Morgenrot': by about 10 April he had sent the first chapter to S. S. Koteliansky to type.¹² May found him keeping going, though 'getting stuck', and trying to do the typing himself (ii. 334, 341, 343). With *The Rainbow* finally sent off to

⁹ *Letters*, ii. 299. Viola Meynell (1885–1956), born of literary parents and herself a writer, lent the Lawrences her cottage in Sussex 23 January–30 July 1915.

¹⁰ See Nehls, i. 286–8; 302; 574, n. 103.

¹¹ *Letters*, ii. 312. Cf. *Movements* 237: Rousseau's 'little book, *The Social Contract*, has been called the Bible of the Revolution'.

¹² *Letters*, ii. 315, 317. Nietzsche's *Morgenröte* – 'Rosy-Dawn' – was published in 1881. Samuel Solomonovich Koteliansky (1880–1955), known as 'Kot', emigrated from Russia in 1911 and worked in London at the 'Russian Law Bureau'; met DHL in August 1914 and later collaborated with him and other English authors in translating Russian works.

Pinker at the end of the month, he was able on 8 June to send one copy of 'the first quarter' to Russell and another copy to E. M. Forster (ii. 349, 355, 356). Russell seems to have responded to Lawrence's appeal for help with it by lending him the second edition (1908)¹³ of John Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* – probably when staying with the Lawrences for the weekend of 19–20 June.¹⁴

This book, with its accounts of and quotations from the pre-Socratic philosophers, which he consulted over the years, played a notable part in Lawrence's writing life from mid-1915.¹⁵ The evidence suggests that what it gave Lawrence was not so much primary inspiration as a secondary impetus; that is, it was less of a source of new ideas than a confirmation and clearer re-statement of ideas he had already begun to explore. The book, it is true, does seem to have provided some new ideas, with some new terminology: the Heraclitean 'flux' is one such concept to be taken up in 'The Crown'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, other crucial ideas that could be thought to derive from Burnet appear in Lawrence's work prior to this first reading in the middle of 1915. For instance, it is instructive as well as amusing to find Lawrence soon writing to Lady Ottoline and using Anaximander as a stick with which to beat Russell because the latter 'won't accept in his philosophy the Infinite, the Boundless, the Eternal, as the real starting point'.¹⁷ This starting point is accepted, not surprisingly, in 'The Crown', where hardly a page lacks some reference to infinity and eternity; but, if not a 'starting point' in the same basic way, the concept is already centrally there in passages of the 1914 Hardy essay such as this: 'In eternity, maybe, the action may be perfect. In infinity, the spinning of the wheel upon the hub may be a frictionless whole, complete, an unbroken sleep that is infinite, motion that is utter rest, a duality that is sheerly one.'¹⁸ In this passage, moreover, is another vital concept that could have been taken as a straightforward borrowing from Burnet if it had not been present as early as 1914 – and indeed even earlier, in the 1913 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*' mentioned above: duality. Burnet marks only one step in Lawrence's exploration of duality, and not the first step. Such things as the

¹³ DHL's first three quotations from Burnet in the letter to Russell of about 14 July 1915 follow this edition rather than the first (1892): see *Letters*, ii. 364 and cf. Burnet 154–6 with the 1892 edition, pp. 140–2.

¹⁴ See *Letters*, ii. 357, 358.

¹⁵ DHL was using Burnet as late as 1929: see his letters to S. S. Kotliansky and Laurence Pollinger, 10 October and 25 November 1929.

¹⁶ Burnet 161ff.; cf. the title of 'The Crown', III: 'The Flux of Corruption'.

¹⁷ *Letters*, ii. 363; cf. Burnet 54 on Anaximander's belief that the 'first element of things was the Infinite'.

¹⁸ *Hardy* 55:3–6.

recognition by Heraclitus of 'the underlying unity of the warring opposites'¹⁹ no doubt reinforced Lawrence's insistence on the *necessity* of the unceasing conflict of Lion and Unicorn beneath the Crown;²⁰ but this altered emphasis cannot obscure the parallel in the Hardy essay of the 'Two-in-One'²¹ opposition of Law and Love, Flesh and Spirit, Father and Son, contradictory yet complementary twin principles 'eternally in conflict, and eternally being reconciled'²² by a third thing, which Lawrence saw as the *relation* between the opposites.²³

The first effect of reading Burnet was to make Lawrence think he had been 'wrong, much too Christian' in his philosophy: after the early Greeks had 'clarified' his soul, he felt he 'must drop all about God' (ii. 364). In fact, however, 'The Crown' was to give at least as much prominence to God as the Hardy essay, if less to Christianity or 'christian religiosity' (ii. 365), and certainly the new direction inspired by Burnet did not mean plain sailing from now on, as is evident from the events of July chronicled in the letters. Lady Ottoline heard from Lawrence on 9 July that he had 'broken down in the middle' but hoped to go on when he was freer (he was correcting the proofs of *The Rainbow*);²⁴ later in the month she learned he had decided to write all his philosophy again: 'Last time I came out of the Christian Camp. This time I must come out of these early Greek philosophers' (ii. 367).

Other current plans were directly related to this one, as when Lawrence proposed giving some London lectures with Russell in the autumn. Nothing came of this scheme after Lawrence added critical comments to the typescript of Russell's lecture on 'Social Reconstruction'²⁵ and sent it back with a letter of about 8 July requiring him to be 'more profound, more philosophical' (ii. 361). Lawrence's subject for his share of the planned lectures, 'Immortality' or 'Eternity' (ii. 359, 363), indicates his own continuing preoccupations. They were still very much in mind when at the end of July he began preparing *Twilight in Italy* for Duckworth (ii. 372-3),

¹⁹ Burnet 158.

²⁰ See e.g. the first part of 'The Crown', 256:4-7 below, and cf. Heraclitus: 'Homer was wrong in saying: "Would that strife might perish from among gods and men!" He did not see that he was praying for the destruction of the universe. . . .' (Burnet 150).

²¹ *Hardy* 87:31, 89:20, etc; cf. 'The Crown', 261:8 and 272:11 below.

²² *Hardy* 89:34.

²³ Cf. Hegel's thesis-antithesis-synthesis. 'The notion of a world imbued with complementary opposites, and of the need to combine these in a single unity, goes back to Plotinus and beyond him at least as far as the *Symposium*.' Ronald Gray, *The German Tradition in Literature, 1871-1945* (1965), chap. xvi (Coleridge to D. H. Lawrence), p. 337.

²⁴ *Letters*, ii. 362; cf. p. 361.

²⁵ See *D. H. Lawrence's Letters to Bertrand Russell*, ed. Harry T. Moore (New York, 1948), pp. 77-96 for a transcript of the lecture and DHL's comments.

spending the following month and more adding to the previously published Italian travel sketches long passages of this very different kind:

The Infinite is twofold, the Father and the Son, the Dark and the Light, the Senses and the Mind, the Soul and the Spirit, the self and the not-self, the Eagle and the Dove, the Tiger and the Lamb. . .

The two Infinities, negative and positive, they are always related, but they are never identical. They are always opposite, but there exists a relation between them. This is the Holy Ghost of the Christian Trinity.²⁶

All this is as close in time as in content to 'The Crown': indeed, on the very day (5 September) Lawrence sent his typist, Douglas Clayton, the above addition to 'The Lemon Gardens',²⁷ he wrote other letters outlining plans for the *Signature*, pamphlets in which he could publish 'The Crown'.

By this time Lawrence was collaborating more with John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, the two other contributors to the *Signature*, than with Lady Ottoline and Russell, towards whom he began to cool even while keeping them and other friends fully informed of his plans. The letter to Russell of 5 September 1915 was as full as any:

We are going to start a little paper, myself and Murry and Katharine Mansfield (Mrs Murry) – and you and Cannan²⁸ if you care to join. We have found a little printer in the East End, who will print us a little booklet, leaves of the same size as the *Mercure de France*, on decent paper, 36 pages of 36 lines each (about 10 words a line), 250 copies for £6: or 28 pages for £5. I think we shall call it *The Signature* – which means a little booklet made out of one folded leaf – also whatever else you like. At present, we think of having 28 pages. It will be 10,000 words: that is about 3000 words each. It will come out every fortnight, and will be posted to subscribers. It is not for public sale (not at first, at any rate), but we are going to get subscribers, people who care about things, 2/6 subscription for 3 months (6 copies), postage free. I shall be the preacher, Murry will be the revealer of the individual soul. . .Katharine will do satirical sketches.²⁹

Over the next few weeks Lawrence enlisted support from as many friends as he could,³⁰ trying to get each to find some other 'people who care' – a

²⁶ 'The Lemon Gardens', *Twilight in Italy* (1916).

²⁷ *Letters*, ii. 385. Douglas Clayton (1894–1960) typed many of DHL's MSS from July 1913 on.

²⁸ Gilbert Cannan (1884–1955), the novelist, was a friend of the Lawrences and the Murrays. Neither he nor Russell contributed.

²⁹ *Letters*, ii. 387. In another letter the same day, DHL expanded on his rôle: 'I am going to do the preaching – sort of philosophy – the beliefs by which one can reconstruct the world' (*ibid.*, ii. 386). Murry championed the individual soul in his three-part essay 'There Was a Little Man'; Katherine Mansfield, as 'Matilda Berry', contributed two short stories: 'Autumns' (also known as 'The Wind Blows' and 'The Apple Tree') in the first issue and 'The Little Governess' in the last two.

³⁰ See *Letters*, ii. 388ff.

recurring theme. The friends were not only those of comparatively recent making, such as Lady Ottoline and Lady Cynthia Asquith,³¹ but also those of longer standing, such as William Hopkin, an old friend from Eastwood days:

I send you some leaflets about our paper. . . We are desperately poor, but we must do something, so we are taking the responsibility of this little journal on ourselves, Murry and I, and also we are going to have meetings in a room in town – 12 Fisher St – which we have taken. Heaven knows what will come of it: but this is my first try at a direct approach to the public. . .

Get me a few people in Sheffield, will you – people who care vitally about the freedom of the soul – a few people anywhere – but only those who really care.³²

As it turned out, not enough of these caring people were found. There needed to be 250 of them to pay for the 250 copies of each of the six proposed issues: by 22 September, two days after Lawrence sent the printer the manuscript of his contribution for the first number, the first part of 'The Crown', there were about 30 subscribers; by 2 October, when he had prepared all six parts, as there were still only about 56 subscribers, it was becoming doubtful whether he and Murry would 'ever be able to afford to continue the paper' (ii. 397, 399, 405). In the end, with something under half the subscribers needed,³³ they could not. Though the *Signature* did appear on 4 and 18 October and 1 November, the last three issues – for which the other half of 'The Crown' was planned – had to be abandoned. So were the meetings in the room at 12 Fisher Street, the tenancy of which Lawrence terminated at the end of October.³⁴

This first publication of Lawrence's 'philosophicalish' work looks both backward and forward. It is a reworking of themes and even some images from the Hardy essay, but it is also a new thing, taking new directions. So, for example, by its stress on the role of disintegration and dissolution and destruction, on the flux of corruption as the necessary complement of the flux of creation, it points forward to the similarly destructive and war-scarred vision of *Women in Love*, in which Birkin's utterances often sound like quotations from 'The Crown'. Birkin could also seem to be speaking in parts of the 'Reality of Peace' essays, themselves very much reactions to

³¹ Lady Cynthia Asquith (1887–1960), wife of Herbert Asquith, the then Prime Minister's second son, first met the Lawrences in July 1913; to judge from DHL's surviving letters she was asked more persistently than other friends to find subscribers.

³² *Letters*, ii. 391; see p. 393 for the text of the leaflets.

³³ Estimated from Koteliensky's papers in the British Library, Add. MSS. 48966–8; see *Letters*, ii. 413 n. 3.

³⁴ *Letters*, ii. 413 and 418. See 'Note to The Crown' below, and Explanatory note on 249:8.

the war, and the next surviving links in the chain stretching on beyond 'The Crown'.

1916–17 'The Reality of Peace' and associated essays

At the end of 1915, after the *Signature* collapsed and *The Rainbow* was banned, Lawrence retreated to Cornwall, where he spent nearly two years before being expelled, writing not only *Women in Love* but also more philosophical works. The first of the latter, begun within a week of his arrival in Cornwall and described as 'a maturer and more intelligible *Signature*' (ii. 496), was 'Goats and Compasses'. Now lost, it was announced as the possible second publication, after *The Rainbow* itself, of 'The Rainbow Books and Music', another doomed publishing venture, this time in collaboration with Philip Heseltine (the composer 'Peter Warlock'), who came to stay with the Lawrences for seven weeks at the beginning of 1916.³⁵ 'The Reality of Peace' and its associated essays, closely related pieces that descend from 'The Crown' in certain thematic and stylistic ways, are the next philosophical works to survive, at least in part, although the book that grew out of these essays, 'At the Gates', is now also lost.³⁶

Though the phrase 'the reality of peace' appears in one of Lawrence's letters in 1916³⁷ and is found in the title of a poem as 'Reality of Peace, 1916', it was not until 7 March 1917 that he announced seven completed essays under that title to Catherine Carswell, enthusiastically repeating the news to several other correspondents during the succeeding weeks (iii. 100–2, 104–8, 110). He described them to Catherine Carswell as 'very beautiful, and I think, very important', and told her he had written to Austin Harrison, editor of the *English Review*, 'to ask if he would like to see the Seven' (iii. 100, 102). At the end of the month their author was still eagerly discussing the fate of his essays (iii. 105–8). Harrison's response arrived at the beginning of April:

³⁵ See Nehls, i. 346–51 for an account of this collaboration with Heseltine. Cecil Gray, Heseltine's friend and biographer, described 'Goats and Compasses' as 'dealing largely with homosexuality' (Nehls, i. 582 n. 248).

³⁶ "'At the Gates'". . . is based upon the more superficial "Reality of Peace" (*Letters*, iii. 155). In December 1917 Heseltine wrote to Robert Nichols about the 'Reality of Peace' essays and described 'the whole book from which they were taken', 'At the Gates', as 'the supreme utterance of all modern philosophy' (Nehls, i. 452). For further references to 'At the Gates', see *Letters*, iii. 143 n. 3, 152–3, 163, 185, 191, 195, 261, 472 n. 2.

³⁷ *Letters*, iii. 39: 'The reality of peace, the reality of war, lies in the hearts of the people'. Cf. the October 1916 MS (p. 43) of *Women in Love* (Roberts E441c): "'This is peace, peace of soul – only peace. And the peace is the greatest reality, even if we make war – isn't it?'"

Harrison wrote me about the 'Reality of Peace' articles, saying he will do the last three in three consecutive months. I hoped he would have done them all, or at least six of them, two at a time, but he says he can't. So I suppose we shall have to swallow this. Perhaps we might place the first four elsewhere – only I do want them to come together, not to be scattered. I hope we shall be able to get them published at the end of the summer, with several other little essays of the same kind, in a small book. (iii. 110–11)

Ultimately, though the book remained only a hope, the *English Review* took four essays, not three: Lawrence said the fourth was 'really the seventh of the seven' (iii. 138), so it would seem, judging by Harrison's initial acceptance of the last three essays, that he extended this to the last four, but could not be persuaded to take the first three.

What happened to them? Three other 'little essays of the same kind', 'Love' and 'Life' and 'Whistling of Birds', could be thought to fit the description on the internal evidence of similarities of theme and expression. Especially striking are, firstly, the shared development of images like that of the blossom, the rose of peace, here taking the place of the Crown as the major transcendent image uniting the dual opposites, and, secondly, the shared echoes of poems that, also early in 1917, Lawrence 'gathered and shaped' (iii. 87) into *Look! We Have Come Through!* However, in the case of 'Love' and 'Life' there is other evidence against their belonging to the seven, for Lawrence wrote to Catherine Carswell about them in September 1917, only a month after 'the seventh of the seven' appeared in the *English Review*: 'Here are the two essays you asked for. I had forgotten all about them. I shall send them on to the *English Review*: no doubt Harrison will print them.' (iii. 164) As Harrison did indeed print these 'quite magazinable' essays (iii. 165), it is most unlikely that they were two of the essays he had already rejected earlier the same year, unless he too had forgotten which they were. Lawrence himself continued to forget: asked about them by his first bibliographer, Edward McDonald, in a letter of 24 August 1924 he confessed to having 'utterly forgotten these little essays'. However, answering a question on 'The Reality of Peace' in the same letter, he did state that 'Whistling of Birds', published in the *Athenæum* in April 1919, 'belonged to this series'. Certainly all the evidence indicates that it was written in the first months of 1917: for instance, the essay begins with a frost that held 'until the birds were dying rapidly'; on 7 February Lawrence wrote that 'the birds, of which there are great numbers come south for shelter, are dying rapidly in the frost'.³⁸

³⁸ *Letters*, iii. 88. (Other such evidence is cited in the Explanatory notes on 'Whistling of Birds'.)

Although 'Love' and 'Life' may have been written earlier than this, as Lawrence's forgetfulness suggests, it is impossible to deny their close association with, if not their presence among, the 'Seven'. Indeed, Lawrence thought their publication 'might help to prepare the way for the philosophy' (iii. 165) – that lost descendant of 'The Reality of Peace', 'At the Gates'.

The line did not end there, though the next essays are outside the scope of the present volume. These, begun in August 1917, were to become *Studies in Classic American Literature*, of which Lawrence said 'I shall never write another page of philosophy – or whatever it is – when these are done' (iii. 224). But he did; and so continued the chain. And there is one hitherto missing link that was forged before the *Studies* were finished and has connections with 'Whistling of Birds': a similarly 'philosophicalish' treatment of nature, 'Clouds'.

1919 'Clouds' and 'Democracy'

This essay includes the statement that it was written on 'the last day of March',³⁹ and the topographical and other details in the essay make clear that this was at Mountain Cottage, Middleton-by-Wirksworth, Derbyshire, in 1919. During that March, Lawrence was 'trying to write for the *Athenæum*', which was to be revived under Middleton Murry's editorship; in response to Murry's invitation to contribute he said he would 'try to be pleasant and a bit old-fashioned' (iii. 337, 332). At this time he may have revised 'Whistling of Birds' and written the charming narrative-sketches 'Adolf' and 'Rex'. In the event, Murry found only 'Whistling of Birds' acceptable, as Lawrence told Kot on 3 April:

I heard from Murry, very editorial – he sort of 'declines with thanks' the things I did for him. He will publish one essay next week – too late to ask for it back – and that is the first and last word of mine that will ever appear in the *Athenæum*.

(iii. 346)

As for 'Clouds', it may possibly be the essay that Murry kept, prompting Lawrence's comment to Kot on 7 April that it 'now becomes out of date, since he neglects to return it to me' (iii. 349). Out of date or not, the essay remained out of print, but now takes its place in the chain.

Within six months of writing 'Clouds', on 9 September 1919, Lawrence was 'doing an essay on Democracy'; it was finished in four parts by 6 October (iii. 391, 404). This grew directly from his work on Whitman for

³⁹ See below, 58:14.

Studies in Classic American Literature: each of the four parts of 'Democracy' takes Whitman as its starting point, and on 10 October Lawrence underlined the links by giving B. W. Huebsch, the American publisher, the option of printing 'Democracy' in the *Studies* either in addition to or in place of the recently-written essay on Whitman.⁴⁰ Nothing came of this plan, but in the same letter Lawrence told Huebsch he had sent 'Democracy' to 'that little weekly International paper *The Word* – published at The Hague'. This mysterious journal is further described in *Kangaroo* (1923):

'I read your series of articles on Democracy,' said Kangaroo. . .

'I thought not a soul read them,' said Somers, 'in that absurd international paper published at The Hague, that they said was run absolutely by spies and shady people.' (chap. vi)

Douglas Goldring, who at this time had 'strong pacifist and "internationalist" convictions', introduced Lawrence to this periodical and undoubtedly influenced Lawrence's ideas about it:

In the summer of 1919, on the invitation of the editor of a curious publication called *The Word in Three Languages*, I went to stay for some weeks at The Hague. The paper was run by a group of enigmatic and highly improbable Germans who pretended to be International Socialists. Perhaps they were, although they looked, even to my innocent and inexperienced eye, much more like Secret Service Agents. At all events, they printed some of my outpourings and paid for them; and I fancy I got them to print one or two articles by Lawrence.⁴¹

In fact, the title of the periodical was simply *The Word*, but it had two subtitles (*Un appel à la raison humaine* and *Das Wort im Dienst menschlicher Verständigung*) and printed articles in Dutch as well as English, French and German.⁴²

Some aspects of 'Democracy' recall Lawrence's earlier hopes for a new world: the discarding of property with which it ends, for instance, harks back to his wishes in 1915 for a social – and indeed socialist – revolution in which 'Private ownership of land and industries and means of commerce shall be abolished' (ii. 292). What does not recur in 'Democracy',

⁴⁰ *Letters*, iii. 405. 'Whitman' was written by 30 September: *ibid.*, iii. 400.

⁴¹ *Odd Man Out: The Autobiography of a 'Propaganda Novelist'* (1935), pp. 253, 243.

⁴² Published under the name of an organisation called the Pacific-World-Union, 45 Van Imhoff Street, The Hague, its main editor was German – Wolfgang Breithaupt, author of such antiwar tracts as *Volksvergiftung, 1914–1918* (Berlin, 1925) – but other nationalities were also represented: for example, a second English contribution in number 12, after the first part of 'Democracy', is 'Revolutionary Christianity' by Wilfred Wellock (1879–1972), a pacifist who later became Labour M.P. for Stourbridge (1927–31); in number 13 he is listed as political editor, in number 14 as English editor.

interestingly, is any hierarchy of authority on the lines of the uncompromising letters of July 1915 to Russell:

You must drop all your democracy. You must not believe in 'the people'. One class is no better than another. . . Let the working classes *be* working classes. . . There must be an aristocracy of people who have wisdom, and there must be a Ruler: a Kaiser: no Presidents and democracies.⁴³

The absence of anything like this may be, at least in part, because of the nature of the journal to which Lawrence sent 'Democracy'. But, though in abeyance in 'Democracy', Lawrence's idea of natural leadership was by no means to be abandoned, and is a notable feature of his essays on education.

1920 'Education of the People'

While each part of 'Democracy' starts with Whitman, 'Education of the People' ends with the comradesly love that 'Democracy' does not mention. At the end of the essay on Whitman in *Studies in Classic American Literature* there is the same balance ('The love of man and woman. . . The love of comrades. . .') as in the 'last word' of 'Education of the People', on marriage and friendship. The need for both parts of any duality is familiar from far back in Lawrence's work; the need for this particular duality is familiar from Birkin's wanting both friend and wife at the conclusion of *Women in Love*. What happens in the next phase – in 'Education of the People' and the succeeding essays, together with the associated novels *Aaron's Rod*, *Kangaroo* and *The Plumed Serpent* – is that increasing stress is placed on the relationship between man and man, at the expense of the once supreme relationship between man and woman. At the same time there comes a shift from 'love' to 'power', which Rawdon Lilly sees as life's only 'great dynamic urges':

We've exhausted our love-urge, for the moment. . . We've got to accept the power motive. . . And there will be profound, profound obedience in place of this love-crying, obedience to the incalculable power-urge. . . All men say, they want a leader. Then let them in their souls *submit* to some greater soul than theirs.⁴⁴

With this new emphasis, Lawrence's old idea of the leader is now associated with the love of comrades, as near the end of 'Education of the People', where 'the men, the leaders, the outriders' going ahead of their women, are to have 'a new reverence for their heroes, a new regard for

⁴³ *Letters*, ii. 364; see also 365, 370–1.

⁴⁴ From the final chap. (xxi) of *Aaron's Rod* (1922).

their comrades'.⁴⁵ The topic of leadership also pervades earlier parts of 'Education of the People'.

The surviving evidence indicates that the treatment of these themes in even the first four chapters of 'Education of the People' may post-date 'Democracy'. For, although by early December 1918 Lawrence had written four essays called 'Education of the People' (iii. 303, 306), which were rejected by the *Times Educational Supplement* as 'rather matter for a book' than a supplement (iii. 316), it was not until 15 June 1920, in Sicily, that he 'began'⁴⁶ the twelve essays or chapters of what is now known as 'Education of the People'. This he vainly hoped Stanley Unwin, who had shown interest the previous year, would soon be publishing (iii. 323, 553). The manuscript is written as a continuous unit, on Continental paper, so there is no certainty as to what or how much material from the 1918 essays written in England survived in this new writing.

On the other hand, those later parts that probably do date from mid-1920, and introduce concepts not previously met with, must not be thought of as necessarily the first treatment of such concepts in Lawrence's writing. For example, each chapter from the fifth onwards, except the last, makes some reference to a neurophysiological account of man's dual nature that had in fact been elaborated six months before in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (written January 1920) (iii. 466), and a year before that, in an essay on James Fenimore Cooper, Lawrence was already writing about the 'great sympathetic plexuses of the body' and their duality: 'What we know as sensual consciousness has its fountain-head in the plexus of the abdomen; what we know as spiritual consciousness has its issue in the cardiac plexus, the great sympathetic centre within the thorax.'⁴⁷ These plexuses reappear in 'Education of the People', where Lawrence also uses the expression 'primary affective centres' to describe them, and opposes to the sympathetic solar plexus and cardiac plexus, respectively, the resistant voluntary ganglia, lumbar and thoracic. By the time (June 1921) he came to write *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, which itself developed not only from *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* but also from 'Education of the People', repeating its ideas about such things as educational curricula and corporal punishment,⁴⁸ Lawrence felt he ought to defend his use of such terms as 'good sound science', neither improper

⁴⁵ See below, 166:3, 11-12. ⁴⁶ Diary entry, Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 90.

⁴⁷ 'Fenimore Cooper's Anglo-American Novels', *English Review*, February 1919, reprinted in *The Symbolic Meaning*, ed. Armin Arnold (Arundel, 1962), p. 74.

⁴⁸ See especially the chapters entitled 'First Steps in Education' and 'Education and Sex in Man, Woman and Child'.

nor untruthful, since they are found in 'any book of science or medicine which deals in the nerve-system of the human body'.⁴⁹

Lawrence no doubt read some books of 'good sound science',⁵⁰ but had first learned some of his terms from books like James Pryse's *The Apocalypse Unsealed* (1910). Among other things, this illustrates the nature of the nervous system according to occult teaching, as Lawrence mentions in 1917 in a letter to Dr David Eder, a pioneer of psychoanalysis:

Do you know the physical – physiological – interpretations of the esoteric doctrine? – the *chakras* and dualism in experience? . . . Perhaps they don't understand themselves – the occultists – what they are talking about. . . . But probably, in the physiological interpretation, they do. . . . Did you get Pryse's *Apocalypse Unsealed*?

(iii. 150)

Placing his trust in 'the physiological interpretation', Lawrence champions the lower centres against the dominance of the mind. The effect of all this on 'Education of the People' is simple but central, amounting to a dethronement of mental activity. For whereas the first four chapters and the very last chapter consist largely (as does 'Democracy') of attacks on every manifestation of idealism, the other seven chapters concentrate on the primacy of the 'great affective centres'.

'Education of the People', then, goes well beyond the usual educational topics. Nevertheless, the teaching itself is not ignored by the former teacher, who brings to the essay not only his personal ideas but his personal experience. Furthermore, in the second chapter Lawrence attempts to reconcile a standard polarity in the philosophy of education, the production of the desirable citizen versus the development of the individual, by selections at twelve, fourteen and sixteen of those who will continue higher up the ladder. He realises that this system will produce distinct classes of society, but stresses that its chief aim is 'to recognise the true nature in each child, and to give each its natural chance. . . . Each individual is to be helped, wisely, reverently, towards his own natural fulfilment'.⁵¹ The idea of individual fulfilment goes back through the earlier essays, and *The Rainbow*, to the 'Study of Thomas Hardy'. And it reaches forward to later essays of the 1920s, in which Lawrence characteristically uses the

⁴⁹ *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (1922), chap. II.

⁵⁰ Cf. 'Could you lend me or borrow for me anywhere a book which describes the human nervous system. . . ?' and 'I got the pages of the medical book – many thanks' (*Letters*, iii, 243, 244).

⁵¹ See below, 99:18–19, 22–3.