

MOVEMENTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

D. H. LAWRENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Composition of *Movements in European History*, July 1918–May 1919

‘The top and bottom of it is that it is a crime to teach a child anything at all, school-wise’, wrote D. H. Lawrence in *Fantasia of the Unconscious* in 1921 (1922); yet earlier that same year he had been the author of a history textbook for schools. ‘The Oxford Press said I might do a school-book, of European History’, he wrote in July 1918, ‘If only I could get books of reference, I would.’¹ Lawrence wrote the history book at Mountain Cottage, Middleton-by-Wirksworth, in two intense bursts of composition: the opening chapters in July 1918 and the rest of the book between December 1918 and early February of the following year. The reasons why Lawrence disregarded the advice he so confidently offered are to be found in his particular circumstances at the time.

The initiative originated with Vere Collins, who was responsible for secondary school books at the London branch of the Oxford University Press.² Collins had been seeking a way to help Lawrence ever since the prosecution of *The Rainbow* in 1915; in the early months of 1918 (iii. 194, 242) impressed by Lawrence’s knowledge of history and aware that he was finding difficulty in getting work published, he suggested ‘the idea of writing an elementary text-book for junior forms in grammar, or upper forms in primary, schools, of European history’.³ The Ministry of Education had been encouraging schools to concentrate more attention upon European History but although ‘Several books had been recently published for upper forms in grammar schools’, none had been produced for the lower forms or for junior pupils.⁴ Collins had little difficulty in persuading his chief, Humphrey Milford, Publisher to the University of

¹ *Letters*, iii. 261–2. (Subsequent references to *Letters* i., iii. and iv. are given in the text with volume and page number.)

² Vere Henry Gratz Collins (1872–1966), Educational Books Manager of the Press until he retired in 1935. The Lawrences had stayed briefly with Collins in London in December 1915.

³ *Nehls*, i. 470–1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 471.

Oxford, who was sympathetic towards Lawrence,⁵ 'to encourage [Lawrence] to do a book to be offered to the Oxford University Press'.⁶

Lawrence had started reading Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in April 1918 and by the beginning of July, when he was nearing the end of it, he had decided to take up the idea of writing a history textbook: 'I feel in a historical mood'.⁷ He was feeling at a loose end; in June he had finished the last of the series of essays that was to become *Studies in Classic American Literature*, and had apparently abandoned the one hundred and fifty pages or so of *Aaron's Rod*, the novel he had started the previous February: 'I have finished up all the things I am writing at present – have a complete blank in front of me – feel very desperate, and ready for anything, good or bad' (iii. 256). There was also the problem of money. No publisher had been found for *Women in Love*, and Lawrence's reputation was making the placing of any work difficult: 'We were poor; who was going to bother to publish me and to pay for my writings, in 1918 and 1919?'⁸ Oxford University Press's offer of £50 for an acceptable manuscript was a powerful attraction (iii. 321).

But Lawrence's statement that he was in 'a historical mood' suggests that he regarded the assignment as more than just hackwork. He had found 'great satisfaction' in reading Gibbon which may have played its part in causing him to write his own history book (iii. 239). He also regarded himself as a teacher of wisdom, and OUP was offering him the opportunity to address an audience of the impressionable young just when outlets for his fiction seemed blocked.

By June 1918 the beautiful setting of Mountain Cottage and the succession of visits by friends and relatives was breaking down the isolation and tempering the hatred of people and society that he had come to feel during the years of the War: '... it is the human contact which means so much to one, really ... only the human warmth, when one can get it, makes the heart rich', he wrote to an old Eastwood friend Sallie Hopkin towards the end of the month (iii. 258). Earlier, he had told fellow novelist Catherine Carswell that he had begun to 'see a turn in the tide of affairs, in

⁵ Peter Sutcliffe, *Oxford University Press, An Informal History* (Oxford, 1978), p. 195.

⁶ Nehls, i. 471.

⁷ *Letters*, iii. 233, 239, 242, 262. DHL read the first volume of what he called the 'Oxford Classics' Gibbon; he was referring to the 'World's Classics' Gibbon originally published by Grant Richards, based on J. B. Bury's Methuen edn of 1896, with simplified notes and omitting Bury's maps and illustrations. (The 'World's Classics' series was taken over by OUP in 1906.)

⁸ 'Introduction to *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*', in *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore (1968), p. 303.

the world: for the better', and expressed the hope that 'we can all start off fresh' (iii. 246). His decision to take up the writing of the history textbook coincided with this revival of spirits and renewal of a belief in the possibilities of the future.

Lawrence's conviction that a new life might be possible after the cataclysm of the Great War may have been fostered by his reading of Gibbon. There, he would have read how, from the destructive barbarian invasions, ultimately emerged 'the most civilised nations of modern Europe'.⁹ Here was confirmation of a view of history as a continuing process of death and rebirth. Lawrence had already treated the process of destructive creation in *Women in Love* and in 1920, in 'America, Listen to Your Own', pointing out that without the barbarians' destruction of Adriatic cities there would be no Venice, he was to ask whether we should regard Attila as a savage destroyer or rather as 'a creator in wrath'; the barbarians' refusal to respect tradition and cultural monuments was a refusal to stagnate or put a limit on life's achievements.¹⁰ Out of destruction can come creation – this was the hope that history offered, that from the ashes of the Great War a phoenix could arise.

The conception of history as a cyclical process permitted Lawrence to end his history textbook with a direct statement of this conception applied to his time: 'we must never forget that mankind lives by a twofold motive: the motive of peace and increase, and the motive of contest and martial triumph. As soon as the appetite for martial adventure and triumph in conflict is satisfied, the appetite for peace and increase manifests itself, and *vice versa*. It seems a law of life' (252:11–15). Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that what Catherine Carswell described as 'the one acceptable piece of work he ever wrote to order' was entered into seriously.¹¹

Lawrence managed to acquire the 'books of reference' that he needed, several of them published at OUP and presumably supplied by the Press. Drawing upon Gibbon, Suetonius, Plutarch's *Lives*, the translation of *The Annals of Tacitus* by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (1906) and A. J. Grant's *A History of Europe* (1913), he had by 11 July, only a few days after

⁹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Oliphant Smeaton, Everyman's Library edn (1910), i. 203.

¹⁰ 'America, Listen to Your Own', *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Edward D. McDonald (1936), p. 89.

¹¹ Catherine Carswell, *The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence* (1932, reprinted Cambridge, 1981), p. 100. In June 1944, Frieda Lawrence told Lawrence Clark Powell that 'the writing of "Movements" I think were a relief to him from the actual agony of the war – ' – although she mistakenly remembered it as being written in 1915–16 (unpublished letter, University of California, Los Angeles).

starting work, completed 'the first essay' (iii. 263). This comprised twenty-two pages of manuscript, entitled 'Rome and Constantinople', covering the history of Rome from its beginnings to the end of the Byzantine empire in 1453. Before the book was published Lawrence divided this long 'essay' into the present chapters I and II, incorporating the dramatic narrative of Constantine and the founding of Byzantium in the latter, whilst leaving the former as a sketchy account of Rome from its origins to the period of the Antonines. Free of visitors to Mountain Cottage over the next two weeks, Lawrence worked intensively on the history. By 26 July two more chapters were finished: 'Christianity', largely based on Gibbon's chapters XV and XVI, and probably 'The Germans', for which Lawrence had predominantly used Tacitus's *Germania*.

He sent 'the first three chapters' to Nancy Henry, an employee of OUP, asking for 'her own full opinion' (iii. 268–9). It is possible that there was some arrangement for her to type his manuscript, and to send the early chapters for preliminary approval to G. H. Ely, head of the Juvenile and Elementary Schools department of OUP (iii. 276). With the account of Christianity being just as long as 'the first essay' Lawrence was uneasy about the length of his chapters: 'They are perhaps rather long. The others, some of them, will be much shorter', he informed Nancy Henry, and added, 'I've no doubt your people won't like this style. I shan't mind if they don't want me to go on' (iii. 268–9). But there was some impressive writing, vividly reconstructing the past, in these early chapters: the founding of Byzantium, based upon Gibbon's *tour de force*, but written with an interesting shift of viewpoint from the external stance of the historian to Lawrence's description of events from the point of view of the Emperor Constantine; the flowing, energetic narrative of the growth of Christianity, skilfully constructed by a weaving in and out of the chapters in Gibbon to extract the relevant detail. In addition there was the haunting description of the Hercynian forest where Lawrence builds imaginatively upon his sources to bring the life and atmosphere of the shadowy, silent forest vividly present on the page. And much of this – as the manuscript reveals – needed little emendation or revision.

The sample chapters of the history despatched, Lawrence now awaited a response from OUP before doing any further work on the history. Towards the end of August whilst he was staying at Hermitage, he wrote to Nancy Henry assuring her that 'if Ely really decides to have the history I shall work hard at it when I get back' (iii. 276). But OUP were to hold on to Lawrence's chapters for three months before encouraging him to continue; it was December before he resumed work on the history. Having

fruitlessly inquired about it at the beginning of September (iii. 279), he filled his time going through a short story of Nancy Henry's and revising the typescripts of his American essays – 'The history can wait a bit' (iii. 286). He also revised the proofs of *New Poems*, and started work again on *Aaron's Rod* (iii. 280).

Lawrence was again at Hermitage working on 'The Blind Man', a short story, when the chapters of the history were returned early in November. Apparently OUP had found them acceptable and Lawrence told Nancy Henry: 'I shall go back to Middleton soon, and do the history there. I can do it better there' (iii. 298). He returned to Mountain Cottage on 28 November 1918, and by 6 December (iii. 304) he had taken up the history again, but the hopefulness of the summer had gone. The army medical examination at Derby in September had finally destroyed any chance that his 'reconciliation' with his home area would be permanent. There were problems with Frieda: they argued over the male–female relationship, Frieda contesting Lawrence's view that 'a woman must yield some sort of precedence to a man', while she disliked Mountain Cottage and wanted to stay nearer to her children – Lawrence accused her of being 'the devouring mother' (iii. 302). With work to be done on the history and unable to abandon a home that was costing his younger sister, Ada Clarke, sixty-five pounds for the year's lease, Lawrence left Frieda in London with Dollie Radford,¹² and returned north.

He came to a Midlands caught in the influenza epidemic that would sweep through Europe in the next few months. He found Ada 'sick and wretched', an Eastwood friend, Frances Cooper, 'just on the point of dying',¹³ and learnt that Lizzie Killer, a girl from Middleton who delivered his meat, had died from influenza just before Armistice Day.¹⁴ Lawrence's creativity depended on his physical and spiritual health and he felt depressed and unwell during these 'cold, black December days, alone in the cottage in the cold hills'.¹⁵ A few years earlier, describing his writing habits, he had included December as one of his 'trivial and barren months' (i. 488) and now it was difficult to pick up the history from where he had left off in the summer. He made his disenchantment plain to several

¹² Dollie Radford (1864?–1920), wife of Ernest Radford (1857–1919), poet and critic. Herself a poet, she lent Chapel Farm Cottage, Hermitage, to the Lawrences for occasional stays between December 1917 and November 1919.

¹³ *Letters*, iii. 307. (Frances Cooper died on 18 December 1918.)

¹⁴ Betsy Innes Smith, "' . . . like Ovid in Thrace': D. H. Lawrence at Middleton-by-Wirksworth", *Derbyshire Life*, xliii (1978), 41.

¹⁵ 'The Nightmare', chap. XII, *Kangaroo* (1923).

correspondents, including Herbert Farjeon¹⁶ and Katherine Mansfield, and the return of Frieda from London on 14 December (iii. 308) failed to revive Lawrence's inclination to write. By 20 December work on the history had come to a complete standstill: 'I don't want to work – write, that is . . . I'm supposed to be doing that little European history, and earning my living, but I hate it like poison, and have struck' (iii. 308).

Although Lawrence now appeared to regard the history as hackwork, he may have made more progress than he suggests. The manuscript shows few signs of difficulties in the writing and the fact that, in early December, he asked Herbert Farjeon for the loan of the Everyman edition of *Legends of Charlemagne* may be an indication of how far the work had advanced (iii. 304). In the event Lawrence did not use the book as a source for his history, but it is at least possible that by mid-December he had completed the chapters on 'The Goths and Vandals', 'The Huns' and 'Gaul'. For the first two of these he relied heavily on Gibbon, putting his narrative together from details spread over many pages and several chapters of his source; the main source for the chapter on Gaul was G. W. Kitchin's *A History of France* (1881). At any rate, it took a remarkably short time to complete the book in the new year.

Lawrence and Frieda spent Christmas with his sister Ada at Ripley. They then returned to Mountain Cottage and Lawrence seems to have given his almost undivided attention to the history throughout January 1919. Writing to his friend Koteliensky on 1 January, he suggested Scheffel's *Ekkehard: A Tale of the 10th Century* as a New Year's gift 'because he will help me with my *European History*' (Lawrence was to utilise only one small detail from this book), and added that 'it will take a month or six weeks' to complete it (iii. 315). *The Times Educational Supplement* had rejected his education essays, written November–December 1918, and Lawrence's financial hopes now rested entirely on the history: 'I am working away at the history: hope to get it done soon enough to save my situation' (iii. 318). There may also have been some pressure from OUP: 'I've been struggling to get finished my little School history for the Oxford University Press. They want it, I am rather behind – and they will give me £50 when I give them the MS., so that will solve my financial difficulties for the moment', Lawrence told one correspondent on 17 January (iii. 321–2). At that stage he had only 'two more chapters' to do (iii. 321). Within a week he had written the chapter on 'Prussia' – 'I am finishing my *European History*, for the Oxford Press: Have only one more chapter' (iii. 323).

¹⁶ Herbert Farjeon (1887–1945), dramatist and editor of the Nonesuch Shakespeare. DHL was friendly with him and his sister, Eleanor.

Although Nancy Henry found Lawrence's chapters acceptable (iii. 326), the writing of this school textbook was a kind of task that Lawrence had never undertaken before, one that he would never repeat, and the work brought problems. He confessed to Nancy Henry: 'Every chapter, I suffer before I can begin, because I do loathe the broken pots of historical facts. But once I can get hold of the thread of the developing significance, then I am happy, and get ahead'. Nevertheless, the work was moving swiftly and, although he would need to go through the manuscript, he was sufficiently satisfied with what he had achieved to offer to do another book to order: 'I shall need to revise rather-carefully. But you'll see, when you get these 4 last chapters, the book does expand nicely and naturally. I am rather pleased with it. There is a clue of developing meaning running through it: that makes it real to me. – I hope if you think of any other book I could do, you will propose me for it' (iii. 322).

Despite a cold at the end of January, Lawrence managed to write his final chapter on 'The Unification of Germany'; he despatched it, along with those on 'The Grand Monarch', 'The French Revolution' and 'Prussia', on 3 February, and he suggested to Nancy Henry that the book's title be changed: 'I thought of calling it *Movements in European History*. Do you think that is all right?'¹⁷ At the same time, aware of his reputation since the suppression of *The Rainbow*, he observed that, 'I suppose it will be anonymous – Ely won't want my name – and I don't want it on the book, either. If a pseudonym is useful to the publishers, we can apply one' (iii. 326). Lawrence supposed correctly; Humphrey Milford 'said it could not appear under Lawrence's name: he must have a pen-name':¹⁸ *Movements* was published under the name of 'Lawrence H. Davison'.

The despatch of the final chapters to Nancy Henry in February marked the end of a considerable accomplishment. The work has been consistently underrated as a 're-writing', even a plagiarism, of Gibbon. This judgement is ill-informed. Gibbon's contribution was great but he was by no means Lawrence's exclusive source. Plutarch and Tacitus among classical writers, Grant and Kitchin among modern historians have been mentioned. To them must be added Kenneth Bell's *Medieval Europe* (1911), R. B. Mowat's *The Later Middle Ages* (1917) and Emmeline M. Tanner's *The Renaissance and The Reformation* (1908).¹⁹ The process had

¹⁷ The manuscript (hereafter MS) has the title 'Landmarks in European History' (E255a in Warren Roberts, *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1982). DHL may have decided on the new title as he wrote his 'Introduction to the Teacher', probably after finishing the textbook; in the Introduction he stated his intention of describing 'the great surging movements which rose in the hearts of men in Europe'.

¹⁸ Nehls, i. 471.

¹⁹ See Appendix for sources.

involved selection, paraphrase and summary; and the essential struggle had been to transmute the source-material into his own creative utterance – and in a style appropriate to an audience of young people. Moreover, after OUP's delay in returning his first, sample chapters, Lawrence achieved the remarkable feat of writing at least fourteen chapters in two months. The cost in physical terms was exhaustion: Lawrence fell victim to the influenza epidemic immediately after the history was completed. He was moved to his sister's at Ripley, and there was, for a few days, fear for his life.

In March he had recovered sufficiently to write, or revise, 'Whistling of Birds', and to complete 'Clouds', 'Adolf' and possibly 'Rex', in response to Murry's invitation to contribute to the *Athenæum*.²⁰ By 3 April, Nancy Henry having returned the history, he was well enough to start the revision: 'I have set to, revising my history. It will take about three weeks – pray God not longer – and then I hope speedily to receive the £50' (iii. 347). Again he forecast accurately: on 17 April there were 'only two more chapters' to do, and on the 23rd he wrote to Koteliansky, 'The history is finished, I am a free man' (iii. 350, 352). On the evidence of the extant chapters of the manuscript, Lawrence's revisions were not major ones. He corrected a few dates and names, added a few details and altered words and phrases here and there. The most substantial changes were dividing into two the original opening chapter on 'Rome and Constantinople', and a factual alteration of the description of Roman 'priests' at the beginning of the chapter of 'Christianity'. Here, Lawrence, in falling into line with Gibbon, had difficulty in explaining that religious rituals were carried out by the laity – 'priesthood' became 'sacred profession' and 'priests' were described as 'officiating priests' and 'priests of the moment'.

Lawrence probably had a final glance at the work at Chapel Farm Cottage, Hermitage, after he and Frieda had vacated Mountain Cottage at the end of April. Catherine Carswell visited him there in 'the latter part of May' and saw him 'sitting on a kitchen chair, under the apple tree, in the garden that was open to the road, writing steadily and rapidly on his knee . . . He was putting the finishing touches to the history book'.²¹

²⁰ Murry published 'Whistling of Birds' in *Athenæum* on 11 April 1919. 'Adolf' and 'Rex' were rejected, and eventually published in the *Dial* in September 1920 and February 1921 respectively. 'Clouds' was rejected, and first published in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, ed. Michael Herbert (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 53–60.

²¹ Carswell, *Savage Pilgrimage*, p. 111.

Publication and Reception

Lawrence's hopes that *Movements in European History* would relieve him from penury were disappointed. A year was to pass before he received an advance payment, and almost two before the book was eventually published. Peter Sutcliffe has commented on this delay: 'No records survive, but there may have been some doubts about its suitability, for the Press was slower making up its mind than was usual in those days'.²² At first, there seemed to be little problem with getting the book into print. Lawrence passed the MS to Vere Collins and it was then 'sent by Milford to Oxford to be read by one or more of the history specialists'. It was read by C. R. L. Fletcher, Fellow of All Souls and a Delegate of the Press, who approved it except for 'some small details of dates and names'.²³ Lawrence, on Capri, had finished reading the proofs by 25 January 1920 (iii. 462). OUP drew up an Agreement, signed by Humphrey Milford, giving Lawrence an advance of £50 and ten per cent royalties; he signed this at Taormina on 4 April.²⁴

During the spring Lawrence was writing *The Lost Girl* and negotiating with Secker for the publication of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. With these tasks completed, he was getting impatient about the history (he had been waiting since at least March for the revised proofs so that he could compile an index): 'God knows what they're doing' (iii. 525). OUP kept him waiting for another five months. They eventually sent the 'final proofs' of the history in October (iii. 612). It was probably at the same time that they requested an additional chapter. The index was put aside and in November, after correcting the revised proofs, Lawrence began 'swotting Ital[ian] history: having finished proofs of the hist. for the Oxford Press, they ask for another chap. on Italian unification'. Again, he had acquired reference books: Bolton King's *A History of Italian Unity* (1899) and G. M. Trevelyan's trilogy on Garibaldi (1907-11). 'Have read all up, now proceed to write' (iii. 622).

Delays continued even into the printing stage. After binding about 500 copies, the printers ran out of the blue cloth they were using and had to get OUP's permission to change to a brown cloth 'of the same texture'; the 'blue issue' has become a collector's item.²⁵

Movements in European History was finally published by the London branch of Oxford University Press in February 1921 in an impression of 2,000 copies at 4s. 6d. each.²⁶ The published text contained about a dozen

²² Sutcliffe, *Oxford University Press*, p. 195.

²³ Nehls, i. 471.

²⁴ OUP file.

²⁵ Nehls, i. 471-2.

²⁶ OUP file.

small passages not in the surviving MS (only chapters I to VIII and part of IX survive – it is impossible to explain this loss and OUP's records are missing); these were almost certainly added by Lawrence in proof. The most significant emphasise Jewish hatred of Christians and underline Jewish secrecy. The other differences are insignificant, being mostly 'house-styling' by OUP (all are recorded in the Textual apparatus).

What little attention the book attracted from reviewers was favourable. 'J. B. M.' in the *Bookman's Journal and Print Collector* of 13 May 1921 (p. 48), described it as a 'banquet' that would be 'stimulating and suggestive' for adolescents – 'the kind of book that will make young people think'. The avoidance of a catalogue of facts was welcomed. It gave the reader 'a broad and imaginative idea of the subject' and would be certain to be 'recommended by masters to boys who are working for school history prizes or for university scholarships'. The reviewer pointed out that the book offered 'no startling new theories'; it told an interesting and 'a kind of consecutive story in European history, something that persuades a man that from the earliest times men have been groping towards a great light'. It would be welcomed by adults as well as by adolescents.

C. A. Wilkinson in an unsigned review in the *New Statesman* on 26 November 1921 (p. 235) described *Movements* as 'a good example of the latest method of writing history for schools'.²⁷ Although he expressed some minor reservations about the selection and weighting of certain details, Wilkinson complimented the author for writing 'one of the liveliest and best introductions ever written for a class-book' and for managing effectively to cover such a broad span of history within relatively few pages. 'Mr. Davison's' methods were described as refreshing, and the book 'shows such an extraordinary advance on anything that was available for school use ten or fifteen years ago, that one hesitates to pick holes'.

The possibility of an American edition of *Movements* had occurred to Lawrence as early as July 1920 when he notified Robert Mountsier, his agent in USA, that he had written to OUP inquiring about the American rights (iii. 576). On 18 October 1920, as he was receiving the final proofs, he told Mountsier that 'This book might sell for schools', and on 31 March 1921 he sent him two of the six presentation copies he had received (iii. 612, 696, 701). But OUP would not relinquish the rights in the book until they had themselves investigated the prospects in America. Their

²⁷ Wilkinson, literary editor of the *Outlook* in 1921, had published DHL's story 'Hadrian' ['You Touched Me'] in 1920 when he was editor of *Land and Water*.

American branch had it read by 'a University man for his opinion as to its suitability for American schools and colleges'. The reaction was unfavourable. The American professor pointed out that Lawrence's book did not 'correspond in scope or content to historical courses' in American high schools, that Lawrence's handling of history was 'too narrowly political', paying insufficient attention to social and economic changes and making no attempt 'to explain the present', that it 'belittles the Middle Ages' and 'its treatment of the French Revolution is too Carlyle-like, and the discriminating teacher would search in vain to discover . . . any account of the substantial permanent achievements of the French Revolution'. In one comment the American reader anticipated the subsequent reaction to the Irish edition: the book 'narrates the story of the Reformation in such a bigoted Protestant way that American Catholics would be outraged – and fairly outraged, I believe'. He was clear that it would not find a market as a high-school text and recommended that Lawrence's book 'be not brought out in the United States'. Even as 'collateral reading' it was 'too brief and sketchy to arouse much interest'. On the strength of this report OUP agreed that Lawrence should have the American rights: 'I am sorry that we have failed to place the book and hope that you will have better luck yourself', Ely wrote on 20 April 1921.²⁸ Lawrence informed Mountsier at the beginning of May, enclosing the American report (iii. 710, 713). In June Thomas Seltzer, Lawrence's American publisher, expressed interest in publishing the history under Lawrence's own name.²⁹ On 9 September 1921 Lawrence agreed to Seltzer's terms, but by 26 November he was content to indulge the hope that 'one day' Seltzer would 'publish the *European History*' (iv. 83, 131).

In April 1924 Seltzer showed renewed interest in Lawrence's history, seeking some arrangement with OUP to issue in America the new illustrated edition then being planned.³⁰ But by the end of the year, probably because Seltzer was in financial difficulties, Lawrence had agreed that OUP should have the American rights of the new edition; there were plans for OUP to issue the book in the USA as late as the end of May 1925, but nothing came of them.³¹

²⁸ TMS, the late Charles H. Smith collection.

²⁹ Letter from Thomas Seltzer to Robert Mountsier, 17 June 1921, *D. H. Lawrence: Letters to Thomas and Adele Seltzer*, ed. Gerald M. Lacy (Santa Barbara, 1976), p. 208.

³⁰ Letter of 10 April 1924. In September 1924 Edward McDonald wrote in his bibliography which was to be published in 1925: 'The first American edition of *Movements in European History* will probably be published next spring, with Mr. Lawrence's authorship acknowledged, by Thomas Seltzer, New York' (*A Bibliography of the Writings of D. H. Lawrence*, Philadelphia, 1925, p. 56).

³¹ OUP file.

Although the sales of *Movements* in England were not as rapid as OUP suggested when they informed Lawrence in April 1921 that 'one edition is sold out', (iii. 707), the book was 'moderately successful'.³² A second impression (involving no textual changes) of a further 2,000 copies was produced in the year ending March 1923, and by August 1924 the total stock in Oxford and London was only 366.³³

Publication and Reception of the Illustrated Edition, 1925

Early in 1924, with Lawrence's history book selling reasonably well, OUP were planning a new, illustrated edition. The idea probably stemmed from John Johnson, Assistant Secretary to the Clarendon Press (the Oxford academic imprint, and head office of the University Press) which had gradually assumed responsibility for the book. Johnson 'was interested in illustrations to a point beyond the economies of publishing cheap textbooks'.³⁴ Lawrence learnt of the proposed new edition in April when OUP asked him to suggest 'about a dozen' illustrations. They had also asked for 'an added chapter' to bring the history up to date or at least to the end of the Great War (at this time schools were being urged to teach 'the recent past').³⁵ Lawrence, now living in New Mexico, wrote to his sister-in-law in Munich to see if she could find illustrations.³⁶ In September he asked help of Herbert Milne, classical scholar on the staff of the British Museum: 'They keep writing to me to suggest illustrations. And how can I? They don't hang on the boughs of pine-trees at the foot of the Rocky Mountains.'³⁷ Another person he contacted was Edward McDonald, Professor of English at the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, a specialist in Elizabethan pamphlets, who was at that time compiling his bibliography of Lawrence's writings. McDonald sent Lawrence a number of pictures, including one of a 'German Knight in armour' and Lawrence sent them on to OUP on 30 September.³⁸ Meanwhile Johnson had been acquiring illustrations himself, and in October OUP cabled Lawrence 'that they had fixed the illustrations'.³⁹ After the illustrated edition was published

³² Sutcliffe, *Oxford University Press*, p. 195.

³³ OUP file.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Letters to Curtis Brown, 10 April 1924; Herbert Milne, 12 September 1924; McDonald, 13 September 1924; OUP file.

³⁶ Letter to Curtis Brown, 10 April 1924.

³⁷ 12 September 1924.

³⁸ Letters to McDonald, 13 and 28 September 1924; E. W. Tedlock, *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 98–9.

³⁹ OUP file.

Lawrence told McDonald that he liked the pictures OUP had eventually used: but they 'were too conceited to use yours'.⁴⁰

When Lawrence posted the pictures on 30 September he notified Vere Collins that he had also sent off the 'added chapter' for transmission to OUP: 'I sent an Epilogue for *Movements* to Curtis Brown. If you don't like it, don't use it. Or if you want to omit any part of it, do so.'⁴¹ At about the same time, he told McDonald that the Epilogue 'will make them hesitate'.⁴² It reached OUP early in November and was read by Kenneth Sisam, Secretary to the Delegates, who proposed cuts. (He objected to Lawrence's view that humanity, like a mindless herd, had been manipulated by spokesmen such as Lloyd George and Horatio Bottomley and was now without a sense of purpose.) It was sent to the poet, Charles Williams, who worked at the London office, and who reported on 13 November that he was in favour of printing it, subject to slight modifications.

Since DHL 'got religion' I have rather lost interest in him; and all this *Epilogue* only comes back to general advice to 'be good' (or indeed to Tennyson: 'we needs must love the highest'). But he has even in his hectic emphasis, his feverish shouts of piety, a curious fascination. I *do* like it, though I mourn for the dead DHL.

I don't see that there's anything hurtful about it; indeed I wonder whether some of Mr. Sisam's cuts aren't perhaps unnecessary: e.g. – p. 4: why should 'now we are directionless' come out? I should leave in the paragraph about the 'two selves' on p. 7; and something equivalent to the top par. on p. 15. But it makes me feel like the 18th century contemplating the 'enthusiasts'.

The Epilogue was also read at Oxford, probably by C. R. L. Fletcher who had advised on the original MS of the book. Although he was willing for it to be printed, his comments were more aggressive and his dislike of Lawrence's matter and manner plainer. On 18 November he commented:

I read this last night with considerable impatience, (and failed to read the last four pages, but it seems to go on much as it has begun). If it were my responsibility I think I should refuse to print most of the passages marked by Sisam; the remarks for example about Lloyd George and Horatio Bottomley, not so much because they are grossly unjust to the former – and it is surely indecent to bracket a former Prime

⁴⁰ 29 June 1925. One day after the illustrated edn appeared, Samuel Eliot Morison wrote to Johnson from the USA pointing out that the caption under a picture of the Old South Church in Boston stated that Patrick Henry's 'Liberty or Death' speech was delivered there, whereas it was actually given at Richmond, Virginia. Johnson apologised for the 'howler', which was attributed to an unnamed American professor. The illustration was replaced by a picture of Boston Harbour, although the original caption remained unchanged in the list of illustrations until it was altered for the impression of 1931 (OUP file). McDonald describes DHL as being 'greatly amused' at the mistake (*The Writings of D. H. Lawrence 1925–30: A Bibliographical Supplement*, Philadelphia, 1931, p. 26).

⁴¹ OUP file. ⁴² 28 September 1924.

Minister with a convict? – as because the passage is in my opinion a libel upon the British people, and indeed upon humanity. The whole story seems to me to be radically false and self-contradictory. If we are all, or nearly all, the cowardly hounds DHL thinks us, what is the good of looking to our ‘Natural Noblesse’ for future salvation?

But if Sisam’s passages, or most of them, are removed, I don’t think what is left is any worse nonsense than one may read every day; though the style is epileptic (at the twenty-seventh iteration of *growing tip* I almost screamed out loud) and even ungrammatical; ‘Like a tree’ is not a sentence (page 3). The doctrine that the war was either the cause or the effect of the sudden death of humanity appears to me such vicious and cowardly nonsense that I am always tempted to suppose it an outbreak of injured vanity. But a great many people seem to hold this doctrine.

On the following day Humphrey Milford decided that the Epilogue would not be printed: ‘I will see if we can get out of it altogether. I hope the original book is not such stuff, but I don’t think so; it is only lately that D.H.L. has gone mad’.⁴³

It is easy to understand why the Epilogue irritated its readers – the generalisations about mankind, the criticisms of democracy and political systems, the insistent style, the implicit assumptions that the author ‘knows all’ and is speaking for all – in style and content it is hardly appropriate for a textbook for adolescents. Above all, it did not fulfil the purpose that OUP had in mind: it did not treat the twenty years or so of ‘the recent past’ that were missing from *Movements*. Lawrence indicated he was aware of this when he notified McDonald: ‘I did them an Epilogue which they were frightened to use. It was for the future rather than the past. But why shouldn’t a history book reach both ways!’⁴⁴

In planning the new edition of Lawrence’s book in 1924, OUP had sought the advice of the author and editor, V. F. Boyson, and she responded favourably on 23 September: ‘It is an attractive book, vividly written’; she had not been asked to check the historical data but she did draw attention to some ‘small inaccuracies’, largely dates, and she described the account of the ‘Poor Men of Lyons’ as ‘confused and inaccurate’, not bearing ‘signs of careful study’.⁴⁵ Probably as a result of these comments, someone went through a copy of the 1921 edition altering several dates and a few names, but leaving intact the ‘Poor Men of Lyons’. These unauthorised changes are recorded, and many are commented on in the notes (e.g. 12:1, 129:37) to this edition.

In October Lawrence re-opened the question of an index for the book

⁴³ OUP file.

⁴⁴ 29 June 1925. For the publication of the Epilogue, see p. xxxviii below.

⁴⁵ OUP file.