THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE LETTERS AND WORKS OF
D. H. LAWRENCE

THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITORIAL BOARD

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE UNCONSCIOUS AND FANTASIA OF THE UNCONSCIOUS

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

D. H. Lawrence was one of the great writers of the twentieth century – yet the texts of his writings, whether published during his lifetime or since, are, for the most part, textually corrupt. The extent of the corruption is remarkable; it can derive from every stage of composition and publication. We know from study of his MSS that Lawrence was a careful writer, though not rigidly consistent in matters of minor convention. We know also that he revised at every possible stage. Yet he rarely if ever compared one stage with the previous one, and overlooked the errors of typists or copyists. He was forced to accept, as most authors are, the often inflexible house-styling of his printers, which overrode his punctuation and even his sentence-structure and paragraphing. He sometimes overlooked plausible printing errors. More important, as a professional author living by his pen, he had to accept, with more or less good will, stringent editing by a publisher's reader in his early days, and at all times the results of his publishers' timidity. So the fear of Grundyish disapproval, or actual legal action, led to bowdlerisation or censorship from the very beginning of his career. Threats of libel suits produced other changes. Sometimes a publisher made more changes than he admitted to Lawrence. On a number of occasions in dealing with American and British publishers Lawrence produced texts for both which were not identical. Then there were extraordinary lapses like the occasion when a typist turned over two pages of MS at once, and the result happened to make sense. This whole story can be reconstructed from the introductions to the volumes in this edition; cumulatively they form a history of Lawrence's writing career.

The Cambridge edition aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those he would have wished to see printed. They have been established by a rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and typescripts, proofs and early printed versions; they restore the words, sentences, even whole pages omitted or falsified by editors or compositors; they are freed from printing-house conventions which were imposed on Lawrence's style; and interference on the part of frightened publishers has been eliminated. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence would have wished to see published, editorial intervention is essential to recover them. Though we have to accept that some cannot now be recovered in their entirety because early states have

not survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains. Paradoxical as it may seem, the outcome of this recension will be texts which differ, often radically and certainly frequently, from those seen by the author himself.

Editors adopt the principle that the most authoritative form of the text is to be followed, even if this leads sometimes to a 'spoken' or a 'manuscript' rather than a 'printed' style. We have not wanted to strip off one house-styling in order to impose another. Editorial discretion has been allowed in order to regularise Lawrence's sometimes wayward spelling and punctuation in accordance with his most frequent practice in a particular text. A detailed record of these and other decisions on textual matters, together with the evidence on which they are based, will be found in the textual apparatus which records variant readings in manuscripts, typescripts and proofs; and printed variants in forms of the text published in Lawrence's lifetime. We do not record posthumous corruptions, except where first publication was posthumous. Significant MS readings may be found in the occasional explanatory note.

In each volume, the editor's introduction relates the contents of Lawrence's life and to his other writings it gives the history of composition of the text in some detail, for its intrinsic interest, and because this history is essential to the statement of editorial principles followed. It provides an account of publication and reception which will be found to contain a good deal of hitherto unknown information. Where appropriate, appendixes make available extended draft manuscript readings of significance, or important material, sometimes unpublished, associated with a particular work.

Though Lawrence was a twentieth-century writer and in some respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to the many readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect forms is another difficulty, and further barriers to full understanding are created by now obscure literary, historical, political or other references and allusions. On these occasions explanatory notes are supplied by the editor; it is assumed that the reader has access to a good general dictionary and that the editor need not gloss words or expressions that may be found in it. Where Lawrence's letters are quoted in editorial matter, the reader should assume that his manuscript is alone the source of eccentricities of phrase or spelling.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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B.S.

January 2003

CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
1902-1908	Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
7 December 1907	First publication: 'A Prelude', in *Nottinghamshire Guardian*
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in *English Review*
3 December 1910	Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on 4 February 1912
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	*The White Peacock* published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they leave for Metz and Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	*The Trespasser*
September 1912–March 1913	At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
February 1913	*Love Poems and Others*
29 May 1913	*Sons and Lovers*
June–August 1913	In England
August–September 1913	In Germany and Switzerland
30 September 1913–9 June 1914	At Lerici, Gulf of La Spezia, Italy
1 April 1914	*The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd* (New York)
July 1914–December 1915	In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex
13 July 1914	Marries Frieda Weekley in London
26 November 1914	*The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*
October–November 1915	*Signature* containing three parts of 'The Crown'

30 September 1915	*The Rainbow*; suppressed by court order on 13 November
30 December 1915–15 October 1917	In Cornwall
1 June 1916	*Twilight in Italy*
July 1916	*Amores*
6 January 1917	Plans 'a set of essays, or lectures, on Classic American Literature'
February 1917	Planned visit to USA forestalled when passport applications denied
15 October 1917	Composition of *Studies* interrupted when the Lawrences are expelled from Cornwall by military authorities; DHL probably resumes only in January 1918
October 1917–November 1919	In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire
26 November 1917	*Look! We Have Come Through!*
3 August 1918	Sends the first *Studies* essay ('The Spirit of Place') to Pinker for possible publication in the *English Review*
October 1918	*New Poems*
November–December 1918	Reads Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious*
November 1918–June 1919	First eight essays on American literature in the *English Review*
7 December 1918	Has written four essays on 'Education of the People'
23 January 1919	Proposes 'Education of the People' essays as a book
7 September 1919	Receives offer from Thomas Seltzer to act as American publisher of *Women in Love*
November 1919–February 1922	To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	*Bay*
3 December 1919	Intends to write 'various small things – on Italy and on Psychoanalysis – for the periodicals': asks Huebsch about American magazines
29 January 1920	Intends sending 'six little essays on the Freudian Unconscious' to Huebsch

10 February 1920	Sending Huebsch some 'things' for the *Freeman* 'directly'
16 February 1920	Asks Robert Mountsier to act as his American agent (accepted on 26 March)
24 March 1920	Is doubtful about sending Huebsch 'the set of short essays . . . *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*'
29 April 1920	Sends Huebsch the six essays 'for the *Freeman*'
May 1920	*Touch and Go*
17 June 1920	Finishing a book 'Education of the People'
1 August 1920	Asks Robert Mountsier to retrieve the rejected 'psychoanalysis' essays from Huebsch, and send them to Thomas Seltzer
9 November 1920	*Women in Love* published (expensive and limited edition) in New York by Seltzer (in England by Secker, normal trade edition, on 10 June 1921)
25 November 1920	*The Lost Girl*
25 January 1921	Urges Mountsier to try and get *Studies* essays into magazines, shortened if necessary
February 1921	*Movements in European History*
4 April 1921	Asks Curtis Brown to act as his English agent
26 April 1921	Visits Baden-Baden, Germany, until 10 July
2–31 May 1921	Completes *Aaron's Rod*
10 May 1921	*Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (New York:Thomas Seltzer)
1 June 1921	Making notes for a second volume 'Psychoanalysis and the Incest Motive' (*Fantasia of the Unconscious*)
20 June 1921	Has nearly completed *Fantasia of the Unconscious* MS
30 June 1921	Completes MS of *Fantasia of the Unconscious* 'in the woods near Eberstein-burg, near Baden-Baden in Germany'

23 July 1921	'Whitman' in *Nation and Athenaeum*
30 July 1921	Proposes a reply to critics of *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* as a 'Foreword' to *Fantasia of the Unconscious*
9 September 1921	*Fantasia* (called 'Child Consciousness') being typed in Florence
15 September 1921	Receives press cuttings on *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*
8 October 1921	Completes 'Foreword' and is 'going over' TS of *Fantasia of the Unconscious*; suggests periodical publication for 'Foreword'
15 October 1921	Completes revised 'Epilogue' to *Fantasia of the Unconscious*
18 October 1921	Completes revision of *Fantasia of the Unconscious*
22 October 1921	Sends revised TS of *Fantasia of the Unconscious* to Seltzer
5 November 1921	Projects a third psychology volume (never begun)
9 December 1921	*Tortoises* (New York)
12 December 1921	*Sea and Sardinia* (New York)
26 February 1922	Departs from Naples with Frieda for Ceylon, en route to Western Hemisphere
13 March 1922	Arrives in Ceylon; leaves for Australia on 24 April
14 April 1922	*Aaron's Rod* (New York)
4 May 1922	Arrives in Perth, in Sydney on 27 May
11 August 1922	Sails from Sydney for San Francisco on the *Tahiti*, via Wellington, Rarotonga and Tahiti
4 September 1922	Lands at San Francisco; reaches Taos 11 September
23 October 1922	*Fantasia of the Unconscious* (New York)
24 October 1922	*England, My England and Other Stories* (New York)
1 December 1922	Moves with Frieda to Del Monte Ranch north of Taos

late December 1922–early Jan. 1923	Visits of Seltzers and Mountsier at Del Monte Ranch
3 February 1923	Severs connection with Mountsier
March 1923	*The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll* (London)
March–April 1923	Leaves New Mexico and settles in Chapala, Mexico
July 1923	*Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (London: Martin Secker)
9 July 1923	Leaves Mexico; arrives in New York on 19 July
20 July–21 August 1923	Stays with the Seltzers at a rented cottage in New Jersey; reads proofs of various works and meets New York literati
22 August 1923	Leaves New York en route to trip through southwestern USA and Mexico
27 August 1923	*Studies in Classic American Literature* (Final Version) published in USA by Seltzer
September 1923	*Kangaroo*
13 September 1923	*Fantasia of the Unconscious* (London: Martin Secker)
9 October 1923	*Birds, Beasts and Flowers*
December 1923–March 1924	In England, France and Germany
March 1924–September 1925	In New and Old Mexico
June 1924	*Studies in Classic American Literature* published in England by Secker
28 August 1924	*The Boy in the Bush* (with Mollie Skinner)
10 September 1924	Death of his father, Arthur John Lawrence
February 1925	Replaces Seltzer with Alfred A. Knopf as US publisher
14 May 1925	*St. Mawr together with the Princess*
7 December 1925	*Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (Philadelphia)
21 January 1926	*The Plumed Serpent*
25 March 1926	*David*

June 1927	*Mornings in Mexico*
24 May 1928	*The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*
June 1928–March 1930	In Switzerland and, principally, in France
late June 1928	*Lady Chatterley's Lover* privately published (Florence)
September 1928	*Collected Poems*
September 1929	*The Escaped Cock* (Paris)
2 March 1930	Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France

CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

UCB	University of California at Berkeley
UIll	University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign
UN	Nottingham University
UT	University of Texas at Austin

B. Printed works

(The place of publication, here and throughout, is London unless otherwise stated.)

Aaron's Rod	D. H. Lawrence. *Aaron's Rod*. Ed. Mara Kalnins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
DHLR	*D. H. Lawrence Review* (various locations,1968–)
'Education'	'Education of the People' in D. H. Lawrence, *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*. Ed. Michael Herbert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Freud, *Works*	*The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. (24 volumes.) Trans. and ed. James Strachey. The Hogarth Press, 1966–74.
Hardy	D. H. Lawrence. 'Study of Thomas Hardy' in D. H. Lawrence, *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*. Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
Jung	Carl Gustav Jung. *Psychology of the Unconscious*. Trans. Beatrice M. Hinkle. New York: Moffat Yard and Co., 1916.
Kangaroo	D. H. Lawrence. *Kangaroo*. Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Letters, i.	James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Letters, iii.	James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Letters, iv.	Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence.* Volume IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Letters, vi.	James T. Boulton and Margaret H. Boulton with Gerald M. Lacy, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence.* Volume VI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Movements	D. H. Lawrence. *Movements in European History.* Ed. Philip Crumpton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
Mr Noon	D. H. Lawrence. *Mr Noon*. Ed. Lindeth Vasey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
Pryse	James Morgan Pryse. *The Apocalypse Unsealed*. Los Angeles: Published by author, 1910; repr. 1972.
Rainbow	D. H. Lawrence. *The Rainbow*. Ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
Reflections	D. H. Lawrence. *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*. Ed. Michael Herbert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Roberts	Warren Roberts. *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. Second edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
S & L	D. H. Lawrence. *Sons and Lovers*. Ed. Helen Baron and Carl Baron. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
SCAL	D. H. Lawrence. *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Ed. Ezra Greenspan, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

INTRODUCTION

The present volume brings together D. H. Lawrence's two 'psychology books' – *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (1921) and *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (1922). The gestation and writing of them fell in the extraordinarily creative central period of Lawrence's writing life which saw the publication (1920) of the earlier completed novel *Women in Love; The Lost Girl* (1920); *Mr Noon* (written 1921–2); *Aaron's Rod* (1922); *Kangaroo* (1923); the short stories of the *England, My England* collection (1922); *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923); 'Education of the People' (written 1918); *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* (1923); *Sea and Sardinia* (1921); and more.

Although *Fantasia* is in many ways a development from *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, there are in fact considerable differences of style, tone and purpose between the two books.[1] The sequence of six essays that make up the earlier book were intended to mount a challenge on moral and intellectual grounds to what Lawrence understood as the 'unconscious' and the 'incest motive' of Freudian psychoanalysis, and to offer an alternative account based not on scientific enquiry or clinical treatment but on his own intuition, experience and insights. The second book, as the *Fantasia* of its title suggests, is freer in form; it is also less unified, and more varied in tone – at times even teasing and playful.[2] It is more complex: while starting from a similar position to that of the earlier work, it becomes in part an educational treatise, 'an essay on Child Consciousness' (166:4), a series of precepts for the nurture and education of the child – particularly the male child– an excursus into

[1] For DHL's view, see, e. g., 'the next vol. of the little *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* Book: to be called Psychoanalysis and the Incest Motive' and 'the sequel little psychoanalysis book' (i.e. *Fantasia*) in *Letters*, iii. 730 and iv. 25. (References to DHL's *Letters* hereafter are by volume and page within the text, and *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and *Fantasia of the Unconscious* appear as *PU* and *FU* in the notes.) The two works have previously appeared together in one volume (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) but in reversed order. For a succinct account of differences between the books, see Evelyn J. Hinz, 'The Beginning and the End: D. H. Lawrence's *Psychoanalysis* and *Fantasia*', *Dalhousie Review*, lii (1972), 251–65; see also David Ellis and Howard Mills, *D. H. Lawrence's Non-Fiction* (Cambridge, 1988), chap. 3.

[2] If, as has been suggested, *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* echoes Jung's title *Psychology of the Unconscious*, a book DHL read (p. xxix below), *Fantasia* might have been prompted by Jung's distinction in chapter 2 of that book between rationalised, objective or 'scientific' thinking and associative, creative or 'phantasy' thinking.

cosmology and the nature of dreams. When the book was finished, Lawrence announced in a 'Foreword' that it was a confessional statement of his own beliefs, his 'philosophy' as man and writer at this immensely productive time: there he asserted that 'the absolute need which one has for some sort of satisfactory mental attitude towards oneself and things in general makes one try to abstract some definite conclusions from one's experiences as a writer and as a man' (65:8–11). *Fantasia* does this, but simultaneously lays a psychological and philosophical groundwork for the novels and essays which were to follow. Like previous expositions of his philosophy, 'Study of Thomas Hardy' and 'The Crown', it is both reflective and enabling. For the reader of Lawrence's work of this period, *Fantasia* provides a thematic and analytic key, particularly to the fiction, and it has many links with his other non-fictional writings.

In his 'Epilogue' to *Fantasia*, Lawrence foreshadowed a third psychology book; and on 5 November 1921 he wrote to Mabel Dodge Luhan, a wealthy patron of the arts who was to become his New Mexico hostess, that this 'third book, which I have still to write, and which I can't write yet, not till I have crossed another border, it is this that will really matter. To me I mean' (iv. 111). He was never to write it. *Apocalypse*, completed and revised in January 1930 and published posthumously, could be considered his last 'philosophical' work; and, while it may have been one book he had 'still to write', it is of quite a different order from the 'psychology' books, and there is no evidence that he considered it part of such a trilogy.

Both *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and *Fantasia of the Unconscious* have as their point of departure Lawrence's confrontation with psychoanalysis – a comparatively new and controversial science in England, but more enthusiastically taken up and received in America. His opposition to Freud's psychoanalytic theory (as far as he understood it) is particularly evident in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, where he attempted to offer a creative alternative to the Freudian account of the unconscious, and in his view a truer one. Both books also contain Lawrence's often idiosyncratic ideas on education, the family, and the nurturing of children. Since unconscious experience precedes and underlies conscious mental life, where better to study the unconscious than in the infant? In this respect he might, at first glance, appear to be in agreement with Freud, who sought the origins of neuroses in repressed childhood experience; but their sources and their analyses could not have been more different – Freud's deriving from the clinical study of neuroses and hysteria and Lawrence's from personal experience, observation and intuition. Although childless himself, Lawrence related immediately to children. He had, of course, been trained as a school-teacher and became a

successful and innovative one in the few years he practised, until poor health led to his resignation in 1912.

Lawrence wrote these books with an American readership particularly in mind. During the First World War he became increasingly certain that his future as a writer lay no longer in England but in the United States. America was never far from his thoughts as he began to make new American contacts and dreamed up several plans to travel there from Europe. Most importantly, and as a kind of preparation for change, in 1917 he began an intensive study of what he called the 'classic' American writers. This produced a series of essays which were first published in the *English Review* in 1918–19, and later revised and published in book form as *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923), a year after *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. This work had helped him formulate a new 'psychology'; and in the course of revising these 'studies', he detached much of the psychological exposition from them and developed it at first in the essays which make up the six chapters of *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, and then more comprehensively in *Fantasia*. These two books, therefore, are many-faceted, and it is useful to look at the circumstances and events which led to their writing.

Lawrence's 'philosophy'

Lawrence's philosophical writings accompanied his major works of fiction at crucial points in his career. When making the final revision of *Sons and Lovers* in 1913, he began to formulate his beliefs about mind and body, together with what he saw as the religious dimension of his art. In January 1913, in the exultant rhetoric of a letter to the artist Ernest Collings, he affirmed a basic distinction between the conscious mind and the unconscious – the intellect and what he came to call the 'blood-knowledge' or 'blood-consciousness':

> My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says, is always true. The intellect is only a bit and a bridle . . . We know too much. No, we *think* we know such a lot . . . And we have forgotten ourselves . . . We cannot *be*. 'To be or not to be' – it is the question with us now, by Jove. And nearly every Englishman says 'Not to be.' So he goes in for Humanitarianism and such like forms of non-being. (i. 503–4)

Here he locates a non-mental consciousness in the blood; blood-knowledge precedes and is more reliable than intellectual knowledge. His use of 'blood', probably derived from Genesis ix. 4 ('flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof'), seems to be largely a metaphor for sensory or non-rational life which Lawrence is now to expound as the 'unconscious': in

'the blood we have the body of our most elemental consciousness, our almost material consciousness' (179:32–4).

Once *Sons and Lovers* was completed, he drafted a 'Foreword' for his mentor and editor, Edward Garnett, in which he set out what he saw as the metaphysic underpinning the novel. In this case he had recourse primarily to religious concepts, adapting for his own purposes biblical and theological terms, and offering his own interpretation of the Trinity. He asks, for instance, 'what was Christ?' and continues:

> He was Word, or he became Word. What remains of him? Word! . . . He is Word. And the Father was Flesh. For even if it were by the Holy Ghost his spirit were begotten, yet flesh cometh only out of flesh. So the Holy Ghost must either have been, or have borne from the Father, at least one grain of flesh. The Father was Flesh – and the Son, who in himself was finite and had form, became Word. For Form is the Uttered Word, and the Son is the Flesh as it utters the Word, but the unutterable Flesh is the Father.

At this early stage, however, he expressed embarrassment at the prospect of its publication. As with his letter to Collings, the 'Foreword' was a private confession of faith: his philosophy was not yet ready for the public.[3]

These preliminary formulations were followed by two large-scale works. The first, 'Le Gai Savaire', posthumously published as *Study of Thomas Hardy*, was written late in 1914.[4] It began as a commissioned critical study of Hardy's novels; but as Lawrence re-read Hardy's novels and reacted to them, he came to see more clearly the nature of his own art at that time. In fact, Hardy took second place to Lawrence's first major statement of his 'philosophy' – his own term. Unlike the reflective 'Foreword' to *Sons and Lovers*, this work acted as a kind of prolegomenon to his final rewriting of *The Rainbow*.[5] Like the 'Foreword', it was still largely conceived in the language of the Bible and specifically Christian thought: 'I came out of the Christian camp', he would write in retrospect to his friend Lady Ottoline Morrell, patron of artists and intellectuals, in July 1915 (ii. 367).

Following the failure to publish his Hardy study, Lawrence made a few abortive attempts to rework the book in a different form in the early part of 1915, only to abandon it entirely and begin afresh on an extraordinary work in six instalments which he called 'The Crown'. This new philosophical work, he claimed, grew out of his reading of the early Greek philosophers. Bertrand

[3] For the full text of the 'Foreword', see *S & L* 467–73; the quoted passage is on. p. 467. 'I would die of shame if that Foreword were printed' (*Letters*, i. 510); and indeed it was never published in his lifetime. It was first published along with his accompanying letter to Garnett (20 January 1913) in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Aldous Huxley (1932), pp. 95–102.

[4] First published in *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. E. D. McDonald (New York, 1936), pp. 398–516; for full details and a complete text see *Hardy*.

[5] For the relation of *Hardy* to *The Rainbow*, see *Rainbow* xxix–xxxviii.

Russell had lent him John Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* (1908), and the philosophy of change and flux he found there – particularly in Heraclitus – excited his imagination. From this point on, he developed a new language and largely, but never entirely, abandoned his former theologically derived terminology. Only the first three chapters of 'The Crown' reached publication in October and November 1915 – in the *Signature*, a little journal he founded with his friend John Middleton Murry. In near despair at the course of the war, Lawrence had agreed with Murry that they should 'do something'. The result was the little paper, to which they and Murry's wife, the short-story writer Katherine Mansfield, were the sole contributors.[6] When this venture failed in November 1915 after only three issues, Lawrence laid 'The Crown' aside, not returning to it until a decade later when, in 1925, he reissued it substantially re-written and complete in his book of essays *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*.[7]

At the time of this failure, in December 1915, Lawrence wrote Bertrand Russell a revealing account of the development of his earlier belief:

> Now I am convinced of what I believed when I was about twenty – that there is another seat of consciousness than the brain and the nerve system: there is a blood-consciousness which exists in us independently of the ordinary mental consciousness, which depends on the eye as its source or connector. There is the blood-consciousness, with the sexual connection, holding the same relation as the eye, in seeing, holds to the mental consciousness. One lives, knows, and has one's being in the blood, without any reference to nerves and brain. (ii. 470)

This belief, occasionally if briefly evident in his revision of *Twilight in Italy* (1915–16),[8] is the seed from which the new psychology, developed in the course of his essays on 'Classic American Literature' and finally set out in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, would grow. In Cornwall in 1916 and 1917 he continued intermittently to rewrite his philosophy; but while there would appear to have been several versions, none has survived except, perhaps, the four essays 'The Reality of Peace' which seem to derive from this wartime endeavour.[9] It was under the influences

[6] *Signature*, 4 and 18 October and 1 November 1915. For the founding of *The Signature*, see DHL's 'Note to *The Crown*' in *Reflections* 249.

[7] *Reflections* 247–306.

[8] See *Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. Paul Eggert (Cambridge, 1994), 118:1–5.

[9] The first four essays of 'The Reality of Peace' were published in the *English Review*, xxiv (May and June 1917) and xxv (July and August 1917). For the text, see *Reflections* 25–52. The manuscripts of two unpublished philosophical works from this period – 'Goats and Compasses' and 'At the Gates' – are reported but cannot now be located. A version of the former was read in Cornwall by DHL's acquaintance Philip Heseltine who claimed later that he had destroyed it; the latter appears in a list of manuscripts held by DHL's agent, J. B. Pinker, in 1920. It is not known how many untitled or incomplete versions of his philosophy there may have been.

of psychoanalytic theory and his reading of theosophical and anthropological works that he was led to revise his account of non-mental consciousness. Most significantly, he would now place this other consciousness in the nerve centres of the body rather than exclusively in the blood.

Lawrence and psychoanalysis

Lawrence's first encounter with Freudian ideas was at third hand and is remarkable because of the circumstances. It dates from his first meeting, in March 1912, with Frieda Weekley, the German wife of one of his professors at Nottingham University College, with whom he was to elope and eventually marry. Through members of her family and her own personal contacts during her not infrequent visits to Germany, she had become aware of the Viennese psychoanalytical school early in the century. In 1907–8 Frieda had had an affair in Munich with the colourful and idiosyncratic Freudian psychoanalyst, Otto Gross. 'I had just met a remarkable disciple of Freud and was full of undigested theories', she later wrote. It is scarcely surprising that on her first meeting with the author of 'Paul Morel' in Nottingham in March 1912 they had discussed 'Oedipus'.[10] While Frieda's 'undigested theories' may have had some influence on his final rewriting of 'Paul Morel' as *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence had already reached the analytical heart of the novel without any aid from Freudian theory. Despite some apparent similarities, his analysis of the relations of mother and son was very different from Freud's theory of the Oedipus complex.[11] *Sons and Lovers* was not about the incestuous desires of sons but about mother-dominance and its unhappy consequences, as he

[10] Frieda Lawrence, *"Not I, But the Wind..."* (Heinemann, 1935), pp. 3–4; see also John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 378–80. In view of Frieda's experience, it is unlikely that their discussion was limited to Sophocles' play. The name is more probably Frieda's shorthand for the Freudian 'Oedipus Complex' (see next note). Both Frieda and her sister Else Jaffe had had affairs with Otto Gross (1877–1920), a Freudian analyst from Graz who practised in Munich. An opium and cocaine addict, he espoused causes of sexual and political liberation and advocated the abandonment of monogamy in favour of commune living. DHL did not meet him. See further John Turner with Cornelia Rumpf-Worthen and Ruth Jenkins, 'The Otto Gross – Frieda Weekley Correspondence: Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated', *DHLR*, xxii no. 2 (1990), 137–227.

[11] Freud gave the following simple account of the complex in his 'Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis' in 1916: 'While he is still a small child, a son will already begin to develop a special affection for his mother, whom he regards as belonging to him; he begins to feel his father as a rival who disputes his sole possession . . . Observation shows us to what early years these attitudes go back. We refer to them as the "Oedipus complex", because the Oedipus legend realizes, with only a slight softening, the two extreme wishes that arise from the son's situation – to kill his father and take his mother to wife' (Freud, *Works* XV. 207). For a more detailed discussion see Freud, *Works* XVI. 330–7.

explained in a letter to Edward Garnett on finishing the book in November 1912:

> a woman of character and refinement . . . has no satisfaction in her own life . . . But as her sons grow up she selects them as lovers . . . These sons are *urged* into life by the reciprocal love of their mother—urged on and on. But when they come to manhood, they can't love . . . As soon as the young men come into contact with women, there's a split . . . It's a great tragedy . . . It's the tragedy of thousands of young men in England. (i. 476)

Lawrence positively resisted the incest theory when he was forced to confront it. It was, however, some seven years after the publication of *Sons and Lovers* in 1913 that he set out in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* the moral and intellectual grounds of his opposition and offered his own account of the unconscious and its workings. He developed these ideas still further in *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. In answer to Freudian incest theory, his theme of mother-dominance and its consequences is much more extensively worked out in *Fantasia*, notably in Chapter X, 'Parental Love'. While acknowledging the usefulness of some Freudian insights, Lawrence remained staunchly apart from orthodox psychoanalytic doctrine, and roundly condemned Freudian practice and clinical analysis.

The problem arose when *Sons and Lovers* aroused flutters of excitement among the small band of English psychoanalysts because they read in it apparent confirmation of the Freudian theories of the Oedipus complex and the incest motive. Some were keen to meet the author, but in 1913 he was living abroad in Italy, and the first contact between them was made indirectly. Ivy Low, for instance, a niece of Barbara Low, one of the early advocates and practitioners of psychoanalysis in England, wrote to Lawrence expressing her overwhelming admiration of *Sons and Lovers*. As a result she was invited to visit the Lawrences at Fiascherino in 1914.[12] When they returned to London later that year, Ivy introduced Lawrence to her aunt, who in turn introduced him to her sister and brother-in-law, Edith and David Eder.

David Eder, a pioneer psychoanalyst in London, had just published a translation of Freud's *Über den Traum* (1901) as *On Dreams* (1914). While Lawrence certainly knew of this book, it is not clear whether he had actually read it (iii. 716).[13] He did, however, discuss psychoanalytic ideas with Eder on more than

[12] Ivy Low (1890–1977). Her account of her visit to DHL is in Edward Nehls, *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography* (Madison, 1957), vol. I, pp. 215–22; see also John Carswell, *The Exile: A Life of Ivy Litvinov* (1983), pp. 73–4.

[13] In his letter cited here, DHL confused the title with Freud's *Traumdeutung*. Jung opens his Introduction to *Psychology of the Unconscious* with a reference to the latter (translated as *The Interpretation of Dreams*).

one occasion when in London in 1914 and the two corresponded.[14] In the chapter 'Sleep and Dreams' in *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, Lawrence attempts, *inter alia*, a critique of the Freudian theory of dreams, central to psychoanalysis. Eder's friendship with Lawrence and his influence on the development of his 'psychology' extended through the years 1914 to 1919. In 1915, however, Eder volunteered for medical service in the war and was for a time head of the Psycho-neurological Department in Malta. His book *War-Shock* (1917) was based on a study of 100 cases of shell-shocked soldiers from his wartime clinical experience. From 1918 until 1922, the period when Lawrence was writing his two psychology books, Eder was Political Officer to the Zionist Commission and was often in Palestine. Although they met rarely – on one period of leave Eder visited Lawrence at Middleton – their correspondence continued, although very little has survived.[15]

Through the Eders, Lawrence met Ernest Jones, who, by 1913, had been one of the founders, and also the first president, of the London Psycho-analytic Society. Jones had met Freud in Salzburg in 1908 at the first psychoanalytic congress, which he had helped to organise. He was the most eminent member of the London psychoanalytic circle and was much later to become Freud's first English biographer. His association with Lawrence, however, was not as warm as the Eders'. They sympathised with Lawrence's plans for an ideal community; but Jones considered such utopian ideas 'hare-brained'.[16]

These new friends were important to Lawrence – Edith and David Eder as confidants, as an important source of psychoanalytic ideas, and, to some extent, of medical information. Besides providing him with knowledge of psychoanalysis, Barbara Low also acted as a sounding-board for Lawrence's developing psychological philosophy. He became particularly dependent on her friendship in other ways as well: in 1920 she was prepared to act as his London literary agent, though it is doubtful whether this offer was realised in fact. She was, it seems, a sympathetic audience as well as a useful antagonist. Ten months after their first meeting in 1914, he wrote to her: 'You are one of the few people who listen to me' (ii. 281).

From 1914 Barbara Low was teaching at the Hackney Downs Boys' School until 1918 when she left teaching to take up formal study of psychoanalysis.

[14] For one meeting between DHL and Eder, see John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds* (1935), p. 287. See also Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile 1912–1922* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 133.

[15] See further John Turner, 'David Eder: Between Freud and Jung', *DHLR*, xxvii, nos. 2–3 (1997–8), 289–309.

[16] Jones, *Free Associations* (New York, 1959), pp. 251–2. The phrase 'utopian ideas' probably refers to DHL's proposed community in South America (*Letters,* iii. 173–5). Jones's three-volume biography of Freud was published in 1953.

With Eder, she was a member of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, and was involved with the 'Little Commonwealth', a short-lived experimental reform school in Dorset for delinquent teenagers, founded by the American educationalist Homer Lane.[17] She had a particular interest in the application of psychoanalytic theory to education and social welfare, and later assisted in the translation of two influential works on the subject by the Swiss pastor and teacher Oskar Pfister. By the time Lawrence left England at the end of 1919, Low was completing her book *Psycho-analysis: A Brief Outline of the Freudian Theory* for publication the following April. Aimed at the general reader, it was immediately successful, and its popularity led to a second printing within six months. Although Lawrence could not have read the published book before he wrote *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* in late December 1919 and January 1920, it is most likely that the substance of Low's book would have emerged in their discussions. His letters to her show that he was closely acquainted with her work while the success of her little book may actually have encouraged him not only in his efforts to counter psychoanalysis but also to tackle the wider political and educational issues that emerge in *Fantasia of the Unconscious*.[18] Like Lawrence himself, Barbara Low was a great talker as well as a listener, and he, despite his admiration of her, often found her extremely tiring – as she must have found him (ii, 314; iii, 54, 307, 363). The more he knew of her work, however, the stronger his conviction grew that she was more than misguided in her allegiance to psychoanalysis. In round terms he advised her to 'Depart from evil and do good – I think analysis is evil' (iii. 42).

It was in September 1916 that Barbara Low sent Lawrence the July issue of the *Psychoanalytic Review* containing the lengthy review article by Alfred Booth Kuttner entitled '*Sons and Lovers*: A Freudian Appreciation'.[19] The reaction of the psychoanalysts to his work was now public and no longer restricted privately to a few enthusiasts. While highly praising the artistry of the novel, Kuttner argued that it had additional value as evidence in support of Freud's theories of the Oedipus complex and the incest motive. Lawrence's

[17] Homer Tyrrel Lane (1875–1925); his self-governing school was closed down in 1918.

[18] Barbara Low, *Psycho-Analysis: A Brief Outline of the Freudian Theory* (April 1920, repr. October 1920). DHL noted its early success (*Letters*, iv. 27) and may have read it later. Any echoes of it in his work are probably coincidental; see Explanatory note to 148:28.

[19] *Psychoanalytic Review*, iii no. 3 (July 1916), 295–317. In 1914, Kuttner had been Kennerley's publisher's reader for 'The Wedding Ring', which DHL rewrote in 1915 as *The Rainbow*. For his response see *Rainbow* 483–5. The same issue of the journal included an enthusiastic summary review of Hinkle's translation of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* which may perhaps have sparked DHL's interest and led to his borrowing the book from his Russian friend S. S. Koteliansky in November 1918.

reaction to the review was intense and his response to Barbara Low typically vitriolic:

> I hated the Psychoanalysis Review of *Sons and Lovers*. You know I think 'complexes' are vicious half-statements of the Freudians: sort of can't see wood for trees. When you've said Mutter-complex, you've said nothing – no more than if you called hysteria a nervous disease. Hysteria isn't nerves, a complex is not simply a sex relation: far from it. – My poor book: it was, as art, a fairly complete truth: so they carve a half lie out of it, and say 'Voilà'. Swine! Your little brochure – how soul-wearied you are by society and social experiments! Chuck 'em all overboard. Homer Lane be damned – it is a *complete* lie, this equality business – and a dirty lie. (ii. 655)

This issue of the *Psychoanalytic Review*, however, contained other articles which Lawrence is unlikely to have overlooked. The opening paper 'Freud and Society' by the American sociologist Ernest R. Groves examined 'the importance that the Freudian school claims for the Freudian system outside of the field of mental pathology' and especially in the development of human personality.[20] This survey discussed several of the topics Lawrence was to take up in his two books, and occasionally its phrasing is not dissimilar to Lawrence's own.[21] This was followed by a further instalment of a longer article 'Technique of Psychoanalysis' by Smith Ely Jelliffe, based on a number of psychoanalytic case-studies. After Kuttner's article there is a translation of two chapters from a book by two Viennese psychoanalysts Otto Rank and Hanns Sachs on 'The Significance of Psychoanalysis for the Mental Sciences'. The particular focus of these chapters is on the philosophical and pedagogical aspects of psychoanalysis. Finally there is an enthusiastic review of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* (see below) by the editor of the *Review*, William A. White.

Barbara Low and the Eders, then, should probably be considered the principal sources for Lawrence's knowledge of psychoanalysis through both their conversations and the books and articles they lent him from time to time. Lawrence's knowledge of Freud's writings was at second or third hand: there is no clear evidence of his having read any of the available Freudian texts.[22] Yet

[20] *Psychoanalytic Review*, iii no. 3, 241.

[21] See, for example, Explanatory notes to 7:11 and 66:16.

[22] In 1913 (*Letters*, ii. 80) DHL claimed never to have read Freud. By 1919 several of Freud's works were available in English translation. Ernest Jones published *Papers on Psycho-analysis* in 1912 and claimed it as 'the first book on the subject in the English Language'. In addition to David Eder's *On Dreams* (1914), were A. A. Brill's translations of *Papers on Hysteria* (1908), *Three Contributions to Sexual Theory* (1910), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1913), *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1914), *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious* (1916), *Totem and Taboo* (1918), *The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (1917) and *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*

almost every mention of psychoanalysis in his letters and books is made with characteristic antagonism; he was neither a sympathetic student nor an impartial critic. Apart from some articles (discussed below), the only book on psychoanalysis Lawrence is known certainly to have read is Jung's *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* (Vienna, 1912) in the English translation *Psychology of the Unconscious* (1916) by Beatrice M. Hinkle. Finding his Russian emigré friend S. S. Koteliansky reading it in late November 1918, Lawrence promptly borrowed it (iii. 301). In this book Jung, as 'psychoanalytic explorer' sets out to 'broaden the analysis of the individual problems by a comparative study of historical material relating to them' (pp. 7–8). He is particularly concerned with the 'Incest Phantasy' and the 'Oedipus Problem' explored through religion, psychoanalysis, anthropology and literature. Lawrence read the book in November–December 1918 and, when sending it on to Katherine Mansfield, cautioned her:

> I send you the Jung book . . . Beware of it – this Mother-incest idea can become an obsession. But it seems to me there is this much truth in it: that at certain periods the man has a desire and a tendency to return unto the woman, make her his goal and end, find his justification in her. In this way he casts himself as it were into her womb, and she, the Magna Mater, receives him with gratification. This is a kind of incest. (iii. 301–2)

Traces of his reading and his response to Jung's work are apparent a year later in the first chapter of *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*. Yet despite his generally dismissive attitude to Jung, there are some similarities in their views which suggest that Lawrence knew more than just the one work by Jung – in particular *'The Theory of Psychoanalysis'*.[23] By the time he first met David Eder in mid-1914, the latter had developed 'a strong sympathy with the psychological outlook of Jung . . . The personality and writings of Jung were calculated to appeal to one of Eder's temperament . . . the broad sweep of Jung's approach, together with his richness and fertility of illustration, appealed to

(1920). Brill's own book, *Psychoanalysis: its Theories and Practical Application* (1912), had gone into a second edition in 1914. Although in letters (January 1922) to Mabel Dodge Luhan, DHL implies that he knows of Brill (who was her analyst), there is no clear evidence of which, if any, of Brill's translations he had read. He is unlikely to have read Freud's German texts. He is likely to have known *The Conflicts in the Unconscious of the Child* by M. D. Eder and Edith Eder (1916) and perhaps *War-Shock* by Eder, and had probably read some of Eder's pamphlets and articles in the press from time to time.

[23] Among other works by Jung available in England were 'The Theory of Psychoanalysis', trans. Edith Eder and M. D. Eder and Mary Moltzer in the *Psychoanalytical Review* (November 1913, February, July, October 1914), *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology* (1917), and *Studies in Word-Association* by Jung and others, trans. Eder (1918).

Eder's own generousness of mind.'[24] It was with Eder that Lawrence discussed the wider issues of anthropology and theosophy in relation to psychoanalysis (see pp. xxxvi–xxxvii below).

While the word 'psychoanalysis' appears in the title of Lawrence's first psychology book, the part played by psychoanalytical theory in the various developmental versions of the *Studies in Classic American Literature* – which in other respects anticipates *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* – is minimal. It is nowhere mentioned in the published *Studies*, probably because by the time they reached their final form in the winter of 1923, Lawrence had already used and developed much of his specific 'psychology' material from the early (1917–18) versions for *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*.[25] If his understanding of psychoanalysis as represented there is sometimes little more than populist report – or what he described as 'tea-table chat' (7:19) – this did not prevent him from confronting Freud's theory of the unconscious, as he understood it, with his own 'new psychology'. If on the Freudians' own admission *Sons and Lovers* had illustrated and confirmed their theory – without the benefit of it – then Lawrence felt fully justified in thinking that his alternative to their psychology had every right to be heard without the benefit of professional or clinical experience. In fact a part of his argument with psychoanalysis was that its view of the human person derived from illness and disorder, not from health or wholeness as he believed it should. Above all, he asserts the truth and validity of personal, subjective experience and knowledge against objective 'scientific', clinically based knowledge.

In June 1921, Lawrence was trying to interest the German publisher Anton Kippenberg of the Insel-Verlag[26] in an edition of *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, which had been published in New York only two months before. He described his little book as 'not about psychoanalysis particularly – but a first attempt at establishing something definite in place of the vague Freudian Unconscious' (iv. 40). While the 'vagueness' of the Freudian unconscious may have been more in Lawrence's understanding than in Freud's theory, his

[24] Edward Glover, 'Eder as a Psycho-analyst' in *David Eder: Memoirs of a Modern Pioneer*, ed. J. B. Hobman (1945), p. 97. Jung was in England in August 1913 and again in July 1914 when he addressed conferences in London and Aberdeen. To Freud's disappointment, Eder among others sided strongly with Jung in the falling out between the two. Two years earlier Jung's *Symbols of Transformation* had appeared in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, the work in which he explored anthropology, myth and the occult. DHL and Eder most probably discussed this work at some time.

[25] In DHL's 1918–19 essay on Melville (Roberts E382j), 'the psychoanalysts' are mentioned. 'Jung's *libido*' appears in the 1919 version of 'Whitman' (Roberts E382b).

[26] DHL's friend Douglas Goldring had been been trying to interest Dr Kippenburg in publishing DHL's books in German. See Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 846.

account of the book suggests the kind of audience he was hoping to reach. By 1919, Freudian ideas in England were moving out from the psychoanalysts themselves and becoming 'popular', yet still carrying an air of novelty:

> Freudian theories percolated in a bowdlerised form, from the gardens of Hampstead and the squares of Bloomsbury, to the drawing-rooms of Kensington. Soon they were to find their way to the maid's pantry. Everywhere and everyday in bus, tube, and the editorial columns of popular daily newspapers a new jargon has come to life – 'wishful thinking,' 'complexes,' 'repressions,' 'inhibitions,' 'sublimations,' 'inferiority feelings,' etc. These terms are lightly and inaccurately bandied about by persons who have no idea to what revolution in thought they owe their origin.[27]

Nevertheless, prejudice, even among the informed, had run high and still lingered: in 1914 David Eder found it prudent to omit a passage detailing dream symbols of a sexual nature from his translation of Freud's *On Dreams* 'in deference to English opinion'.[28] On the other hand, Eder's *War-Shock*, although a professional study, nevertheless reached a wide audience. Ernest Jones recalled that during the war, 'psycho-analysis was already widely talked about, in both medical and non-medical circles, and the startling frequency of what was then called shell-shock presently brought the whole question of medical psychology into the foreground'.[29]

Although understandably angry at the professional Freudians' appropriation of his novel, Lawrence still felt justified in his belief that his books on the unconscious offered an acceptable and genuine alternative to Freudian theory. In answer to the professionals, he resolutely, but somewhat disingenuously, claimed that his essays were 'pure science'; although by this he meant an attempt to re-assemble a largely forgotten universal occult 'science' of past ages (63:3ff.) which was truer because more holistic than modern 'mental' science: 'I am only trying to stammer out the first terms of a forgotten knowledge' (64:21–2). In *Fantasia* he dismissed the Freudians' work along with modern science as 'magic and charlatanry' (63:5).

While in his letter to Katherine Mansfield, quoted above, Lawrence had urged caution in reading Jung, and in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* had labelled him '*ex cathedra*' (7:27), he also admitted much truth in Jung's work – which is to say that he had found some of Jung's ideas useful. In general it would seem that, in his limited knowledge of both, he had more in common

[27] Glover, 'Eder as Psycho-analyst', pp. 92– 3; cf. 7:19–23.

[28] Sigm[und] Freud, *On Dreams*, trans. M. D. Eder (1914), p. 104. Glover reported that Eder's lecture to the British Medical Association in 1911, in which he discussed infantile sexuality, 'profoundly shocked' his audience ('Eder as Psycho-analyst', p. 89).

[29] Ernest Jones, *Free Associations*, p. 240. DHL wrote of 'war-shock' in several of his fictional writings: for example in *Aaron's Rod,* 116, and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. Michael Squires (Cambridge, 1993), p. 49.

with Jung than with Freud. Quite apart from the fact that he had actually read Jung, the Eders, to whom he was closest, had joined the Jungian break from Freud.[30] Although ambivalent towards Jung himself, in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (11:9–22) Lawrence significantly acknowledged support for his own ideas in the writings of the American Jungian disciple and Freudian dissident Trigant Burrow.[31]

After medical training and a doctorate in psychology from the University of Virginia in 1909, Burrow had gone to practise in New York, where, in the autumn of 1909, A. A. Brill, a leading American psychoanalyst at the New York Postgraduate Medical School, introduced him to Jung. In consequence, he went to Zurich to study with Jung, for whom he developed an unqualified admiration. In 1911 he returned to practise in Baltimore and became a co-founder of the American Psychoanalytic Association. In the following decade he published a number of highly original papers on various aspects of psychoanalysis. While continuing, like Jung, to acknowledge Freud's pioneering work, Burrow became increasingly critical of orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis as his own ideas and his practice diverged from it. Much of his previously published work was revised and included in his book *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, prepared in 1923 but not published until 1927.[32]

Lawrence's first contact with Burrow's work was in 1919–20. Although the two never met, Burrow sent copies of some of his papers to Lawrence, after which they corresponded for a time. In a 1942 memoir, Burrow recalled that it was one of his students, Max Rosenberg, who had, about 1920, 'interested [Lawrence] in some of my earlier writings, and through them he was prompted to put out the little volume he called *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*. Lawrence was very sympathetic to my trend at that time and showed an uncommon insight into it.'[33] That *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* was completed by 29 January 1920 supports Burrow's approximate dating.

Burrow's essential critique of Freudian theory, latent in his professional papers at this time, was not formally published until September 1926, when it appeared as 'Psychoanalysis in Theory and in Life',[34] which in turn became

[30] Eder had enthusiastically reviewed Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* in the *New Age* (20 July 1916, 283–4). Possible traces of the influence of Jung on DHL's two psychology books are suggested in the Explanatory notes.

[31] Despite this acknowledgment in *PU*, there is no mention of Burrow in DHL's surviving letters of this period. After his study in Zürich, Burrow remained particularly close to Jung, who visited the USA on several occasions.

[32] Burrow was highly gratified by DHL's perceptive review in the American *Bookman* for November that year. The review is reprinted in *Phoenix*, ed. McDonald, pp. 377–82.

[33] For Burrow's memoir see Nehls, *D. H. Lawrence*, vol. III, pp. 147–8.

[34] In the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, lxiv no. 3, 209–24.