# ‘WRITING WITH GUSTO AND CONVICTION’: D. H. LAWRENCE’S JOURNALISTIC WRITING, 1928-30

**by**

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# ABSTRACT

This research probes the less-explored field of D. H. Lawrence's contributions to mass-circulated newspapers and magazines during the period 1928-1930, illuminating his journalistic ventures. Through an interdisciplinary lens, this study seeks to unearth the literary significance of this often-neglected dimension of Lawrence's works, thereby stimulating scholarly and public discourse for further exploration and analysis.

The objective of this study is to underscore Lawrence's diverse literary prowess and foster recognition of the interconnected nature of his works across genres. It employs two primary methodologies: the first, archival research, addresses the ongoing debates regarding the value of archival materials versus scholarly editions in academic studies, while the second, textual criticism, focuses on understanding Lawrence's late journalistic writings through archival sources. Findings from archival research emphasise the importance of revisiting physical archives, illuminating previously overlooked processes by which writers craft their works. The second approach employs textual criticism to discern the intertextual relationships between Lawrence's journalistic essays and his other writings, offering a fresh perspective on appreciating the literary richness of modernist authors' dynamic cross-genre writing process.

This study unveils a new dimension of D. H. Lawrence as a writer adept at producing popular journalism – using it as a platform for disseminating his views on social matters to a wider audience – while concurrently pursuing his literary endeavours. In doing so, it enriches the academic discourse surrounding both Lawrence and the journalistic undertakings of other modernist writers. Moreover, it introduces the general public to this lesser-known aspect of Lawrence, encouraging them to appreciate the literary value of his late journalistic works and their intertextual links with his more renowned fictional works. Furthermore, this research underscores the value of examining Lawrence's late archives comprehensively and meticulously. By proposing supplementary approaches to the scholarly edition of Lawrence's works to foster cross-genre dialogues, the study of Lawrence's late engagement with the journalistic marketplace emphasises the importance of physical archives. It invites both researchers and the general public to reignite their interest in archival exploration.

*For Mom and Dad*

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Finally, I would like to conclude with a couplet from one of my favourite Chinese poems, serving as a beacon of encouragement for my future self to maintain this passion and energy in my life and research:

欲穷千里目，更上一层楼。

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# CUE TITLES

Wherever possible, quotations from the letters and works of D. H. Lawrence in the main text and notes refer readers to the Cambridge *Edition*, using the short forms listed below.

## Selected Letters of D. H. Lawrence

| | |
|---|---|
| *1L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume I: September 1901–May 1913*, ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979). |
| *2L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume II: June 1913–October 1916*, ed. George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981). |
| *3L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume III: October 1916–June 1921*, ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,1984). |
| *4L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume IV: June 1921–March 1924*, ed. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987). |
| *5L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume V: March 1924–March 1927*, ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989). |
| *6L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume VI: March 1927–November 1928*, ed. James T. Boulton and Margaret H. Boulton with Gerald M. Lacy (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991). |
| *7L* | *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Volume VII: November 1928–February 1930*, ed. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993). |

## Selected Works of D. H. Lawrence

| | |
|---|---|
| *A* | *Apocalypse and the Writings on Revelation*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980). |
| *AA* | *Assorted Articles* (London: Martin Secker, 1930). |
| *IR* | *Introductions and Reviews*, ed. N. H. Reeve and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005). |
| *LCL* | *Lady Chatterley's Lover and A Propos of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover*', ed. Michael Squires (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993). |
| *LEA* | *Late Essays and Articles*, ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004). |
| *MEH* | *Movements in European History*, ed. Philip Crumpton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989). |
| *Poems* | *The Poems*. 3Vols., ed. Christopher Pollnitz (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013-8). |
| *PFU* | *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and Fantasia of the Unconscious*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004). |

| | |
|---|---|
| *R* | *The Rainbow*, ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989). |
| *RDP* | *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, ed. Michael Herbert (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988). |
| *SL* | *Sons and Lovers*, ed. Helen Baron and Carl Baron (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992). |
| *STH* | *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985). |
| *VG* | *The Virgin and the Gipsy and Other Stories*, ed. Michael Herbert, Bethan Jones and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006). |
| *WL* | *Women in Love*, ed. David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987). |
| *WWRA* | *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, ed. Dieter Mehl and Christa Jansohn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995). |

**Manuscripts and Archives**

| | |
|---|---|
| HRC DHL | D. H. Lawrence Collection, Harry Ransom Centre |
| UCB | Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley |
| UoN MSC | Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham |

**Biographical and Scholarly Sources**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ada | Ada Lawrence and G. Stuart Gelder, *Young Lorenzo: Early Life of D. H. Lawrence* (Florence: G. Orioli, 1931). |
| Brewster | Earl and Achsah Brewster, *D. H. Lawrence: Reminiscences and Correspondence* (London: Martin Secker, 1934). |
| Ellis | David Ellis, *D. H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1922–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998). |
| E. T. | E. T. [Jessie Chambers], *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935). |
| Harrison | Andrew Harrison, *The Life of D. H. Lawrence: A Critical Biography* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016). |
| Kinkead-Weekes | Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 1912–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996). |
| Nehls | *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*. 3 Vols. Gathered, Arranged, and Edited by Edward Nehls (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1957-9). |
| Neville | George H. Neville, *A Memoir of D. H. Lawrence (The Betrayal)* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981). |
| Roberts | Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski, *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). |

# INTRODUCTION

While 'in a quandary' about finding an appropriate means to publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in April 1927, D. H. Lawrence corresponded with his British literary agent regarding his future career plans.[1] In this letter, Lawrence posited that, aside from continuing his career as a novelist, he could feasibly sustain himself through contributions to magazines, stating, 'I could probably live by little things. I mean magazines'. Amidst Lawrence's contemplation of publishing an unexpurgated edition of what was anticipated to be a contentious novel, Nancy Pearn, a key figure at Curtis Brown's London office, managed the dissemination of his works across newspapers and magazines. Often referred to by Lawrence as his 'golden… magazine girl', Pearn astutely highlighted the potential risks to Lawrence's reputation and financial stability that the publication might entail.[2] Furthermore, Pearn advised Lawrence to rely on his 'instinctive judgement' not to publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, noting that it could be 'dangerous financially speaking' in the context of the journalistic marketplace.[3]

Pearn's particular caution regarding the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, as well as her foresight into its potential unpopular reception in popular journalism, stemmed from her recent strategy for Lawrence to broaden his presence in the journalistic marketplace. This approach was rooted in her acute understanding of the significant role popular journalism plays in a writer's career. Though Lawrence was primarily recognised in the book market, he occasionally embraced opportunities to contribute to other forms of publication, ranging from reviews to short stories for newspapers and magazines. By the latter half of the 1920s, Lawrence had established

[1] *6L*, 29.
[2] *6L*, 459.
[3] *6L*, 29n5.

his literary reputation as a renowned writer, with publications and discussions of his work occurring on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, the *Daily Express* referred to him as 'the famuos [*sic*] novelist', while the *New York Times Book Review* acknowledged him as 'regarded by many critics as a genius and one of the century's greatest authors' – a 'prolific writer' known for his 'novels, short stories, essays, travel books and plays'.[4] However, his financial gains did not match his popularity, partly due to his preference for releasing his work in beautifully designed private editions intended for a select readership.[5] In comparison with his contemporaries – Eliot, Joyce, Pound, and Woolf, to name a few – Lawrence continued to struggle financially and even experienced poverty. In a candid letter to Earl Brewster, he confessed to barely managing financially, concluding that 'The only solution is to need little'.[6] The nature of private editions limited Lawrence and his literary agent from taking legal action against pirated editions, and book publishers were hesitant to challenge public opinion and the government with Lawrence's risqué romantic novels. Despite the eventual publication of expurgated versions of several titles, pirated editions continued to erode his royalty income in his late years.

When Lawrence showed interest in increasing his income through journalistic contributions, Pearn was enthusiastic in her support. She actively worked with him to develop his presence in the journalistic field. This period of Lawrence's life,

[4] D. H. Lawrence, 'Women', *Daily Express*, 19 June 1929, 10; 'D. H. Lawrence Dies; Noted Novelist', *New York Times Book Review*, 4 March 1930, 27.
[5] For essays examining Lawrence, his limited editions and his preference for a select readership, see, John Worthen, 'D. H. Lawrence and the "Expensive Edition Business"' in *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, ed. by Ian Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren Chernaik, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 105–23; Andrew Harrison, 'Dust-Jackets, Blurbs and Forewords: The Marketing of Sons and Lovers' in *New D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Howard J. Booth, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2009), 17-33; Joyce Wexler, 'Book Publishers' in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 37–46; and Andrew Harrison, 'Private Publication' in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 57–67.
[6] *6L*, 90.

particularly the last few years where he engaged deeply with journalism, is analysed in depth in this thesis. It reveals a side of Lawrence that was both shrewd in business and astute in understanding the marketplace. This contrasts with the earlier, Edwardian phase of his career, where, as Annalise Grice notes, he appeared outwardly indifferent to commercial matters despite an 'unrelenting concern with the publishing of his works and the state of his reputation'.[7] The later Lawrence, engaged in journalism, was more straightforward in his approach. He did not hesitate to pursue financial gain while passionately writing polemical essays and articles. His manuscripts and letters demonstrate his eagerness to learn and adapt his journalistic persona for the marketplace. Lawrence used his knowledge of the book industry to anticipate and cater to his audience's preferences, a skill further honed through interactions with his literary agent and newspaper editors.

While Lawrence's journalistic works have long been overlooked, only attracting critical attention in recent academic discourse, the scope of these examinations remains narrowly defined. Scholarly focus has predominantly been directed towards the texts of the published works, with less consideration given to the nuances of their composition and evolution – aspects that constitute the central focus of this thesis.[8] Since the initiation of the *Cambridge Edition of the Letters and Works of D. H. Lawrence* in 1979, which began with the first volume of Lawrence's *Letters*, scholars like James T. Boulton and John Worthen have consistently advocated for a nuanced understanding of Lawrence's often misrepresented and distorted identity as shaped by textual

[7] Annalise Grice, *D. H. Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace: The Early Writings* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2021), 2.

[8] A notable example of scholarly neglect concerning Lawrence's journalistic essays is manifest in their complete omission from *D. H. Lawrence's Non-fiction*, a book which otherwise purports to examine Lawrence's non-fictional writings. See, David Ellis and Howard Mills (eds), *D. H. Lawrence's Non-fiction: Art, Thought and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988).

transmission.[9] They urge a return to the original publication contexts for a more authentic evaluation of his work. This perspective is mirrored in modernist studies by academics such as Mark Osteen, John Whittier-Ferguson, Lawrence Rainey, and George Bornstein.[10] They recognise the significant impact of 'external' elements – economic motives, promotional strategies, and public reception – on the culture of modernist publishing. The advent of digital humanities and digitalisation projects like the Modernist Journals Project (a collaboration between Brown University and the University of Tulsa), the Blue Mountain Project at Princeton University, and the Modernist Magazines Project (jointly conducted by the University of Sussex and De Montfort University), along with various digital archives of widely circulated newspapers, have facilitated access to and analysis of modernist and modernist periodical culture in their original formats.[11] The three-volume *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, edited by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, represents a significant benchmark in the study of modernist periodicals. Nonetheless, despite recent monographs exploring individual modernist authors' interactions with publishing culture and the publication of *D. H. Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace* by Annalise Grice, a comprehensive examination of Lawrence's

[9] Discussions on Lawrence's falsified identity between editions include James T. Boulton, 'Editing D. H. Lawrence's Letters: The Editor's Creative Role', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 19.2 (1996), 211-220; John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: A Literary Life* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989).
[10] Mark Osteen, *The Economy of 'Ulysses': Making Both Ends Meet* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1995); John Whittier-Ferguson, *Framing Pieces: Designs of the Gloss in Joyce, Woolf, and Pound* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996); Lawrence S. Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998). See also earlier studies such as James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent* (London: Oxford UP, 1968), on which these works build.
[11] Online newspaper and magazine archives, such as ukpressonline and British Newspaper Archive, provide sources for the study of popular journalism.

deep engagement with the journalistic marketplace, particularly in his late career, and the formation and evolution of his late journalistic persona, remains fragmented.[12]

This thesis argues that the limited scholarly focus on Lawrence's late journalistic phase has led to a narrow portrayal of him as either a 'perplexed, sensitive person groping his way through life' or as a bitter, iconoclastic figure.[13] These portrayals contrast sharply with the more nuanced understanding of Lawrence that emerges from this study. It reveals his collaborative efforts with literary agents and editors, his skill in understanding his target audiences, and his ability to balance the presentation of innovative ideas with the conventions of the periodical marketplace. Therefore, there is a clear need for further research into Lawrence's complex compositional processes, a pursuit that is fundamental to the arguments made in this thesis. As previously mentioned, Nancy Pearn foresaw potential repercussions on Lawrence's career in journalism while he contemplated the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, anticipating a negative public and market response. Despite this warning, Lawrence chose to overlook Pearn's advice. He personally oversaw the publication of the novel's Florence and Paris editions, bypassing his literary agent. On 13 April 1928, Pearn expressed her frustration in a letter to Lawrence, using an exclamation mark – unusual in her extant correspondence – to punctuate her concern: 'let's hope the news of it won't reach any the recently converted editors whose allegiance would thereby be made to

[12] These titles include: Jenny McDonnell, *Katherine Mansfield and the Modernist Marketplace: At the Mercy of the Public* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010); Jeanne Dubino's edited collection *Virginia Woolf and the Literary Marketplace* (New York: Palgrave, 2010); Stephen Dilks, *Samuel Beckett in the Literary Marketplace* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2011); Peter Marks, *George Orwell the Essayist: Literature, Politics and the Periodical Culture* (London: Continuum, 2011); Jonathan Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian: Arthur Conan Doyle and the Strand Magazine, 1891-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2016); Chris Mourant, *Katherine Mansfield and Periodical Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2019); and Grice, *D. H. Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace*.

[13] Lorine Pruette, 'He Who Asked Why?' *New York Herald Tribune Books*, 27 April 1930; 'Book Review', *New York Times Book Review*, 11 May 1930; Arthur Colton, 'Book Review', *Saturday Review of Literature*, 17 May 1930, vi. 1043.

tremble!'[14] Contrary to Pearn's expectations, this bold move did not end Lawrence's journalistic pursuits. It appears that Lawrence managed to negotiate a mutually beneficial arrangement with newspaper and magazine editors, who took advantage of his reputation as an outspoken and controversial figure. Following an enthusiastic reception from Arthur E. Olley, the literary editor of the London *Evening News*, Lawrence prolifically produced over two dozen polemical essays between 1928 and 1930. His work appeared in widely circulated newspapers and magazines, such as the *Sunday Dispatch*, the *Daily Express*, and the *Daily Chronicle* in Britain, and *Vanity Fair* in America. It also featured in more niche publications like the *Star Review*, edited by Lady Emily Lutyens. Importantly, the eagerness of newspaper and magazine editors for Lawrence's work translated into substantial commissions, validating his decision to write for a general audience. In a letter dated 17 May 1928, Pearn had opined that, despite the success of Lawrence's initial essay, Olley was unlikely to offer more than ten guineas – a standard rate at the time, which Pearn considered 'quite a good price'.[15] However, in hindsight, it is evident that Pearn significantly underestimated Lawrence's appeal in popular journalism and his potential for success. By July 1929, Emily Lutyens was offering Lawrence £20 for an article on 'Men and Women', reflecting a significant increase in his market value. This trajectory confirms that Lawrence's engagement with the journalistic marketplace was not just a survival tactic but a strategic and successful part of his broader literary career.

This examination of Lawrence's late journalistic career critically emphasises the prolific number of essays he composed and the financial remuneration he received from newspaper and magazine editors. This narrative has been perpetuated in various

[14] HRC DHL 36.6.
[15] HRC DHL 36.6, cited in *LEA*, xxii.

biographies and editions, both popular and scholarly, including the Cambridge *Edition*. However, it presents a somewhat simplified view of Lawrence's literary activities. The Cambridge *Edition*, initiated in 1979 and overseen by leading Lawrence scholars, has become a primary resource for researchers and the general public interested in Lawrence's works over the past four decades. Curated by volume editors, these editions feature meticulously edited content and comprehensive textual apparatuses. These resources enable readers to discern textual variations between different versions of Lawrence's works. Notwithstanding its significance, the Cambridge *Edition* exhibits notable gaps, particularly in its representation of textual alterations in Lawrence's journalistic manuscripts. This thesis addresses this shortfall by revealing that many of Lawrence's textual revisions within these manuscripts are insufficiently reflected in the Cambridge *Edition*. Such an oversight underscores the need for a more detailed investigation, as conducted in this study, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the development and evolution of Lawrence's journalistic persona. Through an in-depth exploration of manuscript archives and a thorough textual and archival analysis, this research augments existing critical literature by offering new insights into Lawrence's editorial processes and his strategic navigation of the journalistic marketplace. This approach not only complements but also extends the scholarly narrative established by the Cambridge *Edition*.

The Cambridge *Edition*, under the general editorship of James T. Boulton, adheres to an editorial principle predicated on identifying a singular 'best' text. This base text, derived from an amalgamation of Lawrence's manuscripts, typescripts, proofs, magazine versions, or first British or American editions, aims to 'provide texts as close as can now be determined to those [Lawrence] would have wished to see

printed'.[16] However, scholars like Paul Eggert and Annalise Grice have noted that this approach to establishing a definitive scholarly text is problematic.[17] It not only overlooks the dynamic nature of Lawrence's writing process but also assumes, perhaps erroneously, that Lawrence consistently resisted external influences during his composition and revision stages. This is particularly evident in the case of the polemical essays and articles in the Cambridge *Edition* of *Late Essays and Articles*, many of which originated from requests by newspaper and magazine editors. Hence, this prevailing assumption is open to challenge, as this research will demonstrate in subsequent chapters. The study aims to portray a journalistic Lawrence who actively engaged with opportunities presented by editors, showing remarkable patience and adaptability in navigating the rules of the journalistic marketplace and catering to the tastes of his editors and potential readers. As Eggert's critique pertinently points out, 'traditional editorial methodologies bring with them their own sorts of bias and the Cambridge *Edition* of Lawrence's works […] is no exception'.[18] Moreover, the Cambridge *Edition* of Lawrence's letters, often used to illustrate his creative process, falls short of presenting a complete picture. The selective inclusion of quotations from Lawrence's correspondence, particularly letters from Nancy Pearn, tends to perpetuate a skewed perspective. This selective approach reinforces the biased view that Lawrence, in contrast to his fictional work, was dismissive of non-fiction writing and primarily used this genre for financial gain. For example, the earlier referenced excerpt from Pearn's letter concerning the serialisation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* suggests an entirely different narrative when considered in its entirety. Therefore, the primary

[16] *LEA*, vii.
[17] Paul Eggert, 'The Cambridge Edition' in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 304–14; Grice, *D. H. Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace*, 3-4.
[18] Eggert, 'The Cambridge Edition', 308.

objective of this thesis is to reconstruct a comprehensive view of Lawrence's late journalistic career, from its lesser-known or misunderstood beginnings to its abrupt end with Lawrence's death on 2 March 1930. By examining Lawrence's letters and works alongside previously overlooked or uncatalogued correspondence, including that with Nancy Pearn, this thesis seeks to direct academic attention to archival materials. This approach aims to dispel longstanding myths surrounding Lawrence's later journalistic career, thereby contributing to a more nuanced understanding of this aspect of his literary life.

Revisiting the physical archival materials, especially the correspondence from Nancy Pearn to Lawrence, is pivotal for reconstructing the documentary context of Lawrence's entry into the journalistic marketplace. Notably, as he was concluding *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lawrence informed Pearn and selected publishers about the novel's impending completion. On 17 March 1927, Pearn updated Lawrence that Martin Secker had expressed interest in the novel, querying whether it could be scheduled 'for the autumn'.[19] She sought Lawrence's confirmation regarding Secker's potential role as the publisher. It is noteworthy that at this time, Nancy Pearn was managing not just Lawrence's journalistic outputs but also his novels, despite there being a separate novels department within Curtis Brown's London office. The transition of Lawrence's book-related affairs became evident on 6 April 1927, when Pearn informed him that Laurence Edward Pollinger, 'one of our Book Managers', would be increasingly handling the details of the book side of his work.[20]

This transition is significant for three reasons. Firstly, it reveals the often-overlooked fact that Nancy Pearn initially oversaw the coordination of both Lawrence's

[19] HRC DHL 36.6.
[20] HRC DHL 36.6.

journalistic articles and his fictional works. Secondly, this revelation underscores the need to delve into the underexplored archives of Nancy Pearn. As a notable female literary agent in the modernist publishing industry, her involvement is key to understanding the development of Lawrence's late journalistic reputation. Thirdly, Pearn's professional background in the publishing industry, particularly as a woman during that era, endowed her with a keen awareness of the distinctions between the book and journalistic marketplaces. Lawrence, primarily accustomed to the book marketplace, initially applied his relevant experiences to the composition of his polemical essays during the early stages of his engagement with newspaper publishing. An analysis of the correspondence between Pearn and Lawrence, especially focusing on Pearn's advisory communications, is instructive. It elucidates how she assumed a mentoring role akin to that of Edward Garnett in Lawrence's brief yet prolific late journalistic career. Moreover, it reveals how Lawrence actively and swiftly assimilated her guidance, refining his approach and tone to better resonate with his intended audiences.

In existing scholarship, there is a general perception that Lawrence quickly composed his late polemical essays in response to requests from newspaper and magazine editors and based on Nancy Pearn's advice. However, it is clear that Lawrence also brought a novelist's understanding of market dynamics to the writing and composition of these essays, drawing on his experience and insights from publishing his novels and poems in this new journalistic context. In a letter dated 17 March 1927, in which Pearn enquired if Martin Secker could publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, she advised Lawrence that

> the time has come when we ought at least to consider the possibility of serialising each novel as it comes along; for although it is admitted that the possibilities are likely to be few and far between, your general growing popularity seems to warrant careful consideration of each new book from such point of view.[21]

Pearn, as a literary agent, was undoubtedly motivated by financial considerations in her suggestions. She recognised that publishing in newspapers and magazines could elevate Lawrence's stature and provide broader exposure. In the early twentieth century, the book marketplace was relatively exclusive, with circulation, even of affordable editions, largely dependent on an author's reputation. In contrast, the journalistic marketplace, including newspapers and magazines, reached a much wider audience. This included individuals who might not have been able to afford his books and had likely only encountered Lawrence through critical discourse, which often casted him in a notorious light. Well-versed in the industry, Pearn understood that the journalistic sphere had become increasingly open to modernist writers and their avant-garde works. This was a significant shift from the environment in 1918, when James Joyce began serialising *Ulysses* in *The Little Review* and *The Egoist*. Pearn might have been influenced by the controversies and subsequent popularity following the serialisation and publication of *Ulysses* since 1922. She could have inferred that Lawrence, being in a similar position, could use his popularity to his advantage. Crucially, serialising Lawrence's controversial novels, whether acclaimed or criticised in the book marketplace, would not impose additional burdens on him. Instead, it could present an opportunity to disseminate his ideas to a broader audience. This strategic approach, blending literary creativity with market acumen, underscores both Lawrence's adaptability and Pearn's astute understanding of the evolving literary and journalistic landscapes of their time.

[21] HRC DHL 36.6.

However, after careful deliberation, Lawrence responded to Pearn on 12 April 1927 and declined this offer. In this letter, he confessed that

> I'm in a quandary about my novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. It's what the world would call very improper. But you know it's not really improper – I always labour at the same thing, to make sex relations valid and precious, instead of shameful. […] To me it is beautiful and tender and frail as the naked self is – and I shrink very much even from having it typed. […] Anyhow Secker wants me to send it him at once. And Barmby writes that Knopf *cant possibly publish till next spring*, […]. I am inclined to do just nothing. What would you say? […] I think perhaps it's a waste to write any more novels: I could probably live by little things. I mean in magazines.[22]

This letter reflects Lawrence's deep commitment to engaging with his readers through his works. He was intent on using *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as a medium to champion the normalisation of concepts surrounding sex and love within the novel, dedicating himself fervently to this cause. Lawrence's response to the anticipated reception of this audacious literary endeavour reveals his acute awareness of, and frustration with, the conservative social milieu. This keen sensitivity to potential reader reactions underscores his dual nature as both a shrewd businessman and an astute social activist. However, such insights, which we find in much of Lawrence's correspondence and works, are frequently overlooked by critics or cited only in fragments. They vividly illustrate Lawrence's empathy and reader-awareness, traits integral to his various literary personae. Throughout his early and mid-career, and arguably throughout his entire literary journey, Lawrence strategically cultivated and maintained a select readership. This approach stemmed from his recognition that many of his 'English folks', whom he cherished deeply, might not understand or accept his ideas.[23] Aware of

[22] *6L*, 29.
[23] *1L*, 128.

this, Lawrence established a select readership and social circle as a form of self-protection, while also attempting to broaden his influence. He achieved this through the publication of private editions, limited signed editions, and expurgated versions of his works. Unlike in his novels, where he often revealed his philosophical self to his followers, Lawrence adopted a more reserved approach in his journalistic essays and articles. In his descriptions of the abnormalities of modern society, Lawrence partially revealed his insights into these trending topics to stimulate discourse, and encourage his readers to think critically and draw their own conclusions. In his response to Pearn's suggestion of establishing a presence in the periodical marketplace by serialising his existing works, Lawrence drew upon his accumulated understanding of the reading public from his experiences in the book marketplace. He believed that serialising his novels, which did not align with mainstream tastes, would exacerbate his already contentious reputation and invite further misunderstanding. This cautious approach in managing his literary image across different marketplaces highlights Lawrence's strategic and multifaceted engagement with his audiences.

While Lawrence was acutely aware of his readers and their potential reactions to his provocative ideas, he also demonstrated a pragmatism in tailoring his tone for different audiences before his late engagement with popular journalism. Known for revisiting and revising his works, including rewriting entire chapters or books, Lawrence's modifications primarily reflected his evolving state of mind. For instance, he declined Pearn's suggestion to serialise his novels. However, he crafted specific polemical articles for the journalistic marketplace, showcasing his adaptability to different formats. Lawrence expected his books to resonate with a select group of readers who could genuinely comprehend his perspectives, rather than appeal to a

general audience. He even claimed that it was 'a misfortune that serious books are exposed in the public market'.[24] One of the few exception to this approach was *The Lost Girl*, illustrating Lawrence's practice of creating works tailored to a broader audience. His engagement with the publication of this novel, particularly his negotiations with publisher Martin Secker, showcases his developing understanding of the marketplace and his versatility in shifting roles. Following positive feedback on the novel, Lawrence suggested to Secker in a letter dated 31 May 1920 that serialisation could act as both a 'safeguard against prosecutions' and a means of generating additional income, writing 'More selling, I'm sure'.[25] This letter is often cited as evidence of Lawrence's pursuit of financial benefits, but it also reveals his business acumen and strategic use of market insight to influence his publisher. Without a literary agent in Britain at the time, Lawrence handled the administrative aspects of his work alongside writing. To secure the publication of *Women in Love*, he agreed to offer Secker a different kind of book. Aware of Secker's apprehensions about attracting censorship due to Lawrence's controversial reputation, he suggested renaming *The Lost Girl* to 'The Bitter Cherry'.[26] In correspondence with Compton Mackenzie and Thomas Seltzer, Lawrence acknowledged this as a compromise, indicating his pragmatism to accommodate Secker's preferences to ensure the publication of *Women in Love*: 'Secker prefers the title The Bitter Cherry – not *The Lost Girl*. My *Lost Girl* amused me so – such a film title. But we shall have to let Secker have this, as he yields me *Women in Love*'.[27] Lawrence's consideration of Secker's concerns and his strategic use of *The Lost Girl*'s

[24] *PFU*, 62.
[25] *3L*, 537.
[26] *3L*, 512.
[27] *3L*, 528. In his letter to Seltzer, Lawrence wrote that 'Seeker prefers the title The Bitter Cherry, but I think my original *The Lost Girl* is better. *The Century* would have the option of the two.' See *3L*, 540.

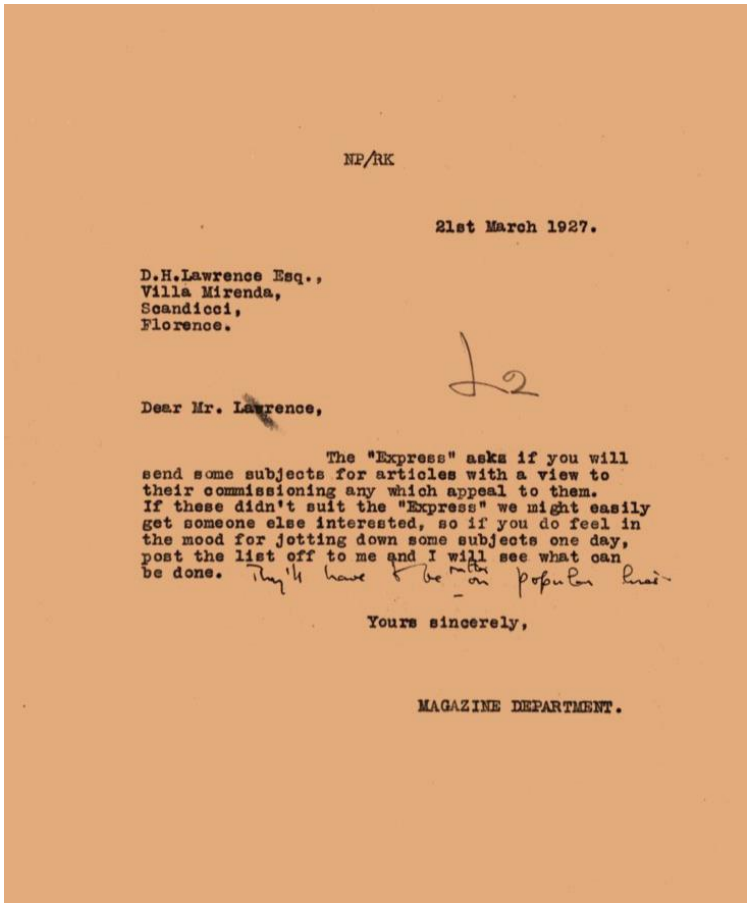
potential serialisation as ‘a great protection for the other books’ led him to moderate the tone of the novel.[28] Although *The Lost Girl* was not ultimately serialised, Lawrence successfully published it and *Women in Love* under their original titles. This earlier example exemplifies Lawrence’s dual identity as both a challenging writer and a shrewd businessman, adept at navigating compromises and applying this pragmatic approach to the journalistic marketplace.

Though initially hesitant to engage directly with the journalistic marketplace, Lawrence recognised its potential for disseminating his ideas and enhancing his reputation. Motivated by a desire to enlighten and inspire his readers, he began composing articles for the readership of mass-circulation newspapers and magazines. These articles, though less overtly argumentative than his fictional works, still retain a thought-provoking quality. Lawrence’s correspondence with Pearn, especially his often-quoted assertion that he could subsist on journalistic publications, has sparked debate about his motivations for entering the journalistic arena in the latter part of his career, and consequently, the quality of his polemical essays.[29] However, when this quote is considered in context and corroborated by evidence from various perspectives, a more nuanced interpretation emerges. It suggests that Lawrence was acutely aware of his public persona and deliberately engaged in self-fashioning through the journalistic marketplace. Shortly after Pearn’s letter on 17 March 1927, which proposed serialising his novels, she forwarded a request from the editor of the *Daily Express*, inviting Lawrence to write a series of articles. Pearn reassured Lawrence that if ‘these didn’t suit the “Express” we might easily get someone else interested’, adding a handwritten note

[28] *3L*, 540.
[29] *6L*, 29.

that the newspaper will 'have to be rather on popular lines' (**Figure *1***).[30] Subsequent correspondence from Pearn, leading up to her acknowledgement of Lawrence's 'instinctive judgement' regarding serialising his novel, primarily informed him about the acceptance of his short stories by magazines and included proofs of forthcoming publications.[31] Reading these letters together with Lawrence's response to Pearn dated 12 April 1927, a more coherent narrative emerges. The phrase 'I could probably live by little things. I mean in magazines' reveals motivations extending beyond mere financial incentives. Lawrence's decision was influenced by his recognition of his stature within both the literary and journalistic spheres, together with his eagerness to connect with and impart his ideas to a broader audience.

[30] HRC DHL 34.7.
[31] See Nancy Pearn's letters to Lawrence on 25, 27 and 30 March, 6 and 8 April 1927. HRC DHL 34.7.



NP/RK

21st March 1927.

D.H.Lawrence Esq.,
Villa Mirenda,
Scandicci,
Florence.

Dear Mr. Lawrence,

The "Express" asks if you will send some subjects for articles with a view to their commissioning any which appeal to them. If these didn't suit the "Express" we might easily get someone else interested, so if you do feel in the mood for jotting down some subjects one day, post the list off to me and I will see what can be done.

Yours sincerely,

MAGAZINE DEPARTMENT.

**Figure 1.** Nancy Pearn's letter to Lawrence on 17 March 1927. HRC DHL 36.6.

While Lawrence's success in the journalistic marketplace was acknowledged by his contemporary literary reviewers in major English-speaking markets, critical attention to his writings in this genre remained scant until Annalise Grice's recent examination.[32] The trajectory of Lawrence's career as a writer of popular journalism, as well as the relationship between his work in the literary marketplace and his more substantial fictional and poetical output, remains underexplored. Even his often-quoted and discussed pieces, such as '[Autobiographical Fragment]' (1927), 'Introduction to Paintings' (1928), and 'Nottingham and the Mining Countryside' (1929), are primarily regarded as providing autobiographical and aesthetic insights. His journalistic writing is

[32] Annalise Grice, 'Journals, Magazines, Newspapers' in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 304–14.

perceived as secondary and less substantial compared to his fiction. John Worthen addresses this marginalisation, linking the essays' association with financial rewards to critical indifference, and highlighting Lawrence's commitment to meeting publishers' requirements while simultaneously seeking to challenge his readers:

> even an author like Lawrence, who was very often idealist in his own attitude towards writing, was deeply influenced by the fact of being a man writing for his living; and that being a man dependent upon his writing sometimes dictated what he wrote and when.[33]

Prior to the 'materialist turn' in modernist studies in the 1990s, research often depicted modernist writers as distinctly separate from the early twentieth-century popular marketplace, elevating themselves and their works above the middlebrow public. Mass-circulated newspapers and popular magazines were frequently portrayed as being antithetical to the intellectual rigour and dedication to serious art associated with modernist writers and their readerships. For example, T. S. Eliot, in his essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', while discussing his 'Impersonal theory of poetry', contends that 'if we attend to the confused cries of the newspaper critics and the susurrus of popular repetition that follows, we shall hear the [poets' names repeatedly]; if we seek […] the enjoyment of poetry […] we shall seldom find it.'[34] This view of popular journalism as being in opposition to literature was a sentiment widely shared among modernists, including Ezra Pound. Patrick Collier observes that these leading modernists positioned modernist literature as a refuge for the few not influenced by the press, or as a remedy for a public sphere 'rendered "illiterate with periodicals"'.[35] The

[33] Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: A Literary Life*, xx-xxi.
[34] T. S. Eliot, *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition, Volume 2: The Perfect Critic, 1919-1926*, ed. by Anthony Cuda and Ronald Schuchard (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2014), 108.
[35] Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street* (London: Routledge, 2016), 5.

tension between modernist literature and popular culture has contributed to the stereotype of modernists as impoverished, emaciated figures struggling for their art. Commenting on this aspect, Andreas Huyssen discusses the ideal of modernism and how it was perceived by the general public as high culture. Huyssen cautions against the myth that modernism 'constituted itself through a conscious strategy of exclusion, an anxiety of contamination by its other: an increasingly consuming and engulfing mass culture'.[36]

A different facet of Lawrence emerges from the portrayal typically seen in biographies and scholarly works – that of a writer attuned to his reception and eager to present his ideas to a diverse audience, demonstrating more than just a basic understanding of the popular publication market. Lawrence's literary career commenced in 1907 with his contributions of short stories to a Christmas competition held by the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*. His story 'A Prelude' notably won a prize in one of the categories. However, two aspects of this event are noteworthy: firstly, Lawrence submitted the award-winning piece under the name of his girlfriend, Jessie Chambers, and secondly, he entered three stories in total, none under his real name, opting for friends' names or a pseudonym instead. Demonstrating shrewd business acumen, Lawrence submitted multiple stories to increase his chances of winning, while simultaneously avoiding potential embarrassment from criticism if the stories were not well-received. This strategy also allowed him the opportunity to later claim authorship, as has been documented in various biographies about Lawrence. Following this initial success, evidence suggests that Lawrence expressed interest in a journalistic career as early as 1908. At the same time, though Lawrence was an avid reader of periodicals like

[36] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1986), vii.

A. R. Orage's the *New Age*, which influenced his essay 'Art and the Individual', he hesitated to distribute his manuscripts widely. Instead, he preferred sharing his work within a select circle, including his mother, Blanche Jennings, and Jessie Chambers. Annalise Grice suggests that Lawrence's cautious approach in story competitions and his preference for a limited audience may have stemmed from a fear of failure.[37]

Lawrence's complicated early experience with publishing may have been what led him to maintain a distance from popular journalism. In 1915, after contributing a short story and a review to Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry's *The Blue Review*, Lawrence proposed expanding their collaboration by establishing their own magazine, *The Signature*. Although Mansfield and Murry were both editors and contributors, *The Signature* can be regarded as a journalistic venture largely driven by Lawrence. It encapsulated his theories on the interplay between public and private life, and modern(ist) philosophy and aesthetics. As Lawrence repeatedly stated in his letters and in the magazine's advertisement, *The Signature* was available exclusively to subscribers. An analysis of the correspondence between Lawrence and S. S. Koteliansky, who assisted with the printing and distribution, reveals that the subscriber list was predominantly composed of Lawrence's friends and avid followers. However, this venture was short-lived; unable to sustain itself beyond three issues due to low subscription numbers, it fell short of the initially planned six issues.

After the unsuccessful venture of *The Signature*, Lawrence kept his distance from the journalistic marketplace and refrained from writing journalistic essays until his later years. Mark Kinkead-Weekes notes that the failure of this literary experiment 'ended [Lawrence's] hopes of finding soul-allies for his revolution, through "preaching"

[37] Grice, *Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace*, 37.

his ideas directly'.[38] Lawrence's late re-engagement with the journalistic marketplace is characterised by three distinct features. Firstly, in a brief period of three years, he was remarkably productive, composing nearly thirty pieces and successfully publishing over half of them. During this period, he also worked on other major projects, such as the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, preparing the poetry collection *Pansies*, and organising an exhibition of his paintings in London. Secondly, the publication of these essays significantly bolstered Lawrence's reputation, establishing him as a professional and successful essayist. His name gained unprecedented recognition across the Atlantic, bringing considerable financial benefits from his periodical essays (Appendix I). Thirdly, and most crucially, Lawrence's perspective on popular culture and the general public underwent significant evolution. While composing these journalistic essays, he actively considered the marketplace and his audience, infusing his work with personal observations and original insights into social issues. Although topics were often assigned by newspaper and magazine editors, Lawrence employed a dialogical approach, aiming to engage and stimulate discussion among his readers. This late journalistic phase of Lawrence's career, one of the many facets of the literary Lawrence, presents a unique, multifaceted, and dynamic reflection of the journalistic culture.

This study, through an examination of Lawrence's late engagement with the journalistic marketplace and post-Edwardian culture, recognises him as a passionate essayist and journalist. He possessed both commercial acumen and a sincere willingness to engage in dialogues with his readers. Determined to broaden his readership, Lawrence balanced his own literary style with the expectations of newspaper and magazine editors who commissioned his work. Contrary to the perception of his

[38] Kinkead-Weekes, 276.

indifference towards potential editorial changes and the quality of his essays, Lawrence's interest in the journalistic marketplace, his readership, and the development of his new literary persona are evident in his correspondence with Nancy Pearn. Following the 'materialist turn' in modernist studies, scholars such as Lawrence Rainey, Joyce Wexler, and Michael North have acknowledged the importance of the marketplace in the creation of modernist masterpieces. Kevin Dettmar and Stephen Watt, in their edited collection *Marketing Modernisms*, compellingly argue for a close interconnection between modernism and popular culture, challenging the notion of their mutual exclusivity.[39] Typically, modernist literature is positioned in contrast to the most commercially successful publications. Given this context, Lawrence's journalistic writings deserve a systematic review and examination, underscoring their significance in the broader landscape of modernist literature.

Though Lawrence's frank acceptance of financial rewards and his pragmatic use of popular journalism to enhance his popularity have attracted criticism and occasionally led to the neglect of his polemical essays, archival evidence reveals his astute use of the journalistic marketplace for self-fashioning and constructing a journalistic persona. A characteristic of Lawrence as a writer was his tendency to revisit and even completely rewrite his manuscripts. While there is no extant evidence suggesting he has entirely rewritten his polemical pieces, it is evident that he frequently revised and edited these essays. This is apparent from comparisons of his manuscripts, typescripts, proofs, magazine versions, and collected editions, including both British and American first editions. The variations Lawrence introduced across different versions have drawn criticism for seemingly altering texts to appease editors and attract

[39] *Marketing Modernisms*, ed. by Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt (Ann Arbor, MI: U of Michigan P, 1997).

financial rewards. Returning to Lawrence's archival material, a key methodological resource for this thesis, provides fresh perspectives on the composition and editing processes of his later journalistic works. A synchronic study of Lawrence's polemical essays, alongside his other works, reveals intertextualities and connections between them. The methodology chapter of this thesis, informed by new archival evidence showing concurrent composition of pieces across genres in the same notebook, lays the foundation for cross-sectional readings and examination of potential intertextual relationships between works not previously considered together in existing scholarship. Chapter One delves into Lawrence's journalistic essays on gender politics, aiming to discern how he used popular journalism as a platform to understand his readers' mindset and engage in dialogues on contentious issues of gender and sexuality. Drawing from his observations on the perceived artificiality in modern men and women and the worrying trend towards rigidity in thought among the younger generation, Chapter Two traces Lawrence's exploration of the root cause of social deadness – modern education. Lawrence argues that this education suppresses vibrant human instincts and perpetuates an abstraction that undermines individuality, continuing beyond formal schooling. He asserts that the modern education system transforms young people into compliant automatons, unable to explore, experience, or express. Chapter Three shifts focus to Lawrence's criticism of the dogmatism inherent in Christianity. In these essays, he not only articulates the issues but also proposes a solution for his readers to counteract the abstracting effects of modern civilisation on individual identity: the reclamation of genuine religious sentiment.

Within these journalistic essays, Lawrence reveals himself as an active, pragmatic essayist who energetically expressed his insights into social issues,

demonstrating a vivid and passionate interest. This aspect of Lawrence was noted by both Evelyn Waugh and Winifred Holtby in their reviews.[40] Despite being an established and professional writer by 1928, and having had prior interactions with the journalistic marketplace, most notably the unsuccessful venture of *The Signature* in 1915, Lawrence re-entered this field almost as a newcomer. He began with Arthur Olley's London *Evening News* in late 1928, learning from various individuals, particularly his literary agent Nancy Pearn and the editors he collaborated with. Within just a year, he became a popular contributor and a topic of discussion, building his reputation among British and American readers through popular journalism. For example, Winifred Holtby highlights that while Lawrence's widely circulated pieces may have been 'rounded on a dream of What the Public Likes', they were 'not the dreary stuff tapped out on a typewriter by harassed writers'.[41] Holtby has also noted that 'one does not feel Lawrence wrote reluctantly', but rather with 'deep and vivid interest', writing 'with gusto and conviction'. Holtby suggests that in this way, Lawrence outperformed writers such as Ursula Bloom and Beverley Nichols 'in their own game'. Evelyn Waugh, meanwhile, commends Lawrence for treating invitations to write papers, which other 'novelists for the most part accept [...] half-heartedly', as an opportunity to use a 'pulpit' to preach his ideas.[42] From Waugh's perspective, Lawrence had a 'message' to deliver, and the broader the audience, the more satisfied he was.

This study re-envisions Lawrence's persona as an essayist and journalist, a facet previously overlooked, offering a long-overdue examination that enriches his multifaceted authorial identity. It contributes to twenty-first-century Lawrentian

[40] Evelyn Waugh, 'The Books You Read', *The Graphic*, 31 May 1930, 476; Winifred Holtby, 'D. H. Lawrence, Journalist', *Time and Tide*, 2 May 1930, 570.
[41] Holtby, 'D. H. Lawrence, Journalist', 570.
[42] Waugh, 'The Books You Read', 476.

scholarship, aligning with the work of scholars like Jeff Wallace, Judith Ruderman, Andrew Harrison, Susan Reid, Elliott Morsia, and Annalise Grice.[43] Focusing on Lawrence's late polemical essays, this research also examines his contemporary works in other genres, providing a comprehensive understanding of the compositional context of these essays. While existing criticism has largely centred on Lawrence's creative mind through his fictional works and poetry, this research adopts a new critical approach by appreciating Lawrence's journalistic essays. Adopting a cross-sectional perspective on Lawrence's contemporaneous writings during this prolific period, as advocated by Paul Eggert, this research presents a Lawrence who diverges markedly from traditional interpretative frameworks.[44] These conventional methods typically regard his oeuvre as a collection of discrete, static works. However, an examination of his correspondence and manuscripts reveals a more dynamic, journalistic Lawrence. Far from being an isolated persona amongst his various literary personae, Lawrence's journalistic persona demonstrates a greater degree of intertextual and contextual connectivity with his major works in other genres than previously acknowledged. This thesis, focusing on the last three years of Lawrence's literary career, particularly his journalistic essays, substantiates this claim through archival and textual analysis. A synchronic analysis of Lawrence at this juncture sheds light on the material conditions underpinning his writing. This approach, detailed in the subsequent methodology chapter, also reveals the intricate interplay between his works and the literary

[43] Jeff Wallace, *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Judith Ruderman, *Race and Identity in D. H. Lawrence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Andrew Harrison, *The Life of D. H. Lawrence: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016); Susan Reid, *D. H. Lawrence, Music and Modernism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Elliott Morsia, *The Many Drafts of D. H. Lawrence: Creative Flux, Genetic Dialogism, and the Dilemma of Endings* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021); Grice, *D. H. Lawrence and the Literary Marketplace*.
[44] Paul Eggert, 'Revising and Rewriting' in *The Edinburgh Companion to D. H. Lawrence and the Arts*, ed. by Catherine Brown and Susan Reid (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2020), 219-30 (219).

marketplace. Such an investigation enables a more nuanced understanding of Lawrence, challenging the conventional compartmentalisation of his literary and journalistic endeavours. Utilising extensive archival evidence, this study positions Lawrence's literary experiments within the field of popular journalism amidst a broader modernist journalistic culture, placing him alongside his contemporaries such as Woolf, Joyce, Wyndham Lewis, Rose Macaulay, and Rebecca West.

## METHODOLOGY: REVISITING THE *PANSIES* NOTEBOOK: NEW APPROACHES TO D. H. LAWRENCE'S LATE ARCHIVES[45]

D. H. Lawrence was a prolific writer who exhibited various literary personae throughout his career. Those acquainted with his working pattern would recognise his inclination to engage in multiple projects concurrently, a working process never more pronounced than in the last three years of his life (1928-1930). During this period, Lawrence completed, revised, and published *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, one of his most renowned and contentious novels. He also ventured into popular journalism, cultivating a new persona for a different public. Moreover, he composed some of his most-discussed poetry, including *Pansies*.[46] Though the title might be somewhat misleading, *Pansies* is a collection of *pensées* reflecting his immediate thoughts, with some early entries showcasing Lawrence's new poetic style.[47] With the publication of the third volume of the *Poems* in 2018, the forty volumes of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of D. H. Lawrence* present researchers and the public with up-to-date, accurate and all but comprehensive texts. Subtitled *Uncollected Poems and Early Versions*, the third volume of Lawrence's *Poems*, edited by Christopher Pollnitz, '[offers] a new idea of the scope and scale of [Lawrence's] verse-writing'.[48] For the first time, readers can access 'more than 120 poems which Lawrence either chose not to collect or was […] unable to collect during his lifetime, and which have therefore been largely neglected', including the first draft of *Pansies*. However, despite the painstaking endeavour of prominent scholars dedicated to the production of the Cambridge *Edition* since 1980, the editorial

[45] This chapter has been published in *English Studies* (Open Access). See, Buxi Duan, 'Revisiting the *Pansies* Notebook: New Approaches to D. H. Lawrence's Late Archives', *English Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/0013838X.2023.2252710.
[46] For a detailed account on the reception of *Pansies*, see *2Poems*, 784-86.
[47] In Lawrence's first draft of the introduction to *Pansies*, he noted that 'each ~~pensée~~ little piece is just a thought put down, and it doesn't pretend to be a half-baked lyric or a melody in American measure'. HRC DHL 13.7; *1Poems*, 657.
[48] *3Poems*, lxxix.

practice of presenting and reading Lawrence generically has resulted in current scholars' relative neglect both of Lawrence's archives and of the intertextuality of his work across different genres composed during a particular period. By examining the *Pansies* notebook (E302d or MS150) as an example, this study proposes two innovative approaches to interpreting Lawrence's late archives and advocates for critical attention to the materiality and intertextuality of his archives.[49] First, this study reconstructs the initial portion of the *Pansies* notebook by situating the archival materials dispersed across various locations – such as misplaced loose leaves and manuscripts pulled from the notebook that are separately catalogued – back in the notebook in the correct order. Second, based on the reconstructed section of the notebook, this research introduces a cross-sectional analysis of Lawrence's new polemical and poetic styles to examine the intertextuality of these generically diverse pieces. This approach seeks to understand Lawrence's pragmatic strategies in modulating his tones while endeavouring to engage in dialogues with different audiences. Reading Lawrence synchronically, in short, offers insight into how works composed concurrently in Lawrence's late career – at a time when he worked across multiple genres – cross-pollinated each other. Alongside other experimental archival research on modernist authors, such as Joshua Phillips's new approaches to Virginia Woolf's late archive, this study also underscores the irreplaceable significance of archives in Lawrence studies and broader modernist studies.[50]

By dedicating a separate volume to the early versions of Lawrence's poems, Christopher Pollnitz and the Cambridge University Press addressed some limitations

[49] Roberts, 643; *3Poems*, lx-lxiii.
[50] Phillips, 'How Should One Read the "Reader"?', 195-219.

inherent in traditional editorial approaches.[51] The Anglo-American editorial convention typically aims to establish a 'definitive edition' and relegates earlier or alternate versions to the 'Appendix' or 'Textual Apparatus' sections at the end of a volume. In the 'General Editor's Preface' at the beginning of each volume, James T. Boulton defines the editorial policy as '[providing] texts which are as close as can now be determined to those [Lawrence] would have wished to see printed'.[52] After settling on a base text, the editorial methodology for presenting the various editions involves listing 'significant deleted MS readings' in the 'Explanatory notes and, at times, in the Textual apparatus'.[53] This approach to some extent harmonises academic rigour with publication considerations. However, for an author like Lawrence, who habitually revisited his earlier drafts and extensively revised and even rewrote works at various stages – manuscripts, typescripts, proofs and collected editions – a condensed apparatus and fragmented textual alterations no longer sufficiently represent the differences in the numerous versions of Lawrence's works or their compositional development. Since the materialist turn in editing and criticism, scholars have increasingly recognised this inadequacy and called for a return to the original site of composition – manuscripts and other archival materials. In the *Poems*, it was at first planned to present a comprehensive variorum apparatus in the final volume or volumes, an apparatus which would have allowed readers and scholars to reconstruct the various versions of Lawrence's poems and to trace the compositional development each poem underwent, from its inception to its appearance in newspapers/magazines, its inclusion in editions,

[51] Similar publishing practice of allocating a distinct volume for earlier editions in the Cambridge *Edition* is exemplified by *The First Women in Love* (1998), *The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels* (1999), *Paul Morel* (2003, early version of *Sons and Lovers*), and *Quetzalcoatl* (2011, early version of *The Plumed Serpent*).
[52] *1Poems*, xi.
[53] *1Poems*, xii.

and finally (or all but finally, in the 2020s) to its publication in the Cambridge *Edition* of the *Poems*.[54] This expectation was only partially fulfilled, but the third volume of the *Poems* has introduced new materials from archives to a broader readership and fosters a comprehensive understanding of Lawrence's evolving poetic style and thematic development, thus paving the way for further critical assessments of his poetry.

A fundamental limitation of the Cambridge *Edition* is that its volumes limit the encounter with Lawrence to individual genres. Confined to a generic silo, a poem's connections with other generically diverse works composed in the same period are effaced. The two instances, of the *pensée* 'The Jeune Fille', composed and published in 1929, and the essay, 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', composed and published in newspaper form in 1928 and collected and published posthumously in *Assorted Articles* in April 1930, are a test case of how readily a user of the edition can negotiate the generic divisions imposed by the Cambridge *Edition*. The titles themselves suggest these are late works which might be valuable to compare. 'The Jeune Fille' was one of the 29 *pensées* (E302g or TS167b) which Lawrence added to *Pansies* between 26 January 1929, when he decided 'to type the *Pansies* all over again', and 11 February 1929, when he sent the carbon typescript of the second typing of *Pansies* to New York.[55] Despite the coincident titles, there is no compositional link between the *pensée*, composed in January-February 1929, and the essay, composed in April 1928 and given its final revision in November-December 1929.

[54] *1Poems*, xxxiii; *2Poems*, 813; *3Poems*, lxxxiv.
[55] Roberts, 644; *7L*, 152, 173. See Ellis, 593-4, for the 29 *pensées*; for an accurate dating of the period in which Lawrence composed the 29 *pensées*, see *2Poems*, 762-3. For a listing and dating of all typescripts of *Pansies*, see *3Poems*, lxvii-lxxi: first typing, TS164a, TS164b, TS164c; second typing, TS167a, TS167b; third typing, TS167e; fourth typing, TS167c, TS167d.

One means of redressing the shortcoming of generic specialisation in the Cambridge *Edition* is via explanatory notes referring to other volumes, such as the annotations appearing frequently in volumes dedicated to the major novels. In the *Poems*, Pollnitz's explanatory note for 'The Jeune Fille' referred readers to the *Assorted Articles* version of the essay, 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', as edited by James T. Boulton in *Late Essays and Articles*.[56] Because of the editorial apparatus of the Cambridge *Edition,* Pollnitz is not able to point to the significance of an earlier version of the essay, published in the London *Evening News*, under the title 'When She Asks Why?', in May 1928. Nor does Pollnitz mention the title, 'The Bogey Between the Generations' under which Lawrence sent the article to the literary editor of the *Evening News*. For these, Boulton's note on the essay's final version must be consulted. While this note and an appendix are packed with information about unpublished and published versions of the essay, Boulton is unable to find space to reciprocate Pollnitz's reference to the essay with a note of his (Boulton's) own to the *pensée*. Boulton concludes by maintaining that there is no certainty Lawrence gave the essay the title 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'.[57] It is clear, however, that the title was given to the essay by someone familiar with the *pensée*. In May 1929, Lawrence was involved in protracted arguments with Secker, when the publisher insisted on adding 'The Jeune Fille' and two other *pensées* to the list of poems which had to be omitted from the trade edition.[58] There are reasons for thinking that it was Lawrence who gave the essay its cross-referential reference to the *pensée*. Editorial annotations in particular editions go some way towards enabling readers to consult Lawrence works in different genres, but in

[56] *2Poems*, 1162.
[57] *LEA*, 69-70; see also Appendix I, 'Early Draft of "The 'Jeune Fille' Wants to Know"', *LEA*, 321-5.
[58] Pollnitz, 'Composition, Publication, Reception', 769.

some editions, such cross-referential notes are few, and readers are given little guidance. What explanatory notes there are do not overcome the fundamental shortcoming of the genre-based editorial framework, that it does not adequately reflect how Lawrence's works in a given period interconnect and influence each other.

While recent scholarship, such as that by Paul Eggert, has called for critical attention to Lawrence's habit of writing concurrently across genres, research in this field remains limited.[59] This deficiency may stem from certain hurdles, including traditional approaches that categorise Lawrence's works in genre-based compartments, as previously alluded to. This study strives to address these gaps by conducting a thorough analysis of one of Lawrence's early *pensées* 'I know a noble Englishman', in conjunction with a review for the British *Vogue* and a polemical essay entitled 'Sex Appeal'. Despite the initial impression of these works being unrelated – and they have not been collectively compiled in any publication nor been the subject of joint scholarly scrutiny – extant records of D. J. Wells and H. K. Wells, and E. W. Tedlock suggest that these pieces all originate from the initial segment of the *Pansies* notebook.[60] This raises an intriguing potential for examining their intertextual relationships, a subject heretofore unexplored.

**Situating loose leaves back to the *Pansies* notebook**

The extant part of the *Pansies* notebook is arranged in reverse order, commencing with an unlined loose leaf bearing Lawrence's signature, followed by an unnumbered loose leaf containing a poem titled 'The Old Orchard'. After these two loose leaves, the first

[59] Eggert, 'Revisiting and Rewriting', 219-30.
[60] In the Cambridge *Edition*, the 'Review' is collected in *Introductions and Reviews* (2005), the poem 'I know a noble Englishman' in *3Poems* (2018), and 'Sex Appeal' in *Late Essays and Articles* (2004). See also, Wells and Wells, 'Appraisal', 262-63; Tedlock, *Frieda Lawrence Collection*, 104.

numbered page, pencil marked as 2, contains an unfinished draft of Lawrence's review of *The Station* and another three books for the British *Vogue*. Pencil-numbered 3, the verso of this leaf features an untitled poem commencing with the line, 'I know a noble Englishman'. The poem continues on the recto of the subsequent leaf, pencil-numbered 4, but is preceded by a truncated, one-sentence draft of a polemical article entitled 'Sex Appeal'.

Before delving into a detailed explanation of the reconstructed portions of the *Pansies* notebook, it is necessary to clarify the notebook's binding and some terminologies in bookbinding. Differing from the final product of books on the shelf, the contents of bound books are initially printed on both sides of several large sheets. Depending on the number of times a sheet is folded, different formats of sheets are termed folio, quarto, octavo, and 12mo. Once it is folded and its edges cut, a single sheet transforms into a gathering (also called a section or signature) with various leaves, depending on the folding format. Subsequently, it will be sewn and/or glued together with other gatherings to form a book. A folio is folded once, resulting in two leaves, a quarto twice in four leaves, and an octavo three times in eight leaves. The 12mo format, as seen in the *Pansies* notebook, deviates slightly from the previous formats but results in twelve leaves.[61] It is worth noting that in practice, a sheet will not be cut into separate leaves but will end up in various folio units to form a gathering. By matching the tearing patterns and page stubs between manuscripts originally collected in different locations, this study has been able to reconstruct certain gatherings of the *Pansies* notebook.

[61] For a comprehensive elucidation of folding books in sheets, see Diehl, *Bookbinding, vol. 2*, 61-65.

Through meticulous examination of the notebook, it becomes evident that several leaves between pencil-numbered pages 3 and 4 have been removed. This deduction is based on the comparison of quality and size of the remaining leaves, the patterns of tearing, and the presence of page stubs. Further investigation of archival evidence suggests that the final leaf of the review's final draft was originally positioned in the notebook, presumably between 'I know a noble Englishman' and the dropped version of 'Sex Appeal' (**Figure *2***, a. and b.). The glue pattern and the results of page reconstruction indicate that the leaf containing the dropped version of 'Sex Appeal' should be the first leaf of a gathering. Owing to the considerable number of leaves that have been torn from the preceding gathering(s), it is impossible to reconstruct the exact beginning gathering(s) in reverse order solely based on the materials at hand. Nevertheless, the extant archival evidence enables us to discern the sequence of surviving leaves in the gathering(s) prior to the dropped version of 'Sex Appeal', as outlined in Table 1, while the gathering containing it can be pieced together as shown in Table 2. However, it is crucial to recognise that within the realm of Lawrence's archives, the sequence of leaves in a notebook does not necessarily correspond to the order of composition. Lawrence was often frugal with paper, composing on loose leaves remaining in a notebook, or even on scrap paper available to him. This is evident in the case of the *pensée* 'I know a noble Englishman', which was composed on the verso of the second 'Review' and interleaved after the discarded version of 'Sex Appeal'.

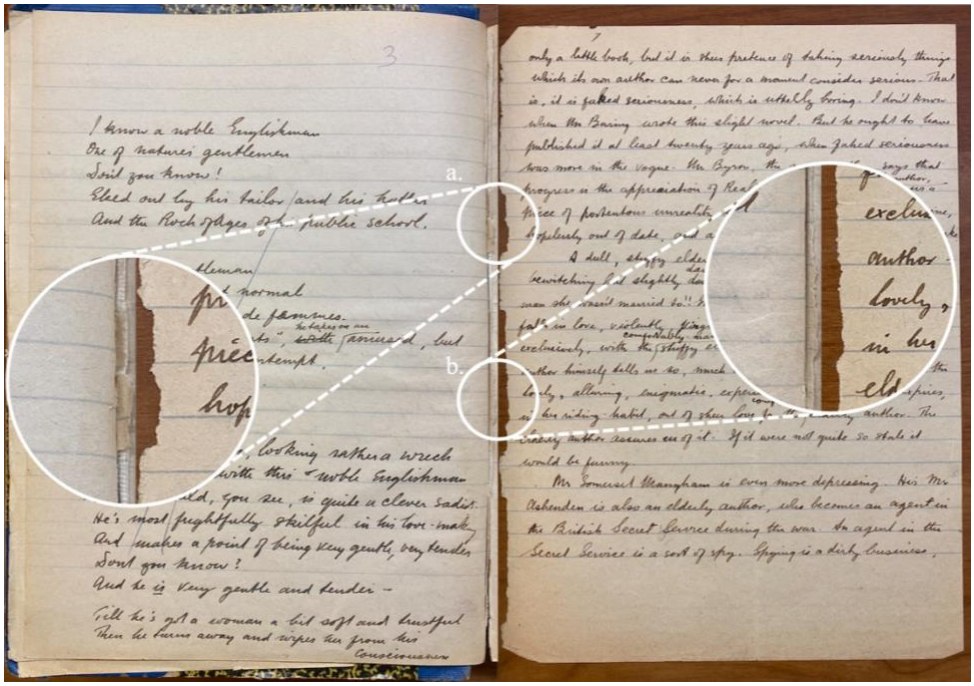



**Figure 2.** Magnified comparisons (a. and b.) between the remaining page stubs (left, HRC DHL 13.7) and the last leaf of the final draft of the 'Review' (right, HRC DHL 16.3). © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

| **Contents** | **Pencil no.** | **Ref.** | **Note** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'The Old Orchard' | 1 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | 1pp on 1 leaf. Verso left blank and not pencil numbered. Connected to the first leaf of the first draft of the 'Review'. |
| First draft of the 'Review' | | HRC DHL 16.3 | 4pp on 2 leaves. |
| Second draft of the 'Review' | 2 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | On the same leaf. |
| 'I know a noble Englishman' | 3 (verso) | ditto | |
| Final draft of the 'Review' | | HRC DHL 16.3 | 8pp on 4 leaves. |
| Unfinished draft of 'Sex Appeal' | 4 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | **Figure 2**. First leaf of the next gathering. |
| 'I know a noble Englishman' cont. | | | |
| 'I know a noble Englishman' cont. | 5 (verso) | | |

**Table 1.** Sequence of extant works in the gathering(s) prior to the dropped version of 'Sex Appeal'.

| Leaf | Contents | Pencil no. | Ref. | Connects to leaf |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Unfinished draft of 'Sex Appeal' | 4 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | 12 |
| | 'I know a noble Englishman' cont. | | | |
| | 'I know a noble Englishman' cont. | 5 (verso) | | |
| 2 | *missing* | | | 11 |
| 3 | 'Sex Appeal' | | HRC DHL 20.1 | 10 |
| 4 | ditto | | ditto | 9 |
| 5 | ditto | | ditto | 8 |
| 6 | ditto | | ditto | 7 |
| 7 | ditto | | ditto | 6 |
| 8 | 'How beastly the bourgeois is!' | 14 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | 5 |
| | 'If you live among the middle classes' | 15 (verso) | ditto | |
| 9 | 'Natural Complexion' | 13 (recto) | ditto | 4 |
| | 'The English Voice' | 12 (verso) | ditto | |
| 10 | 'The English Voice' cont. | 11 (recto) | ditto | 3 |
| | 'The Gentleman' | 10 (verso) | ditto | |
| 11 | *missing* | | | 2 |
| 12 | 'What Matters' | 6 (recto) | HRC DHL 13.7 | 1 |
| | | 7 (verso) | | |

**Table 2.** Sequence of extant works in the gathering containing the two drafts of 'Sex Appeal'.

A critical distinction must be made between the writings that Lawrence himself removed from the *Pansies* notebook, and those that Frieda removed posthumously, in order to accurately reflect the sequence of composition and examine the intertextuality between these pieces. For example, archival and biographical evidence suggest that

Lawrence only removed the final version of the 'Review' from the *Pansies* notebook. This implies that the first draft of the 'Review' and the second version of 'Sex Appeal' remained within the notebook when 'I know a noble Englishman' was composed. This claim is supported by the presence of blue ink deletion lines on 'I know a noble Englishman' and faded blue ink shades on the leaves of the second draft of 'Sex Appeal'. Lawrence likely made these markings, as he was known to use the same blue ink during the period when he was preparing the first draft of the introduction to *Pansies* in Christmas 1928. Around the same period, Lawrence began reviewing these *pensées* and marked them with blue ink deletion lines, indicating that these early *pensées* would be superseded by updated versions. Additionally, the absence of folding lines substantiates the conclusion that the second draft of 'Sex Appeal' remained within the notebook at the time these deletion lines were drawn. Though Lawrence only stated 'here is the article on "Sex Appeal"' in his 5 November 1928 letter to Pearn and did not specify whether he was sending her the original manuscripts or typescripts of 'Sex Appeal', it is evident from Pearn's recipient notice of 'two copies of [Lawrence's] article on "Sex Appeal"' that Lawrence only sent her the typescripts in this instance.[62]

Archival evidence further suggests that it was most likely Frieda who removed the first draft of the 'Review' and the second version of 'Sex Appeal', among Lawrence's other polemical pieces, from the notebook following Lawrence's death. Motivated by the manuscript trading culture and the understanding that manuscripts detached from a notebook would yield greater returns, Frieda hastily removed these articles and haphazardly pencil-numbered loose leaves, such as pages 10 to 15 of the

[62] *6L*, 606; HRC DHL 36.6.

*Pansies* notebook, inadvertently turning recto into verso leaves (Table 2).[63] This further led to these manuscripts being categorised and auctioned on the basis of genre, resulting in the compartmentalisation of these archives. This has also shaped the conventional scholarly methodology of editing and examining Lawrence's works generically and has influenced existing scholarship to predominantly focus on the poems within the *Pansies* notebook while neglecting works in other genres composed within it. For example, while Pollnitz's reconstructions of the *Pansies* notebook are instrumental in elucidating Lawrence's process of reviewing and rewriting his poems, these examinations concentrate solely on the poetry segment, leaving possible intertextuality across genres unexplored.[64] However, as Pollnitz insightfully concludes, 'the scrutiny of Lawrence's practice as a reviser of his own verse is not only of value in preparing a variorum edition'.[65] This observation further underscores the importance and necessity of returning to the original sites of composition, as scholars and Lawrence enthusiasts should 'access the manuscripts themselves, not only photocopies or facsimiles'. With most manuscripts from the *Pansies* notebook eventually acquired by research institutions, such as the Harry Ransom Centre at the University of Texas, Austin and Manuscripts and Special Collections at the University of Nottingham, researchers can investigate and examine the possible connections between them. Despite the challenges posed by geographical distances and individual archival materials originating from the same site of composition (such as the *Pansies* notebook) being preserved separately, a

[63] By the time D. J. Wells and H. K. Wells examined the notebook in January 1937, it contained several manuscripts aside from the *pensées*. However, when Jake Zeitlin sold Lawrence's manuscripts later that year, both the notebook and the manuscripts recorded in the Wellses' 'Appraisal', including the first draft of the 'Review', 'Sex Appeal', and 'Do Women Change', were sold as separate items. See, Wells and Wells, 'Appraisal', 262-63; Powell, 'Excerpts', 283, 286-87, 290. For a detailed account regarding the misplaced and misnumbered loose leaves at the beginning of the *Pansies* notebook, see Pollnitz, 'Sniffing the Humus', 44-46.
[64] Pollnitz, 'Cough-Prints', 157; Pollnitz, 'Sniffing the Humus', 39-57.
[65] Pollnitz, 'Cough-Prints', 155.

synoptic and compositional reading of these seemingly unrelated Lawrence archives collectively, in response to the limitations of current scholarship, becomes feasible and practical. To understand how Lawrence reshaped his late literary personae through inventing new polemical and poetic styles, the following section will read the three pieces from the *Pansies* notebook cross-sectionally and examine the intertextuality between them.

**Inventing new polemical and poetic styles**

The year 1928 marked a pivotal moment in Lawrence's literary career, in terms of both his poetic and polemical personae. After enduring years of tension with his readership, the acclaimed success of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' in May 1928 led Lawrence to re-evaluate his rapport with the general public: 'Perhaps after all the public is not such a dull animal, and would prefer an occasional subtle suave stone to polish its wits against'.[66] Encouraged by Nancy Pearn's assertion that 'the publicity [through popular journalism] is far from negligible, sometimes having immediate results in the way of increasing book sales' and the promising prospect of 'a coming boom in D. H. L. articles', Lawrence seized the opportunity.[67] Having just finished *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, he capitalised on the chance to 'trot in a four-pager now and then' and demonstrated a willingness to collaborate with newspaper editors in order to connect with a broader audience and shape his public persona.[68] Alongside this new polemical style, Lawrence also exhibited a desire to introduce a novel style in his poetic compositions during the same period. As Pollnitz accurately notes, Lawrence

[66] *6L*, 403.
[67] HRC DHL 36.6.
[68] *6L*, 401.

'reinvented a new style of free verse "each time" he embarked on a new phase of writing', and the new poetic style he invented for *Pansies* is 'among early entries in the *Pansies* notebook'.[69] The subsequent section will use the three pieces from the *Pansies* notebook as examples to scrutinise how Lawrence concurrently developed his new polemical and poetic styles to address diverse audiences.

Despite being the last composition within the trio, the context of 'I know a noble Englishman' and its placement in the *Pansies* notebook imply its potential close intertextual relationship with the 'Review' for the British *Vogue*. Existing textual, biographical, and calligraphic evidence suggests that Lawrence composed this *pensée* during his sojourn on the island of Île de Port-Cros, motivated by his aversion to Richard Aldington's manipulative behaviour towards Dorothy ('Arabella') Yorke and Brigit Patmore.[70] For example, Lawrence's introduction of a female speaker in the third stanza appears to ridicule Aldington from the perspective of Yorke, the woman Aldington abandoned for his mistress, Patmore. The speaker unleashes her contempt upon the 'noble Englishman', aiming to rehabilitate the sense of self that this man has compromised. According to Pollnitz, Aldington 'is the model for the Englishman' in this *pensée*, later revised as 'The noble Englishman', because he shares notable similarities with the character 'Ronald', who, in the female speaker's words, 'is quite a clever sadist'.[71] Lawrence's deteriorating health on the island and the other early verse entries in the *Pansies* notebook, such as 'How beastly the bourgeois is!' and 'If you live among the middle classes' ('Worm either way'), lead Aldington to interpret these *pensées* as Lawrence's expressions of his 'irritations with healthy people and people of

[69] Pollnitz, 'Verse Forms', 121, 126.
[70] For a detailed account of Aldington's behaviour on Port-Cros, see Harrison, *Life of D. H. Lawrence*, 371-73.
[71] *2Poems*, 1091n; *3Poems*, 1591, 1877n1.

a different class […] in fact with almost everybody'.[72] Aldington's assessment of Lawrence's attitude towards him and the middle-class is accurate. The stay on Port-Cros marked a crucial turning point in Lawrence's literary career, a shift propelled by his revulsion against middle-class complacency, presumption, and the critical reception of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. These resentments and contempt for Aldington motivated Lawrence to vent his frustration through his verse. As examined above, by the time Lawrence composed 'I know a noble Englishman', the two early versions of the 'Review' for the British *Vogue* remained in the *Pansies* notebook. It is reasonable to speculate that these two pieces could have catalysed the satirical genesis of 'I know a noble Englishman'. While preparing the 'Review', Lawrence had to modify his polemical tone and follow the style of a sample review article filled with middle-class pretentiousness, wherein the author presents himself as a 'trustee for posterity' and claims in the opening paragraph that 'English gentlemen will know how to value the work of an English gentleman'.[73] Lawrence's revulsion towards such pomposity likely inspired him to begin the satirical *pensée* with the line 'I know a noble Englishman'.

The 'Review' serves as a prime example of the new polemical style that Lawrence endeavoured to develop in order to foster dialogues with his readers. This new style was based on Lawrence's characteristically provocative tone, tempered in an attempt to reach a broader readership. In a letter to Lawrence of 11 July 1928, Nancy Pearn forwarded Alison Settle's request for a contribution. Settle was the editor of the British *Vogue* and Pearn took care to relay her warning that they 'could not publish a type of article which would be perfectly all right for one of the more serious and less

[72] Aldington, introduction to *Last Poems*, x.
[73] Wolfe, 'Turning Over New Leaves', 79.

conventional reviews'.[74] To ensure that Lawrence understood the desired tone and style for the book review suitable for the magazine and its readership, Settle attached a previous book review by Humbert Wolfe, intending it to provide Lawrence with 'an idea of the form of the article'.[75] As N. H. Reeve and John Worthen note, Settle might have wished for Lawrence to adopt a 'slightly facetious, man-about-town tone', similar to Wolfe's style.[76] Given Lawrence's notoriety and his typically provocative literary style, such caution on Settle's part seems justifiable. This concern is distinctly reflected in the first draft of Lawrence's 'Review', the opening paragraph of which reads:

> There's a difference between a sad book and a depressing book. If you say of a book: Oh, but it's so sad! – then many people will rush to read it. But if you say: it's such depressing reading! – they will hold off.
>
> Three of these books are distinctly depressing. […][77]

Lawrence opens the article with conversational casualness, interlaced with his typical provocative tone. He criticises three of the four books he is going to review and subtly derides the reading public, particularly those who would read the British *Vogue*, for their reliance on others' recommendations rather than their personal appreciation of a book. With the first example, *England and the Octopus* by Clough Williams-Ellis, Lawrence challenges his readers' stereotypical presumption that a depressing book is not worth reading. After presenting an eye-catching and flippant argument at the beginning, Lawrence clarifies that it is not the book, but the current landscape of England, 'the millions of streets and rows of mean little houses which spread over the

[74] After Dorothy Todd stepped down in 1926, Alison Settle became the editor of the British *Vogue* till 1935. Under her editorialship, British *Vogue* has commissioned influential modernist writers such as Virginia Woolf, Evelyn Waugh, and Edith Sitwell. HRC DHL 36.6.
[75] HRC DHL 36.6.
[76] *IR*, lxxxi.
[77] HRC DHL 16.3; *IR*, 407.

face of the land and devour the country', that causes one to feel depressed.[78] As an active critic of modern consumer culture and industrialisation's all-encompassing effect on individual's life, Lawrence observes the tendency for England to be 'swallowed up entirely by beastly little pink houses and blasphemous bungalows'. His pursuit of an organic society must have resonated with Williams-Ellis's concern and his image of streets sprawling across rural England like a brick-coloured octopus. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the figurative meaning of 'octopus' is of an 'organised, usually harmful or destructive' entity resembling or 'suggestive of' the eight-limbed cephalopod.[79] However, the rest of the book, should one finish it as Lawrence did, becomes 'alive' and 'interesting'.[80]

In this first draft, Lawrence discusses only three out of the four books, omitting Robert Byron's *The Station: Athos, Treasures and Men*. After reproaching Maurice Baring for his 'infinite stuffy dulness' and characterising W. Somerset Maugham's protagonist, Ashenden, as suffering from an out-of-date seriousness, Lawrence probably realised Settle's requirement for a review article appropriate for her 'terribly refined and pleasant journal'.[81] Thus, he turned to Wolfe's piece in an attempt to discern the stylistic preferences and expectations of the British *Vogue*'s readership. Both the second and final drafts reveal Lawrence's diligent efforts, even struggles, to refine his polemical style and shape it into what he believed would be appropriate for the British *Vogue*. Lawrence undertook a significant structural reorganisation by starting with Byron's work and planning to sequentially discuss the remaining books by Williams-Ellis, Baring, and Maugham. This structure allows Lawrence to initiate the dialogue

[78] HRC DHL 16.3; *IR*, 407.
[79] *OED*, s.v. 'Octopus, n.2'.
[80] HRC DHL 16.3, 36.6; *IR*, 407.
[81] HRC DHL 16.3; *IR*, 408; HRC DHL 36.6.

with his readers using two less 'heavy' titles, thereby avoiding provocation from the outset. Lawrence also adjusted his critical tone, offering readers a comparison between the light-hearted younger generation and the 'depressing' older generation of writers in order to establish a more conciliatory tone in his critique. Likely influenced by Wolfe and recognising that the majority of the British *Vogue*'s readers were female, Lawrence adopted Wolfe's euphemistic style and substituted terms such as 'gracefulness' and 'honesty' with a butterfly simile:

> The younger generation, the war generation, ~~of which Mr Byron is an example, has the gracefulness and the honesty~~ has a charming butterfly manner, and an engaging honesty. It avoids, at all cost, being heavy.[…][82]

This important textual alteration, which exemplifies Lawrence's strategic adjustment of his polemical tone and language, is not documented in *Introductions and Reviews* (2005).[83] This editorial oversight reinforces the necessity of engaging with archival resources in conjunction with the Cambridge *Edition*. The vivid 'butterfly' simile in this excerpt illustrates the younger generation of writers' captivating manner and neatly aligns with the preferences of the magazine's predominantly female readership. In contrast to the critical tone employed in the opening paragraph of the first draft, Lawrence opts for a more gradual and cumulative approach. This technique paves the way for a less confrontational introduction of his forthcoming critique of Baring and Maugham, thereby augmenting the potential acceptance of his arguments by the readership. Nevertheless, Lawrence's irritation with Wolfe's perceived hypocrisy – demonstrated by personal attacks on the author rather than an objective review of the

[82] HRC DHL 13.7; *IR*, 411.
[83] *IR*, 411, 605.

work – still persisted.[84] The discontent is reflected in his letter to Pearn, where he enclosed the final manuscript of the 'Review'. Lawrence expressed his frustration by stating, 'I could never rise to the fatuous idiocy of Humbert Wolf [*sic*], whoever he is. Imagine their sending me him as a pattern! Tell them to go to simpering simpleton's hell'.[85] Despite these challenges, the editor of the British *Vogue* accepted this review and promptly published it with minor modifications within a few weeks. The success of this new polemical style testifies to the effectiveness of Lawrence's stylistic adjustments, underscoring their potential to appeal to a diverse and broader audience.[86]

After finishing the 'Review' in July 1928, Lawrence did not use the *Pansies* notebook in reverse order until he composed the polemical essay 'Sex Appeal' during his stay on Port-Cros, from 15 October to 17 November 1928. Despite this, Lawrence still utilised this period to hone his new polemical style for a wider readership through several contributions to mass-circulated newspapers, such as the London *Evening News* and *Daily Chronicle*. When Lawrence received the *Sunday Dispatch*'s invitation for a contribution to a series 'under the heading "WHAT IS SEX APPEAL?"' on 30 October 1928, he immediately agreed to fulfil the request and sent his reply to Pearn on the same day.[87] It should be noted that the introductory note to 'Sex Appeal' in *Late Essays and Articles* – stating that Lawrence 'heard of the proposal in a letter from Nancy Pearn, 11 October 1928' and accepted it 'at the end of the month' – could be slightly misleading. Though Pearn's letter to Lawrence was indeed dated 11 October, it was put on hold because his letter updating Laurence Pollinger about his new address was not forwarded

[84] See Wolfe's review of Rose Macaulay's *Keeping Up Appearances*. Wolfe, 'Turning Over New Leaves', 79.
[85] *6L*, 464.
[86] The 'Review' appeared in the British *Vogue* on 8 August 1928, 35, 58.
[87] See, *LEA*, 143; HRC DHL 36.6.

to Pearn, who therefore put on hold six accumulated letters which she sent in a registered package on 25 October, thereby avoiding the 'the horrid possibility of such a large bunch going astray'. These letters, including the *Sunday Dispatch*'s contribution request, took another five days to arrive with Lawrence on 30 October.[88] Alongside Pearn's correspondence, Lawrence also received several newspaper clippings regarding his recently published novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Though the novel had only been printed in Italy at that time, it had already attracted attention and stringent criticism in England. The *Sunday Chronicle* dedicated an entire column in the centre of its frontpage under the title 'Lewd Book/ Banned./ Under Name of/ Noted Author./ Printed out/ of England'.[89] The report characterises *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as 'one of the most filthy and abominable ever written; and an outrage on decency', which 'reeks with obscenity and lewdness about sex'. Another review sent to Lawrence appeared in *John Bull*, a magazine that had 'always hated [him]'.[90] Under the title 'Famous Novelist's Shameful Book: A Landmark in Evil', *John Bull* devoted nearly a page to criticising Lawrence and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.[91] In the section entitled 'Fatal obsession', the anonymous reviewer claims that 'Lawrence has a diseased mind. He is obsessed by sex. We are not aware that he has written any book during his career that has not over-emphasised this side of life. […] He can write about nothing else, apparently'. The section concludes with the reviewer chastising Lawrence for 'creating a literary cesspool'. In an attempt to tarnish Lawrence's literary and personal reputation, the magazine included a portrait of Lawrence alongside the article, captioned 'D. H. Lawrence, the world-famous novelist, who has prostituted art to pornography'.

[88] *6L*, 601.
[89] *Sunday Chronicle*, 'Lewd Book Banned', 1.
[90] *6L*, 598.
[91] *John Bull*, 'Famous Novelist's Shameful Book', 11.

Though Lawrence expressed his indifference towards the attacks on *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and his character on various occasions, such as in a letter to S. S. Koteliansky, these scathing criticisms undoubtedly caused him distress.[92] As Brigit Patmore recounts in her reminiscence piece, Lawrence was in good spirits at dinner, but his mood abruptly changed after coffee when they began perusing the reviews of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* that had arrived earlier that day, most of which were 'disgraceful'.[93] While others mocked the critics for becoming 'so heated over imagined dirt that the odour of their sanctity was tainted' and were 'amused', they neglected the fact that 'the author of the book was being hurt'. The situation escalated when someone read the review published in *John Bull*:

> 'My God!' one of us gave a shout. 'Here, in this one, Lorenzo, one of them calls you a cesspool!'
>
> He made a grimace which might have been a smile or slight nausea.
>
> 'Really? One's fellow creatures are too generous. It's *quite* worth while giving of one's best, isn't it?' Then as if speaking to himself, 'Nobody *likes* being called a cesspool.'[94]

Lawrence's frustration was evident in his subsequent actions. Without a word, he persistently fuelled the fire despite the 'painful smoke and lovely perfume' and the others' protests. To Patmore, Lawrence's incensed behaviour symbolised his defiance: 'having served up his enemies […] as a burnt sacrifice, he never bothered about them again'. A dedicated advocate of sex as an essential aspect of life, Lawrence had no reason to retreat from engaging in the debate. The contribution request from the *Sunday Dispatch* on 'Sex Appeal' offered him a timely opportunity to redress the slanderous

[92] *6L*, 604.
[93] Nehls, *III*, 260.
[94] Nehls, *III*, 260.

reviews and clarify his own views on sex to the newspaper's mass readership, while honing his new polemical style.

A premise of the attacks on *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was that sexual acts could not be depicted in literature without descending into pornographic filth. However, Lawrence's detractors failed to substantiate their claim as to *why* and/or *how* sex, a fundamental aspect of human existence, is intrinsically degenerate or immoral. Their hasty conclusion instead evasively recommended the complete omission of sexual references in literature, arguing for a puritanical approach. Countering this logical inconsistency, Lawrence commences the article with a question in a colloquial tone to encourage reader engagement: '[…] what is sex, after all? The more we think about it, the less we know'.[95] Lawrence then unravels the society's bias against sex, attributing it to the conflict between the naturalness of sex and the economic machinations of modern society: 'Science has a mysterious hatred of beauty, because it doesn't fit in the cause-and-effect chain. And society has a mysterious hatred of sex, because it perpetually interferences with the nice money-making schemes of social man'. In comparison to the opening line of the dropped first draft – 'It is all very well asking what sex appeal is, when we know so exceedingly little about sex' – where Lawrence criticises the public's narrow and clichéd understanding of sex, the second version's opening is more conversational and invitational, encouraging readers to reflect on their own prejudices towards sex and consider their logical validity.[96] This effectively foregrounds the possibility that the readers might arrive at a conclusion similar to Lawrence's own and, therefore, find common ground with his argument.

[95] HRC DHL 20.1; *LEA*, 144-45.
[96] HRC DHL 13.7; *LEA*, 396.

The examination of the two versions of the article's opening line reveals Lawrence's strategic decision to suppress his indignation stemming from the reviews of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, choosing instead to follow his new polemical tone. However, in 'I know a noble Englishman', composed shortly after 'Sex Appeal', Lawrence does not hesitate to unleash his disdain for Aldington and his revulsion towards the reviews. This *pensée* is the first instance in which Lawrence adopted the new poetic style that he invented for *Pansies*. As Pollnitz observes, this new poetic style was 'based on English speech rhythms and idioms, and line-to-line shifts in tone'.[97] For example, this *pensée* begins with the narrator satirising the 'noble Englishman' with conversational casualness:

> I know a noble Englishman
> One of nature's gentlemen
> Don't you know!
> Eked out by his tailor and his hatter
> And the Rock of Ages of his public school. (ll. 1-5)[98]

Maintaining the same colloquial tone as his polemical style, Lawrence's new poetic style, as reflected in this *pensée*, embodies his distinctively provocative tone. The exclamation 'Don't you know!' (l. 3) and the question 'Don't you know?' (l. 17) both motivate readers to think about the characteristics of a true gentlemen, while also signalling an impending shift in the narrative tone. The subsequent phrases, 'Eked out' (l. 4) and 'Till' (l. 19), accentuate the *pensée*'s satirical tone, drawing attention to the deficiencies of this 'noble Englishman' in the third and fourth stanzas:

> However
> One of his beloveds, looking rather a wreck
> After an affair with this noble Englishman,

[97] Pollnitz, 'Verse Forms', 126.
[98] HRC DHL 13.7; *3Poems*, 1591.

Said: Ronald, you see, is quite a clever sadist:
He's most frightfully skilful in his love-making
And makes a point of being very gentle, very tender
Don't you know?
And he *is* very gentle and tender –

Till he's got a woman a bit soft and trustful
Then he turns away and wipes her from his consciousness
As if she were a worm, or a hired whore who bored him,
An absolute nothing. (ll. 11-22)[99]

Both the speaker and the female character, who identifies the 'Ronald' figure as a 'clever sadist', recognise his hypocritical behaviour. Despite being a 'coureur du femmes' (womaniser) who paradoxically 'doesn't like women', his exploitative nature does not deter him from engaging in numerous sexual encounters. He lacks genuine 'sex-feeling', but adeptly camouflages his shortcomings, masquerading as 'normal, a lover of women'. In the third stanza, Lawrence subtly introduces the female speaker through the reporting clause (l. 14), then deliberately obfuscates the distinction between the speaker and her by omitting quotation marks and locutionary clauses. In doing so, Lawrence amplifies their shared sentiment, reinforcing the power of their joint denunciation. Such employment of free direct speech allows readers to be drawn more deeply into the narrative, intensifying their emotional responses against the actions of the disingenuous 'noble Englishman'.

In 'Sex Appeal', Lawrence anticipates a dialogue with his readers similar to his approach in 'I know a noble Englishman', albeit with a more restrained and less provocative polemical style. Mindful of the newspaper's wide readership, Lawrence designs a gentle, congenial, and slightly sentimental appeal in 'Sex Appeal'. He focuses solely on the positive aspects of sexual feelings, offering both himself and his readers a

[99] HRC DHL 13.7; *3Poems*, 1591.

respite from the onslaught of vitriol and 'sex-hatred' elicited by the reviews of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and the destructive influence of individuals like the 'noble Englishman' (Richard Aldington). After elucidating the social animosity towards sex, Lawrence concludes that 'sex and beauty are inseparable' and 'to love living beauty you must have a reverence for sex', in order to aid readers' comprehension of his argument. Having explained his perspective on *what* sex is, Lawrence proceeds to describe *how* to accept it, addressing both the general public and critics. With patience and tact, he encourages them to rectify their mistakes by recognising and embracing sex as a standard component of life:

> But while we are fully alive, the fire of sex smoulders or burns in us. In youth it flickers and shines, in age it glows softer and stiller, but there it is. We have some control over it; but only partial control. That is why society hates it. While ever it lives, the fire of sex, which is the source of beauty and anger, burns in us beyond our understanding. Like actual fire, while it lives it will burn our fingers if we touch it carelessly. And so social man, who only wants to be 'safe', hates the fire of sex.[100]

In contrast to the exclusionary use of the term 'we' in *John Bull* and other periodicals, which reproaches Lawrence and his purported 'fatal obsession' with sex, Lawrence's use of 'we' in his article serves as an inclusive device. He employs the first-person plural pronoun to establish a closer connection with his readers. The calm narration of the irrefutable fact – that the desire for sex persists at all ages – allows readers of any age to identify with the essayist. Eschewing any attempt to provoke, Lawrence continues sympathetically to challenge his readers to expose their better selves in their personal relationships and in the workplace. This sincere and benign polemical persona is the diametrical opposite of the obsessed fanatic the reviewers conjured up. While no

[100] HRC DHL 20.1; *LEA*, 146.

direct responses to the essay have been located, the *Sunday Dispatch*'s blurb anticipates a respectful response to the distinguished author. Readers are enticed with the promise of a 'brilliant article from the pen of Mr D. H. Lawrence, the famous novelist and poet […]. Unquestionably it is the finest analysis of that elusive quality sex-appeal made so far by any modern writer'.[101] The comparison between Lawrence's new polemical and poetic styles indicates that while Lawrence adopted a cynical approach in modulating his journalistic persona to make it more palatable to a wider audience, he remained steadfast in his effort to engage in dialogues with his readers. The cross-sectional analysis of these pieces from the *Pansies* notebook not only facilitates an examination of their intertextuality and an appreciation of Lawrence's fervour for writing in a more holistic sense, but also presents a more vibrant image of Lawrence from the archives.

**Conclusion**

This study introduces two innovative approaches for exploring Lawrence's late archives: a reconstruction of the *Pansies* notebook and a cross-sectional analysis of Lawrence's works in different genres. Utilising archival evidence, these methods facilitate the establishment of connections between ostensibly unrelated pieces, thereby enriching scholarly understanding of Lawrence's *oeuvre*. In conjunction with the conventional generic presentation and study of Lawrence's works, such as those encapsulated within the Cambridge *Edition*, this research exemplifies how these works can be examined synoptically and compositionally. It encourages researchers to engage with archival materials in dialogue with the definitive scholarly edition. Based on findings that Lawrence's late poetic and polemical styles share similarities while

[101] Lawrence, 'Sex Locked Out', 12.

remaining distinct from each other, researchers can employ these proposed methods to probe the intertextuality between Lawrence's contemporaneous works across genres. This research not only adds a new dimension to the prevailing examination of Lawrence's *pensées*, but also suggests a new research trajectory for collectively analysing these seemingly unrelated works, aiming to enhance a holistic comprehension of the compositional context. Moreover, it accentuates the importance of Lawrence's late archives, advocating for their necessary and continuous scholarly re-examination.

The textual analysis in this study illuminates Lawrence's pattern of writing concurrently in his late years, explicates the coherence of his ideas across genres, and elucidates how they complement one another. For example, though the literary merit of Lawrence's late polemical articles may not equate to that of his late fictional works and poetry, the case study in this article demonstrates his enduring passion and enthusiasm for language and dialogue with his readers, regardless of the tone he employs – be it proactive in poems or calm and sincere in polemical essays. Arnold Bennett's observation, in response to allegations of Lawrence's obsession with sex, highlights that Lawrence 'wrote more frankly and more cleanly about it than most. He tried to fish up sex from the mud into which it has been sunk for several hypocritical and timid English generations past'.[102] This study's cross-sectional reading of the *Pansies* notebook substantiates Bennett's claim and serves as a counterargument to critiques of Lawrence's late works due to their candid exploration and discussion of subjects such as sex.

The last three years of Lawrence's life and literary career saw a prolific output in poetry, polemical essays, and fictional works. While some of his manuscripts are now

[102] Bennett, 'A Tribute of Admiration', 9.

dispersed among research libraries and private collections around the world, this study – emphasising the significance of archival materials and promoting a cross-genre examination of the intertextuality between Lawrence's works – may herald a promising new direction in D. H. Lawrence studies and the broader field of modernist studies in the future.

# CHAPTER 1: LAWRENCE ON GENDER ISSUES

D. H. Lawrence is widely acknowledged for his explicit commentaries on gender politics. However, current scholarly discourse predominantly concentrates on his narrative oeuvre, particularly the novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1929), while largely overlooking his late polemical essays that address this topic. The journalistic essays that are relatively more frequently cited are predominantly biographical in nature, despite the fact that Lawrence's writings on gender politics represent a substantial portion of his late polemical contributions to diverse outlets in the journalistic marketplace. A notable example of scholarship's neglect of Lawrence's late journalistic essays on gender issues is found in Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970). In this landmark study, Millett provides a comprehensive criticism of Lawrence's fictional work to explore how Lawrence's advocacy of male supremacy manifests itself.[103] Millett highlights the unequal treatment of male and female characters in Lawrence's fiction, noting that the latter are often manipulated, marginalised, and even effaced. While Millett's perception of Lawrence as misogynistic has been nuanced by subsequent analyses of his fictional female characters, it is only recently, through Annalise Grice's examination of Lawrence's journalistic persona, that his perspectives on gender politics as articulated in his polemical essays have received significant scholarly attention.[104]

The prevailing emphasis in existing scholarship on Lawrence's fictional works can be ascribed to an interest in charting the evolution of his perspectives on gender politics over time. From *The White Peacock* (1911), his first published novel, the theme of gender politics pervades nearly all of his novels. For example, the misanthropic gamekeeper in *The White Peacock* prefigures Mellors in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*,

[103] Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Chicago, IL: U of Illinois P, [1970] 2000), 291.
[104] Grice, 'Journals, Magazines, Newspapers', 47-56.

revealing a developmental trajectory in Lawrence's literary treatment of gender-related themes. In contrast to his prolific fictional output, Lawrence's engagement with popular journalism was sporadic, becoming more pronounced only in the last three years of his life (1928-30) when he diligently developed a journalistic persona. Lawrence's literary aspirations were kindled when his short story triumphed in a Christmas Story competition hosted by the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* in 1907.[105] However, it was not until 1915 that Lawrence decided to launch a small magazine, *The Signature*, with John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, aiming it at 'decent people'.[106] This venture was short-lived, ceasing after three issues (initially planned for six) due to insufficient subscriptions.

Lawrence's participation in the editorial process of Murry's subsequent journal project, the *Adelphi*, between late 1923 and early 1924, further exacerbated his reluctance to immerse himself in the journalistic marketplace. The articles Lawrence contributed to this journal, with its significantly larger readership than *The Signature*, demonstrate his experimentation with the delicate balance between challenging his readership and potentially alienating it. Notably, Murry's refusal to publish Lawrence's article 'On Coming Home' – on the grounds of its critical depiction of England being a potential source of contention – serves as a poignant example of Lawrence learning through experience.[107] He recognised the necessity of considering both the tone and ambitions of a journal alongside his desire to confront and question the prevailing views of its

[105] Lawrence's submissions for the story competition were strategically made under different names across three categories to adhere to the contest rules. 'A Prelude' was submitted under the alias 'Rosalind', representing Jessie's entry for 'the best story of the most enjoyable Christmas'; 'The White Stocking' was entered by Louie Burrows for 'the most amusing Christmas story'; and Lawrence himself participated as 'Herbert Richards' with the story titled 'Ruby-Glass', targeting 'the best Legend of Some Historic Building within the four counties of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, or Leicestershire'. Ultimately, 'A Prelude' was selected the winning entry for the category of 'the most enjoyable Christmas story' and was subsequently published under Jessie's name in the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* on 7 December 1907. See, Harrison, 20, 22.
[106] *2L*, 405.
[107] Harrison, 271.

readership. Lawrence ultimately concluded that the *Adelphi* could not accommodate his distinctive voice, leading him to discontinue his involvement with the journal and the journalistic marketplace until 1928.

During the intervening period, he intermittently contributed short stories and book reviews to various British and American newspapers and magazines. However, these short stories were pre-existing works not specifically tailored for journalistic publication, and his book reviews, such as the 'Review' for the British *Vogue* examined in the methodology chapter, offered limited scope for exploring contemporary issues like gender politics. In stark contrast, Lawrence's late polemical essays were deliberately crafted for the journalistic marketplace and the general public, often with topics suggested by newspaper and magazine editors. This chapter aims to concentrate on the essays Lawrence was commissioned to write on gender issues, particularly the first published essay on this topic, 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', and a series of contracted articles for the London *Evening News*. By conducting a cross-sectional analysis of these works alongside his concurrently composed works in other genres, this examination seeks to illuminate Lawrence's dedication to this medium and his adaptability to the preferences of the journalistic marketplace through the topic of gender issues.

To comprehensively assess the evolution of Lawrence's journalistic personae and his views on gender politics, it is imperative to situate his expressions and assertions within the context of his sociocultural environment. An examination of the archives, including Nancy Pearn's correspondence with Lawrence and his personal letters, offers a detailed insight into his interactions with the literary marketplace. This analysis is particularly revealing in understanding the construction of his journalistic persona during the final three years of his life. However, it is crucial for contemporary readers to avoid

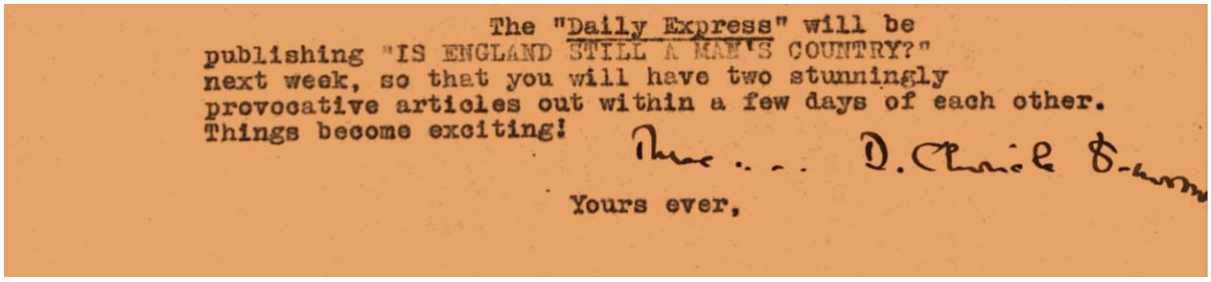
projecting anachronistic views – assumptions that are prevalent today but were rare or non-existent in Lawrence's era – when analysing his journalistic identity. For example, after the publication of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' in the *Evening News* on 8 May 1928, Pearn received enquiries from various newspaper editors requesting Lawrence's polemical essays. The *Daily Chronicle*, notable for its national reach, attractive remuneration, and, most significantly, its proposed topic on gender politics that aligns with Lawrence's interests, was suggested by Pearn in her letter to Lawrence dated 17 May. In this correspondence, Pearn encouraged Lawrence to seize this opportunity, highlighting the lucrative commission fee offered by the *Daily Chronicle*: 'Would you do [the Daily Chronicle] about a thousand words – we could probably get Fifteen Guineas – remembering, as you so cleverly did in the E. N. article, that you were writing for the G. B. P. on this occasion'.[108] Contemporary readers might interpret the term 'GBP' as Pearn's witty pun, suggesting that Lawrence achieved a balance between earning money ('Great Britain Pounds') and addressing the interests of his readership ('Great British Public'). However, it is essential to acknowledge that the acronym 'GBP' has been used to denote the pound sterling only since the 1970s, subsequent to the International Organisation for Standardisation's issuance of a standard for national currencies. In Lawrence's era, 'G. B. P.' was used to refer to the British public, and not the currency.[109] In annotating this remark, the editors of the *Cambridge Edition of the Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, provide a footnote clarifying that the abbreviation 'G. B. P.' should be interpreted as 'G[reat] B[ritish] P[ublic]' to ensure accurate comprehension by modern readers.[110]

[108] HRC DHL 36.6.
[109] *OED*, s.v. 'GBP, n'.
[110] *6L*, 403n3.

This example, drawn from Pearn's letter to Lawrence, illustrates the rigorous selection process undertaken by the editors of the Cambridge *Edition* in choosing pertinent supplementary material for inclusion. However, various factors, ranging from page layout constraints to editorial discretion, impact the extent of supplementary content integrated into footnotes. This can sometimes impede researchers' interpretation and comprehension of the primary text. Hence, while editorial guidance is valuable, consulting original sources, particularly Nancy Pearn's complete letters to Lawrence, remains imperative. Another reason that stresses the necessity of consulting secondary archival materials in their entirety in order to get a better understanding of Lawrence's journalistic persona is the potential confusion caused by excerpts and quotations. The editors of the Cambridge *Edition* occasionally include excerpts from letters received by Lawrence, along with editorial notes when necessary. Despite their diligent editing, the selection of secondary material is inherently subjective and can lead to erroneous conclusions. For example, an editorial footnote concerning Lawrence's polemical essay 'That Women Know Best', which will be examined in this chapter, claims that 'On 15 June 1928 Pearn told DHL that the *Daily Chronicle* had accepted the article; the newspaper appears not to have published it'.[111] However, this is contradicted by evidence showing the newspaper did publish it on 29 November 1929. In a letter dated 23 November, Pearn informed Lawrence about the forthcoming publication of another article, 'Is England Still A Man's Country?', in the *Daily Express*. She referenced the excitement of having 'two stunningly provocative articles out within a few days of each other', remarking that 'things become exciting!'[112] Months after initially informing Lawrence in June about the acceptance of 'That Women Know Best', Pearn appended a

[111] *6L*, 403n3.
[112] HRC DHL 36.6.

handwritten note in this letter to remind Lawrence the other article was 'That … D. Chronicle' (**Figure *3***). This editorial oversight in the footnote was not corrected in the eighth volume of the *Letters* published in 2000, and it was only in 2004, with the publication of *Late Essays and Articles*, that the publication of 'That Women Know Best' by the *Daily Chronicle* was acknowledged. In this example, Pearn's archives prove invaluable for cross-referencing and identifying primary and secondary resources.

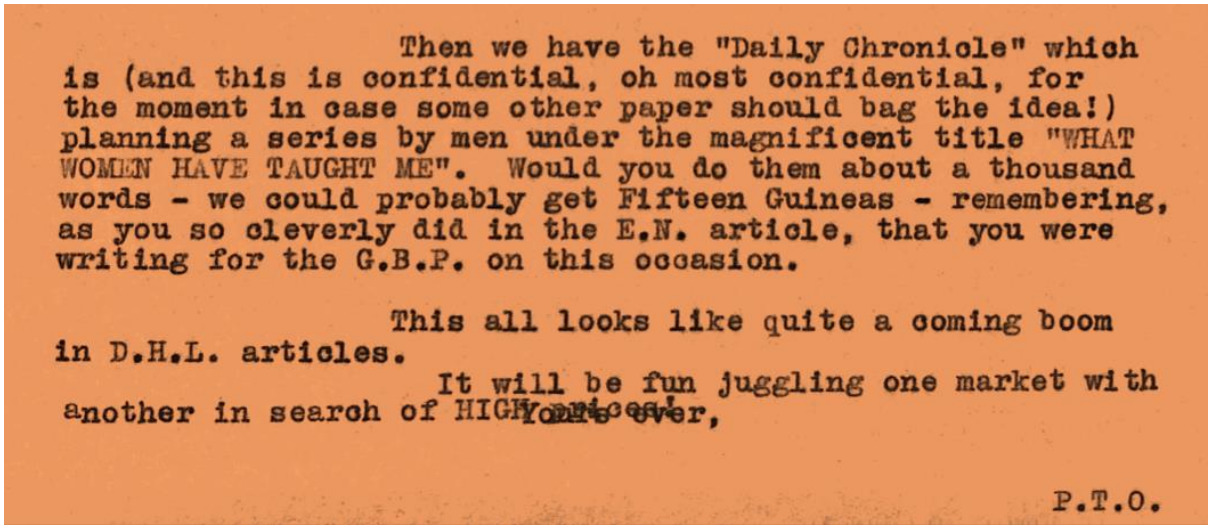

The "Daily Express" will be
publishing "IS ENGLAND STILL A MAN'S COUNTRY?"
next week, so that you will have two stunningly
provocative articles out within a few days of each other.
Things become exciting!

Yours ever,

**Figure 3.** Nancy Pearn's 23 November 1928 letter to Lawrence updating him that the *Daily Chronicle* will publish his 'That Women Know Best' soon. HRC DHL 36.6.

Another significance of Pearn's archival letters lies in the fact that these materials serve as supplementary and reliable resources that provide readers with a better understanding of the commotional background of Lawrence's late journalistic essays. In the course of editing, certain details about the compositional context of Lawrence's works might have been inadvertently overlooked, potentially leading readers to form conclusions based on partial information. For example, in a letter responding to Pearn's suggestion to write for the 'G. B. P.' (Great British Public), Lawrence included the article 'What Women Have Taught Me' for the *Daily Chronicle*. Despite his initial success in the journalistic sector, Lawrence remained apprehensive about aligning his articles with the tastes of newspaper editors and the broader readership. He conveyed this uncertainty to Pearn, writing, 'Maybe they won't like it. Maybe too much tongue in the cheek. But

try it on 'em. As you say, it's fun'.[113] While the editors of the Cambridge *Edition* did provide context by quoting from Pearn's letter in a footnote, they refrained from providing more context of Pearn's notion of 'fun', a concept that Lawrence appeared to embrace. The final word in the typescript of this letter, though overlapping with 'Yours ever', is discernible as 'prices' (**Figure *4***). Pearn, having encouraged Lawrence to retain his style of writing for the 'G. B. P.', expressed optimism about the future of Lawrence's articles in the journalistic market, commenting that 'This all looks like quite a coming boom in D. H. L. articles./ It will be fun juggling one market with another in search of HIGH [prices]!'[114] At this point, it remains ambiguous whether Lawrence perceived the 'juggling of one market' or the opportunity to earn higher commissions as 'fun'. However, a more comprehensive examination of Pearn's correspondence, Lawrence's replies, and his articles indicates that while Lawrence was open to both prospects, he was particularly interested in exploring the journalistic marketplace through his writings.


Then we have the "Daily Chronicle" which is (and this is confidential, oh most confidential, for the moment in case some other paper should bag the idea!) planning a series by men under the magnificent title "WHAT WOMEN HAVE TAUGHT ME". Would you do them about a thousand words - we could probably get Fifteen Guineas - remembering, as you so cleverly did in the E.N. article, that you were writing for the G.B.P. on this occasion.

This all looks like quite a coming boom in D.H.L. articles.

It will be fun juggling one market with another in search of HIGH prices!

Yours ever,

P.T.O.

**Figure 4.** Nancy Pearn's 17 May 1928 letter to Lawrence encouraging him to keep 'writing for the G. B. P.'. It is discernible that the word 'prices' is superimposed upon the closing phrase 'Yours ever'. HRC DHL 36.6.

[113] *6L*, 403-4.
[114] HRC DHL 36.6.

From these examples, the importance of revisiting the archives and meticulously examining Pearn's correspondence alongside Lawrence's own letters and manuscripts is paramount; these primary sources are crucial in evidencing Lawrence's sincerity while engaging with the journalistic marketplace and the general public, as well as his interest in deriving financial benefit from this engagement. This aspect plays a significant role in reshaping perceptions of Lawrence's journalistic persona. Current scholarship on Lawrence's late engagement with popular journalism primarily focuses on the biographical information noted in these essays, often at the expense of a more comprehensive view. The publication of the eight-volume *Cambridge Edition of the Letters of D. H. Lawrence* has been a milestone in the field of D. H. Lawrence studies, offering researchers abundant resources and invaluable insights into Lawrence's character and thoughts through his correspondence. Nonetheless, one unintended consequence of the Cambridge *Edition* has been the scholarly inclination to depend primarily on these edited letters. This reliance can lead to the underappreciation of other relevant archival materials, such as the archives of Nancy Pearn's correspondence with Lawrence. Consequently, there is a risk of narrowly interpreting Lawrence's late engagement with journalism as being driven predominantly by financial motives. This interpretation could be inferred, for instance, from a letter Lawrence wrote to Pearn on 13 May, in which he remarked, 'I may as well earn this way'.[115] Such a reading, however, overlooks the complex and multifaceted nature of Lawrence's motivations and his relationship with the journalistic marketplace. The full context of the letter, from which this quote is extracted, reads:

> I send you another article, 'Laura-Philippine'. If it won't do for the Olley man, it may for somebody else. – No good my jotting down titles or

[115] *6L*, 407.

> suggestions – it's a sure way of making me *not* write 'em. But I'll trot in a four-pager now and then – and if you have any suggestions to make, do. I may as well earn this way – though I must say, I had gooseflesh when I saw that page with me in the *Evening News*, next the lady who knows why she couldn't marry a foreigner, because never a one asked her!
>
> Keep track of these articles if you can, will you – [116]

Reading Lawrence's letters in their entirety provides an opportunity to explore the context of these letters and the compositional background of his works. For example, from Lawrence's description that 'I had gooseflesh when I saw that page with me in the *Evening News*' and Pearn's earlier correspondence, it can be inferred that Pearn sent Lawrence a copy of the London *Evening News* that published his 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'.[117] It is evident that Lawrence had carefully read the newspaper, especially the article written by 'the lady', which is printed under his own and that gave him 'gooseflesh'. This article, written by Gladys Bronwyn Stern and titled 'I Could Not Have Married A Foreigner', must have impressed Lawrence. In an essay 'That Women Know Best', written shortly afterwards, which will be examined in this chapter, Lawrence clearly wrote in response to Stern's statement in a satirical manner. However, no existing scholarship has examined their textual connections and how Stern's article inspired and deepened Lawrence's understanding of the taste of the general public. This oversight regarding the compositional background of Lawrence's journalistic essays has limited the potential to uncover the development of Lawrence's understanding and the strategies he employed in shaping his journalistic persona. Remarkably, within a span of about four months – from 26 April, when Pearn forwarded the first request for a contribution from the *Evening News*, to 12 July, when Lawrence sent 'Ownership' to Pearn, the last of the four articles he was contracted to write for the *Evening News* – he

[116] *6L*, 400-1.
[117] HRC DHL 36.6.

produced a total of six articles mostly on the topic of gender issues, some of which he composed on his own initiative. Given these gaps in the current scholarship, this chapter will bring the compositional background into the examination of Lawrence's journalistic essays on the topic of gender issues. Utilising a cross-sectional approach to examine Lawrence's compositional bursts, the chapter integrates archival and biographical evidence with Lawrence's polemical essays. The objective is to demonstrate the considerable effort and commitment Lawrence invested in understanding the preferences of the journalistic marketplace, writing for a diverse readership, and constructing his journalistic persona, while simultaneously disseminating his views on gender politics through this unique channel.

**'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'**

On 25 April 1928, Arthur Olley, the literary editor of the London *Evening News*, extended an article request to Lawrence. Nancy Pearn promptly forwarded this invitation to Lawrence on the following day. Recognising Lawrence's precarious financial situation and the potential to leverage his controversial literary reputation after the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Pearn encouraged Lawrence to seize this opportunity. She noted, 'it has to be admitted that the publicity secured through the "Evening News" is far from negligible, sometimes having immediate results in the way of increasing book sales'.[118] Although this letter from Olley, which Pearn described as the 'oddest', is currently untraceable, Lawrence appears to have quickly grasped Olley's request and requirements. Pearn confessed in her letter that people 'usually have to turn [Olley's letters] upside-down and inside-out before they get to the point'. Evidently inspired by this contribution

[118] HRC DHL 36.6.

request, Lawrence promptly crafted an article, which was subsequently published in the *Evening News* on 8 May. Initially titled 'The Bogey Between the Generations' in his manuscripts, the article was later published under the titles 'When She Asks "Why?"' in the *Evening News* and 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' when it was compiled in *Assorted Articles* (1930). In this piece, Lawrence criticised the older generation's hypocritical stance on artistic censorship under the guise of shielding the youth, and particularly young female readers. He argued that it was these young women who demonstrated greater openness and receptiveness to novel ideas, in stark contrast to their elder counterparts.

It is likely that since this was Lawrence's first attempt at creating an article specifically for the journalistic market, and given his limited understanding of his readers and their preferences, he approached the task with caution. Lawrence starts the article by inviting his readers to empathise with the writer's perspective: 'If you are a writer, nothing is more confusing than the difference between the things you have to say and the things you are allowed to print'.[119] However, the use of the term 'to censor works of art' and the incorporation of the French expression for 'young girls', *jeune fille,* might still have risked confounding the general public from precisely understanding Lawrence's meaning in this polemical essay. Thus, Lawrence introduces the illustration of an uninhibited young girl 'flinging all sorts of fierce questions' in 'all sorts of shameless language, demanding all sorts of impossible answers', thereby highlighting the forthrightness of the younger generation.[120] It is noteworthy that in depicting the younger generation's eagerness to explore sensitive subjects, Lawrence chooses the adjective 'shameless', which is full of critical meaning, rather than more neutral alternatives like

[119] *LEA*, 71.
[120] *LEA*, 71.

'outspoken' or 'direct'. This choice might reflect the candidness and unapologetic nature of the younger generation's enquiries, a perspective Lawrence perhaps appreciated. As a writer who championed the idea of treating sex as a natural phenomenon, his use of 'shameless' in this journalistic essay could also be seen as aligning with his broader literary themes. Employing a vernacular more familiar to the general readership at the beginning of his essay could effectively moderate Lawrence's challenging tone, thereby engaging his audience to read the article in its entirety. This strategic approach underscores Lawrence's earnest dedication to adapting to this new market in anticipation of his journalistic debut.

Lawrence's commitment to this opportunity to engage with a wider readership is further evident in the stylistic intricacies of this article. Despite the narrative scenario where the reader-character concludes that 'the only way to answer her is straight-forward', the narrator acknowledges an inability to address the 'shameless' questions posed by the *jeune fille*. This is captured in the narrator's admission: 'confronted with a young thing of twenty-two, I often find myself with a prune-stone in my mouth, and I don't know what to do with it.'[121] Notably, Lawrence eschews traditional third-person narration, opting instead for an innovative amalgamation of first-, second-, and third-person perspectives. Through this narrative strategy, he assumes the roles of narrator, interlocutor, and protagonist, allowing for a multifaceted exploration of his evolving ideas and their presentation to readers. As a writer with a notorious literary reputation, who has been controversially accused of having 'prostituted art to pornography', the 'prune-stone' metaphor in this essay likely reflects not Lawrence's personal experience but rather a precise description of the general public's conservative attitude toward 'shameful' topics

[121] *LEA*, 71.

on gender issues.[122] By employing both first-person and second-person narrative techniques – as seen in phrases like 'if you are […]' and 'you decide […]' – Lawrence skilfully narrows the distance between his readers and the narrator(s), thereby fostering a sense of intimacy within the reading experience. This approach aligns with Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the 'double-accented, double-styled *hybrid construction*', which establishes a nuanced separation between the implied author and the narrator.[123] In this context, Lawrence's narrator cannot be neatly categorised as either a neutral or an unreliable narrator but rather occupies a liminal space between the two. To a significant degree, Lawrence merges the roles of the implied author, himself, and the narrator into a singular, composite figure. This fusion enhances the article's complexity. It underscores Lawrence's adept manipulation of narrative voice to engage his readers in a deeper, more personal discourse.

Furthermore, Lawrence even adeptly blurs the distinction between characters and the implied narrator, a technique David Lodge identifies in his application of Bakhtin's theory to Lawrence's fiction. Lodge observes that Lawrence's narrator '"circulates" between' the interlocutors, a method equally applicable to Lawrence's non-fictional works, including the following example from 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'.[124]

> 'Why are they like that?' she insists. 'Who?' say I. 'Men!' she says;
> 'men like daddy!' 'I suppose it's a sort of funk,' say I.[125]

[122] 'Famous Novelist's Shameful Book', *John Bull*, 11.
[123] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981), 304.
[124] David Lodge, 'Lawrence, Dostoevsky, Bakhtin: D. H. Lawrence and Dialogic Fiction', in *Rethinking Lawrence*, ed. by Keith Brown (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990), 92-108 (99).
[125] *LEA*, 72.

David Leech and Mick Short note that in direct speech, narrators often exhibit limited control over the reported content. However, in the referenced excerpt, there is a pronounced clarity in the identity of the different characters, achieved through the use of report clauses.[126] By consistently employing the first-person pronoun in these clauses, as in 'say I', Lawrence fluidly transitions between the roles of narrator and one of the characters. This technique effectively immerses his readers in the conversation, allowing them to participate as one of the interlocutors. The scenario depicted here may resonate with young gentlemen experiencing a tension between the liberal influences from the European continent and the more conservative attitudes of the older generation, epitomised by the 'daddy' figure in the dialogue. This typical Victorian patriarch displays reactions such as wincing, bridling, and eventually trembling 'in his study or library' when questioned by his daughter.[127] The father's reaction can be interpreted from two perspectives: firstly, as the father's shock at realising his daughter's maturity and his inability to answer her questions; and secondly, as an inference that, despite recognising his limitations, the father retreats to his study, his private space, to hide his vulnerability from his daughter. To the narrator, the daughter's behaviour represents 'a queer reversal of the Victorian order', and he describes the father as 'so wedded to his bogey', desperately striving to maintain his authority.[128] Lawrence's mastery lies in his ability to engage readers with provocative statements or unique responses to sensitive topics such as gender issues. However, he refrains from providing direct conclusions or solutions at the end of dialogues or scenarios, opting instead for an open-ended approach. This strategy encourages his readers, particularly the general public, to think independently or

[126] Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short, *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 2007), 260.
[127] *LEA*, 71.
[128] *LEA*, 71.

to reassess their own viewpoints, facilitated by the exploratory conversational structure of his writing.

In his quest to address gender issues and advocate for the normalisation of sex through his polemical essays, Lawrence similarly articulated this idea in his poetry. An illustrative example is found in one of his *Pansies* poems, 'The jeune fille', composed during the same period. In this *pensée*, Lawrence directs his message to a specific audience, the father of the *jeune fille*, who perceives sex as a perversion. Contrasting with a public address, the epistolary form of this poem is, as John Lennard characterises it, '[tending] more to brooding rumination focused around [its] addressee'.[129] Echoing his assertion in 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' that '[The *jeune fille* is] not quite the raw egg she's supposed to be, in the first place', Lawrence opens the *pensée* with a critical tone: 'it's a silly shame/ to pretend your daughter/ is a blank at the game'.[130] He then transitions to a gentler approach with his more obstinate readers, suggesting, 'she's got/ in herself a small treasure/ that may yet give a lot/ of genuine pleasure to a decent man'.[131] Lawrence was acutely aware of the logical conundrum faced by the older generation, who were simultaneously keen to match their daughters with decent gentlemen, yet fearful that 'every young man is out to "ruin" every young maiden'.[132] He addresses these concerns by affirming his belief in the *jeune fille*'s 'small treasure' – her personal judgement. In the final two stanzas of the poem, Lawrence contrasts two potential outcomes for the *jeune fille*. This comparison serves to extend his argument and engage his readers in contemplating the implications of their attitudes towards young women and sex. Through this nuanced exploration in verse, Lawrence extends his thematic exploration from his

[129] John Lennard, *The Poetry Handbook*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 58.
[130] *LEA*, 73; *1Poems*, 491.
[131] *1Poems*, 491.
[132] *LEA*, 72-3.

essays into poetry, thereby broadening the scope and impact of his discourse on gender and sexual norms.

> Oh the innocent maid,
> when she knows what's what
> from the top of her head
> to the tips of her toes
>
> is more innocent far
> than the blank-it-out girl
> who gets into the car
> and just fills you with hell.[133]

In the two scenarios presented, the word 'innocent' is employed twice, each instance bearing a distinct interpretation. Initially, 'innocent' precedes the term 'maid', signifying the young girl's naivety and her limited understanding of the world, particularly its darker aspects.[134] The second use of 'innocent' is accentuated through the contrast with the 'blank-it-out' girl, whose father has completely shielded her from any understanding of sex. This second instance implies that once the *jeune fille* is permitted to comprehend sex and its role in life, she is likely to develop a healthier and more balanced perspective. This informed outlook is what Lawrence refers to as her 'small treasure', suggesting that such understanding could be integral to forming fulfilling relationships. Lawrence's nuanced use of the term 'innocent' in these contrasting contexts underscores the complexities in the transition from ignorance to awareness. He appears to advocate for a balanced approach to educating young women about sex, challenging the prevailing norms of his era that either overly shielded them or left them uninformed. This interpretation of 'innocence', moving from a lack of knowledge to an enlightened understanding, is pivotal

[133] *1Poems*, 491-2.
[134] *1Poems*, 491.

in appreciating Lawrence's exploration of sexual awareness and its implications for personal growth and relationship dynamics.

In using the French term *jeune fille* to refer to the young woman, Lawrence underscores the contrast between the modern young woman and the 'young maidens' of their mothers' generation.[135] This choice of words sends a clear message to his readers: contemporary women are not indecisive beings easily led, but rather, they are fashionable liberals who '[know] perfectly well/ what everything means' and are clear about their desires. However, this perspective is often not shared by the more conservative elders, who view the world through a lens of scepticism. These guardians are concerned about the potential for their daughters to be heartbroken by unscrupulous playboys, or, more specifically, they fear the loss of their patriarchal control over the younger generation of women. As a result, they typically resort to controlling their daughters as much as possible in the name of protection.

While Lawrence positioned himself as an advocate of critical thinking, his publishing decisions were not impervious to the limitations imposed by financial considerations. This intersection of ideology and personal financial constraints is exemplified in a somewhat ironic instance where Lawrence's commitment to critical thought was seemingly compromised by the allure of commercial gain. In 1930, he edited 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' for inclusion in his new collection, *Assorted Articles*, which comprised various articles he had contributed to newspapers. At the end of this particular article, Lawrence added a new paragraph:

> The danger for the young is that they will question everything out of existence, so that nothing is left. But that is no reason to stop questioning. The old lies must be questioned out of existence, even at a certain loss of things worth having. When everything is questioned out of existence, then

[135] *1Poems*, 491.

> the real fun will begin putting the right things back. But nothing is any good till the old lies are got rid of.[136]

This addition illustrates the complexities in Lawrence's position as both a critical thinker and a writer navigating the commercial aspects of publishing. His editorial decisions, particularly in how he concluded this article, reflect the tension between maintaining artistic integrity and appealing to a broader readership. Eggert observes that Lawrence's frequent practice of revising his works lent his texts 'an additional fluidity that was authorially based'.[137] This habit is evident in the addition of a final paragraph to 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', specifically for its inclusion in *Assorted Articles*. This concluding section serves to round off the argument, showcasing Lawrence's acute awareness of the distinctions between the journalist marketplace and the book marketplace. When it comes to newspapers and magazines, which benefit from extensive circulation, Lawrence recognised that the most effective strategy for building up his journalistic reputation was to preserve while softening his characteristic style – one that was controversial, flippant, provocative, aggressive, and sometimes acrimonious. By leaving the original article open-ended, he provided a space for readers to engage with the text, interpret it freely, and even engage in public debate, whether through responses in newspapers or letters to the editor. However, when repurposing the article for his essay collection, the target audience shifted from the general public to a more specific group: his admirers and potential followers. In this context, a conclusive paragraph serves multiple purposes. It not only completes his argument, making the personal logic of the article more explicit, but also aligns the piece more cohesively with the other essays in the collection. This strategic addition likely aimed to enhance the overall coherence of

[136] *AA*, 14.
[137] Paul Eggert, 'The Cambridge Edition', 304-5.

*Assorted Articles*, thereby potentially stimulating book sales. Lawrence's editorial decision in this instance underscores his ability to adapt his writing to suit different mediums and audiences, a testament to his versatility as a writer.

This final paragraph added by Lawrence, while seemingly countering his objective of promoting critical thinking throughout the article, serves a broader purpose in highlighting social issues as he observed them. Popular journalism, with its diverse readership ranging from Lawrence's followers to his critics, provided a platform where Lawrence predominantly sought to inspire by presenting the abnormalities of modern society. An example of Lawrence's efforts is the *jeune fille*'s persistent questioning against the older generation's inability to provide answers. Through illustrating these social irregularities, which his readers might otherwise take for granted, and by subtly expressing his ideas in these journalistic essays, Lawrence effectively encouraged his audience to begin questioning and contemplating the underlying causes of modern social issues. However, when it comes to the collected edition of these polemical essays, the targeted audience shifts from the general public to a more specific group, comprising his followers and those who developed an interest in his thoughts from reading his articles in newspapers and magazines. This change in readership allowed Lawrence to articulate his viewpoints more explicitly within the collection, adding specific clarifications to supplement and even enhance the original content. While these additions might slightly diverge from his journalistic aim of fostering critical thinking among the general populace, the collection's value lies in its unique status as the first and only authentic compilation that provides a chronological perspective on the evolution of Lawrence's journalistic persona. This collection, with its more lucid exposition of ideas from already published essays, along with the inclusion of previously unpublished essays and others on different

topics (which will be further discussed in the second and third chapters), offers his readers a comprehensive insight into Lawrence's critique of modern civilisation as the root of modern social issues. It also highlights his advocacy for the reinvigoration of one's natural instincts and individualism as antidotes to the abstracting effects of modern civilisation on individuals.

In his first attempt at popular journalism, Lawrence innovatively employed language and form to challenge established norms, thereby beginning to cultivate his journalistic persona. Distinct from other literary forms such as novels, short stories, or poetry, polemical essays offered Lawrence a fresh platform to address pressing social issues. 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' saw Lawrence adopting a more moderate tone, demonstrating to his readers the importance of critical thinking, a strategy that earned him both publicity and financial benefits. Nancy Pearn, in her letter to Lawrence dated 17 May, encouraged him to contribute further to newspapers. She advised him, '[remember] as you so cleverly did in the E[vening] N[ews] article, that you were writing for the GBP on this occasion'.[138] Andrew Harrison notes that the success of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' not only established Lawrence as a 'regular contributor to the newspaper' but also instilled in him the confidence necessary to 'quickly [become] adept at writing stimulating and polemical articles on topical issues around censorship, relations between the sexes, and modern living'.[139] Inspired by this success, Lawrence composed 'That Women Know Best' in response to a contribution request from the editor of the *Daily Chronicle*.

[138] *7L*, 403.
[139] Harrison, 363.

**'That Women Know Best' for the *Daily Chronicle***

'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' received a warm reception from the editor, the readers of the London *Evening News*, and Nancy Pearn. On its publication day, 8 May 1928, Pearn sent Lawrence a copy of the newspaper, enthusiastically congratulating him on having 'gone and been and hit' the journalistic market.[140] She added that editor Arthur Olley had praised Lawrence's article as 'quite suitable for his stupendous paper!' and encouraged Lawrence to 'jot [suggestions for similar articles] down with a few words as to the proposed line of development' so she could 'seek where to plant them to best advantage'.[141] Despite Lawrence's eagerness to explore the journalistic marketplace, the lingering memory of the unsuccessful venture of *The Signature* a decade earlier may have still affected him. He candidly acknowledged finding it difficult to propose ideas to editors, instead seeking suggestions from Pearn. Notably, in the same correspondence, Lawrence included 'Laura Philippine', a previously written article, and sought Pearn's opinion on its suitability for the *Evening News*. These actions highlight Lawrence's keen interest in the journalistic marketplace, his resolve to establish a reputation within it, and his willingness to adapt to its demands. This adaptability was significantly tested when Lawrence conveyed to Pearn his intense, visceral reaction – described as 'gooseflesh' – to Gladys Bronwyn Stern's article, featured alongside his own 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' in the *Evening News*.[142] This profound response is indicative not only of Lawrence's stark aversion to the perspectives presented by Stern but also his keen sensitivity to the nuances of journalistic discourse. Subsequently, this encounter influenced the manner in which he

[140] HRC DHL 36.6.
[141] HRC DHL 36.6.
[142] *6L*, 401.

tailored ‘That Women Know Best’ and his other journalistic essays, particularly in addressing the social phenomena underscored by Stern’s assertions.

The editor of the *Evening News*, impressed by Lawrence’s potential to boost newspaper circulation, approached Pearn shortly after the publication to discuss securing Lawrence for a series of ‘four or six’ articles, exclusively for the *Evening News*.[143] In a letter dated 17 May, Pearn forwarded this offer to Lawrence. While she did not explicitly recommend acceptance – her role as an agent being to explore all opportunities, secure the best commission, and leave the final decision to Lawrence – she certainly urged him to consider it. She informed Lawrence that the *Evening News* was unlikely to offer a commission ‘higher than the Ten Guineas at present’, noting that, despite his fame as a novelist, his reputation in journalism did not yet match those ‘names’ commanding top remuneration. However, she reassured him that this sum was ‘quite a good price compared with what the “highbrows” can pay’. Most importantly, Pearn outlined a promising career path for Lawrence, mentioning overtures from other newspapers like the *Daily Chronicle* for his articles. She implied that if Lawrence agreed to the *Evening News* contract and maintained a regular presence in journalism, she could negotiate higher fees for his articles in the future. Her advocacy for Lawrence’s frequent journalistic appearances became further evident in an additional note at the end of the letter. She highlighted the benefits of an exclusive contract and informed Lawrence of her ongoing talks with the *Standard*, suggesting his rising popularity among newspaper editors and a sustained demand for his work. Pearn then tried to persuade Lawrence to accept the *Evening News* offer, maintaining a negotiating tone but clearly indicating her preference for this option: they ‘must decide […] on

[143] HRC DHL 36.6.

whether it would be most advantageous to deal exclusively for the next few with the "Evening News"'. This stance was underscored by her handwritten postscript at the end of the typescript of the letter to Lawrence, acknowledging that 'this might rule out D. Chronicle'.

Encouraged by Pearn's optimistic projection of a 'coming boom in D. H. L. articles', Lawrence exhibited considerable enthusiasm, promptly responding by submitting the manuscript for the *Daily Chronicle* article only four days later.[144] This action indicates a shift from Pearn's strategy of establishing a regular presence through an exclusive contract with a single newspaper, possibly involving a regular column for Lawrence following the *Evening News* contract. Instead, Lawrence appeared amenable to a variety of opportunities for increased visibility in the journalistic marketplace. His willingness to explore diverse avenues is reflected in his correspondence with Pearn and in the swift composition of the article for the *Daily Chronicle*. In his letter to Pearn, Lawrence conveyed his enjoyment of writing polemical essays, finding the process 'really rather amusing' and showing a preference for working on suggested topics, which he found 'somehow tickles me more'.[145] While Lawrence concurred with Pearn that the contract with the *Evening News* was a temporary arrangement and would be 'only for a short time', he did not appear to have a concrete plan beyond this and simply hoped to negotiate a higher commission subsequently. James Boulton notes that Lawrence composed 'That Women Know Best' 'quickly', and the manuscript 'shows signs of haste'.[146] This observation suggests that Lawrence was not entirely satisfied until he had exhaustively explored the assigned theme, 'What Women Have Taught Me', within the

[144] HRC DHL 36.6.
[145] *6L*, 403.
[146] *LEA*, 81.

constraints of a 1,000-word limit. This approach reflects Lawrence's dynamic engagement with journalistic writing and his ability to adapt quickly to the demands of the field, whilst still striving to maintain the depth and quality of his explorations within the set parameters.

My research, with its methodological emphasis on a cross-sectional examination of Lawrence's late works centred around his polemical essays, aims to investigate the pieces composed concurrently with 'That Women Know Best'. My analysis aims to explore potential intertextual relationships between these works. Written between 17 and 21 May 1928, the polemical essay 'That Women Know Best' coincided with the creation of a short story titled 'Mother and Daughter'. This narrative portrays the strained relationship between a domineering mother, Rachel Bodoin, and her daughter, Virginia, where the intervention of an older Armenian suitor catalyses Virginia's realisation of her mother's limitations, leading to her elopement and Rachel's subsequent desperation. Existing criticism often categorises 'Mother and Daughter' primarily within Lawrence's fictional oeuvre, sometimes overlooking its potential intertextual links with his works in other genres.[147] The Cambridge *Edition* includes this story in the volume titled *The Virgin and the Gipsy and Other Stories* and references 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' in its introduction, noting the compositional context of 'Mother and Daughter'.[148] However, the editors' assertion of a thematic connection between the polemical essay and the volume, centred on their mutual exploration of 'misunderstandings and differences between the old and the young', can be strengthened with further textual evidence.

[147] For a detailed examination of scholarships on 'Mother and Daughter' and Lawrence's other fictional works, see Janice Hubbard Harris, *The Short Fiction of D. H. Lawrence* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1984), 203-54.
[148] *VG*, xxxiv.

While intergenerational conflict is a central theme in these works, archival and textual analysis suggests a more pronounced correlation between 'Mother and Daughter' and 'That Women Know Best' than with 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'. For instance, Lawrence likely began 'Mother and Daughter' after 4 May, as indicated by the editors, which was subsequent to completing 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'. This timing is supported by Pearn's 4 June letter, where she mentions arranging for the story's typing, implying that Lawrence was extensively engaged with it in mid- to late-May, completing it around early June.[149] Secondly, Lawrence's response to the 8 May issue of the *Evening News*, which published 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', did not focus on the editor's alteration of the title to 'When She Asks Why?' but instead expressed his bewilderment regarding an adjacent article by a woman who 'knows why she couldn't marry a foreigner'.[150] In this article, titled 'I Could Not Have Married a Foreigner', Gladys Bronwyn Stern cites cultural differences as the rationale for her decision. In a section entitled 'Quarrels Must Come!', Stern refers to an old anecdote, suggesting that, despite the increasing popularity of international travel, such anecdotes continue to persist:

> 'Henry, look at all those foreigners eating!'
> 'Hush, my dear, in France … (Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain) … you must remember *we* are the foreigners.'
> 'What nonsense, Henry; *of course* they are foreigners. We are English!'[151]

This article evidently had a profound impact on Lawrence, not solely because of its content but also due to its journalistic essay style. In 'Mother and Daughter', Lawrence employs satire to introduce a foreign gentleman who liberates Virginia from her mother's

[149] HRC DHL 36.6.
[150] *6L*, 401.
[151] Gladys Bronwyn Stern, 'I Could Not Have Married a Foreigner', *Evening News* (London), 8 May 1928, 8.

oppressive influence, a representation of the older generation. He draws a noteworthy comparison between this foreign character and Virginia's ex-boyfriend, coincidentally named Henry, who mirrors the male figure in Stern's article. Lawrence, perhaps intentionally, portrays Henry as a quintessential British gentleman – akin to the type that Stern would choose to marry – who lacks the resolve to assert his love and ultimately retreats from the competition with Rachel for Virginia's affection.[152] Furthermore, Lawrence confided to Pearn while submitting the manuscript for 'That Women Know Best' that the polemical essay might have been written with 'too much tongue in cheek', and reviewers have noted a similar tone in 'Mother and Daughter'. Arthur McDowall, for instance, remarks that Lawrence infused the story with 'wit and humour', while L. A. G. Strong notes that it was written 'without animosity', but with 'a real sense of fun'.[153] Considering these factors, this section advocates a comparative analysis of Lawrence's polemical essay 'That Women Know Best' and the short story 'Mother and Daughter'. This integrated approach is designed to explore how Lawrence capitalised on the success of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' and applied his insights into the journalistic marketplace to his subsequent works, particularly those addressing gender issues. Such a connected examination offers a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of Lawrence's journalistic persona and his strategic engagement with popular journalism. This holistic perspective not only highlights Lawrence's adaptability and growth as a writer but also provides valuable insights into his narrative strategies and thematic concerns.

[152] *VG*, 104.
[153] Arthur McDowall, 'Book Review' *The Times Literary Supplement*, 19 January 1933, 37; L. A. G. Strong, 'Book Review', *Spectator*, 27 January 1933, 126.

Although Lawrence had a limited understanding of the *Daily Chronicle*'s readership and editorial preferences when he composed 'That Women Know Best', the article, finished within a relatively brief period, nonetheless demonstrates his meticulous word choice. It also reflects a certain 'amusement' Lawrence found in crafting these 'little articles'.[154] Beginning with a personal anecdote about his mother's dominance, Lawrence skilfully draws his readers into a reflection on the widespread social tendency of women's obsession about distinguishing 'right' from 'wrong'.[155] On the contrary, Lawrence portrays men's tendency to yield their judgment, acquiescing to women's discernment without 'dictating what was right and what was wrong'. Significantly, in this article, Lawrence paraphrases and reuses several lines from his 1913 novel, *Sons and Lovers*. This includes the opening paragraph, where his father intimidates his mother with the phrase, 'I'll make you tremble at the sound of my footstep', and details about the mother's interference in her son's romantic relationship.[156] Unlike his approach in *Sons and Lovers* and his other fictional works, Lawrence does not limit himself to the narrator's role. Instead, he poses two reflective questions to his readers: 'Why does my mother care so much for what is right against what is wrong, and why doesn't my father care a bit?'[157] Although framed as childhood wonderments, these questions prompt readers to seek answers based on their own experiences and anticipate Lawrence's perspectives, thus encouraging continued engagement with the article. This writing style, which clearly aligned with what the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* was seeking from Lawrence's contributions, facilitated a dynamic interaction with his readers. This is acknowledged by an editorial note preceding the article in the newspaper, stating: 'Mr D. H. Lawrence, the

[154] *LEA*, 81; *6L*, 403.
[155] *LEA*, 84.
[156] *SL*, 49; *SL*, 74-5.
[157] *LEA*, 83.

brilliant novelist and short story writer, answers the question, "What have women taught me?" by recounting a personal experience and leaving readers to draw their own conclusions'.[158] This statement underscores Lawrence's skill in engaging his audience through a blend of personal narrative and open-ended enquiry, a technique that not only reflects his unique voice but also resonates effectively with his readers.

As highlighted in James Boulton's editorial note in *Late Essays and Articles*, Lawrence's technique in this article is characterised by a deliberate avoidance of offering explicit answers. Instead, he creates an environment that encourages readers to form their own conclusions. A detailed analysis of the manuscript, which was enclosed in Lawrence's letter to Pearn dated 21 May 1928, reveals his conscious effort to adapt his journalistic tone to meet the taste of the general public. This intention is evident in the various amendments and modifications in the text. In his desire to enhance reader engagement and stimulate introspective reflection based on personal experiences, Lawrence made a notable deletion on the fourth page of the manuscript. This followed his assertion that 'In fact, the knowing one seems to be always a woman' in the preceding paragraph, demonstrating his careful consideration of how his words might influence reader interpretation.[159]

> So I started early to study the only vivid and unfinished book, the book which adds a new page to itself every day, that exists on earth: the book of living women. Wom~~a~~en has~~s~~ve an uncanny courage, which nowadays looks to me often like bravado. ~~They~~ she ~~stands~~ It is in woman alone that we find the grand uncanny courage of life, the life-experience faced and weighted up. And nowadays her courage often looks like bravado. She stands up in the midst of the universe and says: This is right, this is wrong, and I know it! – The storm of life sweeps round her, and men, having nothing else to go by, say: She is right! She is the light-house. She is the fog-horn. She is the siren of safety. We steer by her.

[158] D. H. Lawrence, 'Women Always Know Best', *Daily Chronicle*, 29 November 1928.
[159] *LEA*, 84.

> To me, women are more interesting than men because they press on open-eyed and so dauntlessly, into the dark seas of ~~right and wrong~~ experience the exploration of the inner and emotional life, while the men sit and wait on the shore, saying: All right, darling, I'm sure you know best. ~~What~~ But what I have learnt from women is that they don't know best. They don't really know right from wrong at all. They even begin to doubt themselves. But that isn't the point. One doesn't go to women to learn the ten, or ten thousand commandments One goes to women to learn where they get that superb bravado of making men believe in them and their ten thousand commandments, which are after all no more than wild words on the wind.[160]

This deleted section exemplifies Lawrence's characteristic provocation in his remarks about women. He suggests that they exhibit 'bravado' and an excessive desire to control their husbands, portraying them as determined to assert dominance by imposing their personal standards of right and wrong. These standards, rooted in women's individual perceptions, not only challenge traditional patriarchal authority but are also capriciously manipulated by them. For example, the opening paragraph recounts a childhood memory where Lawrence's father tries to intimidate his mother, only to be met with her witty retort: 'Which boots will you wear?' This exchange highlights women's capacity to counter traditional patriarchal dominance.[161] Furthermore, Lawrence's reaction to Stern's article, 'I Could Not Have Married a Foreigner' – which he admitted provoked a 'gooseflesh' response – introduces an idealised man who deviates from conventional patriarchal norms. Stern describes this Englishman as an 'independent being who rebels against patriarchy and matriarchy, wants […] his wife whenever possible by his side, walking, motoring, sailing, golfing'. [162] However, Stern's depiction paradoxically contradicts her assertion that ideal men should treat others equally, especially when she fantasises about life with such a man. Lawrence, evidently influenced by Stern's piece,

[160] UCB MSS 72/231 z Box 10, transcribed in *LEA*, 346.
[161] *LEA*, 83.
[162] Stern, 'I Could Not Have Married a Foreigner', 8.

recognises this contradiction. In the deleted section, he states, 'what I have learnt from women is that they don't know best' and observes that 'they even begin to doubt themselves'. Lawrence posits that while this certain type of woman might take the lead in contesting traditional values, their understanding of both patriarchal and matriarchal social norms often lacks depth. In essence, they appear to be replicating established patterns, merely modifying standards and inverting roles. This leads Lawrence to an assertive, and perhaps contentious, conclusion. He implies that beyond the simplistic dichotomy of women manipulating men or vice versa, what modern society truly requires is a paradigm shift. This shift should challenge and critically reassess conventional, and often stereotypical, notions regarding gender dynamics and power structures. By advocating this perspective, Lawrence calls for a more nuanced and comprehensive approach to understanding and addressing the complexities inherent in modern gender relations.

Although Lawrence initially expressed bold views and highlighted the manipulative traits of women in an extensive section, he likely soon realised that such direct criticism might not be well-received by the broader readership. This could potentially even lead to editorial disapproval and subsequent rejection by the *Daily Chronicle*. As a result, he decided to remove these contentious paragraphs and succinctly wrap up his argument. In contrast to the provocative tone characterising the deleted section transcribed above, the final and published version of the article is significantly more subdued and concise:

> So I started early to study the only vivid and lively power which is left on earth, the power of earnest women. Of course there is the power of money, mostly in the hands of men. But that is only materially, and not vitally interesting.[163]

[163] Lawrence, 'Women Always Know Best'.

Lawrence concludes the article in a manner reflective of this change in approach. Instead of outright condemning manipulative behaviour and urging his readers to remain alert, he opts for a more nuanced approach. Lawrence suggests that 'there is no absolute right and wrong' and proposes that perhaps it is worth learning 'how not to be too sure of right and wrong'. This subtly encourages his readers to question the binary logic that traditionally categorises issues as simply right or wrong. By doing so, Lawrence guides his audience towards a more critical and reflective mindset, moving away from the constraints of a dichotomous logical fallacy. This revised conclusion not only aligns more closely with the expectations of a broader readership but also maintains the essence of Lawrence's thought-provoking style, albeit in a more tempered form.

For Lawrence, the substantial deletion of content and the adoption of a more subdued, journalistic tone constituted strategic manoeuvres, essential for establishing his journalistic reputation within an unaccustomed journalistic marketplace. Despite these alterations, his insights into the 'bravado' of certain women remained intact; the excised paragraphs did not compromise his viewpoints. On the contrary, he channelled his directness and energy into a satirical depiction of such women in 'Mother and Daughter', a story he composed concurrently with 'That Women Know Best'. In this story, Lawrence presents a compelling depiction of a young girl, Virginia, as she endeavours to extricate herself from the stifling control of her overbearing and excessively protective mother, Rachel Bodoin. Rachel subtly manipulates her daughter, infusing Virginia with her own ideologies and patterns of thought. Critical interpretations of the story are diverse. For example, Jeffrey Meyers connects the narrative to Lawrence's personal relationship with Katherine Mansfield, suggesting that it serves as an allegory for Mansfield's 'seduction

by the mysticism of Gurdjieff'. [164] Janice Hubbard Harris interprets the story as exemplifying 'the literal or figurative murder of parent by child in the child's quest for adult sexual fulfilment', a recurring theme in Lawrence's works.[165] However, Harris's interpretation, ascribing the child's rebellion solely to a '[quest] for adult sexual fulfilment', is somewhat narrow. On the contrary, in the story, Lawrence delves into the deeper issue of conflicts between the older generation's obsession with control and the younger generation's profound longing for independence, offering insights into this issue. Specifically, in Virginia's situation, under the dominion of her mother, two male characters of her age, Henry and Adrian, significantly contribute to her burgeoning self-awareness and facilitate her eventual emancipation from maternal dominance through their interactions as equals. Nonetheless, both the young men and Virginia lack the resolution and courage to confront an authoritarian figure who is convinced of her infallibility. Encumbered by a misconstrued sense of 'family loyalty', Virginia refrains from scrutinising her mother's directives, choosing instead to execute them unquestioningly.[166] For example, Virginia, devoid of any original intention to 'sit on Henry' and dominate him in their relationship, finds herself 'forced' to adopt a controlling stance, a direct consequence of her mother's overbearing influence.[167] The analysis of Lawrence's polemical essay and short story elucidates a significant divergence in his communicative tactics across his fictional and polemical works. In his fiction, Lawrence adopts a more nuanced and direct approach, orchestrating narratives from a concealed vantage point. He presents to his readers a vision of the probable outcomes of

[164] Jeffrey Meyers, 'Katherine Mansfield, Gurdjieff, and Lawrence's "Mother and Daughter"', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 22.4 (1976), 444-453 (444).
[165] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D. H. Lawrence*, 212.
[166] *VG*, 103.
[167] *VG*, 103.

unreflectively adhering to the dictates of the older generation, devoid of independent thought or interrogation. This subtle method stands in stark contrast to his approach in polemical essays. Here, he assumes a relatively indirect role, unequivocally delineating facts and anomalies that have been traditionally overlooked, particularly the logical inconsistencies inherent in the older generation's reasoning. By doing so, he leaves his audience to formulate their own interpretations, refraining from proposing specific courses of action.

The relationship between Virginia and Rachel in Lawrence's story transcends conventional maternal-filial ties, evolving into a complex dynamic resembling a convoluted romantic relationship. In this entanglement, Rachel exercises control over Virginia, paralleling the dynamics of women controlling their husbands as depicted in Lawrence's 'That Women Know Best'. Interfering characters, such as Henry, are decisively quashed when they threaten this intricate bond. N. H. Reeve astutely observes that '[Virginia] and her mother establish a life akin to marriage', implying that Rachel effectively assumes the role of her daughter's patriarchal guardian – a hypothesis that merits deeper exploration.[168] Initially, it is important to recognise that Rachel's influence over Virginia is described as a 'strange *female* power', distinct from conventional 'parental authority'.[169] This specific portrayal of female power, dissociated from her maternal role, suggests a dynamic more commonly associated with the influence a wife holds over her husband. Additionally, despite the prevailing assumption in patriarchal societies of male dominance, Lawrence's personal background is crucial to understanding this dynamic. As Mary Freeman points out, 'Lawrence's mother, having been dominant

[168] N. H. Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 137.
[169] *VG*, 103.

predisposed him to see all women as dominant, insidiously if not overtly'.[170] Similarly, Judith Ruderman posits that 'Lawrence himself was in constant conflict with, and flight from the Magna Mater', with his attitudes towards elder women significantly shaped by his relationship with his mother.[171] Consequently, Lawrence's oeuvre often reflects a profound self-examination, re-evaluating the oppressive influence of his mother on his life and her unjust treatment of his father. By extrapolating his mother's obsessive need for control over him and his father, Lawrence reinterprets these dynamics in various contexts, probing intergenerational conflicts as exemplified in Virginia's situation. Within this framework, Rachel occupies the role of the controlling 'wife', while Virginia is relegated to the position of the 'husband' under her sway.

Virginia, embodying traits of both the younger generation and the 'controlled husband', is pivotal to her own eventual liberation from her mother's control. Harris notes that Lawrence portrays Virginia as a female character capable of being a professional in the public sphere and a lover in the private domain.[172] Yet, despite her earnest endeavours to preserve her individuality, Virginia is impeded in her quest for independence by her domineering mother. As she matures and confronts repeated setbacks in her romantic relationships, Virginia gradually ceases to comply unquestioningly with her mother's commands, embarking on a quest for personal autonomy as an adult. Lydia Blanchard suggests that 'mother and daughter are left, …with pity for each other – torn apart' because of 'the daughter's fears of becoming her mother'.[173] The impetus for change, paradoxically, arrives in the guise of Arnault, an Armenian businessman in his 60s.

[170] Mary Freeman, *D. H. Lawrence: A Basic Study of His Ideas* (Gainesville, FL: U of Florida P, 1955), 235, n. 5.
[171] Judith Ruderman, *D. H. Lawrence and the Devouring Mother: The Search for a Patriarchal Ideal of Leadership* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1984), 174.
[172] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D. H. Lawrence*, 214.
[173] Lydia Blanchard, 'Mothers and Daughters in D. H. Lawrence: The Rainbow and Selected Shorter Works', in *Lawrence and Women*, ed. by Anne Smith (London: Vision, 1978), 75-100 (96).

Arnault perceives in Virginia a vulnerable child-like quality, akin to 'a lost child in the gutter, a waif… waiting till someone would pick her up. A fatherless waif!'[174] He assumes the role of a 'tribal father, father through all the ages', and instils in Virginia the courage to reject any parallels with her mother.[175]

Upon Rachel's withdrawal, Virginia's temporary victory risks devolving into a predictable lifelong tragedy, as the fundamental conflict remains unresolved. Arnault's involvement with Virginia appears to stem more from his speculative inclinations than from a genuine partnership. His interest in Virginia is motivated by the prospects of a substantial inheritance and potential British citizenship, casting him more as a paternal figure than a romantic partner. Although Virginia's father is not explicitly mentioned in the narrative, it is reasonable to deduce that her reliance on Arnault is driven by a longing for the affection of a father figure. As Harris observes, 'Virginia is escaping a sterile relationship with a female who dominates her for a fertile relationship with a male who protects her'.[176] Accordingly, Ruderman notes that she manages to 'escape the smothering embrace of woman through [the] acceptance of this fantasy father'.[177] However, Virginia's approach to her dilemma, reducing it to a personal conflict with her mother, oversimplifies the situation. The core issue resides in the generational gap in viewpoints and the tenacity of women in exerting control, as explored by Lawrence in 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' and 'That Women Know Best'. From this perspective, Virginia's break with her mother can be seen as the ascendency of paternal authority over maternal dominance, with the younger generation still subjected to control. In her arduous

[174] *VG*, 117.
[175] *VG*, 117.
[176] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D.H. Lawrence*, 214-15.
[177] Ruderman, *D. H. Lawrence and the Devouring Mother*, 174.

pursuit of autonomy, Virginia ultimately ceases to challenge her circumstances, transitioning passively from a controlled daughter to a controlled 'husband'.

In 'That Women Know Best' and 'Mother and Daughter', Lawrence primarily explores the dynamic between certain women assuming the patriarchal role as the 'controller' and others, including men and women, as the 'controlled'. However, his analytical scope is not limited to this aspect alone; he adeptly addresses and provocatively responds to the myriad challenges faced by women of different age groups across various genres. Furthermore, his insights extend beyond issues exclusively pertaining to women, encompassing their experiences in maturation, domestic responsibilities, employment, and marriage, and they also reverberate in the context of men's lives. Thus, from Lawrence's perspective, the differing viewpoints of the younger generation towards their parents reveal a universal quest for autonomy and fight against the stereotypical patriarchal social norms, transcending a narrow focus on women's struggles alone. Virginia's marriage to Arnault signifies not only a setback for herself and her mother but also for her male contemporaries, such as Henry. If any of these men had robustly countered Rachel's overprotective nature towards Virginia and encouraged her to step out of her mother's shadow to forge her own path, they might have broken free from the cycle of emulating their parents and discovered their identities alongside Virginia. In contrast, Henry is portrayed as embodying indecision and hesitancy. Rather than decisively '[jumping] out, or [bolting], or [carving] his way out at the sword's point', he chooses a timid and spineless retreat, which he gradually implements over a year or more.[178] Like Henry in 'Mother and Daughter', the young boyfriend of the *jeune fille* in 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' exhibits reluctance in the face of her

[178] *VG*, 104.

'outspokenness'.[179] While she may sometimes seem irksome with her endless questions, it is undeniable that her bravery in challenging authority and her forthrightness eclipse the men in her life, including her father and boyfriend. It is only when he finally acknowledges that 'she is the man of the two; of the three, maybe' and admits '[he does not] know' the answer to her questions, that he matures into a truly genuine man and a dependable partner.

Lawrence adeptly dislodges social assumptions about power dynamics across genders and generations, while concurrently examining the extent to which established conventions can be challenged. In Lydia Blanchard's analysis of 'Mother and Daughter', she astutely observes that Lawrence's brilliance is evident in his capacity to '[give] shape to so many varied possibilities in life', simultaneously accentuating the 'conflict' between characters.[180] Furthermore, Lawrence was refining his skill in navigating the delicate equilibrium of questioning his readers' entrenched views on gender issues, whilst moderating his provocative tone to align with the journalistic marketplace's standards. Lawrence's efforts to establish a journalistic reputation, rooted in his familiar discourse on gender politics, are further exemplified in his subsequent articles commissioned by the *Evening News*. Adopting a strategic approach to consolidate his position within popular journalism, Lawrence continued to demonstrate his commitment to this field. He did so by subtly challenging traditional perspectives on gender issues, yet conforming to certain conventions to ensure his writing appealed to a wide-ranging audience.

[179] *LEA*, 71-2.
[180] Blanchard, 'Mothers and Daughters in D.H. Lawrence', 97.

**Three Articles on Gender Issues Commissioned by the *Evening News***

In the letter dated 18 May 1928, the day after her previous correspondence, Nancy Pearn updated Lawrence with a revised offer from the *Evening News*. This offer notably surpassed her initial speculation that Olley might not be inclined to exceed 'Ten Guineas at present', as indicated in her preceding letter.[181] The literary editor of the newspaper extended an offer to Lawrence, proposing 'Twelve Guineas each' for a series of four articles. Despite Pearn's counsel for Lawrence to judiciously evaluate his options by '[weighing] up the pros and cons', Lawrence had already resolved to respond to the *Daily Chronicle*'s request by writing 'That Women Know Best'. It appears that Lawrence was in the midst of preparing his letter and manuscript for this article when he received Pearn's letter dated 18 May. Feeling compelled to communicate further, Lawrence appended a brief note at the top of the letter's address line, stating 'just got your note about E. N. articles – ask 'em to suggest topics'.[182] He dispatched this letter on 21 May, and the earliest extant response from Pearn is dated 4 June. In this response, Pearn informed Lawrence that she had decided to temporarily postpone the *Daily Chronicle* article, pending additional details regarding the contract and topic suggestions from the *Evening News*, as Lawrence had requested. Simultaneously, amid these publishing negotiations, Lawrence departed from Villa Mirenda on 10 June for the French Alps, hoping that the tranquil mountain environment would assist in alleviating his persistent cough and bronchitis.[183] Though he provided Pearn with a new address on 12 June, this location proved inadequate, leading to his subsequent relocation to Switzerland. On 18 June, Lawrence settled at the Grand Hotel in Chexbres-sur-Vevey.[184] It is pertinent to

[181] HRC DHL 36.6.
[182] *6L*, 404; HRC DHL 36.6.
[183] *6L*, 422.
[184] *6L*, 427.

note that Pearn's two letters, dated 14 and 21 June, which conveyed the topic suggestions from the *Evening News*, were not dispatched until 21 June, subsequent to her receiving Lawrence's new address. From Lawrence's letter to Pearn dated 27 June, enclosing the manuscript of 'Insouciance', it could be inferred that Olley had directly contacted Lawrence, exerting pressure for the submission of the first of the four contracted articles. Although Olley's correspondence with Lawrence remains undiscovered, it is highly plausible that Lawrence commenced writing these articles following Olley's urging. Confronted with Olley's demanding deadline and feeling unprepared to write on the suggested topic, Lawrence sought to appease him by composing an article titled 'Insouciance', requesting Pearn to have it typed and forwarded to the *Evening News*. Nevertheless, the following day, Lawrence dispatched another manuscript to Pearn, initially titled 'Men Must Rule' but later renamed 'Master in His Own House', prepared in response to Olley's proposed topic. After moving to Gsteig-bei-Gstaad, Lawrence completed the third article, 'Matriarchy', on 9 July, followed by the fourth piece, 'Ownership', three days later. This section will critically analyse three articles on the topic of gender issues among the series' four, endeavouring to elucidate how Lawrence adapted to the newspaper's editorial demands whilst maintaining a balance between these requirements and his own distinctive stance on gender politics.

In the short piece 'Insouciance', Lawrence recounts a story in which the narrator finds himself reluctantly embroiled in a conversation about international politics with an elderly English lady living in the adjacent hotel room. The discussion unfolds as the narrator attempts to appreciate the picturesque view from the balcony. Through this narrative, Lawrence underscores women's preoccupation with abstract concepts and the discernment of right from wrong, echoing the sentiments conveyed in 'That Women

Know Best'. In the meantime, the narrator's attention gravitates towards the more tangible elements, such as workers mowing the slopes down to Lake Geneva.[185] Though 'Insouciance' was the first piece in a series of four articles commissioned by the London *Evening News*, none of Lawrence's extant correspondence makes reference to its composition. The sole direct reference made by Lawrence to 'Insouciance' comes in a letter dated 27 June 1928, wherein he sent the manuscript of the article to Nancy Pearn. Lawrence instructed Pearn to have the article typed and forwarded to Olley.[186] The article was promptly accepted and published in the *Evening News* on 12 July under the amended title, likely modified by Olley, 'Over-Earnest Ladies'. Lawrence did not mention this article again in his correspondence until c.24 November 1928.[187] In a letter to Achsah Brewster – who, along with her husband Earl, accompanied the Lawrences for a majority of the time throughout their journey to the Alps from May to October 1928 – Lawrence wrote that 'The *Atlantic Monthly* put our little old ladies of Chexbres in its contributors column this month – Nov.'

Existing examinations of 'Insouciance' either propose an estimated date of completion or solely reference its publication date. For example, in *D. H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1922-1930*, David Ellis only uses the 'Appendices' section to suggest the article was finished 'by 27 June', the date on which Lawrence sent the manuscript to Pearn.[188] James T. Boulton, who edited the volume *Late Essays and Articles* in the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of D. H. Lawrence*, adopts a more cautious approach. He refrains from specifying the article's date of composition in the 'Chronology' section of the volume and circumvents making direct speculations in the editorial preamble to the

[185] *LEA*, 96.
[186] *6L*, 438.
[187] *7L*, 28. The date is estimated by volume editors.
[188] Ellis, 559.

article. Instead, Boulton puts it that 'Lawrence felt unable to provide Olley with a piece on the topic proposed but, having already finished "Insouciance", he sent the manuscript to Nancy Pearn on 27 June'.[189] Hence, determining a more exact composition period, if not the exact date, of 'Insouciance' is crucial for potential future research on the compositional background of Lawrence's four articles commissioned by the *Evening News*, for establishing the possible intertextuality between the four articles, and for addressing the broader topic of how Lawrence built up his journalistic persona for a wider readership in 1928.

The determination of the precise composition date of 'Insouciance' is facilitated by a thorough examination of textual, archival, and biographical sources. The Brewsters' recollection, published in 1934, confirms that '"Insouciance" describes an incident at this hotel' during their stay in Chexbres. Substantiated by the aforementioned Lawrence's letter to them, the Brewsters' testimony confirms that 'Insouciance' is a fact based recounting of Lawrence's personal experience.[190] A comparative analysis between the article's manuscript and Lawrence's extant correspondence provides more conclusive evidence that he wrote 'Insouciance' in one continuous session on the afternoon of 27 June 1928. Housed at the Harry Ransom Centre at the University of Texas, Austin, the ink colour used in the manuscript indicates that Lawrence only refilled his fountain pen once during the composition of the article. This singular refill transpired after he concluded the first paragraph on the manuscript's third page, which ends with the old lady's fervent talk on 'Mussolini, League of Nations' and other 'abstract concepts' that '[…] swept me off into the empty desert spaces of right and wrong, politics, fascism and

[189] *LEA*, 94.
[190] *7L*, 28; Brewster, 171.

the rest'.[191] Though the archival evidence of a single ink refill does not entirely preclude the possibility that Lawrence composed this article either in a single sitting prior to 27 June or in two segments across multiple days, biographical evidence provides definitive corroboration. The description of meteorological conditions in the second paragraph of the manuscript's first page, 'this afternoon being hot and thundery', matches Lawrence's own account of the weather in his correspondence. Lawrence's extant letters provide a consistent record of the weather in Chexbres since their arrival at the Grand Hotel on 17 June. The weather continued to be 'rather cold' until 23 June, when Lawrence first documented a change to 'very hot' conditions, which were suitable for '[taking] sun-baths'. This warm spell endured for days, as noted in Lawrence's subsequent letters. The first meteorological fluctuation since their arrival in Chexbres was recorded on 27 June in his letter to Koteliansky, wherein he wrote 'the weather is mixed – was very hot – then thundered – now is cool'. A similar description to Pearn on the same day, indicating that the weather was 'hot here – now thundery', corroborates both his account to Koteliansky and the details mentioned in 'Insouciance'.[192]

Though both letters are dated 27 June 1928, and the Cambridge *Letters* reproduce the letter to Koteliansky (4491) before the one to Pearn (4492), it is important to clarify that this sequence might give readers the impression that Lawrence wrote both letters together. However, it is probable that these letters were written during separate time intervals and dispatched on different dates. The postmark on the letter to Koteliansky reads '28.VI.28', implying it was posted the following day.[193] Moreover, an indirect piece of evidence – the depiction of the Lawrences' excursion with Aldous and Maria Huxley

[191] HRC DHL 8.4.
[192] *7L*, 426, 433, 437-8.
[193] *7L*, 437.

to the Château de Chillon, located approximately ten miles from Chexbres – affirms that it is highly likely that Lawrence wrote his letters to Koteliansky and Pearn at different times that day. Despite the site's historical connection with Lord Byron, it appears to have failed to captivate Lawrence.[194] As he wrote to Koteliansky, 'this afternoon Maria motored us to the Castle of Chillon – but those show-places bore me'.[195] Given that Lawrence only mentioned this journey to Chillon in his letters to Koteliansky and Ada Clarke, both dated 27 June and postmarked the next day, it can be inferred that Lawrence dispatched the first set of letters, including the 'Insouciance' manuscript to Pearn, before his excursion or while en route to Chillon. He then penned the second set upon his return and dispatched them the following day. Additional insight into the timing of the letters can be garnered from Lawrence's description of the weather to Koteliansky, where he noted it 'is mixed – was very hot – then thundered – now is cool', suggesting that the letter was composed in the late afternoon, following their visit to the castle.[196] Taking into consideration the biographical evidence, archival materials, and third-party testimonies mentioned above, it can be concluded that Lawrence composed 'Insouciance' in the early afternoon of 27 June 1928.

Identifying the composition date of 'Insouciance' with such precision is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it reinforces the close correlation and the potential intertextuality between 'Insouciance' and 'Master in His Own House', the second of the four articles for the *Evening News*, which Lawrence sent to Pearn for typing the following day. Existing scholarship predominantly associates the latter with 'Matriarchy', the third article for the *Evening News*, composed nearly two weeks later. This association arises

[194] Lord Byron composed 'The Prisoner of Chillon' during his 1816 visit to the castle.
[195] *7L*, 437.
[196] *7L*, 433, 437-8.

primarily because both ‘Master in His Own House’ and ‘Matriarchy’, as Andrew Harrison points out, ‘contain wry reflections on contemporary gender roles of a kind guaranteed to appeal to a popular readership’.[197] Establishing 27 June 1928 as the composition date of ‘Insouciance’, along with the understanding that ‘Master in His Own House’ was composed between 27-28 June, underscores the potential for examining the intertextuality between them and the necessity to scrutinise this compositional period cross-sectionally. Secondly, the fact that Lawrence chose to compensate Olley with a piece grounded in personal experience, when he felt unable to draft an article on the suggested topic within Olley’s deadline, indicates that Lawrence took popular journalism seriously and valued the opportunity to build up his journalistic persona in front of a broader audience following the suggested topic of the newspaper editor.

The piece ‘Master in His Own House’ was sent to Pearn a mere day after the dispatch of ‘Insouciance’, a vivid piece penned by Lawrence as a reflection on a real-life event. However, this subsequent work embodies a more profound development of Lawrence’s viewpoints, advocating a breakaway from conventional gender roles and the development of independent thinking skills in his readers. In this piece, Lawrence employs the backdrop of domestic scenarios as a satirical commentary on men’s apathy towards certain professions, while paradoxically chastising women for usurping their authority. The text is a testament to Lawrence’s endeavour to sharpen his polemical tone, as evidenced by the opening paragraph of the piece:

> We ~~accept [] ready-made old ideas too easily~~ {still are ruled too much by ready-made phrases}. Take for example: A man must be master in his own house. There’s a good old maxim, ~~that we all accept~~ {we all believe it} in theory. Every little boy sees himself ~~as~~ a future master in his own house. He grows up with the idea well fixed. So naturally, when {his time comes and} he finds, which ~~is~~ {he does} pretty often, that he’s *not*

[197] Harrison, 366.

> master in his own house, his nose is ~~sadly and savagely~~ {conventionally} out of joint. He says: These overbearing modern women, they insist on bossing the show, and they're absolutely in the wrong.[198]

Unfortunately, none of Lawrence's textual modifications within this manuscript are manifested in the volume *Late Essays and Articles* (2004).[199] However, revisiting Lawrence's manuscript archives affords readers the opportunity to pinpoint editorial inaccuracies in the Cambridge *Edition*, and rectify them through a careful analysis of Lawrence's own editorial endeavours. Informed by his keen understanding of modern men's mentality and their apprehension about women usurping control, Lawrence employs the concise, striking, and manifesto-like title 'Men Must Rule' in this manuscript.[200] This is designed to capture attention and encourage his intended readers to resonate with him. Given Lawrence's awareness of the tendency in men to externalise blame rather than engage in self-reflection, he revises the sentence 'We accept [] ready-made old ideas too easily' – a critique highlighting men's shortcomings – to 'We still are ruled too much by ready-made phrases'. This type of textual revision, which caters to men's rhetoric of self-perceived innocence, recurs several times in the opening paragraph, as previously noted.

As Lawrence frequently did in his initial forays into the journalistic market, such efforts to temper his provocative tone – especially in the introductory part of his manuscript – were largely spurred by his apprehension about his readers' tastes and preferences. Despite cultivating a niche readership over the years, Lawrence's literary reputation, though notorious, predominantly appealed to a more intellectual audience.

[198] HRC DHL 10.5.
[199] *LEA*, 388-90.
[200] It should be noted that Lawrence used the title 'Men Must Rule' until he changed it to 'Master in His Own House' while reviewing the typescript of this essay.

Although he conceded to Nancy Pearn's advice to build a consistent presence through popular journalism, and subsequently signed a contract with the London *Evening News*, his understanding of the market and his broader audience's taste was largely derived from his previous scattered contributions and Pearn's feedback. In such a context, Lawrence proactively adapted his contentious style to better suit his envisioned readership. This is the principal reason why Lawrence's textual modifications are predominantly concentrated in the initial paragraph of this article – his primary goal was to avoid antagonising his readers and discouraging them from continuing to read.

In the subsequent paragraphs, Lawrence shifts his focus towards asserting that the prevailing belief that men ought to maintain control is an exemplification of collective thinking – a concept against which individuals must remain vigilant. Lawrence's proposed antidote to this mindset, although it may seem self-evident, is to individualise the concept rather than endorsing it en masse. To facilitate comprehension of his argument and foster adherence among his readers, Lawrence conjures up the scenario of a man comfortably asserting ownership of a house, named 'Rosebud'. However, the man's confidence wanes when confronted with his wife's adept handling of the kitchen and meticulous management of domestic matters, which prompts him to question the necessity of his authoritative control:

> And when he looks at Julia calmly pouring the coffee, he finds, if he's the usual Jim, that his desire to be master over that young dame is curiously non-existent.[201]

While Lawrence's admonition against mass thinking is valid, the hypothetical situation he constructs in this excerpt does not effectively substantiate his argument. Instead, it

[201] *LEA*, 100.

hinges purely on one possibility. In contrast, there are numerous scenarios where men might persist in exerting control over their wives by issuing directives, even when they lack knowledge or any real interest in comprehending the workings of domestic affairs. This stems from their apathy or even disdain for certain roles, exemplified by expressions such as 'don't really care' or expressing views which they are 'sadly indifferent to'.[202] Ironically, Lawrence exploits what he perceives to be his readers' uncritical acceptance of newspaper content, attempting to convince them not to adopt such a habit. This juxtaposition underscores the complexity and potentially contradictory nature of Lawrence's polemical tactics.

After highlighting how men's indifference contributes to the 'intrusion' of women that they subsequently lament, Lawrence then distinguishes 'indifference' from 'insouciance'. Though both terms describe a state of nonchalance towards specific issues, Lawrence elucidates their fundamental difference: 'Insouciance means not caring about things that don't concern you [and] not being pinched by anxiety. But indifference is inability to care, it is the result of a certain deadness or numbness. And it is nearly always accompanied by the pinch of anxiety'.[203] Understanding this distinction enables a deeper appreciation of Lawrence's use of the title 'Insouciance' in his previous essay. In this essay, he satirically describes a lady engrossed in discussions about international politics, disregarding the scenery before her. Lawrence's choice of 'Insouciance' over 'Indifference' as the title reveals his careful attempt to balance the expression of his ideas with the need to avoid provoking his readers. Given the substantial circulation of the London *Evening News*, a large segment of Lawrence's potential readers likely comprises the general public, who may lack the time or inclination for a close reading of this essay,

[202] *LEA*, 100.
[203] *LEA*, 101.

let alone correlating ‘Insouciance’ with ‘Master in His Own Room’. For such readers, an ‘insouciance’-themed travelogue could enhance not only their understanding of Lawrence but also help mitigate any negative reputation resulting from his frank depictions of sex in other works. Simultaneously, to the more discerning readers, this title delivers Lawrence’s intended message, nudging readers towards reflection rather than blind acceptance of newspaper content. Nevertheless, in the newspaper edition, editorial modifications undermined Lawrence’s efforts. The title was changed to ‘Over Earnest Ladies’, and section titles such as ‘Swept Away’, reflecting Lawrence’s critique of the ‘little white-haired lady in grey silk’ displaying indifference to real-life matters, and ‘Desert Dwellers’, highlighting her obsession with abstract ideas, were added. These changes once again exploited Lawrence’s contentious gender politics as a selling point to enhance the newspaper’s circulation.[204]

Examining ‘Insouciance’ and ‘Master in His Own House’ in tandem provides clear evidence that Lawrence’s motive and intent are not to single out either gender for criticism; indeed, he critiques both men and women in these pieces. Given the parallels drawn between the ‘old lady’ character and the men who subscribe to the ‘good old maxim’ that ‘a man must be master in his own house […] en bloc’, one may infer that Lawrence’s central critique is not merely of ‘mass thinking’ – a concept he cautiously raises – but rather the dearth of critical thinking, or even a resistance to it. To ensure effective delivery of this message, Lawrence interacts with his hypothetical readers in a manner he believes they would comprehend, through the engaging discourse of gender controversy. By crafting an image of a ceaselessly chattering elderly woman set against the backdrop of the Swiss Alps, Lawrence utilises the archetypal depiction of middle-

[204] D. H. Lawrence, ‘Over Earnest Ladies’, *Evening News* (London), 12 July 1928, 8.

class women as a lure to a male readership that accuses women of usurping control of professions towards which they are indifferent. The subsequent article, originally bearing the provocative title ‘Men Must Rule’ in his manuscript to Pearn, serves to solidify Lawrence’s credibility amongst his intended audience. This strategic preface enhances the likelihood of his true message – urging male readers to desist from faulting women for their own deficiencies – being accepted as he progressively reveals it in the body of the text.

Beyond the alterations to the introductory paragraph made to moderate his tone, Lawrence’s dedication to ensuring his message is successfully conveyed and comprehended by his readership is further reflected in his final three paragraphs. Archival evidence shows that the last but three paragraphs are somewhat faded, while the last three are distinct and black, suggesting that Lawrence refilled his fountain pen before composing them. Although it is conceivable that Lawrence refilled his pen immediately after writing the faded paragraph and continued to write the subsequent ones, both archival and textual evidence make this scenario unlikely. From an archival standpoint, a comparison between the faded paragraph and the textual modifications made in the opening paragraph suggests two separate phases. Lawrence likely refilled his pen upon completion of the faded paragraph and then began to revise the manuscript. Those familiar with fountain pens will understand that residual ink on the nib after refilling can account for why deletion lines are not faded. However, a faint ink trail may appear between the time when the residual ink is exhausted and before the new ink is drawn from the converter to the nib, potentially explaining the faint textual additions in the phrase ‘still are ruled too much by ready-made phrases’. From a textual perspective, the last faded paragraph, which begins with ‘the trouble is not in the women’s bossiness, but in

the men's indifference', effectively encapsulates the primary argument of Lawrence's piece and could feasibly serve as a concluding paragraph. He may have been concerned that the statement 'This indifference is the real malady of the day. It is a deadness, an inability to care about anything. And it is always pinched by anxiety' would prove too abstract for his target audience, potentially undermining the impact of the preceding parts. Following a thorough revision of the article, Lawrence opted to include an explanatory conclusion, reiterating his message in more accessible language. Commencing with the question 'And whence does the indifference arise?', Lawrence adopts an informal, conversational tone to invite his male readers to contemplate the origins of their apathy. He then employs flattery, asserting that this indifference arises from 'having cared too much [and] from having cared about the wrong thing'. Instead of bluntly criticising men for their desperate desire to control women and all other aspects of their lives, Lawrence adopts a more palatable strategy, gently enlightening his readers about the existence of an alternative path. This route, which does not involve the relentless pursuit of control, provides a potential escape from the torment of being 'gnawed by the anxiety of their own very indifference'.

Investigating the intertextuality between 'Insouciance' and 'Master in His Own House' reveals that although Lawrence's gender politics are not explicitly articulated within these pieces, the provocative titles he selected are undeniably gender-related. Whether it was his initial title, 'Men Must Rule', or the later one, 'Master in His Own House', bestowed by the newspaper editor, these titles were bound to provoke female readers. Simultaneously, their controversial nature would likely stimulate discussion, potentially igniting further debate among a broader readership. By employing this approach of incongruity between title and content, Lawrence subtly promotes his gender

politics – that men and women are fundamentally equal. This theme is further substantiated in his subsequent article, 'Matriarchy', the third instalment of the *Evening News* articles.

After sending 'Insouciance' to Pearn on 27 June and 'Master in His Own House' the following day, Lawrence was preoccupied with two tasks: the distribution of his privately published novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and sending his pictures to Dorothy Warren in London for a potential exhibition at her gallery in October. Likely aware of the consequences if a copy were to inadvertently end up in the hands of the authorities, Lawrence took a hands-on approach in disseminating copies of the novel to subscribers. His circumspection is evident in his note to subscribers: 'Would you be so good as to wire Orioli when you get it, so we know the book is coming in. […] – and just say Received. I am most anxious the thing should arrive safely'.[205] It was during this busy period that Lawrence composed 'Matriarchy', a piece with strong contextual ties to its predecessor, 'Master in His Own House'. In a letter to Pearn dated July 9, Lawrence wrote, 'I must do the fourth of the *Evening News* articles – I did the third – will send it along'. Based on a later letter that included two manuscripts for the *Evening News*, it is evident that 'Matriarchy' is the third article referred to in the earlier correspondence, thus allowing us to infer its composition date as being between 28 June and 9 July.

In this article, originally titled 'Rule of Women' but later renamed 'Matriarchy' by Lawrence himself in the manuscripts, he delves into the history of societies that were predominantly female-driven. Lawrence in the article advocates for a power balance between men and women, arguing against either sex exerting absolute dominance. As observed in his previous two articles, Lawrence adeptly uses provocative titles, such as

[205] *6L*, 450.

'Master in His Own House', to capture his readers' attention. Through this strategy, Lawrence introduces an alternative gender relationship while assuaging the apprehensions rooted in the patriarchal instincts of his male readership. For example, the choice of the word 'matriarchy' as the title of this article serves to mirror anxieties amongst his readers about the perceived threat to their patriarchal authority coming from the modern women. The opening paragraph poignantly underscores the tensions and apprehensions felt by men, especially the younger generation, towards the modern women: 'Women, women everywhere, and all of them on the war-path! The poor young male keeps up a jaunty front, but his masculine soul quakes. Women, women everywhere, silk-legged hosts that are up and doing, and no gainsaying them'.[206] While highlighting the tension between modern men and women, Lawrence astutely identifies the irony of men's professed fear of women, which often acts as a disguise to deprive a woman of her individuality and marginalise women. In the case Lawrence raises at the end of the first paragraph, a young man might not be afraid of 'his own individual' woman, but he becomes apprehensive when confronted with women as a collective. The irony becomes palpable when one realises that men have repeatedly sought their sense of security while assuming patriarchal authority over women. While a man might exert control over the women in his immediate vicinity, usually his family, social advances from the nineteenth century onwards have expanded occupational horizons for women. Consequently, more women have moved beyond domestic confines to occupy roles in society, many of which are administrative in nature. Women's occupations as secretaries and personal assistants often put men, particularly those in traditionally 'masculine' professions, in positions where they report to women. Such a shift in power between men and women has fostered

[206] *LEA*, 103.

a sense of insecurity amongst men. In other words, men's trepidation stems not only from their inability to adapt to social changes but also from a deep-rooted reluctance to understand them. This is because there exists an underlying fear amongst men that their patriarchal dominance will be questioned and potentially challenged in dialogues and interactions with women.

Conscious of modern men's attitudes and their unwarranted animosity towards women, Lawrence prepared this article with an intent to deconstruct the male readership's fantasies and fixations with patriarchal supremacy. Through this, he laid bare and ridiculed men's hypocrisy – the notion that only men could exert dominance over women and not vice versa. To engage his readers before challenging their conventional perspectives, Lawrence subtly adopted prevailing male concerns in his tone. Arthur Olley, in the version of this article that was published in the *Evening News* on 5 October 1928, further amplified Lawrence's strategy to attract the dominant male readership of the newspaper. By heightening their gender-related anxieties, Olley's editorial blurb read: 'Mr D. H. Lawrence, writing in the mood of delicate irony of which he is master, gives a hint of what a world might be in which Woman, socially, came first'.[207] This introductory note must have piqued the interest of male readers, who were undoubtedly curious to discover how calamitous a matriarchal society might appear from the perspective of a renowned novelist, and to gauge the degree to which Lawrence shared their own apprehensions. Lawrence, in return, did not leave them wanting; he indulged their deepest fears:

> So we are in for the monstrous rule of women, and a matriarchy. A matriarchy! This seems the last word of horror to the shuddering male. What it means, exactly, is not defined. But it rings with the hollow sound

[207] D. H. Lawrence, '–And If Women Were Supreme…', *Evening News* (London), 5 October 1928, 8.

> of man's subordination to woman. Woman cracks the whip, and the poor trained dog of a man jumps through the hoop. Nightmare!

Though Lawrence might have exaggerated the ramifications of a matriarchal society, he struck a chord with his readership, painting a vivid picture that resonated with their anxieties. As the article progresses, Lawrence artfully shifts his tone. He begins to satirise men's hypocrisy, hinting that terms such as 'woman' and 'man', 'male' and 'female', and 'matriarchy' and 'patriarchy' are essentially interchangeable. Lawrence adeptly underscores the glaring irony: the behaviours and situations men deemed intolerable were precisely those they expected women to endure. In other words, it was not modern women that men feared but rather the prospect of being objectified in the manner they routinely subjected women to.

Lawrence's insights into the power disparity between men and women, especially within the context of modern debates on gender issues, are evident in his subsequent elucidation of the term 'matriarchy'. While the *Oxford English Dictionary* provides a standard definition of matriarchy as 'a form of social organisation in which the mother or oldest female is the head of the family, and descent and relationship are reckoned through the female line; government or rule by a woman or women', Lawrence simplifies this by coining the term 'mother-rule'.[208] This accessible phrase ensures that his entire readership, regardless of the education they received, could grasp the concept without ambiguity. In contrast to the traditional understanding of matriarchy – where women govern and men are governed – Lawrence envisions a novel paradigm of shared power between men and women, proposing it as a potential solution to the prevailing 'weary social problem'.[209] In Lawrence's speculative 'matriarchal' society, the institution of marriage, which he

[208] *OED*, s.v. 'Matriarchy, n.'.
[209] *LEA*, 105.

presumes to be between a man and a woman, is not imperative. Instead, a man's primary allegiance is to the clan or society. Interestingly, though Lawrence still allocates the stereotypical domestic roles to women, he also calls for woman to be given 'her full independence', leaving the potential roles and responsibilities of women in this envisaged society unspecified and open to interpretation.[210]

This is the limitation of this polemical essay: even though Lawrence endeavours to highlight the constraints of modern society and to address pressing gender issues, his presentation of his arguments in this article, seemingly steeped in excessive deference to a presumed readership, appears counterintuitive and potentially not representative. For example, while he aims to counteract the pervasive male yearning for the patriarchal past when women were largely subservient, Lawrence provides a historical refresher, noting that matriarchies preceded patriarchies. Lawrence encourages his male readership to believe that men should evolve with history and tries to persuade them that 'matriarchy isn't so bad after all'.[211] To add more credibility to his argument while advocating the viability of matriarchy, Lawrence cites contemporary examples of matriarchal cultures, such as the Berbers of the Sahara and certain South Indian tribes. Lawrence's choices, though they are meant to establish the acceptance of matriarchy among his readers, might inadvertently dilute his argument's impact. Given the early twentieth century historical background – characterised by colonialism and eurocentrism – cultures outside Europe were frequently perceived as regressive and primitive. For example, a 1928 *Times* article introduced the northwest African races – the Berbers, alongside the Arabs and Fulahs – as 'the terror of the races' who 'preserved their seclusion' for centuries.[212] Such portrayals

[210] *LEA*, 106.
[211] *LEA*, 104.
[212] *The Times*, 'People of the Veil', 20 March 1928, 17.

ingrained a stereotype of the Berbers among the British by the newspaper's large circulation and nationwide coverage: 'the inaccessibility of their retreats, the sudden ferocity of their attacks, and their custom of wearing the veil added to the awe with which they were regarded'. For the readers of Lawrence's article, forgoing their advanced patriarchal system in favour of a historic matriarchy, seemingly prevalent only in underdeveloped cultures, might appear illogical. Moreover, while Lawrence employs plain language in defining matriarchy, his concurrent exploration of both ancient matriarchy and his own vision for modern society (which he also labels as 'matriarchy') can lead to ambiguity and confusion. This dual presentation might inadvertently imply that Lawrence advocates a reversion to an archaic form of society. In addition to the potential misinterpretation, Lawrence, in his envisioned 'matriarchy', has allocated to women traditional, even regressive domestic roles. Meanwhile, men are exhorted to liberate themselves from the restrictive confines of familial responsibilities, allowing them to rejuvenate their ostensibly suppressed 'deeper social instincts and intuitions'.[213] This incongruity, presented within a discourse on gender relations, requires a deeper dive into the contextual background of Lawrence's assertion that the family has recently begun to 'destroy' men. It is imperative to assess the extent to which Lawrence's personal experiences and sentiments might have permeated and influenced this essay.

Lawrence's deteriorating health during his time at Villa Mirenda in Italy, largely attributed to the humid climate, saw Frieda, weary from the relentless caregiving, seek solace elsewhere, notably in her affair with Ravagli. It is plausible that Lawrence, with his sensitivities, detected traces of Frieda's clandestine liaisons, such as her trysts with Ravagli in the name of visiting her daughter, Barbara, between 11 and 16 April 1928.

[213] *LEA*, 106.

However, instead of resenting Frieda, Lawrence displayed remarkable magnanimity, defending her potential infidelity by asserting that 'every heart has a right to its own secrets'.[214] There is an intriguing parallel between Lawrence's own life and the character of Sir Clifford Chatterley in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, a novel he was working on during that period. Like Clifford Chatterley, Lawrence was physically incapacitated, rendering him unable to meet Frieda's desires, thus making him vulnerable within their relationship. Given the extent of his ailment caused by tuberculosis, which often confined him to bed as he wrote and revised *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, one can draw an analogy with the vulnerability of labour and postpartum recovery. This paradigm casts Lawrence in a traditionally feminine role requiring care, with Frieda as the nurturer or the traditional male figure in their relationship. An illuminating anecdote from this period involves Margaret Gardiner's (the sister of Rolf Gardiner) visit to Villa Mirenda during one of Frieda's prolonged absences. Although taken aback by Lawrence's frailty, Gardiner fondly recollected the hearty and delicious lunch he had prepared, including stew, boiled potatoes, grapes, red wine, and figs.[215] Lawrence's dedication not only to meal preparation but also to his role as host mirrors the duties of a committed housewife. His evident pride in Frieda, in this context, underscores the inversion of traditional gender roles in their relationship. This nuanced and often fluid power dynamic between Lawrence and Frieda – where he embraced the 'wife' role with gusto – is evident in the compositional background of 'Matriarchy'. Unlike the preceding two pieces for the *Evening News*, completed during Frieda's absences, this particular article, while still

[214] Nehls, *III*, 189.
[215] Michael Squires and Lynn K. Talbot, *Living at the Edge: A Biography of D. H. Lawrence and Frieda von Richthofen* (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 2002), 343.

addressing gender issues, resonates more profoundly with Lawrence's personal experiences and insights into the intricacies of intimate relationships.

Thus, Lawrence's life and relationship dynamics with Frieda play a pivotal role in understanding this polemical article. His writings and the gender dynamics he proposed can thus be considered ahead of their time. The inversion of roles between him and Frieda provided him with a perspective not many men of his time might have experienced or could have understood. The constant caregiving responsibility placed on Frieda, leading to her fatigue and subsequent affair, placed Lawrence in a role commonly assumed by women: that of being cared for and being dependent. Lawrence's proposed 'matriarchy' is not necessarily about gender superiority but rather about a fluidity in roles. In the world Lawrence is imagining, he's emphasising flexibility and freedom from prescribed roles based on one's gender. The idea that one can freely determine one's roles without the constraints of society's gender expectations was ground-breaking for the era in which he lived. This was a way of showing the general public and modern society that roles, responsibilities, and professions should not be strictly gender-based but rather should be based on individual choices, capacities, and desires. Frieda's exhaustion, stemming from caring for a debilitated Lawrence, is palpably expressed in her lament to Lawrence's sister, Emily: '[It's] so terrible always this anxiety, never any peace'.[216] This allowed Lawrence to grasp the profound toll that familial obligations can impose on an individual, leading him to introspectively acknowledge in his article that 'of late years, however, the family has got hold of a man, and begun to destroy him'.[217] With this understanding, Lawrence let Frieda 'get free again, free from the tight littleness of family and family possessions' and visit her mother in Germany for a week. Frieda's periodic departures for respite gave

[216] Michael Squires and Lynn K. Talbot, *Living at the Edge*, 345.
[217] *LEA*, 106.

Lawrence the space to think, reflect, and observe the dynamics of their relationship. By encouraging Frieda to take breaks and meet her social needs, Lawrence managed to redefine gender roles – Frieda, typically in the role of the caregiver (or wife), was being given the freedom typically associated with the husband figure. This inversion of roles, where Frieda gets to enjoy the privileges to 'fulfil [her] deeper social necessities' and Lawrence takes pride in being a caregiver, is in sharp contrast to the norms of their time. Lawrence's open-mindedness was not a begrudging concession due to an inability to dominate his spouse, but a genuine wish for Frieda's well-being. According to Michael Squires and Lynn K. Talbot's account, 'Lawrence, frugal but never tight, did not begrudge her the money to travel'.[218] In the conclusion of this article, Lawrence provides a strong message for his male readers. It encourages them to shed the unnecessary anxiety associated with the emerging power of modern women. Instead of fearing this change, they should embrace it and understand that it is vital for social evolution and growth. To Lawrence, both men and women are an intrinsic part of society, and their roles should be interchangeable. Any differentiation between the two sexes is unnecessary and counterproductive. His idea is clear: one should value and respect individuality over social constructs. By understanding and appreciating one's individuality, one can address and even transcend the gender issues faced by modern society.

The four-article contract with the *Evening News* presented Lawrence with a distinct opportunity to cultivate a thought-provoking journalistic persona centred around the topic of gender issues. In this series of three articles – excluding the fourth, 'Ownership', which does not delve into Lawrence's gender politics – he methodically examined modern women and tensions between men and women from the perspective of

[218] Michael Squires and Lynn K. Talbot, *Living at the Edge*, 345.

an ordinary male. This viewpoint enabled a deeper resonance with his readers, providing insights into their perspectives and apprehensions. Lawrence's presentation of insights into gender issues in the three articles evolves from his satirical comments on women's preoccupation with abstract concepts in 'Insouciance', to engaging in conversations with the male readership in 'Master in His Own House', and finally suggesting gender equality in 'Matriarchy'. Throughout, Lawrence embarks on a profound exploration of gender dynamics, adeptly modulating his journalistic tone for his audience. Lawrence's multifaceted approach underscores his acute awareness of social nuances, prevailing biases, and entrenched gender roles. The provocative tone employed in these articles is deliberate; cognizant of addressing the newspaper's large male readership, Lawrence judiciously opted for controversial titles and captivating introductions to pique their interest. While he utilised provocative language and invoked ingrained gender stereotypes, embedded within his discourse was a call for a more profound appreciation and reassessment of these established roles. Shifting from a satirical critique of male readers in his first two articles to the use of gender-neutral terms such as 'caregiver' and 'recipient of care' in 'Matriarchy', Lawrence persistently confronted entrenched gender roles. By purposefully blurring the distinctions between 'man' and 'woman', he manages to challenge the conventional association of gender roles with biological sex – a bold proposition in a society that stringently demarcated behaviours and roles based on gender. Central to Lawrence's articles is the emphasis on individual autonomy, personal value, and identity, urging readers to prioritise mutual respect and understanding grounded in individual competencies and aspirations rather than merely adhering to social norms. For Lawrence, this power balance, both between genders and among individuals more broadly, epitomises his gender politics and offers a remedy for modern gender quandaries.

The significance of Lawrence's three pieces on gender issues for the *Evening News* transcends mere textual modifications in the manuscripts or their alignment with his personal experiences. They stand as a critique of social constructs, championing mutual respect, understanding, and individual agency in relationships. Within this series, Lawrence articulates a call for introspection, advancement, and liberation from society's confining gender constructs. In the meantime, he honed his journalistic persona for this marketplace that he recently entered, gaining expertise to address varied readerships on topics of gender issues and beyond. For example, as evidenced in a letter dated 27 June 1928, Lawrence actively sought Pearn's advice on having these polemical essays placed in America, asking 'do you think the newspaper articles could be sold also to America? That would be really hot dog!'[219] After moving to Bandol, Lawrence delved deeper into addressing and engaging with his readers' understanding of gender issues. In pieces like 'Woman in Man's Image' (later re-titled 'Give Her a Pattern'), he more directly articulated his perspectives on gender politics.

**'Give Her a Pattern'**

During Lawrence's four-month stay in Bandol, commencing in November 1928, he experienced a resurgence in his poetic endeavours. His vivid and incisive musings were rapidly transcribed and subsequently compiled into the volume entitled *Pansies*.[220] In his correspondence with Martin Secker, Lawrence characterised these *pensées* as being 'written for the young', epitomised by the inquisitive *jeune fille* who was incessantly asking 'why'.[221] Andrew Harrison observes that these served as an 'outlet for his sardonic

[219] *6L*, 438.
[220] *7L*, 110.
[221] *7L*, 122.

mood', leading also to Lawrence's contribution of polemical essays to the journalistic marketplace.[222] Emboldened by the success of essays on gender politics at the *Evening News*, Lawrence sustained his pragmatic journalistic persona, intent on reminding his readers of the abnormalities of social preconceptions regarding gender issues. Adam Parkes notes that Lawrence's publication of forthright polemical pieces, such as 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', '[entails] an implicit acknowledgment of social discourse, of the need to engage in dialogue in order to persuade others to see things as he saw'.[223] To better comprehend his readers' perspectives, expand his readership, and refine his polemical style, Lawrence seized the opportunity to address the contentious and widely debated issue of gender equality. His essay, 'Give Her a Pattern', completed between 6 and 9 December 1928, was published in the *Daily Express* in Britain and *Vanity Fair* in the United States. This section will initially examine the backgrounds and page layouts of the newspaper and magazine that disseminated this article. Subsequently, by analysing the stereotypical gender attitudes explored in this piece and reflected in Lawrence's contemporaneous works, it aims to elucidate Lawrence's employment of the polemical essay as a strategic response to entrenched modes of thought. Finally, this section will examine the article's reception among readers across the Atlantic, assessing how Lawrence developed his polemical persona in the early stages of his engagement with the journalistic marketplace on gender issues.

Originally titled 'Oh these Women!', 'Give Her a Pattern' was written in response to an American article, 'And We Marry These Women!' On 6 December 1928, Lawrence received a copy of this article, along with a request from the editor of the *Daily Express*, forwarded by his literary agent, Nancy Pearn. The request implored Lawrence to 'write a

[222] Harrison, The Life of D.H. Lawrence, p. 375.
[223] Adam Parkes, *Modernism and the Theater of Censorship* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 121.

special article conveying some of these comments in a manner to suit [himself]'.[224] Though solicited by the *Daily Express*, Lawrence's article first appeared in the United States in *Vanity Fair* in May 1929, under the title 'Woman in Man's Image', subtitled 'Concerning the Modern Male's Motives in Creating a Satisfactory Role for Womankind'.[225] On 15 June, two days prior to its publication in Britain on 17 June 1929 under the title 'WOMEN', the *Daily Express* ran a column highlighting the first exhibition of Lawrence's paintings at the Warren Gallery. The sole impartial remark about Lawrence in this brief report was: 'Mr. Lawrence holds revolutionary views on art'.[226] His painting techniques and subjects were disparagingly described as 'ugly', 'repellent enough', 'revolting', and 'better not described'. Additionally, the report's conclusion, which asserted that 'the glorification of the spirit, the mental consciousness which distinguish us from beasts mean nothing to Mr. Lawrence', stands as a stringent critique not only of Lawrence's artistic work but also of his personality.

It is notable that the *Daily Express* chose to publish 'Give Her a Pattern', which had been deferred for six months, immediately following the 'hostile press coverage' of Lawrence's exhibition.[227] According to Parkes, this decision by the editor was a strategic move, ostensibly aimed at financial gain for the *Daily Express*.[228] The editor featured Lawrence's article prominently on the front page under 'Today's Feature' and centrally positioned it with a striking, large-font headline. Following the headline, 'Excuse D. H. Lawrence, but he wishes to write about/ WOMEN-Once More', the editor introduced Lawrence as 'the famuos [*sic*] novelist', employing a tone replete with sarcasm.[229]

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[224] *7L*, 51.
[225] D. H. Lawrence, 'Woman in Man's Image', *Vanity Fair*, May 1929, 79.
[226] 'D. H. LAWRENCE AS PAINTER', *Daily Express*, 17 June 1929, 11.
[227] Ellis, 490.
[228] Parkes, *Modernism and the Theater of Censorship*, 203.
[229] Lawrence, 'Women', *Daily Express*, 10.

Compounding this with a typographical error – 'famuos' – the editor further insinuated the controversy surrounding Lawrence's 'much-discussed' recent exhibition, placing the phrase 'in the news' in quotation marks, subtly alluding to its negative reception. Moreover, the editor strategically segmented Lawrence's article typographically, interspersing it with a column titled 'HOW IS YOUR ENGLISH?', which offered tips on English usage.[230] This column, placed directly within Lawrence's piece, highlighted the correct use of 'because', just two lines above where Lawrence himself used the term. The column's opening sentence, 'The word BECAUSE is often wrongly used…', could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to cast doubt on Lawrence's command of language, thereby potentially leaving readers with an impression of his linguistic inadequacy.

While Lawrence was buoyed by the success of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', as well as his other essays recently published in mass circulated newspapers, and keen on cultivating his journalistic persona, the article 'And We Marry These Women!', enclosed with the request from the *Daily Express*, offered him an insight into conventional thought processes. The publication in which this piece appeared, *Plain Talk*, advertised itself as 'a magazine of candor', professing to '[tell] the unrepressed truth'.[231] John F. Sheehan, the author of 'And We Marry These Women!', observes in his article that although gender equality 'has been discovered several times before and will probably be discovered again, it is not yet generally believed'.[232] Lawrence, evidently inspired by Sheehan's forthright approach to gender issues, also addresses the limitations inherent in Sheehan's analysis. For instance, Sheehan examines social attitudes towards male/female relationships, contrasting the candidness of ten-year-old boys with the 'dawning social ambitions

[230] 'How is Your English', *Daily Express*, 19 June 1929, 10.
[231] 'New Things to Think About', *The Literary Digest*, 20 October 1928, 73.
[232] John F. Sheehan, 'And We Marry These Women!', *Plain Talk*, November 1928, 590-93 (590).

[which] betray [their] mentality' in adolescence, attributing this shift to culturally ingrained stereotypes.[233] However, Sheehan's focus is primarily on the overwhelming influence of tradition in shaping men's attitudes towards women, without specifying who perpetuates this tradition. In stark contrast, Lawrence unambiguously identifies the responsible entity: those with the patriarchal mode of thinking. In one of his *pensées* composed in the same time period, entitled 'A tale told by a modern idiot', Lawrence's opening line, 'Modern life is a tale told by an idiot', is a bold reinterpretation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.[234] As Catherine Brown notes, this transformation is 'more assertive for turning Macbeth's two half lines... into a single, extroverted poem-opener, whilst also wrenching Macbeth's depressive perception out of the sphere of the universal and into the targeted present'.[235] Lawrence effectively engages the reader's attention with this 'idiot', before revealing the idiot's identity in the second stanza:

> The great social idiot, it must be confessed
> tells dull, meaningless, disgusting tales
> and repeats himself like the flushing of a W.C.[236]

Although Lawrence does not explicitly use the term 'man', readers can discern the implication through his use of the reflexive pronoun 'himself'. Amit Chaudhuri observes that by critiquing 'talkativeness … [the] endlessly fecund capacity to talk drivel' in this stanza, Lawrence is drawing society's attention to the notion that men are '[taking] on the features of their machines'.[237] However, considering Lawrence's portrayal of modern men and women in the first stanza, it may be inferred that the poem's primary focus is

[233] Sheehan, 'And We Marry These Women!', 591.
[234] *1Poems*, 453.
[235] Catherine Brown, 'Are D. H. Lawrence's "Pansies" Poetry?" (2017) < https://catherinebrown.org/are-dh-lawrences-pansies-poetry/> [accessed 16 Nov 2023].
[236] *1Poems*, 453.
[237] Amit Chaudhuri, *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference'* (New York: Oxford UP, 2003), 42.

not an indictment of industrialisation per se, but rather an exploration of how men compel women to conform to their oppressive paradigms. The 'disgusting' essence of modern existence is portrayed as inescapable, persistently confronting readers, much like the unlosable element in a toilet, as described in the *pensée*. In the essay 'Give Her a Pattern', Lawrence delves into the identity of the 'idiot' who narrates the tale of modern life, bluntly stating that 'the modern man is a fool'.[238] This stance starkly contrasts with Sheehan's argument, which suggests that young men are merely victims of the stereotypical patriarchal mode of thinking. Lawrence contends that the 'modern young man [is] a prize fool', not because modern young men are victims, but because they 'hysterically don't know that they want', yet continually impose various conformist 'patterns' upon women, or others who hold a different view than theirs.

Lawrence's prowess as reflected in his journalistic persona extends beyond his forthrightness, encompassing his capacity to adopt and articulate multiple perspectives, including that of women. His essay emerged during a tumultuous period in public discourse concerning traditionally gender-related roles. The *Daily Express* had featured discussions under headings such as 'Fatherhood in Eclipse' and 'The Type of Woman Is Vanishing'.[239] James Douglas, the then-general editor, also contributed to the column 'The Women Interest Me'. However, these discussions predominantly favoured male perspectives and upheld patriarchal authority, often neglecting or trivialising women's self-awareness and their calls for gender equality. In contrast, Sheehan, diverging from these prevailing narratives, was prepared to criticise patriarchal dominance. In his analysis of the Jazz Age trend of the 'boyish lady' and the prevalent male preference for

[238] *LEA*, 164.
[239] 'Fatherhood in Eclipse', *Daily Express*, 17 June 1929, 10; 'The Type Of Woman Is Vanishing', *Daily Express*, 3 June 1929, 10.

physically petite women, Sheehan suggests these tendencies are driven by 'male vanity' and a desire for control.[240] Lawrence advances beyond Sheehan's argument by unequivocally stating that '[men] don't know what they want, and so they never want, permanently, what they [get]'.[241] While both Sheehan and Lawrence critique similar social trends, the core distinction lies in their perspectives. Sheehan writes as an 'open-minded' man, highlighting the impact of traditional views and patriarchal dominance with the objective of making readers conscious of how these preconceptions influence behaviour. In contrast, Lawrence adopts the perspective of a 'boyish lady', forsaken by her lover despite conforming to the imposed standards. Although 'Give Her a Pattern' does not utilise quotation marks or reporting clauses, unlike the approach taken in 'The "Jeune Fille" Asks Why', Lawrence effectively differentiates between the narrator and the character through a shift in tone. The heartbroken lady, in a tone bordering on hysteria, cautions her fellow women, exclaiming, 'Oh beware, young women, of the young men who adore you! The moment they've got you, they'll want something utterly different'. This monologue format, as opposed to dialogue, affords readers greater contemplative space, as the absence of a direct response prevents their thoughts from being confined within a predefined framework.

In his fictional works, Lawrence also adeptly employed the monologue form to offer readers insights into the female psyche. For instance, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lawrence depicts a 'depressed and hopeless' young woman, Connie, troubled by her body shape, which she perceives as 'a little too female' for the then-fashionable 'boyish lady' ideal.[242] As Connie scrutinises her naked reflection in the mirror, the narrator facilitates

[240] Sheehan, 'And We Marry These Women!', 592.
[241] *LEA*, 164.
[242] *LCL*, 70.

the reader's immersion in her dissatisfaction with her body through the use of free indirect speech (FIS). Neil Roberts highlights FIS as a predominant narrative mode in Lawrence's works, allowing the narrator to empathise deeply with the character, irrespective of the author's ideological stance toward the character.[243] Leech and Short's theoretical analysis suggests that the semantic status of FIS is 'unclear' due to its lack of a reporting clause, thereby making it challenging for readers to distinguish character speech from the narrator's discourse.[244] However, this ambiguity enhances the ironic effect, distancing readers 'from the character's words' through the interposition of the authorial voice.[245] This approach is evident in the portrayal of Connie in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*:

> Instead of ripening its firm, down-running curves, her body was flattening and going to a little harsh. [1] It was as if it had not had enough sun and warmth. [2] It was a little greyish and shapeless. [3] Disappointed of its real womanhood, it had not succeeded in becoming boyish and unsubstantial and transparent. [4] Instead, it had gone opaque. [5] [246]

In this specific paragraph, two shifts in tone are observed between the narrator and Connie. The first shift occurs at the end of the first sentence, transitioning from the narrator's detailed description of Connie's physicality to her internal monologue. This shift allows readers to transition from Connie's external appearance to her internal thoughts, as she expresses her discontent in a melancholic tone. The second shift, occurring in the fourth sentence, sees the narrator regaining narrative control. Keith Sagar notes that reflecting on Connie's plight reveals how 'her womanhood had been erased by her social identity

[243] Neil Roberts, *D. H. Lawrence, Travel and Cultural Difference* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 104.
[244] Leech and Short, *Style in Fiction*, 261.
[245] Leech and Short, *Style in Fiction*, 268.
[246] *LCL*, 70.

as Lady Chatterley and by her personality, the face she showed to others'.[247] Despite the narrative perspective oscillating and providing access to Connie's thoughts, it is ultimately the narrator who orchestrates both Connie and the narrative. The irony, therefore, lies in the fact that while Lawrence's experimental writing technique seemingly offers a female perspective, it remains constrained within a masculine framework of thought.

The fundamental distinction between Lawrence and Sheehan, or the conventional perspective Sheehan embodies, resides in their understanding of gender inequality. At the beginning of 'And We Marry These Women!', Sheehan cites George Bernard Shaw's observation that a woman is essentially 'a man with skirts on', implying minimal difference between the sexes.[248] Lawrence engages with this notion in his response, asserting that 'Man is willing to accept woman as an equal, as a man in skirts, as an angel... the one thing he won't accept her as, is a human being, a real human being of the feminine sex'.[249] For Lawrence, the various roles imposed on women are distortions, deviating from the true, natural complexity of a human being. In his view, 'a man in skirts' symbolises yet another flawed paradigm men impose on women when they tire of previous ones. This behaviour of men out of a patriarchal mode of thinking, simultaneously creating and adhering to female stereotypes, has dual implications. Firstly, by subscribing to these stereotypes, men inadvertently categorise themselves, diminishing their authenticity. Sheehan argues that due to the influence of popular culture, young men '[abandon] confidence in [their] own power of observation and judgement', thus inadvertently shifting from their unique identities to a homogenised archetype of the

[247] Keith Sagar, *The Art of D.H. Lawrence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), 187.
[248] Sheehan, 'And We Marry These Women!', 590.
[249] *LEA*, 163.

chivalrous gentleman, eroding their innate distinctiveness.[250] Secondly, men's reluctance to acknowledge women's intelligence and autonomy – their existence as 'real human beings of the feminine sex' – stems, in Lawrence's analysis, from a deep-seated fear of the 'real female'.[251] One approach Lawrence proposed to this anxiety is to promote an acceptance of the fluidity between gender roles. In his poem 'A tale told by an idiot', Lawrence depicts modern men and women as 'flat-chested, crop-headed, chemicalized' and 'wimbly-wambly', 'of indeterminate sex', signifying a blending of traditionally demarcated male and female traits.[252] Women adopt characteristics typically associated with men, and men assume those linked with women, suggesting an evolution towards gender role fluidity, a concept Lawrence also explored in 'Matriarchy'. As Lawrence observes, it was driven by jealousy and a fear of losing dominance that men encourage the archetype of the 'boyish lady'. Unsatisfied with existing models, they concoct new ones for women to emulate, diverting them from critical enquiry, since they are aware of their own ignorance of the answers.

Lawrence's literary works transcend mere criticism of modern society; he actively engages with potential solutions. He posits that women, to some extent, contribute to their own marginalisation by adhering to male-defined roles. In the opening of 'Give Her a Pattern', Lawrence articulates that 'the real trouble about women is that they must always go on trying to adapt themselves to men's theories of women'.[253] The inherent flaw in this approach is that women seek validation within the confines of male-prescribed models, rather than forging and embracing their own. The ultimate aspiration for women, according to this perspective, is male approval, yet this pursuit often leads them away

[250] Sheehan, 'And We Marry These Women!', 591.
[251] *LEA*, 162, 164.
[252] *1Poems*, 453.
[253] *LEA*, 162.

from a path that genuinely resonates with their identity. While Lawrence acknowledges that a woman is less likely to succumb to men's dictates if she 'has already chosen her pattern quite young', this oversimplification overlooks the complexities that women, or the younger generation in general, face.[254] Factors such as familial pressure or self-doubt may compel a woman to modify her chosen path. The crux, therefore, is not merely in selecting a path at a young age but in fostering self-confidence and readiness to accept the ramifications of one's choices. Thus, the real 'trouble' for women, as Lawrence observed and aimed to convey it in his journalistic essays, is not their belief in men's perceptions but rather a deficit in self-belief. This lack of self-confidence results in women relinquishing their agency in determining their future, allowing others to dictate their choices and paths.

In his short polemical pieces, Lawrence often describes and presents the inadequacy of men's perceptions of women to his readers. However, in his longer, character-driven fictional works, he delves deeper, fostering empathy for women and stimulating novel perspectives among his readers. For example, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, through the character of Connie, Lawrence examines the journey of a woman striving to assert her confidence and define her own identity. Connie's emotional entanglement with Mellors is driven by his unique perspective of seeing her not as Lady Chatterley, but as a woman in her own right. Her physical relationship with Mellors, despite his being her gamekeeper, presents an opportunity for her to reject the 'boyish lady' pattern and liberate herself from her husband's dominance. Connie's sexual awakening with Mellors is depicted as a form of rebirth: 'she was gone, she was not, and she was born: a woman'.[255] This experience symbolises not just sexual liberation, but a

[254] *LEA*, 163.
[255] *LCL*, 174.

broader sense of freedom and equality. In his subsequent essay 'A Propos of "Lady Chatterley's Lover"', Lawrence contends that 'sex is the balance of male and female in the universe, the attraction, the repulsion, the transit of neutrality […]'.[256] Through this, Lawrence challenges his readers, particularly those with conservative views, to acknowledge that men are not inherently superior to women. G. M. Hyde notes that Lawrence views the act of love as a domain where man and woman are equal, each influenced by a profound, transcendent 'presence'.[257] However, the nature of Connie's relationship with Mellors is open to interpretation regarding its equality. Her affection for Mellors is significantly rooted in gratitude, as he is the first man to genuinely appreciate and encourage her to value her body. Lawrence concludes Connie's narrative with his characteristic open-endedness, leaving her in Scotland, poised at the threshold of a new path and awaiting Mellors. This ambiguous conclusion reflects the complexities and unresolved nature of the issues Lawrence explores in his portrayal of gender dynamics and individual self-discovery.

In this sense, the critical interpretation of Lawrence as a misogynist and a male chauvinist, informed by his portrayal of women's desire 'to have, to own, to control, to be dominant' and the unresolved conclusion in Connie's story, is an oversimplification.[258] Hilary Simpson, for instance, suggests that 'much of Lawrence's later writing appears to spring from such insecurity' about men losing power to women.[259] However, this perspective's limitation lies in its primary focus on Lawrence's novels and fictional works and ignorance of Lawrence's journalistic essays. A more comprehensive analysis, including Lawrence's polemical pieces like 'Give Her a Pattern', reveals that his

[256] *LCL*, 323.
[257] G. M. Hyde, *D. H. Lawrence* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 107.
[258] *WL*, 200.
[259] Hilary Simpson, *D. H. Lawrence and Feminism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois UP, 1982), 105.

apprehension is not directed towards women per se, but towards women as well as men who are subsumed by the gender roles defined by a patriarchal mode of thinking. As Carol Siegel argues, Lawrence's 'revulsion against the feminine' is not an aversion to womanhood, but rather a disdain for the 'socially constructed shell[s] around the innate female'.[260] In the context of Connie's narrative in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, while she finds a measure of happiness with Mellors and escapes the confines set by her husband Clifford, she has not yet achieved full independence. Applying Nietzsche's criticism of modernity to the novel, Smith proposes a nuanced perspective, asserting that 'the pursuit of happiness merely signals an absence of a goal, or an incapacity to constitute one'.[261] Though Connie herself recognises the futility of pleasure-seeking, this becomes a critical issue for her to contemplate. Her transformation, largely driven by her sexual awakening with Mellors, appears less as an independent act and more as a response catalysed by her lover. Consequently, there is a risk that Connie's journey towards autonomy may not be as straightforward as it seems. While she appears to be starting anew, whether by heading to Venice or divorcing Clifford, she lacks a definitive personal goal. Her evolution, to a significant extent, is sparked and shaped by Mellors. This raises the possibility that Connie, rather than attaining true liberation, may simply be transitioning from adherence to Clifford's prescribed lifestyle to that dictated by Mellors, thereby perpetuating her reliance on male-defined paradigms. By reading Connie's example together with 'Give Her a Pattern', it can be better understood that what Lawrence wants his readers to conclude from this polemical essay is not limited to a criticism of men's control of women,

[260] Carol Siegel, *Lawrence among the Women: Wavering Boundaries in Women's Literary Traditions* (Charlottesville, VA: UP of Virginia, 1991), 58.
[261] Stewart Smith, *Nietzsche and Modernism: Nihilism and Suffering in Lawrence, Kafka and Beckett* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 77.

but focuses on patriarchal society's stereotypical mode of thinking that endangers the younger generation's individuality and their ability to think critically.

As a professional author, Lawrence was acutely aware of the influence of media and publicity. Andrew Harrison notes that 'Lawrence paid serious attention to the operation of the literary marketplace of his day and engaged with publishers and printers in enterprising ways in order to get his work into print and make a living as an author'.[262] In 1930, the London *Evening News*, which published Lawrence's 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', was ranked second among London's evening newspapers with a daily circulation of 667,000.[263] Meanwhile, the *Daily Express*, a conservative partisan newspaper, was second among national dailies with a circulation of 1,603,000 – nearly triple that of the *Evening News*.[264] Despite its conservative readership, which may not have been particularly receptive to his views, it was clear that the reason Lawrence chose the *Daily Express* for his article 'Give Her a Pattern' was to reach a broader audience. Unsurprisingly, his article elicited negative responses. In a letter of complaint published on 26 June 1929, a week after Lawrence's piece, a reader named 'C. A. Lewis' wrote to the editor of the *Daily Express*. In this letter, Lewis described Lawrence's English as 'slovenly' and criticised the article's reasoning.[265] The reader expressed astonishment that a 'sensible paper' like the *Daily Express* should publish 'such drivel as [Lawrence] habitually produces'. The irony lies in the fact that, instead of directly challenging Lawrence's arguments about women, the reader seems to align with the patriarchal norms, as suggested by the newspaper's layout, by focusing on Lawrence's language.

[262] Harrison, 'Private Publication', 57.
[263] David Butler and Jennie Freeman, *British Political Facts: 1900-1968*, 3rd edn (London: Macmillan, 1969), 285.
[264] Butler and Freeman, *British Political Facts*, 284.
[265] C. A. Lewis, 'Dante, Dickens – Lawrence', *Daily Express*, 26 June 1929, 10.

Additionally, a *New York Times Book Review* editor contended that women were independent and criticised Lawrence for attacking them in a cowardly fashion through biased writing, concluding that 'were we addicted to slang we should say that Mr. Lawrence is all wet'.[266] These two harsh remarks contrast with the more measured response from four American businesswomen. In an open letter, they challenged Lawrence's claim that 'women always go on trying to adapt themselves to men's theories of women', citing their initiative of organising a day without men and asserting their independence from 'male whims'.[267] Lawrence's reaction to these women was casual and somewhat mocking. Harrison interprets this as a deliberate strategy to further provoke his readers.[268] Lawrence described the women as 'tightly-shut', borrowing Queen Gertrude's line from *Hamlet*, 'the lady doth protest too much'. To Lawrence, their vehement assertion of independence paradoxically signified their adherence to 'strange patterns', thereby reinforcing his perspective on the complexities of gender dynamics and social expectations.[269]

## Conclusion

Partially driven by his agent's strategy to augment his presence among American readers and thereby boost sales of his novels in the United States, Lawrence began publishing journalistic articles on both sides of the Atlantic. Despite the predominantly negative feedback, Lawrence found it gratifying that some readers were actively engaging with his thoughts on gender equality. As he developed a deeper understanding of his readership

[266] 'Current Magazines', *New York Times Book Review*, 5 May 1929, 21.
[267] *LEA*, 162; James T. Bolton, 'Further Letters of D. H. Lawrence', *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, 1.3 (2008), 7-13 (8-9).
[268] Harrison, 375.
[269] *LEA*, 163.

and the journalistic market, Lawrence increasingly focused on gender-related issues, shifting from his artistic fiction-writing style to a more direct, polemical tone, thus appealing to what he termed the 'improper public'.[270] However, much of the existing criticism on Lawrence's exploration of gender politics predominantly scrutinises his novels and short stories, often portraying him, as Carol Siegel observes, as an 'Other' who 'represents all that does not belong to woman'.[271] Even the ostensibly rebellious female protagonists in works like 'Give Her a Pattern' and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ultimately display submissiveness. Mary Jacobs criticises Lawrence for his tendency to 'consider woman not as an image but as a sign' and for his general silencing of the feminine voice and identity.[272] Nevertheless, as a writer with an awareness and willingness to better understand his potential readers' preferences, Lawrence does not seek to maintain a singular perspective across his works in various genres. Instead, his diverse voices offer different readership various levels of understanding, from describing social issues in journalistic essays to exploring potential solutions in fictional works, on issues such as gender, leading to a rich tapestry of viewpoints rather than mere contradictions. While Wayne Booth offers a sceptical analysis of Lawrence's 'double voiced' texts, questioning the extent to which these voices represent the author, Dale Bauer introduces the concept of the 'dialogic community'.[273] This community, as Bauer posits, thrives on competing voices and the tension between 'the marginal and the central, the eccentric and the phallocentric'. This concept highlights the importance of readers

[270] *7L*, 448.
[271] Siegel, *Lawrence Among the Women*, 5.
[272] Mary Jacobus, *Reading Woman: Essays in Feminist Criticism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1986), 30.
[273] Wayne Booth, *The Company We Keep: An Ethnics of Fiction* (Berkley, CA: U of California P, 1988), 445-7; Dale Bauer, *Feminist Dialogues: A Theory of Failed Community* (Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 1988), xiii.

and their interpretations, suggesting that Lawrence's work invites a broader, more dynamic engagement with its themes and perspectives.

In Lawrence's works, and particularly his polemical essays, a notable tension emerges, often articulated through gendered narratives and dialogues between male and female voices. This dynamic creates a complex space for reader identification. Lawrence's short journalistic pieces demonstrate his adeptness at adopting diverse perspectives to address varied audiences. As Siegel astutely observes, 'some of Lawrence's nonfictional writings reveal his commitment to allowing what he perceived as an external, female voice to intrude into his work, challenging the voice he identified with himself'.[274] Adam Parkes concurs, noting that Lawrence's publication of his forthright polemical pieces '[entails] an implicit acknowledgment of social discourse, of the need to engage in dialogue in order to persuade others to see things as he saw'.[275] In order to engage his readers in this dialogue, Lawrence employs not only a tempered provocative style but also various perspectives, both mimicking and challenging public preconceptions. Unlike the personae he adopts in works in other genres, the journalistic Lawrence approaches gender issues with caution and hesitancy, often avoiding definitive statements. From these polemical essays on gender issues examined in this chapter and the predominantly unidirectional responses they elicited, a multifaceted and intricate image of the journalistic Lawrence emerges: he possesses a nuanced understanding of the contemporary debate on gender roles that transcends mere differences between men and women; he strategically used popular journalism to gain insights into his readership and to craft his public image; and he intentionally sparked debates on gender issues with his provocative statements, yet remained somewhat detached from these discussions.

[274] Siegel, *Lawrence Among the Women*, 7-8.
[275] Parkes, *Modernism and the Theater of Censorship*, 121.

As Lawrence anticipated, his writings prompted active engagement among his readers, leading them to categorise him either as a misogynist or a feminist advocate. His ultimate goal, however, was to foster critical thinking, a skill he believed was crucial to anyone in modern society, especially the younger generation, yet was undermined by modern education – a topic he further revealed for his readers in other polemical essays, which will be examined in the subsequent chapter.

# CHAPTER 2: LAWRENCE ON EDUCATION

The rapid advancement of science and technology at the turn of the twentieth century not only facilitated a surge in social development, but also introduced tensions between emerging and traditional social orders. This dichotomy is exemplified by the juxtaposition of cheap editions and expensive limited editions, the introduction of assembly lines versus traditional workshops, and the ideological clashes between socialist movements and totalitarianism. Amid these transformative changes in various countries, British society similarly grappled with the repercussions of the Industrial Revolution. Concomitant with technological advancements were two pivotal shifts: the rise of mass literacy and the inception of universal education. These developments are arguably interlinked. Simon Eliot, in his seminal work *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, identifies two critical periods that underpinned surges in book production during the late nineteenth century. These are 1830-55, termed the 'distribution revolution', and 1875-1914, known as the 'mass-production revolution'.[276] In the wake of these revolutions, cheap reprinted editions, newspapers, and 'little magazines', bolstered by advancements in printing techniques and the government's deregulation of the industry, quickly became affordable entertainment options for the working class. Raymond Williams suggests that the rise of the popular press in the early Victorian era can be considered a defining component of the 'new urban industrial culture of the English nineteenth century'.[277] Delving deeper, Alan Lee's examination of the evolution of popular journalism suggests that the 1880s marked a pivotal

[276] Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994), 107.
[277] Raymond Williams, 'The press and popular culture: a historical perspective', in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. by George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 41-50 (41).

transition for cheap newspapers toward the 'new journalism'. This shift is characterised a 'waning interest in politics' and an attempt to 'reach less specific audiences'.[278] Notably, by the 1880s, a significant segment of the readership of these popular publications comprised individuals, predominantly from working class backgrounds, who had been educated under the Education Act of 1870. This landmark legislation, which mandated public education for all pupils, arguably established an unparalleled level of literacy in Britain. While scholars like W. B. Stephens, John Carey, H. J. Perkin, and David Mitch diverge in their views regarding the extent to which the rise in literacy fuelled the growth of popular publications, there is a consensus that universal education – particularly the framework established by the Education Act of 1870 – was instrumental in the flourishing of popular culture.[279] D. H. Lawrence, a writer deeply attuned to contemporary social issues, frequently addressed the theme of education in both his fictional works and poetry, with notable examples including 'A Lesson on a Tortoise' (1909), 'Last Lesson of the Afternoon' (1912), *The Rainbow* (1915), and *Women in Love* (1920). Upon re-engaging with popular journalism in 1928, Lawrence used this medium to convey his perspectives on education, aiming to shape the views of a broader audience through newspapers and magazines.

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[278] Alan Lee, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1855-1914', in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. by George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 117-129 (128).

[279] It is important to note that W. B. Stephens points out that it is oversimplified to define the readership as the direct consequence of compulsory education. However, Stephens also notes that compulsory education 'may have had some impact'. Unlike Stephens, John Carey directly attributes the unprecedentedly mass readership to the 'late nineteenth-century educational reforms'. See, W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), 149; John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses, Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 1; H. J. Perkin, 'The Origins of the Popular Press', *History Today*, 7.7 (1957), 425-35.
See also: Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and John Plunkett, 'The Pre-History of the "Little Magazine"', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 33-50 (37, 49); David F. Mitch, *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England: the Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy* (Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1992), 70-9.

This chapter will delve into Lawrence's critical observations about Britain's modern public education system as expressed in his polemical essays. This exploration will consider the mechanisms through which the modern citizenry is nurtured and the foundational tenets upon which modern society is erected. Given Lawrence's scepticism towards mass civilisation and his critiques of industrialisation, it is not surprising that his journalistic writings on education often intertwine with his discussions on broader themes like democracy and class disparities. Hence, this chapter will be bifurcated into two sections. The initial segment will concentrate on the flaws Lawrence identified in the prevailing educational infrastructure, as well as the unique stylistic choices and rhetorical strategies he employed in these polemical pieces to engage and persuade his readers. The subsequent section will critically appraise the remedies and solutions Lawrence proposed in his writings. Beyond his explicit journalistic pieces on education, such as 'Hymns in a Man's Life', 'Enslaved by Civilisation', 'Pictures on the Wall', and 'Men Must Work and Women as Well', we will also draw parallels with some of his earlier works, notably his novels and a lesser-known yet pivotal piece entitled 'Nature Study' (1904). This will enable a comprehensive assessment of the evolution, consistency, and maturation of Lawrence's educational philosophies across different literary forms and periods. However, before turning to Lawrence's intricate critiques and perspectives on the educational system, it is imperative to first contextualise the socio-historical backdrop against which Britain's modern education framework emerged, and its influence on Lawrence, and to trace the development of his educational philosophies.

G. R. Searle characterises the ideology of National Efficiency as an endeavour 'to discredit the habits, beliefs and institutions that put the British at a handicap in their

competition with foreigners and to commend instead a social organization that more closely followed the *German* model'.[280] Essentially, the fundamental principle of this movement is specialisation. With the onset of the Second Industrial Revolution in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, British anxiety about German industrial and technological development reached fever pitch. Having once lagged behind during the First Industrial Revolution, Germany had emerged as a dominant force in Europe. As highlighted by W. H. G. Armytage, the surge of German products and specialists in the British markets ignited an 'industrial paranoia' within the nation.[281] Beyond tangible factors such as disparate production costs between the two nations, the British identified a foundational catalyst for Germany's meteoric rise: education. On 26 June 1886, the *Spectator* asserted that '[educate], educate, educate, is the burthen of the lesson from Germany – technical education for workmen and manufacturers, modern languages and science for commercial men, and manufacturers and workers alike'.[282] Merely a fortnight later, on 10 July, the newspaper contended that Britain's foremost task is to 'improve our commercial education [and] teach our boys the modern languages [instead] of giving them Shakespeare's learning of a little Latin and less Greek…'[283] In a related historical account documented by A. W. Thomas in *A History of Nottingham High School*, during a special mayoral meeting in 1888, Bernhard Stiebel, a German representative of the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce, critiqued the school's excessive focus on Latin.[284] While Stiebel's suggestion to restructure Nottingham High School by integrating courses on foreign languages was not immediately embraced, by

[280] G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency* (Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1971), 54.
[281] W. H. G. Armytage, *The German Influence on English Education* (London: Routledge, 1969), 64.
[282] *The Spectator*, 26 June, 1886, vol. 59, 842.
[283] *The Spectator*, 10 July, 1886, vol. 59, 905.
[284] A. W. Thomas, *A History of Nottingham High School, 1513-1953* (Nottingham: J. and H. Bell, 1957), 222.

September 1898, when Lawrence began his studies there, Latin was no longer a mandatory subject. Instead, languages like German and French were introduced to the curriculum.[285] Such instances and the emerging inclination towards the German paradigm epitomised the British movement of 'National Efficiency', which valued 'efficiency' above all else. This social fervour for efficiency was eloquently encapsulated in a 1902 *Spectator* article, which claimed 'at the present time […] there is a universal outcry for efficiency in all the departments of society, in all aspects of life… Give us *Efficiency*, or we die'.[286]

In fact, the British education system had already exhibited an inclination towards 'efficiency' by the latter part of the nineteenth century. One of the most impactful yet controversial instances of this shift in England was the introduction of Robert Lowe's Revised Code of Grants of 1862, which established the 'payment by results' mechanism. This system, as its name implies, linked the performance of students to the funding their schools could receive from the government. While such an evaluation process undeniably bolstered educational efficiency, critics voiced concerns over a potential narrowing of the educational focus, where pupils might be conditioned purely for better results and, subsequently, higher grants. For example, Matthew Arnold expressed his apprehension by referring to this approach as 'a game of mechanical contrivance' in which 'teachers will and must more and more learn how to beat [the inspectors]'.[287] Pupils, through 'ingenious preparation', might display proficiency sufficient to clear 'the Revised Code examination of reading, writing and ciphering'

[285] According to Lawrence's academic transcript (Christmas term 1898), modules on languages are English, French and German. See Ada, 60.
[286] *The Spectator*, 16 August 1902, vol. 89, 212.
[287] Matthew Arnold, *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1908), 125-6.

without genuinely mastering these essential skills. Though this particular evaluation system persisted for merely three decades and was rescinded in 1897, its deleterious impacts lingered. The system's essence was repackaged within the ambit of the National Efficiency Movement, continuing its sway over educators and students alike. Edward Holmes, a former HM Inspector of Schools, lamented the system in his critiques, asserting that 'for thirty-three years [teachers] had been treated as machines', with an underlying intent of transforming students into a similar mechanistic mould:

> The aim of [the pupil's] teachers is to leave nothing to his nature, nothing to his spontaneous life, nothing to his free activity; to repress all his natural impulses; to drill his energies into complete quiescence; to keep his whole being in a state of sustained and painful tension.[288]

From Holmes's observation, it was the Revised Code that fundamentally reduced education to a mechanistic, 'efficient' method of injecting knowledge and ideas into the students' minds. Conspicuously absent was the invaluable component of education: *experience*. Since experience is distilled from the reservoir of observations stored in memory, it cannot be neatly quantified or benchmarked against a set standard. Any articulation of experience is more a reconstruction than an authentic portrayal, for memory is not a direct facsimile, but rather a composite of reality's snippets. To illustrate this, one can draw parallels from Wilhelm Dilthey's examination of the composition of poetry. Dilthey postulated that elucidating this transmutation from memory to experience, and then to idea(s), is intricate because the 'changes occur in [the] nucleus' of the recreation based on images and are 'innumerable, immeasurable,

[288] Edmond Holmes, *What is and What Might be: A Study of Education in General and Elementary Education in Particular* (London: Constable & Company, 1912), 111, 48.

almost imperceptible'.[289] Given this framework, the authority and validity of descriptive accounts become contingent upon the narrator's perspectives and articulation. The outcome might echo the reality once known to the narrator, but it can never wholly replicate the original experience. Such nuanced characteristics underscore the reason that experiences cannot be pedagogically transmitted but are amassed via individual observation. For educators who themselves are removed from genuine experience as a result of the Revised Code, having been recipients of mere ideas from their predecessors, the pedagogical interaction is reduced to mere transmission of abstract concepts. Education in this form is not facilitating genuine experiences or kindling a passion for life's observations, but merely perpetuating pre-existing ideas. This pedagogic paradigm resonates with Giorgio Agamben's proposition that 'modern man's average day contains virtually nothing that can still be translated into experience'.[290] Within the milieu and life trajectory of D. H. Lawrence, especially considering his working-class roots, this flawed educational endgame is extrapolated to epitomise the cardinal objective of modern education: to stifle students' innate ability and intention to *think*. Critical thinking is eliminated because it might engender scepticism towards established authority. Recognising that the culmination of the thinking process is the formulation of an idea, the modern educational system aims to pre-empt this by offering pre-packaged ideas from the outset. Consequently, both educators and students are ensnared in an efficient system that precludes independent thinking. The curriculum mandates educators to parrot ideas verbatim from canonical texts, while students are moulded into docile executors of instructions. After finishing school education, when

[289] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Wilhelm Dilthey: Selected Works, Volume V: Poetry and Experience*, ed. by Rudolf A. Makkreel and Frithjof Rodi (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1985), 104.
[290] Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History*, trans. by Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1993), 14.

these students move into the workforce, particularly taking up working-class roles such as those on assembly lines, their conditioning ensures that they seamlessly integrate. After all, the efficient modern education system has already mechanised them.

The nineteenth century marked a watershed moment in British education. Galvanised by the unprecedented pace of economic evolution and the Victorian ethos of 'getting on', working-class aspirations towards education surged. However, quality educational institutions, particularly grammar schools, remained largely the domain of the middle and upper classes while being inaccessible to the working class. In this landscape, church schools emerged as viable alternatives. As Andrew Harrison's review of religious elements' influence on Lawrence's formative years suggests, institutions like the Eastwood Congregational Chapel were pivotal in prompting an 'intellectual and literary culture among the upper tier of miners' families in the town'.[291] Not only did they act as intellectual and cultural hubs for 'the development of Lawrence's early intellectual life', but they played a significant role in shaping the early intellectual trajectories of many during that era.[292] However, the state of education during this time was rife with inconsistencies. Two key challenges were particularly glaring: first, education was not mandated, leading to patchy attendance. Many children from working-class backgrounds, like Lawrence's father, Arthur Lawrence, for example, were compelled to join the workforce as a coal miner at the age of seven. Secondly, the quality and setting of schools varied dramatically. From church-funded Sunday schools to rudimentary private setups in basements or kitchens, there was a palpable absence of

[291] Andrew Harrison, 'Hymns in a Man's Life: The Congregational Chapel and D. H. Lawrence's Early Poetry', in *Ecstasy and Understanding: Religious Awareness in English Poetry from the Late Victorian to the Modern Period*, ed. by Adrian Grafe (London: Continuum, 2008), 46–57 (46-7).
[292] Harrison, 8.

standardisation.[293] Richard Johnson's assertion that 'one of the strongest of early Victorian obsessions' was 'the education of the poor', paints an accurate picture.[294] However, the real impetus for change came with legislative interventions. In the late 1850s, a Royal Commission on Elementary Education made the first effort to involve both local and central government in the schooling process by introducing two-tier government funds to schools. A further Revised Code of 1862 was implemented to control educational expenditure based on the new 'payment by result' evaluation scheme. The establishment of the School Board under the Education Act of 1870 facilitated better oversight of schools and effective channelling of government grants. The Act of 1870, as Gillian Sutherland remarks, 'had at last created a mechanism to provide an elementary school wherever needed'.[295] Subsequent legislations, namely the 1876 Education Act, the Factory and Workshop Act of 1878, and the Education Act of 1880, further cemented the role of the state in ensuring that children were prioritised in classrooms over factories.[296] Secondary education, despite being championed by figures like Matthew Arnold in the 1860s with the famous slogan, 'Organise your secondary instruction', was addressed by the government only with the Education Act of 1902.[297]

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[293] For detailed analysis of the poor quality of educational institutions in the pre-1870 period, see Philip Gardner, 'Literacy, Learning and Education', in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 353-68 (360); Gillian Sutherland, 'Education', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950. Vol. 3. Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. by F.M.L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 119-69 (128).

[294] Richard Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past & Present*, 49 (1970), 96-119 (96).

[295] Sutherland, 'Education', 143.

[296] The 1876 Education Act authorised local sanitary authority in non-School Board areas to enforce school attendance. The Factory and Workshop Act of 1878 prohibited children from working and required them to attend school from five to fourteen; it should be noted that this act defined 'children' as aged from ten to fourteen. The Education Act of 1880 required local authorities to enforce school attendance.

[297] Arnold brought out the statement twice. First in his *Popular Education*, which reads 'Regard the necessities of a not distant future, and *organise your secondary instruction*'. The second time was in his Schools and Universities, reads that 'I cannot help presenting myself once more to my countrymen with an increased demand: *Organise your secondary and your superior instruction*'. See Matthew Arnold, *The*

Educational reform culminated in the Education Act of 1918, which mandated that children up to the age of fourteen remain in schools. This transformation reached its zenith with the release of the Hadow Report in 1926, outlining the blueprint for a comprehensive secondary education system in Britain.[298] Through these reforms, the British education system gradually transitioned from an ad-hoc state to one that was structured, state-supported, and designed to be more efficient, catering to the needs of its own and the country's modernisation.[299]

In contrast to the significant transformations observed in elementary and secondary education systems at the dawn of the twentieth century, changes in higher education remained subdued. As Thomas William Heyck notes, nineteenth century education was profoundly influenced by class distinctions because 'the Victorians generally assumed that there should be different kinds and levels of schools, with different educational objectives, for each social class'.[300] Notably, liberal figures such as William Cobbett sought to democratise elementary and secondary education from the early period of the Victorian era, yet higher education remained largely the preserve of men from the aristocracy or gentry. By 1830, only two universities existed in England and Wales: Oxford and Cambridge. Unlike their counterparts in Germany and France, which were tasked with preparing educators for public schools, Oxbridge's primary

*Popular Education of France, with Notices of that of Holland and Switzerland* (London: Longman, 1861), 77; Matthew Arnold, *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (London: Macmillan, 1868), 296. The Education Act of 1902 required the government to take the control of secondary schools.

[298] The Hadow Report, formally known as *The Education of the Adolescent* by the Board of Education's Consultative Committee.

[299] This report, as G. A. N. Lowndes remarks, altered 'the whole conception of the term secondary'. The later Department of Education and Science also claimed that it 'virtually laid the foundation of what exists today'. See, G. A. N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1965*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969), 93; H.M.S.O., *Children and their Primary Schools, a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)* (London, 1967), 1.

[300] Thomas William Heyck, 'Educational', in *A New Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. by Herbert F. Tucker (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 197-215 (198).

vocational task was to train the clergy. Efforts to secularise, diversify, and challenge the dominance of Oxbridge in higher education began with the establishment of new universities and colleges in the 1830s, with two pivotal elements underpinning the modernisation of England's higher education system. Firstly, the intervention of the state from the 1850s onward, together with a revamping of the college curriculum, played a crucial role. According to R. D. Anderson, the introduction of modern subjects such as history and science, combined with reforms in the examination system, laid the groundwork for the higher education system – characterised by 'the specialized degree, with classified honours', which is still emblematic of the British education system.[301] The second influential factor was the Second Industrial Revolution. Inspired by the German educational model, which produced a specialised workforce, and driven by the pressing local demand for technological research, several civic colleges and universities emerged around the end of the century. These 'redbrick' universities, situated in major industrial hubs, epitomised this trend. While the University of Birmingham was the pioneer, receiving its royal charter in 1900, other institutions, such as the University of Nottingham (previously known as University College Nottingham) – where Lawrence enrolled as a full-time student from September 1906 to June 1908 — also belonged to this group.[302]

**'Enslaved by Civilisation'**

Born to a coal miner, Lawrence was in fact a beneficiary of the National Efficiency Movement and Britain's modern education system. His life was significantly shaped by

[301] R. D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), 16.
[302] For detailed analysis of the relationship between the booming industries and civic universities from mid nineteenth century till 1914, see Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry: 1850-1970*, (London: Routledge, 1972), ch. 3-4.

the two seminal educational reforms mentioned above: the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the Education Act of 1902. In his formative years, Lawrence both observed and engaged with the transformation from the pupil-teacher system to universal education, initially as a student and later as an instructor. As Raymond Williams pertinently points out, Lawrence was a 'forerunner', being among the first English writers to directly experience 'ordinary teaching'.[303] The Act of 1870 placed Lawrence within one of the inaugural cohorts to attend board schools and partake in mandatory public education. Subsequently, he earned a scholarship from Nottinghamshire County Council, enabling him to study at Nottingham High School. As the only 'scholarship boy' in his class, Lawrence led a 'strangely quiet, unfamiliar and isolating' life. Nonetheless, after completing his studies at Nottingham High School, he managed to secure a position as a pupil teacher at the British School in Eastwood in October 1902.[304] Though he successfully passed the King's Scholarship Exam in December 1904 and the London Matriculation Exam in June 1905 – both of which assured him a place at University College Nottingham – Lawrence opted to work an additional year as an uncertified teacher to accumulate funds for his college fees. Facing challenges during his tertiary education and becoming disenchanted with college life, Lawrence forwent courses that would have led to an Arts degree. However, he completed his teacher training and successfully passed his examinations in the summer of 1908. As Andrew Harrison observes, 'finding a job after he had finished his exams proved to be troublesome', but Lawrence eventually secured a teaching position at Davidson Road School in Croydon in October 1908, beginning his three-year experience as a formal

[303] Raymond Williams, 'Introduction', in *D. H. Lawrence on Education*, ed. by Joy Williams and Raymond Williams (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 7-13 (7).
[304] See quotation from Ernest Woodford, one of the two closest friends that Lawrence had in high school, in Worthen, 524n29.

educator.[305] Lawrence would eventually resign from this role due to a severe bout of pneumonia in the autumn of 1911. From then on, he pursued a professional career in writing until his untimely death at forty-four. Nevertheless, the theme of education remained a recurring subject in his works. Critics frequently note a certain inconsistency in Lawrence's educational writings, with some arguments seeming contradictory, particularly when comparing texts from different periods. However, it should be noted that Lawrence's writings on education are not exclusively about the education system but rather a thorough discussion of a holistic social issue. He is preoccupied with tracing how education leads to the mechanisation of pupils, shaping the foundation of a modern society that deprives individuals of their uniqueness, and eventually influences the education system, making it even more mechanical.

Lawrence's observation of modern society, together with his early experiences, led him to identify three fundamental issues in modern education: its illusory portrayal of an ideal modern life, the suppression of students' intrinsic nature leading to their mechanisation, and society's inattention to the detrimental impact of a rapidly modernising educational framework. Beyond addressing these issues in his early poetry, such as 'The Schoolmaster' series, and infusing his characters like Ursula in *The Rainbow* with these experiences, Lawrence periodically revisited the theme of education throughout his literary career. His 1920 essay, 'Education of the People', is his most comprehensive treatise on the subject. However, despite the depth of his insights, Lawrence's writings on education have been relegated to the periphery in scholarship until recent years, often due to perceived inconsistencies in his arguments. Some scholars commend Lawrence's foresight in spotlighting the pitfalls of Britain's modern

[305] Harrison, 26.

education system, issues that other educationists, such as Ivan Illich would only recognise half a century later. For example, G. H. Bantock praises Lawrence for bravely delving into areas that other contemporary educationists scarcely acknowledged.[306] However, Lawrence's proposed educational reforms have been met with scepticism. Colman K. Harris contends that Lawrence's envisioned 'alternative systems of schooling and alternative social structures' might be equally flawed as 'the ones he was criticizing'.[307] Even staunch proponents like Michael Bell concede that Lawrence's works such as 'Education of the People' oscillate between tangible recommendations, overarching principles, and lofty, utopian visions, drawing parallels with seminal works like 'Plato's *Republic*, Rousseau's *Emile*, and Goethe's Pedagogical Province'.[308] While Lawrence is free-thinking on a variety of topics, pragmatically, his solutions to social issues in his late polemical essays are not always implementable.

While examining Lawrence's works on education, it is crucial to take into consideration that his stance was not static over the course of his whole literary career. Instead, it was ever-evolving, reflecting both external influences and Lawrence's own insights at various stages of his life. The trio of questions Lawrence posed at the outset of 'Education of the People' – 'What is education all about? What is it doing? Does anybody know?' – encapsulates the quandaries he grappled with throughout his life and literary career.[309] Williams suggests that Lawrence, while being deeply introspective, never definitively answered these questions. Lawrence's contributions do not lie in

[306] G. H. Bantock, *Freedom and Authority in Education: A Criticism of Modern Cultural and Educational Assumptions* (London: H. Regnery, 1952), 180.
[307] Colman K. Harris, 'D. H. Lawrence and Deschooling', *Australian Journal of Education*, 18.3 (1974), 264-271 (270).
[308] Michael Bell, *Open Secrets: Literature, Education, and Authority from J-J. Rousseau to J. M. Coetzee* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 190.
[309] *RDP*, 87.

offering some concrete 'systemic position', be it on education or other topics.[310] What Lawrence furnishes is a 'flow of observations'. The merit of Lawrence's works on education is that he was among the pioneering voices to chronicle and comment on social and educational issues that remain pressing in contemporary discourse. Williams further emphasises the importance of engaging with the entirety of Lawrence's *oeuvre*, cautioning against isolating his viewpoints from specific works. This comprehensive approach ensures that readers appreciate the consistent 'breadth and humanity of vision' evident in his late essays particularly on education as well as those on general social issues.[311] Therefore, in addition to the essays and articles criticising education, which will be the primary focus of this chapter, this exploration will also draw upon Lawrence's other writings in different genres on the broader topic of social issues. These will serve as valuable parallel readings, offering insight into Lawrence's thoughts on education as a part of his response to the broader concept of modernisation. To Lawrence, education encompassed more than just schooling and skill acquisition; it was a holistic concept intertwined with other issues in modern society and their combined impact on individuals.

In the contemporary context, with the evolution and enhancement of universal education, the term 'education' predominantly alludes to the formal schooling process. However, at the dawn of the twentieth century, during the period when Lawrence wrote his polemical pieces and as universal education was just gaining ground – often juxtaposed with traditional methodologies – the notion of 'education' bore a broader denotation, encompassing a more comprehensive understanding of upbringing. This context elucidates why Lawrence's discourses on the matter transcend the mere

[310] Williams, *Education,* 8.
[311] Williams, *Education,* 10.

discussion of education as we understand it nowadays. In contrast, Lawrence's writings engage with interconnected themes such as gender issues, social class, and religious convictions. For example, while the title of 'Men Must Work and Women As Well' ostensibly addresses gender disparities, with Lawrence expressing his controversial gender politics as he often did in his writings, he uses this piece to criticise the overarching abstraction that effaces the individuality of modern people. With detailed and vivid descriptions, Lawrence voices apprehensions about the trajectory of modern civilisation and urges his readers to discern the underlying factors precipitating society's trend toward abstraction. In 'Give Her a Pattern', examined in the previous chapter, Lawrence presents a provocative conclusion that women, whether by volition or circumstance, largely conform to templates presented to them by their male counterparts. From the conclusion that to Lawrence, gender differences only exists when one assumes gender-labelled roles, his intention of making such provocative assertions in his journalistic writings could be understood as his efforts to advocate for modern individuals' emancipation from those constraining social moulds. However, as epitomised by Connie in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, it is evident that it is difficult to evade predetermined frameworks. In other words, even autonomy can manifest as a structured pattern of life, suggesting that patterns are intrinsically woven into modern society. The salient consideration, therefore, is whether one adheres to externally imposed patterns or chooses based on individual inclination. As implied by the term 'pattern', it represents a paradigm emphasising shared attributes and traits among individuals rather than celebrating their distinctiveness or individuality. Its purpose is classification, essentially pigeonholing individuals. In this vein, patterns equate to

abstraction, a focal theme in Lawrence's 'Enslaved by Civilisation' and 'Men Must Work and Women As Well'.

In his 1928 essay 'Enslaved by Civilisation', published in the *Sunday Dispatch*, Lawrence critically examined the mechanisms through which 'man is becoming enslaved by civilisation'.[312] Specifically, he castigated the contemporary British educational system, describing it as 'a disaster… for England'. Though the *Sunday Dispatch* eventually bought the article for twenty-five guineas, it was never published in that outlet. Lawrence's critique was more warmly received in the United States. In correspondence dated 18 March 1929, Nancy Pearn informed Lawrence with excitement that '"*Vanity Fair*" are getting terribly attached to you! They have now bought "ENSLAVED BY CIVILISATION" at a Hundred dollars…'[313] The article was published in the September 1928 issue of *Vanity Fair* under the modified title 'The Manufacture of Good Little Boys'.[314]

The correspondence between Lawrence and Pearn reveals that he has given the *Vanity Fair* editors carte blanche to 'cut out what they like' from the manuscript – a surprising willingness to accept editorial alterations, given his usual protectiveness of his work.[315] This editorial latitude, however, had the unfortunate effect of diluting the article's original argument. One glaring example can be found in the third section of the *Vanity Fair* version:

> Now the funny thing is that nobody, not even the most conscientious father, ever questions the absolute rightness of these school-marms. [It is all for dear little Johnny's own good. And these school-marms know absolutely what Johnny's own good is. It is being a good little boy like

[312] *7L*, 29n2; *LEA*, 159.
[313] *7L*, 251n2.
[314] D. H. Lawrence, 'The Manufacture of Good Little Boys', *Vanity Fair*, September 1928, 81.
[315] *7L*, 29n2.

> all the other good little boys.] But to be a good little boy like all the other good little boys is to be at last a slave, or at least an automaton…[316]

Here, editors omitted an internal monologue originally ascribed to the pupil's father, which had been enclosed in square brackets in Lawrence's manuscript. This internal monologue had articulated the father's expectation that the 'school-marms' would impart good behaviour to his child. In the absence of this nuanced context, and with *Vanity Fair*'s chosen subtitle, 'How Modern Men Become Enslaved by the Pernicious Dictates of the Schoolmarms', readers could easily misconstrue Lawrence's intent.[317] This editorial alteration risked framing the article as another polemic from Lawrence, ostensibly criticising gender roles rather than focusing on systemic issues within the educational framework. Therefore, the omissions by *Vanity Fair*'s editors not only altered but also weakened the intellectual rigor and intended scope of Lawrence's original discourse on the flaws inherent in contemporary education.

Debates concerning D. H. Lawrence's alleged misogyny have been contentious since his death, as examined in detail in the previous chapter. Andrew Harrison's 2013 revelation of a previously unpublished manuscript by Lawrence has further complicated this narrative, shedding light on Lawrence's 'enlightened attitude to gender issues, and his acuteness in detecting and exposing sexist attitudes'.[318] In the context of this particular article, it would be reductive to hastily categorise Lawrence as a misogynist based solely on his use of the term 'school-marms'. Historical analysis enables us to detect some essential nuance in Lawrence's choice of wording. As Roy Lowe notes, following the Education Act of 1870, 'elementary school teaching became increasingly

[316] Lawrence, 'Manufacture', 81; *LEA*, 157.
[317] Lawrence, 'Manufacture', 81.
[318] Andrew Harrison, 'Meat-lust: An Unpublished Manuscript by D. H. Lawrence', *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 March 2013, 15.

the domain of lower middle-class women' and more than '100,000 female teachers were recognised by the Board of Education' at the turn of the century.[319] Asher Tropp's research further attests to this gender distribution within elementary education, indicating that in 1870, the 12,467 certified teachers were approximately evenly divided between male and female educators. By 1895, the year Lawrence was in his fourth year at Beauvale Board School in Eastwood, the number of certified teachers had risen to 52,914, of whom two-thirds were women.[320] To extend the timeframe for analysis, Barry H. Bergen observes that the ratio of female to male teachers in public elementary schools escalated from 99 per 100 males in 1870 to 315 in 1920.[321] This suggests that by the time Lawrence wrote the article, female teachers outnumbered their male colleagues by a factor of three. Therefore, when Lawrence employs the term 'school-marms', he is not targeting women per se but rather critiquing an educational system that had largely shifted the responsibility for child-rearing from parents to these predominantly female educators. This demographic reality underscores how Lawrence's use of the term 'school-marms' reflects a critique of the educational system rather than a misogynistic stance.

It is true that other than the word 'school-marms', Lawrence frequently employs phrases that cast women in a seemingly inferior pedagogical role, such as his suggestion that '[manhood] in the eyes of the schoolmistress… is something uncalled-for and unpleasant', thereby intimating that women are not 'qualified' to teach the pupils or 'form the foundation of a man'.[322] Parallel themes are also evident in his earlier novel,

[319] Roy Lowe, 'Education, 1900-1939', in *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. by Chris Wrigley (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 424-37 (429).
[320] Asher Tropp, *The School Teachers: The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day* (London: Heinemann, 1957), 114.
[321] Barry H. Bergen, 'Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class, and the Effort to Professionalize Elementary Teaching in England, 1870-1910', *History of Education Quarterly*, 22.1 (1982), 1-21 (4).
[322] *LEA*, 156.

*The Rainbow*. Drawing on textual elements, Kate Millett argues that Lawrence aims to convince his readers that '[running] classes is above a mere woman's ability'.[323] Focusing solely on these specific passages, one could easily concur with Millett's assessment that Lawrence appears to suggest that 'should Ursula succeed [as a schoolmistress], she will lose her "femininity"'.[324] However, as previously discussed, Lawrence also displayed an astute sense of business acumen in marketing his polemical essays. His provocative stylistic choices, disseminated through widely-circulated periodicals, extended his reach beyond the literary realm. Therefore, one must consider the possibility that Lawrence's contentious statements serve primarily to capture public attention rather than articulate a misogynistic worldview. Similarly, editors and critics frequently rely on textual analysis to the exclusion of other contextual factors such as Lawrence's multifaceted personality and experiences.

For example, in the *Vanity Fair* version of 'Enslaved by Civilisation', the final paragraph from Lawrence's original typescript is truncated, retaining only the last two sentences:

> … But as soon as the men were good husbands, the women were a tiresome, difficult unsatisfied lot of wives, ~~so there you are!...~~
>
> ~~The last time I was back in the Midlands was during the great coal strike. The men of my age, the men just over forty, were there, standing derelict, pale, silent…~~ For wives, schoolmasters, and employers of labour it is perhaps very nice to have men well broken in. But for a nation, [for England], it is a disaster.[325]

The deleted portion briefly references Lawrence's observations on industrial action in the Midlands during a recent visit to England. While this editorial revision may enhance

[323] Millett, *Sexual Politics*, 261.
[324] Millett, *Sexual Politics*, 261.
[325] *LEA*, 159.

the article's coherence, James T. Boulton notes that Lawrence was never 'cavalier about style and language' in his polemical essays.[326] The omission could have resulted from an editor's word count constraints rather than from a deliberate exclusion of potentially relevant material. To gain a nuanced understanding of Lawrence's intentions – whether they pertain to gender roles, educational systems, or the plight of coal miners – it becomes necessary to read 'Enslaved by Civilisation' in parallel with his 1926 article '[Return to Bestwood]' and the 1929 article 'Men Must Work and Women As Well'. These works offer a more comprehensive examination of how modern education, either directly or indirectly, assists the corrosive impact of modernisation on one's individuality, particularly among the working class.

While '[Return to Bestwood]' does not explicitly address the subject of education, it serves as an implicit extension of themes presented in the final paragraph of 'Enslaved by Civilisation', with its detailed description of the coal miners' actions during the 1926 General Strike:

> The last time I was back in the Midlands was during the great coal strike. The men of my age, the men just over forty, were there, standing derelict, pale, silent, with nothing to say, nothing to do, nothing to feel, and great hideous policemen from God-knows-where waiting in gangs to keep them on the lines. Alas, there was no need. The men of my generation were broken in: they'll stay on the lines and rust there […][327]

In 'Enslaved by Civilisation', Lawrence discusses the impact of education on working-class youths, who are subsequently portrayed as striking workers in '[Return to Bestwood]'. Through this interconnected narrative, Lawrence explores the long-term ramifications of a flawed educational system on the construction of manhood across a

[326] *LEA*, xxi.
[327] *LEA*, 159.

generation. The posthumous publication of this essay lends credence to its completeness and fidelity to Lawrence's original intent, as there were no editorial constraints to influence its content or meaning. A distinguishing feature of this article is its narrative form. In contrast to Lawrence's other polemical works, which assert that education is deleterious, '[Return to Bestwood]' invites readers to formulate their own conclusions. By providing a factual account of the 1926 General Strike and contrasting it with the 1902 strike, Lawrence avoids prescribing his own views, thereby fostering independent thought among his readership.

Lawrence's personal engagement with the subject matter becomes evident through biographical context. He and his wife Frieda arrived in London on 29 July 1926, after spending time in Italy. While in Florence earlier that year, Lawrence closely followed the unfolding coal miners' strike in the Midlands and the subsequent nationwide General Strike that commenced on 5 May, as reported in Italian newspapers. According to Andrew Harrison's analysis of Lawrence's correspondence, Lawrence expressed his concern about the strike and feared it 'might represent the onset of a dangerous class war'.[328] It was not until Lawrence personally witnessed the aftermath of the strike that he became profoundly affected. He was taken aback by the strikers, whom he described as 'standing derelict, pale, silent, with nothing to say, nothing to do, nothing to feel…'[329] In a letter to Koteliansky dated 15 September 1926, Lawrence provided a detailed account of the strike's devastating effects, which had endured for nearly five months since 30 April: 'there is a lot of misery – families living on bread and margarine and potatoes – nothing more'.[330] Although Lawrence considered the

[328] Harrison, 320.
[329] *LEA*, 159.
[330] *5L*, 536.

strike to be an ‘insanity’, his critique was not intended as a defence of capitalism or governmental policies; his principal concern was the well-being of the general public and the sacrifices they endured during the strike.[331]

Existing criticism on ‘[Return to Bestwood]’ mainly focuses on autobiographical issues and Lawrence’s nostalgia for the pastoral English countryside and old-fashioned gender relationships. Rather than simply irritating certain readers or putting more stain on his already notorious reputation, Lawrence’s aim in this article is to express his concern about the disastrous effects that industrialisation has on society. To be more specific, he focuses on education as a form of industrialisation and its profound influence on social stability. Unlike most English people who were ‘careless and carefree and indifferent’ to the strike, Lawrence sensed that there was ‘a queer, odd sort of potentiality in the people, especially the common people. One feels in them some odd, unaccustomed sort of plasm twinkling and nascent’.[332] Most of the participants in the coal strike were coal miners of Lawrence’s age, who were the first generation of British to attend board schools. In another article, ‘Men Must Work and Women as Well’, Lawrence uses his personal experience to make the comparison between the generations. One of the significant differences is education. Though both generations ended up working in the pits, their reactions were entirely different. To Lawrence, the older generation enjoyed their work as colliers, whereas his generation hated the pits, despite having once waited eagerly ‘to go down pit’ on the first day of school.[333] Such a statement might read as arbitrary or individual, but it could be understood as Lawrence’s technique to attract readers’ attention. By exaggerating about the

[331] *5L*, 552.
[332] *5L*, 520.
[333] *LEA*, 158.

differences between the two generations, it would be easier for Lawrence as well as his readers to spot the subtle while profound change accelerated by education.

In Lawrence's assessment, modern, classroom-based education serves as the initial conduit through which modernisation engenders dissatisfaction, conflict, and hopelessness within the general public. This perspective is contrasted with the experiences of older generations, exemplified by Lawrence's father, who acquired knowledge and skills in coal mining through direct observation and familial tradition. During that period, formal schooling was largely inaccessible, given its associated costs. As Philip Gardner notes, 'for the greater part of the [nineteenth] century, schooling was a relatively costly commodity that had to be purchased in a diverse and often weakly regulated marketplace'.[334] Consequently, working-class families largely eschewed formal education, opting instead for vocational training within the family unit, wherein career expectations generally mirrored those of previous generations. However, the advent of modern, compulsory education drastically altered these expectations, thereby exacerbating occupational disparities. Formal educational settings inundated students with a plethora of information unrelated to their immediate vocational prospects, effectively diluting their original career aspirations. Moreover, Lawrence argues in 'Men Must Work and Women as Well' that this educational paradigm perpetuated an artificial dichotomy between non-physical work, such as clerical work, and physical work, like coal mining.[335] This conceptual division not only reinforced class stratification but also sowed discord among young workers, who were compelled to adhere to familial occupational norms despite their educational conditioning toward non-physical professions. Statistically, only a small fraction of working-class students –

[334] Gardner, 'Literacy, Learning and Education', 353.
[335] *LEA*, 279.

approximately 10%, including Lawrence's own contemporaries – managed to transition into these so-called noble occupations. The majority were relegated to the very coal mines they had been taught to disdain. This internal conflict between educational and familial expectations bred resentment among young coal miners. Lawrence laments the fact that this fabricated unequal distinction between physical and non-physical occupations has engendered a wholesale rejection of idealism among young workers, evidenced by their contempt for the 'lie' propagated through their education.[336] Rod C. Taylor, in his analysis of Ursula's teaching experience in *The Rainbow*, observes a similar resentment in Lawrence's tone and enumerates four detrimental effects of formal education on students: normalisation, shame, capitulation, and violence.[337] To this list, Lawrence's commentary on the plight of young coal miners in the polemical essay would add a fifth: abstraction. While the first four effects are largely unilateral, emanating from the educational system, abstraction manifests itself as a multi-faceted, enduring consequence in which all parties are both perpetrators and victims. For instance, young coal miners, subjected to an education that denigrates their familial occupation, find themselves estranged not only from other occupational classes but also from their own self-image, perpetuating a vicious cycle of mutual abstraction.

The advent of the technological revolution, characterised by scientific advancements that facilitated the proliferation of machinery, has significantly enhanced production efficiency. While this development has been financially advantageous for pit-owners, it has rendered the labour market increasingly competitive for colliers, the erstwhile linchpin of the coal mining industry. As Lawrence astutely observes, in the

[336] *RDP*, 93.
[337] Rod C. Taylor, 'A Pedagogy of Shame: Coercion and Democratic Education in D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow*', *English*, 66.254 (2017), 208–239.

modernised pits 'everything was made to run on lines, … new, …up-to-date lines'. Those 'good boys' tamed by modern education, unsatisfied and unhappy, repeating routine activities as they were taught, '[become] ever less men, more mere instruments'.[338] Consequently, strikes emerge as a last-resort mechanism for these workers to articulate their mounting resentment, particularly in a context where the onus of familial financial support remains undiminished.[339] In '[Return to Bestwood]', Lawrence offers an incisive account of the dire straits facing coal miners during strikes. Forced to '[scour] the country for blackberries' in the 'last recesses of the countryside' merely to make ends meet, these workers epitomise the desperate economic conditions engendered by industrial progress. Intentionally or not, Lawrence in this essay draws implicit parallels between the 1912 coal strike and the 1926 General Strike. The former, notable for its non-militant ethos, according to local newspaper reports, was in sharp contrast to the increasingly desperate and disillusioned atmosphere of the latter. During the 1912 strike, Lawrence, having recently returned from Croydon where he worked as a schoolmaster, was personally involved in relief efforts for affected families. Notably, miners in Nottinghamshire overwhelmingly supported the strike in a ballot, buoyed by the promise of strike pay throughout the stoppage, as chronicled by Alan R. Griffin.[340]

Lawrence also actively involved himself in this strike at a street level, delivering relief tickets to local families. In one of his frequently quoted letters to Edward Garnett, Lawrence noted his impression of the coal miners' families:

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[338] *LEA*, 159.

[339] The national coal strike of 1912 is an example of the resentment among the coal miners. Based on his father's experience, Lawrence composed a sketch 'The Miner at Home'.

[340] In order to guarantee a minimum wage, 17,086 miners in Nottinghamshire voted in favour of the strike, three times more than those who voted against in a ballot organised by the Nottinghamshire Miners' Association. In local newspapers and the *Nottingham Guardian*'s words, this was a 'friendly strike' and there was 'no militant spirit'. *Nottingham Guardian*, 28 February 1912; Alan R. Griffin, *The Miners of Nottinghamshire, 1881-1914: A History of the Nottinghamshire Miners' Unions*, Vol. 1 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955), 166.

> It's not that the actual suffering is so great—though it's bad enough—but the men seem such big, helpless, hopeless children, and the women are impersonal—little atlases under a load that they know will crush them out at last, but it doesn't matter. They aren't conscious, any more than their hearts are conscious of their endless business of beating… It makes me ill.[341]

According to Macdonald Daly's assessment, Lawrence is a 'suburban schoolmaster who regularly encountered manual workers and reacted variously with wondering admiration and cynical repugnance'.[342] While his initial judgment may appear negative, Lawrence's expressed solidarity with working-class families is unequivocal. He utilises the metaphor of 'little atlases' to encapsulate both the immense burden shouldered by these miners and their steadfast resilience. They emerge, in Lawrence's portrayal, as tragic heroes – idealists committed to a cause they recognise as virtually unwinnable, yet which was vital to their sense of dignity and self-worth.

While the primary participants in the 1912 coal strike were of an older generation, including Lawrence's father, the driving force behind the 1926 General Strike was predominantly younger individuals, contemporaneous with Lawrence himself, who accepted modern education. According to Alan R. Griffin, these young strikers initially shared their forebears' sense of participating in a 'righteous cause', but the situation quickly worsened as 'many men went hungry after the first few weeks'.[343] While strike pay and charitable relief efforts, such as a fund established by the *Nottingham Journal*, were available, Griffin concludes that 'relief of this kind was a help but did no more than touch the edge of the problem'. For breadwinners, the

[341] *1L*, 380.
[342] Macdonald Daly, 'D. H. Lawrence and the 1912 Miners' Strike', *English Studies*, 75.2 (1994), 133-145 (145).
[343] Alan R. Griffin, *The Miners of Nottinghamshire, 1914-1944: A History of the Nottinghamshire Miners' Unions*, Vol. 2 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 169-70.

indignity of relying on charitable sustenance heightened the anguish of an already desperate situation.

In contrast to the older generation, who had an active role in voting on the strike's course in 1912 and who often regarded strikes as a form of hiatus, young miners, fully represented by union actions and rendered passive and voiceless, had nothing to do but stand 'derelict, pale, silent, with nothing to say, nothing to do, nothing to feel'.[344] Their disillusionment is echoed in a *Nottingham Journal* account: 'Everywhere was the same grim picture. A sad stillness; an appalling quiet at the colliery head… No smoke; no song; no laughter'.[345] Moreover, the older generation of miners, many of whom had agrarian backgrounds, possessed practical skills that offered a fallback option during strikes. Such skills serve as a stabilising force, particularly in periods of social unrest. As G. M. Trevelyan argues, agriculture 'is not merely one industry among many, but is a way of life, unique and irreplaceable in its human and spiritual values'.[346] However, the younger miners faced a markedly different reality. As Michael Bell notes, the national education of Lawrence's era predominantly functioned as a 'purely functional preparation for the world of work', leading to 'the absence of training for, and appreciation of, practical skills'.[347] Consequently, young miners were relegated to menial tasks such as berry-picking – activities that Lawrence considered 'unmanly', as modern education totally loses its meaning in this sense of nurturing one's living skills. Lawrence's original statements explaining why he thinks blackberry-picking is 'unmanly' – noting that when he was a boy, it was always children, 'or the

[344] Daly, 'D. H. Lawrence and the 1912 Miners' Strike', 139; *LEA*, 159.
[345] *Nottingham Journal*, 7 June 1926.
[346] G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longman, 1942), 554.
[347] Bell, *Open Secrets*, 189-90.

women, or even the half-grown youths' who picked berries, but never a 'married, manly collier' – could then be understood as his use of provocative polemical style, aiming to push his readers to realise the harsh reality: modern education is futile, as even those without education can perform the same tasks.[348]

In this typically provocative claim, Lawrence implies that there is a form of shame attached to men engaging in work traditionally considered the province of women and children. This stereotype, linking gender to occupation, suggests that physical strength served as a criterion for job allocation in pre-industrial societies. Typically, men engaged in strenuous labour outdoors, serving as the primary breadwinners, while women were predominantly tasked with domestic responsibilities. Underlying this division is a conceptual framework of 'community', within which men and women maintain relative individuality yet coexist harmoniously as a collective. Lawrence's conception of 'community' appears to be influenced by Ruskin's vision of an ideal life marked by order, tranquillity, and harmony.[349] This notion is not unique to Lawrence; it is shared by a range of English writers, from William Cobbett and William Blake to contemporaries like E. M. Forster and T. S. Eliot. These authors commonly idealise organic rural communities and espouse a vision of protecting the idyllic 'England's green and pleasant land' from the blight of industrialisation – 'those dark satanic mills'. Peter Wyncoll argues that the strength of this 'community' as opposed to 'class' amongst the Nottinghamshire schools, particularly between 1895 and 1914,

[348] *LEA*, 16.

[349] Direct evidence of Ruskin's influence on Lawrence is limited. One of the few examples is Jessie Chambers's record that in 1908, Lawrence read Ruskin and 'passed on *Sesame and Lilies* to [her] eldest brother'. Stefania Michelucci's 2001 article on Ruskin's influence on Lawrence draws a conclusion that Lawrence's idea of 'the spirit of place' could find its root in Ruskin's claim that 'the beauty of the work of art can only spring from a harmonious relationship between a community and the environment in which it lives'. See E. T., 72; Stefania Michelucci, 'Laying the Ghost: D. H. Lawrence's Fight with Ruskin', in *Ruskin and Modernism*, ed. by Giovanni Cianci and Peter Nicholls (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 181-93 (189-90).

tempered the radicalisation of miners, thereby mitigating the negative impact of strikes compared to other mining districts in England.[350] On the contrary, the division between social classes, especially the understanding that the working class is inferior and at the bottom of the social classes, has emerged, been shaped, and redefined by the forces of modern education, powered by industrialisation and modernisation, which tends to erode individual uniqueness. Paul Delany describes the industrial mindset as morally vacuous, driven solely by material interests 'without aim or limit'.[351] In this evolving socio-economic landscape, education serves as a tool to incite dissatisfaction, primarily by framing occupations within a dichotomy and implying the superiority of one over the other. Consequently, dissatisfaction proliferates among working-class families, especially among those unable to achieve upward mobility, as was the case for Lawrence. However, when young colliers, educated to disdain their community and aspire to a higher 'class', participate in strikes, they often find themselves immediately disheartened, as the education they received focused exclusively on skills that could only be used on assembly lines, while other living skills were either neglected or disdained as inferior. This collective disillusionment informs Lawrence's grim outlook on social divisions, leading him to assert that England is perched 'on the brink of a class war'.[352] Far from ameliorating tensions, the erosion of 'community' values in favour of class distinctions only deepens social fissures, accentuating the sense of impending conflict.

[350] Peter Wyncoll, *The Nottingham Labour Movement: 1880-1939* (London: Lawrence and Wishhart, 1985), 102.
[351] Paul Delany, 'Lawrence and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit', in *The Challenge of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Michael Squires and Keith Cushman (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1990), 77-88 (79).
[352] *LEA*, 22-3.

In examining the erosion of individuality by modern education, one salient aspect is the erasure of traditional gender differences. With the advent of mechanisation and the rise of universal education, designed to equip both men and women to function within an industrialised society, traditional established social structures are critically undermined. The obsolescence of traditional gender roles has emancipated women from domestic constraints, allowing them entry into sectors that were previously male-dominated, irrespective of comparative physical strength. While industrialisation has undoubtedly catalysed women's increased self-awareness and propelled feminist movements such as suffragism, it has simultaneously engendered complex social issues. In '[Autobiographical Fragment]', Lawrence offers a nuanced portrayal of this transition. He contends that women from his mother's generation may have 'freed herself at least mentally and spiritually from the husband's domination', but this emancipation has manifested within a broader social construct. Despite their inability to restrain their husbands' tavern visits, these women channel their aspirations for an ideal spouse through their sons, whom they send to 'the board school, the Sunday school, and the Band of Hope', thereby inculcating in them what society deems the attributes of 'good' husbands. According to Lawrence, this institutionalisation has led men of his generation to become 'decent, patient, self-effacing sort of men', as if they 'had no selves any more'.[353]

It is tempting to label Lawrence's discourse as inherently misogynistic, especially given his frequent utilisation of controversial terms like 'old maid', 'schoolmarm', and 'manhood'. However, when read in conjunction with another of his essays, such as 'Give Her a Pattern', it becomes evident that Lawrence's objective is not

[353] *LEA*, 50-1.

to denigrate women. In this essay, he lambasts the modern man as a 'fool' and the modern young man as a 'prize fool' for their inability to discern what they truly desire in a partner, thereby subjecting women to a never-ending cycle of shifting social expectations, which are all 'perverted from any real natural fulness of a human being'.[354] Both men and women emerge as mutual victims in Lawrence's analysis, trapped in a perpetual cycle of unmet expectations. In a society where gender roles are increasingly fluid, the distinction between man and woman is eroded, not as a consequence of mutual adaptation, but due to an educational system that transforms students into submissive subjects. As Harris notes, education '[destroys] the very sense of self-worth in most [pupils] and teaches them to accept their inferiority', rendering them amenable to employment in a subservient role that is 'sought by employers'.[355] The inadvertent outcome of this process is the dilution of gender specificity. Beyond interpretations that label Lawrence as an advocate for male superiority or a misogynist, the crux of his argument is clearly illustrated at the beginning of '[Return to Bestwood]': 'There are many more people, for one thing: and all these new contrivances, for another'.[356] This statement hinges on the artificiality Lawrence perceives in the younger generation – a by-product of industrialisation and standardisation achieved through modern education. For Lawrence, these individuals are analogous to mass-produced items, devoid of nature's imprint. The only remaining function of the labels 'men' and 'women' is to denote biological differences. In summary, Lawrence's principal contention is not an attack on women or womanhood;

[354] *LEA*, 164.
[355] Harris, 'D. H. Lawrence and Deschooling', 267.
[356] *LEA*, 16.

rather, he seeks to critique the homogenising influences of formal education, which he identifies as the primary factor obliterating individuality among the younger generation.

It is important to differentiate Lawrence's insights into the erasure of traditional gender differences within modern educational systems from his comments on the fluidity of gender roles, as explored in the previous chapter's analysis of his polemical essay 'Matriarchy'. The crucial distinction between these two perspectives centres on their impact on individuality. In essays like 'Master in His Own House' and 'Matriarchy', Lawrence confronts readers with a critique of social norms that dictate a person's social role based on their biologically-assigned gender. He challenges the patriarchal viewpoint that interprets women's increasing social participation and professional engagement as a form of threat to men's authority. By offering a historical account of matriarchy and illustrating that men, too, can assume domestic responsibilities where appropriate, Lawrence promotes an egalitarian ideology that de-genders professions. In contrast, Lawrence argues that the educational-driven dissolution of gender differences is fundamentally at odds with human nature. Rather than encouraging individuals to express themselves or to challenge existing gender stereotypes, modern education reduces both men and women to depersonalised units, equipping them solely with the skills required for assembly-line work. This effacement of gender differences emerges as a by-product of the abstraction imposed by modern education, a phenomenon that Lawrence finds deeply troubling. To accentuate the destructive implications of this trend toward abstraction, Lawrence exemplifies its results in some short stories, such as 'The Rocking-Horse Winner', and addresses its repercussions in the journalistic essay 'Men Must Work and Women As Well', aiming to alert the public to the insidious erosion of individuality.

**‘Men Must Work and Women As Well’**

Before his reappearance in popular journalism in 1928, Lawrence maintained an intermittent presence in the periodical marketplace. While Lawrence’s late journalistic contributions were often solicited by newspaper editors, his engagements with popular journalism were more varied, encompassing both specific requests and unsolicited contributions of previously written short stories to magazines. As John Worthen observes, though magazines were ‘by no means his favourite market’, Lawrence did welcome the supplemental income from publishing his short stories in popular magazines.[357] One notable contribution is ‘The Rocking-Horse Winner’, wherein Lawrence offers a critical exploration of the destructive effects of modern society’s abstraction. This 1926 short story earned £15 from Lady Cynthia Asquith in Britain and was later sold for £50 to *Harper’s Bazaar* in the United States. While debates persist among scholars regarding Lawrence’s strategic selection of periodicals for his work, it is undeniable that these platforms availed him of broad and diverse readerships. *Harper’s Bazaar*, in particular, was renowned as ‘the most rapid success ever known in journalism’.[358] Celebrated for its fashion, literature, and superior artwork, the magazine commanded a significant market share. This exposure, in part, solidified ‘The Rocking-Horse Winner’ as one of Lawrence’s most recognised short stories. With an aim to elucidate Lawrence’s perspective on the impact of abstraction on individuality, this

[357] John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence, A Literary Life*, 138.
[358] In an interview, *Harper’s Bazaar*’s then editor, Charles F. Wingate, made this claim. See Charles F. Wingate, ed. *Views and interviews on Journalism* (New York, 1875), 259; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1865-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1967), 388-90.
The July 1926 issue of *Harper’s Bazaar* with Lawrence’s ‘The Rocking-Horse Winner’ recorded a circulation number of 92,214. Raw data of the circulation of *Harper’s Bazaar* from 1925 to 1972 could be accessed at <https://osf.io/y58pr/ >.

section's examination spans from the 1926 story 'The Rocking-Horse Winner' to the 1929 polemical essay 'Men Must Work and Women As Well'. It evaluates Lawrence's critique of the trend of abstraction and examines the continuity of his ideas in works across different genres.

'The Rocking-Horse Winner' is a parable, in which the young protagonist, Paul, possesses an uncanny ability to predict the winners of horse races by riding his toy rocking horse. Despite his unique talent, Paul is overshadowed by his mother's bourgeois preoccupations and her continual lamentations about their financial predicament, and particularly her dissatisfaction with her husband's modest income.[359] Paul, in his youthful innocence, perceives money as the antidote to his mother's indifference, hoping that financial abundance might secure her affection. However, his gains from betting only heighten his mother's avarice and further estrange him from her affections. Desperately seeking larger winnings, Paul's increasingly intense rides on his rocking horse culminate in a tragic accident and his subsequent death. This story, initially contributed to Lady Cynthia Asquith's anthology of ghost stories, has been frequently analysed through that perspective. Most scholarly interpretations, as summarised by Martin F. Kearney, employ psychological and formalist approaches, with scant attention paid to potential connections with abstraction.[360] While the context of Lawrence's writings must be acknowledged, one should also recognise the multiplicity of themes Lawrence embeds within his works. The narrative delves beyond mere ghostly or supernatural occurrences, and it was not written solely to satisfy Lady

[359] *WWRA*, 230.
[360] Martin F. Kearney, *Major Short Stories of D. H. Lawrence: A Handbook* (New York: Routledge: 2016), 184.

Cynthia's thematic request in the first place.[361] As Andrew Harrison notes, Lawrence's short fiction during this period 'had been strikingly satirical and candid, targeting […] religion, middle-class life and marriage'.[362] Lawrence perceived abstraction not merely as a chronological phase that starts from the formal schooling process, but as an expansive concept exerting lifelong influence. In his essays, he argued that formal education equipped his contemporaries with thinking patterns tailored for industrial society, yet these patterns simultaneously confined them to predefined social roles. This formative thinking and process of abstraction, instilled and enhanced during schooling, have become general phenomena in modern society, influencing subsequent generations even before they enter formal education. In contrast to his polemical essays, in which Lawrence robustly interrogates social norms and challenges widely accepted stereotypical modes of thinking, his short stories, including 'The Rocking-Horse Winner', served as literary crucibles wherein he hypothesised trajectories as solutions to modern social issues. The tragic denouement of both 'The Rocking-Horse Winner' and Paul underscores Lawrence's critique of modern society's abstraction of one's individuality. Specifically, he expresses trepidation about the repercussions of such an abstraction of parent-child relationships and, by extension, its impact on future generations.

In this short story, aptly titled 'The Rocking-Horse Winner', the term 'rocking-horse' features prominently. Notably, there exists a subtle variation in the story: the term appears as both 'rocking horse' and the hyphenated 'rocking-horse' when referring

[361] The original story Lawrence wrote in response to a request from Lady Cynthia is entitled as 'Glad Ghosts' but was later declined. Then Lawrence sent this 'Rocking-Horse Winner' and it was accepted and included in the collection. Existing evidence suggests a possibility that Lawrence started 'Rocking' before Lady Cynthia's request. For more detailed discussion about the possible composition background of this story, see Kearney, *Major Short Stories*, 173-179; *WWRA*, xxxiii-xxxv.
[362] Harrison, 311.

to Paul's toy. This distinction is consistent across the manuscript, typescript, and the version published in Lady Cynthia's anthology. While subsequent editions such as *Harper's Bazaar* (1926) and the posthumous collection, *The Lovely Lady and Other Stories* (1932), standardise the term using the hyphenated form, it would be remiss to dismiss the original differentiation as a mere oversight on Lawrence's part, especially given his discerning approach to editorial changes in periodicals. Consequently, one can infer that Lawrence's choice over the two expressions of the term was deliberate. The distinction becomes even more pronounced when considering characters' dialogues: Paul's mother uses 'rocking horse' on two occasions, whereas other characters and the narrator consistently employ 'rocking-horse'. Phonetically identical, these terms diverge significantly in connotation. With the inclusion of the hyphen, Paul's toy is imbued with a unique identity, distinguishing it from commonplace rocking horses. This distinction amplifies Paul's individuality, emphasising his profound connection to his very own 'rocking-horse' that grants him predictive prowess in horse betting. Conversely, Hester's choice of 'rocking horse' serves to negate the special bond between Paul and his toy. It also symbolises the larger social tendency of abstraction – perpetuated by both formal education and prevailing cultural norms – to generalise and homogenise individual identities. Echoing the dynamic where Anna corrects Will's pronoun usage in *The Rainbow*, Hester imposes a mechanical style in her interactions with Paul. Potentially rooted in her mode of thinking, Hester's perspective prioritises objective and precise descriptions. In her view, toys serve a uniform purpose – to entertain 'very little [boys]' – and she repeatedly emphasises Paul's increasing age as incongruous with the 'rocking horse', even admonishing him for his attachment.[363] Unlike the structured

[363] *WWRA*, 233, 241.

pedagogy of formal education, parents' influence on their children – as exemplified by Hester – is more insidious. Its influence often goes unnoticed, primarily because the parents, in this case Hester, may remain oblivious to the fact that she is effectively implementing abstraction. She inadvertently suppresses Paul's emerging individuality and, by extension, his sexual enlightenment.

The rocking horse serves as a metaphor for Paul's impending adolescence and burgeoning awareness of sexuality. Descriptions of Paul riding his rocking horse, characterised by phrases such as 'furious ride' and 'it was a soundless noise, yet rushing and powerful. Something huge, in violent, rushed motion' in the darkness, brim with sexual undertones.[364] In Lawrence's essay, 'Parent Love', he cautions that 'a steady and persistent starving of [children's] lower centres, particularly the great voluntary centre of the lower body' would yield dire consequences.[365] Despite this, Paul's parents, who should assume the role of primary sex educators, evade this responsibility. Paul's father is largely absent from the family's day-to-day activities, while Hester embodies an innocence and naivety uncharacteristic of her status as a mother. Her reaction upon hearing the noise from Paul's room – a potential indication of masturbation – reveals her confusion and ignorance. She is plagued by the question, 'What was it? What in God's name was it?' and she 'felt that she knew the noise. She knew what it was. Yet she could not place it. She couldn't say what it was' while it went 'on and on… like a madness'.[366] Hester's lack of sexual knowledge or disdain for it mirrors the social reality of the early twentieth century. Even formal education of the time resisted incorporating sex education into its curriculum, as such knowledge was not deemed

[364] *WWRA*, 232, 242.
[365] *PFU*, 142.
[366] *WWRA*, 242.

relevant to students' specialisation in particular disciplines, not to mention the prevailing social attitudes towards it. The era's conservative social environment and educators' rigid adherence to the status quo inhibited students from receiving comprehensive sex education. For example, the London County Council's 1914 Commission of Inquiry on the Teaching of Sex Hygiene recorded that most teachers were 'averse from the subject being introduced into the schools' as sex hygiene 'sinks into insignificance […] beside the need for personal righteousness and the stiffening of moral character'.[367] To the British society in the early period of the twentieth century, public discourse on sex education was perceived as shameful, and the notion of enlightening students about sexuality was dismissed. Possibly of Lawrence's age, Hester would have attended public schools as did Lawrence's contemporaries (following the 1870 Act mandating public education), and absorbed this pessimistic attitude toward sexuality, integrating it subconsciously into her parenting. Although Hester's explicit views on sex are not articulated in the story, they can be inferred from Paul's behaviour. It appears she conveyed or suggested that discussing sex was shameful, and that the primary focus should be on financial success. Consequently, Paul, a naturally inquisitive child, suppresses his questions about his emerging sexuality, confiding only in his nameless rocking horse – the 'secret of secrets'.[368] At the same time, he pursues financial gain as insinuated by his mother, convinced that this is the sole means to earn her love and attention – even at the moment of his fall from the rocking horse.

[367] 'Report of the Education Committee on the Teaching of Sex Hygiene', LCC, 1914, 4, transcribed in Hilda Kean, *Deeds not Words: the Lives of Suffragette Teachers* (London: Pluto Press, 1990), 61-2.
[368] *WWRA*, 241.

Although Paul is from a middle-class background, his mechanical horse-riding and subsequent death serve as potent symbols that aptly illustrate the experiences of all individuals in modern society – nobody escapes the fate of abstraction. Just as these students from working-class families are conditioned to aspire to reputable professions and an idealised life, Paul too is driven by the need to accumulate wealth to garner his mother's affection. Both he and the working-class pupils, under the guise of abstraction, are led to compromise their unique identities in the misguided belief that it paves the way to their dreams. Tragically, neither Paul nor the students recognise the futility of this trajectory, which ultimately erases their identities, culminating in both symbolic and literal death. In the long essay 'Education of the People', Lawrence suggests that authentic education ought to facilitate 'a process of learning to escape the automatism of ideas, to live direct from the spontaneous, vital centre of oneself'.[369] On the contrary, the modern education system invests excessive authority in institutions and educators, shaping not just what students learn, but also how they think. As a direct result, Lawrence contends that this leads to a 'fatal automatization' in children. Their cognitive frameworks, moulded by prescriptive pedagogies, are confined to established paradigms. Harris further elucidates this perspective, noting Lawrence's assertion that education conditions its beneficiaries to 'willingly allow themselves to be controlled'.[370] More poignantly, students indoctrinated by modern educational practices remain oblivious to their subjugation; they lack the very consciousness of the fact that they are manipulated, having internalised such control and abstraction as a norm. In the poem 'Cry of the Masses', Lawrence offers a bleak projection of humanity's fate – a complete forfeiture of identity to the juggernaut of modern civilisation's effect of abstraction,

[369] *RDP*, 105.
[370] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D. H. Lawrence*, 267.

even before physical demise. This mental surrender precedes one's literal end, metaphorically transforming individuals into replaceable cogs. Lawrence employs concise verbs and the imagery of a 'corpse-body' to underscore the impending mechanisation of humanity, which is particularly evident in the poem's second stanza:

> Trot, trot, trot, corpse-body, to work.
> Chew, chew, chew, corpse-body, at the meal.
> Sit, sit, sit, corpse-body, in the car.
> Stare, stare, stare, corpse-body, at the film.
> Listen, listen, listen, corpse-body, to the wireless.
> Talk, talk, talk, corpse-body, newspaper talk.
> Sleep, sleep, sleep, corpse-body, factory-hand sleep.
> Die, die, die, corpse-body, doesn't matter![371]

Lawrence's deliberate choice of verbs conveys an unsettling pace and tension reminiscent of relentless assembly lines. The disconcerting element in Lawrence's portrayal is the routine nature of these mechanised actions. Activities such as '[trotting]' to work or '[staring] at' films, as opposed to walking or watching, depict a dehumanisation where routine tasks become mechanised and humanity is diminished. Lawrence further emphasises this depersonalisation by omitting the use of subjects in his sentences, suggesting that future generations will lose not just their names, but also their inherent human essence. The most poignant element of this vision is the inexorable fate of the 'corpse-body', predestined to a monotonous existence, reiterated perpetually across generations.

The potential for abstraction to be destructive is a concern that Lawrence expressed. Even though both the short story and the poem in question were crafted nearly a century ago, contemporary readers remain conversant with the pedagogical elements, specific characterisations in Lawrence's narrative, and even his prescient

[371] *2Poems*, 511.

observations from that time. To a certain degree, the inherent literary merit of Lawrence's works becomes self-evident. As he stated in a preface, 'The essential quality of poetry is that it necessitates a renewed focus of attention, unveiling a fresh realm within the familiar world'.[372] This statement, while elucidating the essence of 'Cry of the Masses', also succinctly encapsulates the niche that his polemical essays occupy amid his diverse oeuvre. The polemical essay serves as Lawrence's medium for capturing his perceptions on diverse social topics, from education to religion – representing the 'known world' and the foundational bedrock of his literary exploration. His poetry, which encapsulates spontaneous reflections, and his fiction, which offers an avenue to delve deeper into the ideas presented in his essays, symbolise the 'new world within the old'. Contrary to traditional perceptions that deem Lawrence's journalistic endeavours as ancillary, 'Men Must Work and Women As Well' – one of Lawrence's late journalistic writings – ought to be regarded as a pivotal repository of Lawrence's continuous insights into modern society's abstraction effect on individuals.

On 10 July 1929, the editor of the *Star Review*, Lady Emily Lutyens, extended an invitation to Lawrence, aiming to solicit an article 'on the subject of Men and Women'.[373] While Lawrence expressed willingness, a confluence of pressing commitments precluded him from immediately attending to this task. Foremost among his preoccupations was the exhibition of his paintings at the Warren Gallery in London. Lawrence's paintings not only attracted significant public and media attention, but also drew scrutiny from the authorities. In the wake of ensuing controversies, Lawrence agreed to a compromise, assuring the authorities that he would refrain from displaying certain contentious pieces again in Britain, forestalling their destruction. This ordeal,

[372] *IR*, 109.
[373] *7L*, 405n1.

however, took a toll on Lawrence's already fragile health. He ascribed the 'nasty cold' he caught in Florence to the '[police's] beastliness in London reaching out to [him]'.[374] The second issue was Lawrence's family obligations, specifically his mother-in-law's birthday celebration, during which he fell ill once again. It was during this period of convalescence that Lawrence embarked on what would become his 'last fictional work' – an unfinished fragment about an independent lady who leaves her pedantic husband.[375] Upon recuperating and resettling in Baden-Baden on 3 August, Lawrence resumed work on the commissioned article for the *Star Review*. Though initially titled 'Men and Women' (Lawrence later retitled it 'Men Must Work and Women As Well' for inclusion in *Assorted Articles*), this article predominantly focuses on society's abstraction effects on individuals. The reading of this article will dissect Lawrence's conceptualisation of 'abstraction' – the transformative effects wrought by modernity on the human psyche – in preparation for analysing how Lawrence drew the conclusion that education is the source of modern society's trend of abstraction. Paul Eggert remarks that 'the surprisingly provisional nature of [Lawrence's] usually forcefully expressed ideas comes into focus' when we 'take a cross-section of his contemporaneous writings at any one creative moment'.[376] Complementing this, Lawrence's short stories and poetry with similar themes will be read in parallel with this polemical essay, to elucidate the journalistic style Lawrence harnessed in proffering remedies to his readers in response to modern society's prevailing tendency towards abstraction.

[374] *7L*, 364.
[375] *VG*, xliii.
[376] Eggert, 'Revising and Rewriting', 219.

While the early decades of the twentieth century were marked by exponential advances in science and technology, Lawrence astutely discerned an undercurrent of discontent, stemming from the escalating tension between 'human progress' and 'human sentiment'.[377] In his characteristic 'tongue in the cheek' writing style, Lawrence argued that 'in the past, cooks really enjoyed cooking and housemaids enjoyed scrubbing'.[378] In contrast to his audacious assertion in 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' – primarily aimed at jolting his readers into contemplation – Lawrence, on this occasion, identifies the genesis of modern men and women's 'strange fastidiousness': education.[379] Lawrence's forebears largely remained untouched by formal education, with their worldviews and aspirations shaped through experiential learning from elders and peers. As Hannah Barker notes, prior to the second industrial revolution – often termed the technological revolution – youth primarily imbibed vocational skills through two channels: 'apprenticeships' and 'parental guidance'.[380] Hence, for a collier's progeny in the era preceding this revolution, future aspirations predominantly revolved around emulating the paternal model, conditioned by daily exposure to the father's toils to provide for the household. Such a youth was groomed to seamlessly inherit the familial vocation, without deeming the profession either 'congenial' or otherwise.[381] However, the aspirations of subsequent generations underwent a transformation, underpinned by two pivotal developments. First, the technological revolution, characterised by scientific innovations, ushered in a plethora of machinery, augmenting production efficiency. While colliers once occupied an indispensable niche, with the coal industry relying on a

[377] *6L*, 404; *LEA*, 277,
[378] *LEA*, 276.
[379] *LEA*, 278.
[380] Hannah Barker, *Family and Business during the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017), 125-6.
[381] *LEA*, 276.

vast labour force for diverse tasks, the advent of mechanisation shifted this equilibrium. While industrial magnates reaped unprecedented profits, the once indispensable colliers confronted an increasingly competitive employment landscape. This transition accentuated their disillusionment, as burgeoning machinery displaced human labour, without commensurately easing personal or familial financial burdens.

Second, the landscape of education underwent a radical metamorphosis. As I have shown, the implementation of the British modern educational system, the promulgation of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, catalysed the establishment of the Board School system, democratising access to education for the working class. Lawrence's introspective examination of social nuances shines through here: he juxtaposes his upbringing against the broader English milieu, highlighting the systemic indoctrination where a staggering ninety percent of boys in mining regions were, as he puts it, 'deliberately taught, at school, to be malcontents'.[382] Lawrence expounds on the dichotomies entrenched by education, which compartmentalised professions as either 'clean' or 'dirty'.[383] Far from empowering children to fulfil their potential and choose their distinct trajectories, the educational apparatus foisted on them a prescriptive mould: '[they] don't want to stick down a coal-mine all [their] life' doing dirty physical work, and they should rather 'do *clean* work', such as '[becoming] a school-teacher or a clerk, not a common collier'. While Lawrence emerged as an exception, a beacon among the ten percent who transitioned to 'clean' professions, the vast majority of his working-class peers (his schoolmates, for example) inexorably gravitated towards the pits. This education-imposed tension between newly-acquired life ideals and inherited familial legacies fermented resentment among young miners.

[382] *LEA*, 279.
[383] *LEA*, 279.

The thematic trajectory of abstraction, discernibly present in the poem 'But I say unto you: Love one another', provides a nuanced lens through which readers can grasp Lawrence's criticism of modern education. Instead of merely depicting young colliers as disenchanted workers, Lawrence delves deeper, portraying their transformation into virtual automatons within the bleak confines of the mines:

> Oh I have loved the working class
> Where I was born,
> and lived to see them spawn into machine-robots
> in the hot-beds of the board-schools and the film.[384]

In the concluding line of this stanza, Lawrence draws a parallel between board-schools and films, suggesting a congruent influence on the advancement of abstraction. In the polemical essay, Lawrence observes that 'The film, the radio, the gramophone were all invented because physical effort and physical contact have become repulsive to man and woman alike'. [385] Utilising terms such as 'spawn', 'hot-beds', 'machine-robots', Lawrence underscores the adverse consequence of abstraction: dehumanisation.

Beyond the mere outcomes of dehumanisation inherent in the act of abstraction, Lawrence delves deeply into the essence of abstraction itself. Jeff Wallace notes that Lawrence's primary objection is to a '"didactic" and "dogmatic" science producing boredom'.[386] Thus, Lawrence's denunciation of mechanisation, together with his critique of modern education's impact on future generations, can be encapsulated in his profound scepticism about abstraction. This scepticism is particularly pertinent as abstraction underpins both industrialisation and contemporary society at large. A quintessential

[384] *1Poems*, 555.
[385] *LEA*, 277.
[386] Jeff Wallace, 'Science and Technology', in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 232-241 (234).

example of abstraction, also symbolically employed in Lawrence's essay, emerges from the practices of the American entrepreneur, Ford. Celebrated for launching the first mass-produced vehicle, the Model T, in 1913, the Ford Motor Company dramatically transformed the manufacturing sector through the innovation of the assembly line. Lawrence astutely observed that 'Mr. Ford, being in his own way a genius, has realized what the modern workman wants, just like the modern gentleman, is abstraction'.[387]

Contrasting with the nuances of traditional craftsmanship, the assembly line prioritises a seemingly vacuous collaboration among workers. For instance, the mere act of turning screws, while appearing inconsequential, streamlines the car manufacturing process, facilitating the prolific production of the Model T. To bridge the divide between the education his employees had and their specific roles, Mr. Ford assigned them specialised, albeit seemingly insipid, tasks. These workers operated in an environment of unprecedented cleanliness, a stark departure from the experiences of their predecessors. Lawrence's tacitly satirical stance is evident when he expresses his aversion to this sterile environment in the aforementioned poem's second stanza:

> Oh how have I loved the thought of thoughtful people
> gentle and refined,
> and lived to find out
> that their last thought was money
> and their last refinement bluff, a hate disguised,
> and one trapped one's fingers in their brassy, polished works![388]

Terms such as 'brassy' and 'polished' underscore the presence of those jobs that even an industrial magnate like Ford struggles to enhance. As Bethan Jones contends, 'The kind of mechanization that [the working-class] espouse is more insidiously destructive: it is

[387] *LEA*, 278.
[388] *1Poems*, 555.

"polished" and pristine rather than oily and black'.[389] Lawrence's satirical acumen is illuminated not just through juxtaposition but also in subtle linguistic shifts. By transitioning from the plural possessive 'their' to the singular pronoun 'one' in the concluding line, Lawrence links this poem to the overwhelming majority of dissidents shaped by board-school education. As he points out, 'even Mr. Ford can't make coal-mines clean and shiny and abstract. Coal won't be abstracted'.[390] In other words, regardless of modern technological advancements, 'it is sometimes *impossible* to turn uncongenial jobs into congenial ones', necessitating individuals to undertake them.[391] Furthermore, while Ford's employees might reap the benefits of abstraction and engage in agreeable tasks, their incessant repetition of these rote tasks transforms them into automatons.

In addition to utilising machinery as a metaphor for abstraction in his polemical writings and poetry, Lawrence also employed this motif symbolically in his short fiction. In the unfinished work entitled 'The Woman Who Wanted to Disappear', Lawrence narrates the tale of an anonymous, affluent, yet resolute woman who leaves her spouse in pursuit of 'her own rare and magical self'.[392] While she acquires an automobile and ventures into a forest, she becomes disoriented and forsakes her vehicle. In due course, she encounters a forester and is extended refuge in his hut. The irony of the automobile is twofold. Initially, akin to Ford's vehicle which does not serve as a panacea, the woman's car fails to guide her back to the primary route and out of the woods. The car, after all, is a mere mechanical device, not infallible. Secondly, the narrative insinuates

[389] Bethan Jones, *The Last Poems of D. H. Lawrence: Shaping a Late Style* (London: Routledge, 2016), 170.
[390] *LEA*, 279.
[391] *LEA*, 276.
[392] *VG*, 252.

that the machine, rather than aiding the woman, dictates her trajectory and facilitates her abstraction. Though her primary intent in procuring the car was enhanced mobility, an unforeseen 'fierce turn of the wheel', seemingly beyond her command, diverts the car off the main road.[393] Jones argues that '[the woman's] journey is [not] specifically orientated' but is motivated by an impulse.[394] Yet, one could also interpret that amidst the vehicle's brief dysfunction, she forfeits her dominion over it. Paradoxically, while she operates the car and ostensibly commands it, she becomes ensnared by the machinery; the operator is subsumed by the operated. Instinctively, the woman seeks solace in nature, steering 'into the heart of the forest'.[395] As nature embodies tangibility in contrast to the machine's intangibility, her abstracted state undergoes a rejuvenation upon confronting the forest's overwhelming presence. This resurgence of her primal sentiments, 'exactly the same now as when she was a small child', facilitates her emancipation from the mechanistic confines. Subsequently, she stumbles upon the cabin where she meets the forest ranger.

In another story, 'The Woman Who Rode Away', Lawrence employs a car as a symbol to contrast the abstraction of female identity with another mode of transportation, the horse. The protagonist is '[taken] into the dead, thrice-dead little Spanish town forgotten among the mountains' by her husband in his 'battered Ford car'.[396] During their marriage, spanning over a decade, she is not treated with the respect of a wife but rather as a captive in the adobe dwelling and a possession of her husband. The word 'battered' can denote both wear and tear or a history of physical abuse. The car thus becomes a poignant metaphor, aligning with the woman's fate as property. Symbolically, upon

[393] *VG*, 253.
[394] Bethan Jones, 'Disappearing Tricks: comedy and gender in D. H. Lawrence's late short fiction', in Howard J. Booth ed. by *New D. H. Lawrence* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010), 130-147 (135).
[395] *VG*, 253.
[396] *WWRA*, 39.

departing, she eschews the car in favour of mounting a horse, embracing adventure. N. H. Reeve suggests that Lawrence frequently employs these 'car-horse oppositions' to support his argument in 'decrying the contribution [cars] made to the devitalizing of modern existence'.[397] Through the vehicle, the woman is rendered an abstraction. In contrast, atop the horse, she rediscovers her vitality and identity, grounding herself in humanity. Harris contends that her horse journey signifies a transformation in her consciousness 'from a rational, scientific, industrial mind set to a more mystical, sensual understanding of reality'.[398]

Abstraction is not merely confined to factory settings but pervades interpersonal relationships, particularly between men and women. Lawrence, in 'Men Must Work and Women As Well', observes a drift 'towards a further and further physical separateness between men and women'.[399] Scientific and technological advancements empower women to liberate themselves from domestic constraints, participating in social spheres and accessing domains once exclusive to men. Whereas traditional values accentuated a woman's innate desire for '[being] all for home, shelter, the protection of the man', modern women prioritise self-reliance over dependency. Nonetheless, an excessive focus on autonomy risks transmuting gender equity into a fervent compulsion among women to demonstrate their independence from men. This inadvertently leads to a pervasive ambiguity, with women grappling with genuine desires versus social expectations. In Lawrence's view, 'woman *thinks* she wants a lovely little home of her own – but her instinct is all against it, when it means matrimony'.[400] Elaborated in the preceding chapter, this dilemma of self-awareness plagues both genders. Both remain oblivious to the desires

[397] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, 8, 10.
[398] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D. H. Lawrence*, 184.
[399] *LEA*, 282.
[400] *LEA*, 281.

of the other. This disconnect is satirically depicted in the short story 'In Love', featuring the young couple, Hester and Joe. Their interactions, mirroring countless couples, culminate in Hester's exasperated outburst against Joe's amorous advances: 'I absolutely can't stand your making love to me, if that's what you call the business'.[401] The conversation between Hester, Joe, and Hester's sister, Henrietta, pushes Lawrence's black humour to its limit:

> 'I thought it was expected of me,' he repeated, jeering.
> Hester was horrified.
> 'Oh, but how beastly of you to do it!' cried Henrietta to him.
> 'And what a lie!' cried Hester. 'He liked it.'
> 'Do you think he did, Hester?' said Henreitta.
> 'I liked it in a way,' he said impudently. 'But I shouldn't have liked it, if I thought she didn't.'[402]

In this conversation, the most controversial part is Joe's attitude. In Joe's understanding, Hester is expecting his moves while in fact she does not. At the same time, Joe himself is averse to pressuring Hester to do something against her will. Though he does admit that he likes it in a way, it can be understood that the reason Joe likes it is because he thinks Hester likes it, rather than him really enjoying it himself. The young lovers, Joe and Hester, do not understand what each other really wants. They are following the patterns learned from friends or the older generations, trying to act as the good girlfriend and the mature man. In other words, the two do not know each other and they are too self-centred to spare any time to understand the other's feelings. Instead, they are living in a fantasy based on their speculations about the other. Their relationship, emblematic of modern society's abstraction, lacks genuine intimacy. As Lawrence states in the polemical essay, though 'young men and young women today are together all the time', there is still a

[401] *WWRA*, 147.
[402] *WWRA*, 148.

'strange independence of one another' because they are only a fantasy for each other.[403] While open communication could bridge these chasms, it is ironically forsaken in a society that champions intangibility. In Lawrence's view, the result of blindly pursuing abstraction is 'really only one and the same: some form of collective social madness'.[404]

To '[deal] with various aspects of life under modern life conditions', Lady Emily Lutyens proposed in the *Star Review* to have a sequence of articles discussing these topics.[405] In the editorial notes to the issue that published Lawrence's polemical piece, Lutyens points out that social division derives from 'ignorance'.[406] Lutyens and other contributors intermittently make large claims about spirituality (Krishnamurti), religion (Hodgson), and the younger generation (Lutyens) under this central theme. However, they do not sustain or examine much of the crucial 'ignorance'. Compared to them, Lawrence distinguishes his voice with his acute observation of this issue. For example, Lutyens's understanding of ignorance is the patterns that parents forced on their children. In Lutyens's view, the older generation 'speak of "naughty" children and create them by [the older generation's] own stupidity'. As Lutyens remarks, the older generation is in fact destroying children's individuality and creating copies of themselves in the younger generation's bodies by '[regarding them] as an asset, a source of income', and '[exploiting them] as such'.[407] Though this sentence is followed by the switching of roles, and parents being exploited, it can be interpreted that this is the retribution that comes back to haunt them. In Lawrence's view, ignorance is abstraction, which is the core of pattern because abstraction is emphasising on the non-physical. To resolve ignorance, Lutyens argues that

[403] *LEA*, 282.
[404] *LEA*, 284.
[405] *7L*, 405n1.
[406] Lady Emily Lutyens, 'Editorial Notes', *Star Review*, November 1929, 608-9 (609).
[407] Lady Emily Lutyens, 'The Revolt of Age', *Star Review*, November 1929, 630-33 (631).

'the only cure for ignorance is knowledge'.[408] For Lawrence, '[getting] your body back' is what needs to happen first, in order to overcome ignorance with the help of knowledge.[409]

In her journey to regain autonomy over her body, the female protagonist of 'The Woman Who Rode Away' displays a striking proclivity towards self-obliteration. Neil Roberts observes that with their 'questing souls', the female protagonists in Lawrence's New World fiction share a common trait of '[moving] towards reunion with the dark half of humanity'. [410] In this story, the woman extricates herself from the symbolic confinement of her husband's adobe dwelling, leaving her past life in its entirety. Yet, her newfound freedom is rapidly curtailed when she is physically imprisoned by the indigenous people. Scholars, including Harris, typically interpret the woman's eventual demise as a shift in dominance – from Caucasian to non-Caucasian races or from female to male dominance.[411] However, the trajectory leading to her demise can alternatively be construed as her fervent attempt to assert, especially to her husband, that she would prefer annihilation over continuing to exist as a mere chattel. In their previous conversation, the woman was told that Indians are savages and behave savagely. However, the woman still sets off to the Indians' tribe because she is attracted by her husband's description of the 'savages' and his description of the 'vulgar marvel of mysterious savages'. [412] Her departure symbolises her inaugural act of reclaiming her body – a gesture that centres on her autonomy, starkly contrasting with her prior state of subservience. Yet, her exhilaration at liberation swiftly morphs into an adamantine resolve against reverting to

[408] Lutyens, 'Editorial Notes', 609.
[409] *LEA*, 284.
[410] Roberts, *Travel and Cultural Difference*, 101.
[411] Harris, *The Short Fiction of D.H. Lawrence*, 187.
[412] *WWRA*, 42.

her past life. Despite inherent miscommunications and the ever-present enigma of her interactions with the Indigenous tribe, she is resigned to her fate, even as they prepare her for a ritualistic end – they '[take] off her clothes' and '[wash] her all over with water and the amole infusion'; she '[wants] it' – it is a fate she seemingly embraces.[413] For her, the particularities of her sacrifice – whether to the Chilchui Indians or any other deities – are secondary. Her paramount aim remains self-eradication, which she interprets as a form of deliverance from the shackles of her marital life and the social norms she has been ensnared by. The woman's overarching predicament lies in her inability to harmoniously align her mental desires with her physical existence. In her marital life, she enjoys physical mobility, yet mentally, she remains subjugated. On the contrary, among the Indigenous people, she achieves mental liberation, embracing the concept of death, but is rendered physically passive, relying on the tribe for her eventual end, rather than actively pursuing it herself. Paradoxically, the ephemeral synchronisation of her mental and physical states transpires during her ascetic odyssey on horseback.

Contrary to Kate Millett's strident critique in *Sexual Politics*, wherein she alleges Lawrence's overt misogyny, Lawrence appears to have opted for female protagonists in two of the stories, 'The Woman Who Rode Away' and 'The Woman Who Wanted to Disappear'.[414] This choice might be indicative of his heightened faith in women's capacities, compared to men's, to counter the erasure of abstraction. In his essay 'Give Her a Pattern', Lawrence points out that 'women have the logic of emotion', implying a heightened corporeal awareness in women.[415] While neither narrative culminates in the protagonists successfully wresting their bodies from the

[413] *WWRA*, 66-7.
[414] Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics*, 285-6.
[415] *LEA*, 164.

clutches of abstraction, Lawrence deploys these tales to caution contemporary society against abstraction's deleterious impacts. As Bethan Jones points out, 'the shortcomings of modern, mechanized society are fully revealed' in Lawrence's late stories, 'as well as the inadequacy of the longed-for alternatives'.[416] Essentially, Lawrence leverages short fiction as a didactic medium to elucidate and contemplate the contentions he advances in his polemical pieces.

Notably, both female protagonists remain unnamed in these stories. In Millett's influential remarks on the features of patriarchy, she points out that '[women's] chattel status continues in their loss of name, their obligation to adopt the husband's domicile'.[417] However, this assertion is only partially valid for Lawrence's characters. Their anonymity does not emanate from Lawrence's intent to dehumanise but rather to signal that their tribulations are typical. In other words, through these unnamed characters, Lawrence intends to generalise the repercussions of social abstraction. In a pessimistic tone, Lawrence concludes the polemical essay by surmising that the sole recourse available to men and women is to 'try to get back their bodies and preserve the other flow of warmth, affection, and physical unison. There is nothing else to do'.[418] As Erin G. Carlston observes, Lawrence's perspectives on gender, akin to those of other eminent male modernists like James Joyce, Marcel Proust, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and Wyndham Lewis, have been 'subjected to richly revelatory feminist and queer rereadings'.[419] Though now recognised as a part of modernist critical culture, Lawrence remained an outsider to mainstream celebrity culture in his time. While his

[416] Jones, 'Disappearing Tricks', 132.
[417] Millett, *Sexual Politics*, 34.
[418] *LEA*, 284.
[419] Erin G. Carlston, '"Acting the Man": Wyndham Lewis and the Future of Masculinity', *Modernism/Modernity*, 25.4, 771-789 (771).

contemporaries James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Gertrude Stein became widely known in the mainstream press and became bestsellers in the American marketplace in a six-month period (1933-34), Lawrence had been struggling financially and a major source of his income was private patronage.[420] This peripheral status endowed Lawrence with a unique vantage point, enabling him to discern, assimilate, and interpret heated discussions for his readers.[421] While crafting his distinct insights and refining his narrative voice in his journalistic writings, Lawrence pertinently grasped his readers' concerns about the abstracting effect of modern society and gradually directed them to the source: education.

**'Making Pictures'**

In the face of the looming threat of modern society's increasing abstraction, Lawrence not only utilised popular journalism to raise awareness among a broader range of readers, but also actively sought tangible solutions. Demonstrating a profound commitment to education from his early student years, Lawrence's dedication is evident. A letter of recommendation from A. Henderson, the Professor of Education at University College Nottingham, lauded Lawrence for '[showing] decided ability in his course of study'.[422] Henderson further remarked on Lawrence's adeptness as an educator, noting how his teaching exhibited both 'originality and resource'. G. Holderness, Lawrence's former headmaster, similarly extolled Lawrence's character and pedagogical talents. Having known Lawrence since his youth and supervising him

[420] See, Karen Leick, 'Popular Modernism: Little Magazines and the American Daily Press', *PMLA*, 123.1 (January 2008): 125–39 (136).
[421] For discussions on Lawrence as an outsider, see John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Life of an Outsider* (London: Penguin, 2006).
[422] Transcribed in *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, vol. 38, 8.

during his apprenticeship at the British School, Eastwood, Holderness, drawing from his extensive interactions, compared Lawrence with other educators he had encountered. He concluded that there were 'none of greater promise than Mr. Lawrence'. Armed with these endorsements, Lawrence secured a position at the newly established Davidson Road School in Croydon. True to the commendations in the letters, Lawrence infused his classrooms with his fervour and distinct educational perspectives. A. W. McLeod, a close colleague of Lawrence's at Davidson, recalls that 'teaching, to Lawrence, was then a necessity for his physical existence and not in any sense a vocation'.[423] Lawrence's foundational educational philosophies were significantly shaped by German thinkers such as Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, who prioritised instinct over intellect and the corporeal over the cerebral. Lawrence's personal experience, first as a student and then as an educator, furnished him with a comprehensive vantage point to critique the prevailing educational paradigms. Through his correspondence and autobiographical essays, Lawrence candidly expressed his disdain for entrenched authorities, ranging from Sunday school instructors invoking emotional outbursts in students over the crucifixion to university lecturers regurgitating decades-old lectures. At Davidson Road School, Lawrence had the opportunity to implement his vision of exemplary education. Eschewing traditional hierarchical dynamics, he adopted a more progressive stance, emphasising egalitarianism in his classroom, a method that garnered appreciative feedback. McLeod reminisces about his time alongside Lawrence at Davidson, characterising him as an exceptional educator who appreciated boys for their

[423] Nehls, *I*, 84.

individuality, ‘but not as pupils. The liking was reciprocated with similar reservations’.[424]

After departing from Davidson and embarking on his literary career, Lawrence reflected on his pedagogical experiences, outlining an envisioned education system and social structure in his essay, ‘Education of the People’. In the second and third chapters, Lawrence methodically delineates what he perceives to be an optimal alternative to the prevailing educational paradigm. Drawing on the apprenticeship tradition, he advocates for a transformation in the educator’s role from merely being a conveyor of knowledge to a guardian overseeing the pupil’s learning journey. Lawrence posits that knowledge acquisition should primarily stem from students’ individual explorations, and this endeavour should either be free from, or minimally interfered with by, educators. While Lawrence emphasises proactive learning and underscores students’ autonomy, he also positions the educator as the key determinant in selecting pupils’ career paths. One of the more frequently cited and debated assertions in his essay is, ‘We, the educators, have got to decide for the children’.[425] Contrary to the German education system, which categorises students into professions based on their social status, Lawrence’s approach seeks to ‘recognise the true nature in each child, and to give each its natural chance’.[426] Although both systems aim to produce specialised professionals, Lawrence’s model stands out because it mandates that educators make these decisions with utmost sincerity and reverence, striving to match each individual with the most compatible profession. Moreover, Lawrence introduces a safeguard mechanism, allowing students to transition to a different profession if an initial placement proves unsuitable, stating,

[424] Quoted in Harry T. Moore, *The Intelligent Heart: the Story of D. H. Lawrence* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1954), 76.
[425] *RDP*, 106.
[426] *RDP*, 99.

'no decision will be final. If at any time it shall become apparent that a child is unfit for the group he occupies, then after a proper consultation he shall be removed to his own natural group'.[427] In Lawrence's envisioned educational landscape, students would possess genuine freedom to 'express themselves', cultivate their interests, and pursue lives that resonate most deeply with their authentic selves. Educators would transition into the role of advisors. To eschew perpetuating the 'faulty idea of equality' and to ensure pupils' independence from abstraction and other undue influences, Lawrence champions a more focused teaching approach: only essential skills, like reading and arithmetic, would be taught, leaving students with the autonomy to select their own learning materials and subjects based on personal inclinations. A distinct advantage of this pedagogical approach is that it allows students to cultivate their thought processes without being confined to predetermined paradigms. Instead of relying solely on textbook conclusions, pupils would derive knowledge from tangible experiences.

Lawrence's advocacy for allowing pupils to independently explore and develop their own interests bears notable parallels to Walter Benjamin's emphasis on 'experience'. Stemming from Schopenhauer's theory – which posits that genuine education should proceed sequentially from *observations* to the formation of *ideas* – Lawrence suggests that a child's innate curiosity will naturally foster their conceptualisations about the world, derived from their meticulous observations of life. However, both Schopenhauer and Lawrence do not extensively address the mechanism through which observations translate into abstract ideas. Half a century after Schopenhauer's 'On Education', Walter Benjamin critically evaluated the pedagogical methodologies and underscored the pivotal role of experience as the bridge between

[427] *RDP*, 106, 99.

observation and conceptual thought. As a seminal figure in the 'German Youth Movement', one of Europe's most transformative socio-cultural waves, Benjamin rigorously critiqued the German education system and expounded on the urgent need for its reformation in his seminal texts. Within his 1913 essay, 'Experience', Benjamin portrays an older generation leveraging their amassed 'experience' as a tool to assert authority and dominance over the younger cohort. To this elder demographic, 'experience' assumes a tangible quality, transferable across generations and akin to skill sets or knowledge bases. Paradoxically, the brand of experience the elders ardently try to impart cannot be assimilated merely through verbiage or textbooks; it demands lived, first-hand experiences. The youth's dissent against entrenched authority and their call for educational reform signifies their pursuit of autonomous experiential learning, or at the very least, the liberty to determine the contours of their lived realities. Benjamin acknowledges the potential pitfalls of such autonomy, admitting that some outcomes of unmediated experiences might be grievous.[428] However, he asserts that 'only to the mindless… is experience devoid of meaning and spirit. To the one who strives, experience may be painful, but it will scarcely lead him to despair'. Benjamin, despite appearing to frame the discourse on experience within a dichotomous construct – youth versus elders – eschews over-generalisation. Instead, he cautions against complacency and the perils of settling. He posits that many, initially driven by a zest for discovery and the vibrancy of life, ultimately capitulate to banality, content with the experiences accrued in their youth. In other words, many elders willingly forsake novel experiences, opting for a tranquil existence devoid of challenging endeavours.

[428] Walter Benjamin, *Early Writings, 1910-1917*, ed. and trans. by Howard Eiland (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2011), 116.

Furthermore, the older generation often exhibits a reluctance to acknowledge the youth's fervour and innovative approach to experiencing life, frequently suppressing their inquisitiveness and critical thinking abilities through disciplinary measures. As Thomas Docherty notes, young individuals find themselves in a social framework that 'celebrates and legitimizes a philistinism and vulgarity' which is built by the elders who 'deny human potential'.[429] With condescending demeanours, as observed by Benjamin, the elder cohort chides the youth for '[refusing] to believe [their] parents', justifying their stance by citing their own youthful transgressions and subsequent realizations of parental wisdom.[430] In a 1912 essay, 'School Reform: A Cultural Movement', Benjamin identifies a comparable sentiment in educators, noting that a teacher often reprimands students, whether children or adolescents, with a smug, internal conviction of acting 'for [their] own good'.[431] In both scenarios, the older generation employs moral opprobrium to exert pressure on the youth resistant to conforming to established directives. It is irrefutable that the youth's susceptibility, innocence, and naivety arise from their experiential deficit. However, for the elder generation, 'experience' is not perceived as a deeply personal, idiosyncratic journey amassed over time, but rather as a transferable asset akin to a skill set. Benjamin contends that the elders, operating under the presumption that the youth will inevitably capitulate to 'life's drudgery' as they themselves did, deem it more pragmatic to expedite the youth's immersion into the mundanities of life to pre-empt potential disillusionment.[432] Under the guise of safeguarding and affection, elders endeavour to constrain the youth within metaphorical

[429] Thomas Docherty, 'Aesthetic education and the demise of experience', in *The New Aestheticism*, ed. by John J. Joughin and Simon Malpas (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2003), 23-35 (25).
[430] Walter Benjamin, *Early Writings*, 116.
[431] Walter Benjamin, *Early Writings*, 59.
[432] Benjamin, *Early Writings*, 116.

classroom confines, indoctrinating them with predetermined 'experiences' and pre-established life blueprints. This approach risks abstracting the lived experiences of both generations to mere recurrences of the past.

In a similar manner, Lawrence lamented the obstructions the older generation posed to the youths' quest for exploration and learning. During his studies at University College Nottingham, Lawrence voiced his frustration with outdated curricula and disparaged the inertia of professors – whom he termed 'small men' – for their reluctance to embrace contemporary pedagogical approaches, instead 'reading lectures written twenty years before'.[433] It was possibly during this time that Lawrence felt compelled to envision a novel pedagogical methodology, even contemplating an entirely reformed education system. His subsequent three-year teaching stint at Croydon afforded him an invaluable opportunity to keenly observe his students, understand their behavioural nuances, and translate his pedagogical philosophy into actionable teaching strategies. In stark contrast to his erstwhile professors, Frieda, his wife, recounts that when Lawrence taught the Battle of Agincourt, he went beyond mere exposition; instead, he creatively orchestrated a mock battle, '[arranging] the boys in two sides and they *fought* the battle of Agincourt over schoolforms and all'.[434] As Lawrence articulated in both correspondence and the introduction to *Movements in European History* (a history textbook he authored for Oxford University Press in 1918), his overarching objective as an educator was to 'convey the true historic impression to children who are beginning to grasp realities'.[435] He aspired to infuse education with

[433] *1L*, 49.
[434] Quoted in Worthen, 208.
[435] *MEH*, 9. In a letter attached to the first three chapters of this book sent to Oxford University Press, Lawrence expressed the goal he wanted to realise through this book. See *3L*, 268-9.

profound, ‘philosophical reverence’ and to elucidate historical events in a manner that would vicariously immerse students, enabling them to ‘live it once more’.

This is also the core of Lawrence’s educational philosophy, which emphasises the organic assimilation of knowledge instead of abstraction, urging students to actively engage in the learning process. Unlike modern education which prioritises the acquisition of abstract knowledge, Lawrence placed paramount importance on the students themselves. Lawrence’s distinctive educational approach contends that knowledge, skills, or techniques cannot be simply imparted by educators; instead, they are inherently acquired by students. In this paradigm, educators serve as guardians and advisors, shielding students from sentimental influences that might hinder their imagination and spontaneity. For instance, in ‘Hymns in a Man’s Life’, Lawrence frequently references hymns to depict an idyllic childhood. However, he clarifies his aversion to certain hymns, particularly those he deems overly sentimental, such as ‘Lead Kindly Light’ and ‘Abide with Me’.[436] In his 1925 essay, ‘Morality and the Novel’, Lawrence goes further, lambasting ‘Lead Kindly Light’ for its ‘great mischief’ of ‘[helping] to rot the marrow in the bones of the present generation’.[437]

In a frequently cited observation, Lawrence articulated the necessity of fostering and, crucially, preserving a child’s innate sense of wonder and eagerness to explore within the realm of education:

> This is the way to educate children: the instinctive way of mothers. There should be no effort made to teach children to think, to have ideas. Only to lift them and urge them into dynamic activity. The voice of dynamic sound, not the words of understanding. Damn understanding. Gestures, and touch, and expression of the face, not theory. Never have ideas about children—

[436] *LEA*, 133.
[437] *STH*, 175.

> and never have ideas *for* them… If we are going to teach children we must teach them first to move. And not by rule or mental dictation.[438]

Lawrence's contention that children should not be instructed in adult modes of thought suggests that they should not have established cognitive patterns imposed upon them. Instead, he believed that children, driven by their intrinsic curiosity and wonder, should organically cultivate their unique thought processes and explore their surroundings. In an earlier essay entitled 'Nature Study', written on 15 November 1904 while he worked as a pupil-teacher at the British School in Eastwood, Lawrence delineated his philosophy of nurturing and safeguarding childhood wonder within formal education. The significance of this essay extends beyond its distinction as Lawrence's earliest extant commentary on education. It stands as a testament to the continuity of his educational ideals. As Harrison notes, this essay is 'wholly characteristic of [Lawrence's] later writing in its critique of school learning that omits a sense of wonder at the universe'.[439] In his writing, Lawrence critiques the uniformity and stifling atmosphere of schools and classrooms, suggesting that they suppress students' imaginative capacities and innate curiosity. Such environments, he asserts, limit students' opportunities for profound, lasting learning. In Lawrence's view, authentic education would have one 'sit on the needle-strewn ground and see the cones hang darkly against the blue of the sky. Out in the free air of heaven, out among wild things free, [and] not passing round dusty specimens'.[440] Lawrence elucidates a nexus between the enigmatic allure of nature and the hymns pupils learn through song. In contrast to

[438] *PFU*, 112.
[439] Harrison, 14.
[440] UoN MSC La B 220.

static specimens, nature is a vibrant and ever-evolving entity, presenting endless exploration opportunities for students.

In fact, Lawrence's pedagogical approach extends beyond mere theoretical articulation; he implemented it himself, demonstrating its efficacy. According to Jessie Chambers' testimony, 'Nature Study' was a subject that Lawrence oversaw while he worked as a teacher at Davidson Road School in Croydon. It becomes evident that Lawrence was not merely an educational philosopher; he also retained a personal sense of childlike wonder about the natural world. Chambers recounts instances when Lawrence occasionally 'asked me to send him specimens for his nature-study lessons. Once he asked for twigs of the sallow-willow, and gave me the most precise directions as to which tree in the Warren I was to gather them from'.[441] Lawrence's upbringing in the English countryside likely fostered his innate affinity for nature and his zest for exploration and experiential learning. Additionally, his visits during his formative years to the Chambers family at Haggs Farm, situated on the periphery of the industrial town of Eastwood, may have afforded him rich experiences that both augmented his knowledge base and inspired him to incorporate diverse pedagogical approaches into his ideal educational framework.

However, upon assuming his teaching role in Croydon, Lawrence encountered a significant challenge that most of his pupils, having been raised in urban settings, lacked the intimate connection with nature that had enriched his own childhood. Moreover, due to accelerated urbanisation, there were diminished opportunities for these city-dwelling students to immerse themselves in natural surroundings. As Lawrence consistently emphasised in 'Education of the People', the paramount objective of education should

[441] E. T., 89.

be to foster and facilitate 'self-expression'.[442] Given the constraints of the urban environment, art education emerged as a viable avenue to achieve this goal. In practice, Lawrence established a designated classroom at Davidson Road School equipped with painting materials to enable children to express themselves. While comprehensive records of this endeavour are scarce, it is evident that Lawrence's advocacy for art education persisted. For instance, within his later periodical contributions, essays such as 'Introduction to Pictures', 'Introduction to These Paintings', 'Making Pictures', and 'Pictures on the Wall' specifically address this subject. Notably, 'Making Pictures' stands out as the sole essay published both in the United States and Britain. Moreover, its commercial success earned Lawrence $100 from *Vanity Fair* and ten guineas from the niche magazine, *The Studio*. Lawrence revisited and expounded upon the educational philosophies previously articulated in his extensive twelve-chapter treatise, 'Education of the People', within this 3,000-word composition.

'Making Pictures' was featured in the *Studio* in July 1929, accompanied by Lawrence's oil painting, 'The Finding of Moses', presented in monochrome. Given the thematic content of 'Making Pictures', this painting could be construed as an embodiment of Lawrence's ideal art education process: start by copying, then progress to creating original works. In 'The Finding of Moses' (**Figure *5***), Lawrence provides a visual representation of the biblical account where Pharaoh's daughter discovers Moses amongst the reeds. Deviating from conventional portrayals that typically position the central figure, Moses, at the painting's core, Lawrence places him at the bottom, focusing instead on five female figures. This choice accentuates the roles of caregivers, suggesting that one's future is substantially shaped by upbringing. To the right, a

[442] *RDP*, 94.

woman, likely nursing her child, stands holding her baby. On the left, a more distinctly depicted woman stands with legs apart, emphasising her secondary sexual characteristics, thereby infusing the figure with sexual undertones and accentuating female sexuality. In a departure from tradition, Lawrence eschews a clear identification of Pharaoh's daughter, opting instead to ambiguously represent the three central women. However, based on their body language, one might discern their respective social roles. The kneeling woman clutching Moses's basket-ark presumably represents a handmaid. Adjacent to her, a woman sits at the riverbank, her feet immersed in the River Nile, while behind them, a third woman stands, her arms enveloping the other two, suggesting her leadership position within this group. Additionally, the vivid red blossoms surrounding the woman on the left carry symbolic weight. While her demeanour and posture convey a pursuit of sensual gratification, the blossoms evoke the fulfilment of physical desires. However, succumbing to such ephemeral pleasures might result in a loss of purpose, as indicated by the contorted branches obstructing sunlight. Conversely, suppressing one's intuition can have adverse outcomes. The top right corner of the painting reveals traces of blossoms behind the nursing woman. By shading this area darkly, Lawrence intimates that her identity is overshadowed by her responsibilities, hinting at the repression of her desires. The lack of facial detail further underscores her diminishing individuality. Returning to the triad of women, it is notable that two trees naturally form an arch, demarcating them from the other two solitary figures. A warm luminosity filters through this arch, heralding a promising future. In 'Education of the People', Lawrence posits that an ideal society is contingent upon an education system facilitating students in discovering their optimal professions. Through

‘The Finding of Moses’, Lawrence underscores his belief that vitality thrives within a cooperative community.

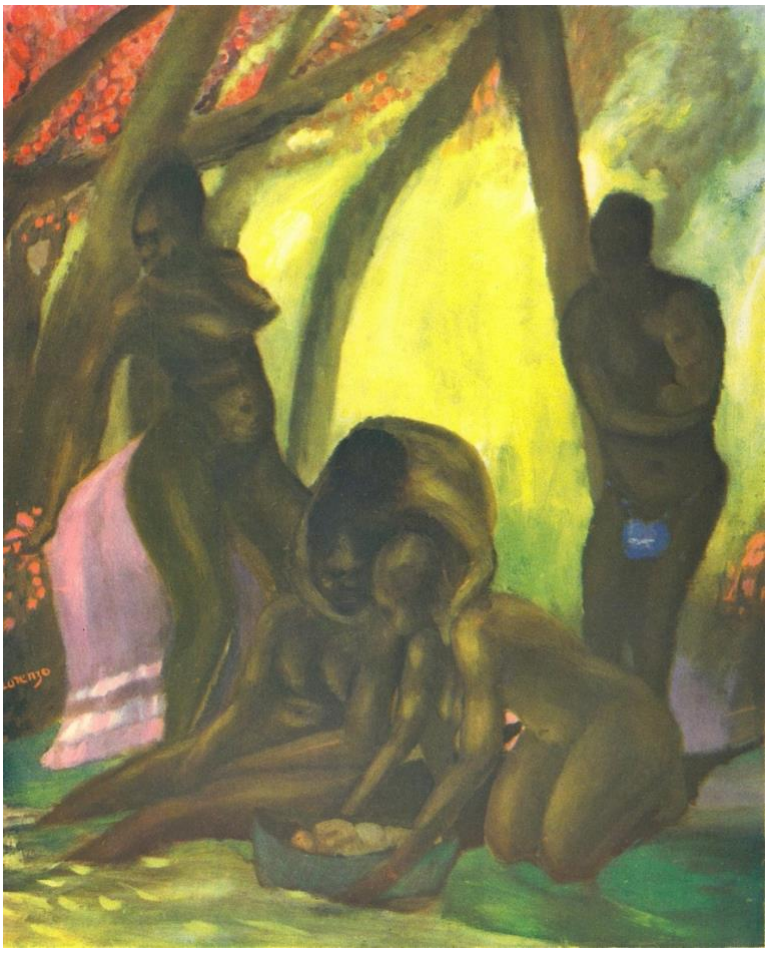


**Figure 5.** ‘The Finding of Moses’, D. H. Lawrence. Roberts A46. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

This is Lawrence’s philosophy of art education. This biblical account was a common subject among artists, especially during the Renaissance. As Lawrence remarks at the beginning of ‘Making Pictures’, the creativity is draining out of contemporary visual art as ‘the same weariness comes over one’.[443] Thus, Lawrence taught himself to paint by

[443] *LEA*, 227.

copying the masterpieces of Renaissance artists such as Benjamin Leader, Fra Angelico, Pietro Lorenzetti, and Vittore Carpaccio. For Lawrence, education should not be merely a means of transmitting prescribed knowledge but should primarily serve as an active learning process for students. The primary role of educators should be to offer experience-based guidance, intervening only when essential, without overly directing the learning journey of pupils. Take painting as an illustration: it represents a genuine expression that 'comes clean out of instinct, intuition, and sheer physical action. Once the instinct and intuition get into the brush-tip, the picture *happens*, if it is to be a picture at all'.[444] Lawrence maintained that for one to truly be 'an artist, of any sort' and to facilitate the creation of art, a prerequisite is a 'certain purity of spirit'.[445] This suggests that one's comprehension of art and beauty should not be confined to established aesthetic paradigms. A parallel sentiment is echoed in *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, where Lawrence critiques educational systems that impose rigid delineations of right and wrong, coercing students to conform to accepted norms of thought and artistic expression:

> A child *mustn't* understand things. He must have them his own way. His vision isn't ours. […] The image on his retina is not the image of his consciousness. […] His unconsciousness is filled with a strong, dark, vague prescience of a powerful presence, a two-eyed, four-legged, long-maned presence looming imminent. And to force the boy to see a correct one-eyed horse-profile is just like pasting a placard in front of his vision. It simply kills his inward seeing.[446]

It is worth noting that art education gained significant traction in the 1920s. Many educators and art critics, such as Clive Bell, Roger Fry, Marion Richardson, and Herbert

[444] *LEA*, 228.
[445] *LEA*, 229.
[446] *PFU*, 121.

Read, had either direct or indirect interactions with Lawrence. For example, in Anne Fernihough's examination of Lawrence's artistic connection with Bloomsbury, she points out that Bell and Fry are 'two of the very few art-critics [Lawrence] takes the trouble to criticise overtly' while 'Making Pictures' even 'contains what is virtually a plagiarism of [Bell's] *Art*'.[447] At the same time, as Marion Richardson was pioneering new methodologies in art education, Lawrence was devising his pedagogical approach, honing his artistic skills by emulating established artists.[448] In this process, Lawrence not only replicated but also infused his unique vitality into his creations. A majority of critics, exemplified by Keith Sagar, have assessed Lawrence's artwork predominantly from technical angles, often focusing on perceived shortcomings in technique, notably in anatomy, such as 'seriously deformed' figures and 'grotesque torsos'.[449] However, a discerning group, including some of Lawrence's acquaintances, were able to look beyond these imperfections and discern Lawrence's essence in his work. Herbert Read observes that Lawrence's artwork managed to 'achieve the quality that he himself most desired, vitality […] one can admit that every picture *lives* – lives, as he said, "with the life you put into it"'.[450] Additionally, while David Ellis associates the perceived imperfections in Lawrence's artwork with modernist anti-naturalism, George Neville, a close childhood friend of Lawrence, opined that the hues in one of Lawrence's pieces were 'brighter and possibly better contrasted even than' the original.[451] As Jack Stewart

[447] Anne Fernihough, *D. H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 83, 90. Lawrence criticised Fry in his letter to Koteliansky, saying that 'My paintings are alive […] and ten times better than those of Roger Fry'. *6L*, 564.
[448] For more detailed examination of Marion Richardson's pedagogies, see Daniel Moore, *Insane Acquaintances: Visual Modernism and Public Taste in Britain, 1910-1951*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2020), 63-71.
[449] Keith Sagar, *D. H. Lawrence's Paintings* (London: Chaucer Press, 2003), 67-80.
[450] Herbert Read, 'Lawrence as a Painter', in *Paintings of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Mervyn Levy (London: Cory, Adams & Mackay, 1964), 55-65 (64).
[451] Ellis, 357-8; Neville, 77.

astutely points out, this act of emulating other artists allowed Lawrence to 'experience the vision that went into great paintings', which in return assisted Lawrence to express himself better.[452]

At first glance, the act of copying others' works appears to conflict with Lawrence's contention that no formal teaching should be undertaken. Such copying could, after all, be viewed as another form of abstraction and a method of imposing an existing paradigm onto individuals. However, the distinguishing factor between mere copying and the education system that Lawrence critiqued lies in the sequence of interest, teaching, and learning. In Lawrence's act of copying, his personal interest takes precedence, allowing complete freedom to express personal preferences and to select learning subjects. Here, the processes of teaching and learning merge, reflecting Lawrence's ideal of art education as self-instruction. By contrast, in the prevailing education system, students seldom get an opportunity to express their interests before knowledge is already imparted to them. Much like the miners of Lawrence's time, who participated in the national strike yet found themselves directionless, students in modern education often lose not only their individuality but also their personal interests. This erasure of individuality underpins Lawrence's assertion that 'The modern theories of art make real pictures impossible'.[453] Herbert Read, whom Fernihough describes as a 'great admirer of Lawrence', concurs with Lawrence to some degree, observing that 'the sense of colour harmony […] requires an extreme distortion of the child's natural instincts to impose an abstract standard of natural appearances'.[454] Daniel Moore aptly summarises the ideal, suggesting that art for children should be 'both an escape from reality and a

[452] Jack Stewart, 'Paintings', in *D. H. Lawrence in Context*, ed. by Andrew Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), 161-70 (161).
[453] *LEA*, 228.
[454] Quoted in Moore, *Insane Acquaintances*, 67.

reinforcement of the real world – a subjective release from the eidetic images of the objective world and social orientation in the prevailing modes of cultural representation'.[455] Yet, if art continues to be misapprehended 'as if it were a science', as Lawrence remarks, this ideal will remain unattained.[456]

In examining Lawrence's stance on adapting art education as a remedy for modern education's abstraction effect alongside the perspectives of his contemporary art educators, it is crucial to bear in mind the shaping of his social philosophy. Lawrence's upbringing in a working-class family and his formative years in the Midlands mining region undoubtedly left a deep imprint on his intellectual trajectory. Such experiences may have significantly informed and reinforced specific viewpoints he held, including his keen sensitivity to abstraction. As Jeff Wallace observes:

> The nature of [Lawrence's] formation, his experience of the class parameters surrounding access to the paintings and the discourses of high art, and his subsequent wariness of academicism and technicality, shaped an aesthetic, or anti-aesthetic, which insisted that the most humbly-wrought picture could contain the "something", the spark of lively relatedness that made it art.[457]

Lawrence's qualities of natural instinct, *wonder*, and spontaneity, which he meticulously preserved from his childhood, imbued him with a spirit of inquiry and experiential learning rather than mere deference to authority. Most importantly, he resisted modern education's abstraction effect and possessed the ability to think critically, a trait he sought to inspire in his contemporaries through his writings. As an illustration, Lawrence pioneered art education methodologies during his three years'

[455] Moore, *Insane Acquaintances*, 69.
[456] *LEA*, 230.
[457] Jeff Wallace, 'Practitioner Criticism: Painting', in *The Edinburgh Companion to D. H. Lawrence and the Art*, ed. by Catherine Brown and Susan Reid (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2020), 305-19 (318).

teaching at Davidson Road School, a period that predates Marion Richardson's captivating display of her students' drawings at a 1917 exhibition, which garnered Roger Fry's attention. As documented by his colleague A. W. McLeod, Lawrence took particular delight in his drawing classes, noting how 'the whole class acquired his own free, vigorous style and painted boldly and with huge enjoyment'.[458] In an era when the appreciation of 'child art' was in its nascent stages – 'only feebly dawning' – not everyone possessed the broad-mindedness of Davidson's headmaster to recognise the value in student artworks or Lawrence's innovative pedagogical methods. McLeod recounts an instance involving a Ministerial Inspector who, harbouring suspicions about Lawrence's art education approach, gathered some student drawings for expert review. The education department's specialists subsequently 'highly [approved]' these artworks, thereby acknowledging Lawrence's profound insights and commendable efforts.[459] Nearly two decades later, in the polemical essay 'Making Pictures', Lawrence revisited and articulated the philosophies on art education and self-expression he had developed during his formative years as an educator.

**Conclusion**

In contrast to his polemical essays addressing gender issues, as elaborated in the preceding chapter, Lawrence's contributions to the journalistic marketplace, especially those essays centred on education, are relatively scant. However, this paucity should not be misconstrued as disinterest on his part. In fact, scholars such as Raymond Williams have consistently emphasised that education remains a predominant theme in Lawrence's oeuvre. One plausible explanation for his fewer essays on education

[458] Nehls, *I*, 90.
[459] Quoted in Moore, *The Intelligent Heart*, 78.

compared to gender politics lies in the intricate and conceptual nature of education. Education not only underscores modern society's trend towards abstraction and diminishing individuality within the general populace, but also propels this mechanistic abstraction, exacerbating its deleterious effects. Far from being an isolated topic, education intertwines with gender, class, and political issues. Consequently, it is not uncommon to find references, both overt and covert, to education within Lawrence's polemical essays. This approach caters to his broader audience – the general public, often reached through widely circulated newspapers. A standalone piece on education, such as 'Education of the People', might risk being perceived as prolix and tedious. Lawrence adeptly raised awareness of abstraction, employing illustrative examples. In instances where education is alluded to obliquely, it becomes imperative to read these polemical writings in parallel with his fictional works and poetry, in order to coherently assemble the narrative. In his later essays on education, Lawrence refrained from prescribing a specific educational paradigm. Instead, he adopted an experimental tone, spurring readers towards introspection. This marked a departure from his earlier works, where he ardently articulated his vision for education. This shift can be attributed in part to the restrictive word limits inherent in journalistic writings. More significantly, Lawrence's deteriorating health in his final years engendered a transformation in his worldview. He became increasingly inclined towards engaging in dialogues with his readers, rather than instructing them. In the meantime, Lawrence also began exploring possible solutions through a broader lens, specifically religion, a subject that will be examined in the subsequent chapter.

# CHAPTER 3: LAWRENCE ON CHRISTIANITY

As explored in the previous chapter, the British educational landscape saw significant transformation during Lawrence's life. This was characterised by the coexistence of formal educational institutions and alternative venues providing informal instruction to learners. Churches, often the nucleus of local communities, were predominant spaces where children from working-class backgrounds sought foundational literacy skills. Through church attendance, these students underwent religious education, acquainting themselves with Christian doctrines via Sunday schools and other ecclesiastical educational activities. Prior to entering formal schooling, Lawrence was deeply rooted in the milieu of church hymns and Sunday School biblical teachings. Critics, such as F. R. Leavis and Mark Kinkead-Weekes, identify the Eastwood Congregational Chapel, regularly frequented by Lawrence and his family, as integral to Lawrence's upbringing and as the 'centre of a strong social life, and the focus of a still persistent cultural tradition'.[460] In the preface to *The Edinburgh Companion to D. H. Lawrence and the Arts*, Catherine Brown and Susan Reid not only acknowledge the profound impact of religious education on Lawrence's formative years, shaping his life's path and philosophical outlook, but also underscore the significant influence of hymns and hymnal lexicon on him, which 'inspired his lifelong wonder of words and other worlds […] before he embarked on a literary career'.[461] Following his formal education, Lawrence began to cultivate his perspectives on religion through extensive reading. Katherine Toy Miller offers a critical insight into the influence of American

[460] F. R. Leavis, 'Mr Eliot And Lawrence', *Scrutiny: A Quarterly Review*, 18.1 (1951), 66-73 (69); Mark Kinkead-Weekes, 'D. H. Lawrence: "A Passionately Religious Man"', *The Sewanee Review*, 109.3 (2001), 379–397 (380).
[461] Catherine Brown and Susan Reid, 'Introduction', in *The Edinburgh Companion to D. H. Lawrence and the Arts*, ed. by Catherine Brown and Susan Reid (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2020), 1-8 (1).

Transcendentalists on Lawrence, noting that they 'believed people were at their best not under repressive systems of government and religion but when self-reliant and independent. They saw God not in terms of judging good and evil but as an oversoul that all was contained within'.[462] This exposure led Lawrence to a profound understanding that religious sentiments ought to be personal and unique to each individual. Consequently, this period marks a significant turning point for Lawrence, as he experienced a growing disenchantment with the rigid structures of organised religion.[463]

Although Lawrence professed to have surmounted the 'Christian dogma' by the age of sixteen, scholars such as Andrew Harrison, drawing from biographical and textual sources, argue that Lawrence's true phase of scepticism and disenchantment transpired much later, specifically 'in the autumn and winter of 1907'.[464] To gain a more comprehensive insight into Lawrence's perception of religion as manifested in his later journalistic writing and throughout his *oeuvre*, it is imperative to bring his mother, Lydia Lawrence, into the context, and especially her influential role shaping Lawrence's religious orientation during his early years. Lydia Lawrence's actions were deeply rooted in her pragmatism and unwavering belief in the Victorian principle of 'getting on'. This ethos was consistently conveyed to the Lawrence children through a highly influential domestic environment she cultivated. Such an understanding not only elucidates Lawrence's evolving perception of his father – from disdain to empathy after Lydia's death – but also provides insights into Lawrence's nuanced engagement with themes of gender politics, education, and religion. Through this lens, he critiqued the

[462] Katherine Toy Miller, 'D. H. Lawrence Among the Early Modern Bohemians' in *D. H. Lawrence, Technology, and Modernity*, ed. by Indrek Männiste (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 37-50 (38).
[463] Worthen, 48.
[464] Harrison, 'Hymns in a Man's Life', 46.

challenges faced by modern individuals in maintaining their individuality without succumbing to social pressures. Though Lydia had middle-class aspirations, she descended into working-class circumstances, relocating with her family to Nottinghamshire, and marrying Lawrence's father, Arthur, a prominent local figure who was well-regarded by both women and his peers. Arthur Lawrence was a 'butty', overseeing a group of miners working underground. This elevated his family to a slightly higher echelon within the working class. However, their socioeconomic status restricted them from attending the Anglican church, emblematic of the period's stringent social stratification. As Enid Hopkin Hilton observed, 'in Eastwood, churches were strong and socially-orientated. The Anglican congregation looked down long noses at the Congregationalists, who in turn felt superior to the Methodists. The Baptists seemed to be the bottom of the social order'.[465] Despite Lydia's aspirations, integrating into the local elite remained elusive. Her attempts to mould Arthur according to her vision of 'getting on' encountered resistance. As a coal miner rooted in working-class values, Arthur and his generation championed individual freedom over modern social conventions, epitomised by escapades such as '[fleeing] away from the women and [rackapelting] with his own gang' and '[escaping] over the fringe of virtue and [drinking] beer and perhaps [poaching] an occasional rabbit'.[466] He was evidently averse to adhering to Lydia's middle-class aspirations. Their disagreements escalated, frequently culminating in Arthur seeking solace in local taverns, returning home inebriated, which often led to heated disputes with Lydia.

[465] Enid Hopkin Hilton, *More Than One Life: A Nottinghamshire Childhood with D. H. Lawrence* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), 24.
[466] *LEA*, 158.

Undeterred by her inability to control Arthur and improve his social status, Lydia redirected her ambitions towards their sons, particularly Lawrence and his elder brother, Ernest. It was against this backdrop with Arthur that Lydia immersed herself and Lawrence in religious activities. In part a counter-response to Arthur's alcohol-induced escapades, Lydia involved Lawrence in the church's temperance movement, instilling in him a perception of his father's irresponsibility. During this phase, Lawrence's indoctrination in Christian belief fostered a moral framework, leading him to view his father's actions with disdain. While this staunch Christian conviction ebbed as he matured – recognising his father's motivations and his mother's strategic use of religion as a social ladder – the residual effects of his religious upbringing, especially the sacred nomenclature and melodies once enigmatic to a young Lawrence, indelibly shaped his perceptions of religion and its interplay with broader social discourses in his literary works.

With the biographical matter of Lawrence's religious upbringings in mind, this chapter will concentrate on three of Lawrence's late journalistic articles: 'Hymns in a Man's Life', 'The State of Funk', and 'The Risen Lord'. Intriguingly, all three pieces were drafted in the same spiral-bound notebook, with the former delving into his personal religious experiences and the latter examining religion's role in an individual's life. Existing scholarship on Lawrence's religious beliefs, such as T. R. Wright's *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible* (2000) and Luke Ferretter's *The Glyph and the Gramophone: D. H. Lawrence's Religion* (2013), focus predominantly on how Lawrence's perceptions and interpretations of religion evolved, as evidenced in his seminal fictional works and his pursuit of 'Rananim'. In contrast to the approaches adopted in these studies, which primarily explore Lawrence's repudiation of Christianity and his sustained religiosity,

this chapter keeps the previous chapters' pattern by adopting a genetic approach. This approach scrutinises the *avant-texte*, or the evolving nature of a manuscript before it is set into 'the text', especially in relation to Lawrence's journalistic pieces not exclusively devoted to the theme of religion. By reading 'Hymns in a Man's Life' in parallel with 'The State of Funk' and 'The Risen Lord' – three essays that might initially appear unconnected – and considering their potential intertextual and thematic connections, rooted in the shared origin of their manuscripts, this chapter seeks to illuminate the degree to which Lawrence harnessed his criticism of Christianity and its impact on an individual's religious feelings in his journalistic writing to resonate with readers, urging them to reassert their individuality in the face of encroaching class constraints and the pervasive influence of modern abstraction.

**'Hymns in a Man's Life'**

In the autobiographical essay, 'Hymns in a Man's Life', Lawrence reflects on the profound sense of *wonder* he derived from Nonconformist hymns during his youth. While he ardently conveys his admiration for these hymns and their associated religious sentiments, Lawrence concurrently offers a sharp critique of inflexible Christian doctrines that he believes skewed religious education. Consequently, this essay offers an insightful lens through which one can examine the evolution of Lawrence's religious, literary, and philosophical viewpoints. Notably, it distinguishes itself as one of the limited number of journalistic essays that Lawrence wrote spontaneously, rather than in response to a commission from newspaper editors. In a letter to Nancy Pearn, Lawrence reveals that 'Hymns in a Man's Life' was produced for a German publication intended

for his friend, Hans Carossa.[467] In another letter sent on the same day to Franz Schoenberner, who had requested an article for a Carossa compilation, Lawrence explained his motivation to write about childhood hymns for Carossa, stating, 'Aber ich weiss nicht warum, der Hans Carossa macht mich an Kindheit und Kirchenlieder denken: vielleicht weil er so zart ist' [I don't know though why Hans Carossa makes me think of childhood and hymns; perhaps because he is so delicate].[468] This context makes the essay a salient point of entry to examine Lawrence's late journalistic writing on religion, the intertextuality between these polemical pieces and his works in other genres, and to address critiques related to Lawrence's dedication to this literary form. However, a more pressing query emerges regarding the compositional background of 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. While Lawrence's assertion that Carossa's gentle nature inspired the essay's creation might be plausible, it seems improbable to consider this as the sole reason. This scepticism arises primarily because the essay neither directly nor indirectly references Carossa. Instead, it primarily focuses on Lawrence's reflections on childhood hymns. Moreover, the poems and hymns cited in the essay predominantly consist of English hymns, which would ostensibly resonate more profoundly with English readers rather than the intended German-speaking audience.

In this context, the detailed introductory note by James Boulton preceding the text of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' in *Late Essays and Articles*, suggesting that Hans Carossa was the impetus for Lawrence's composition of this article, seems insufficient.[469] It is imperative to incorporate biographical evidence to identify other potential inspirations that influenced the composition of 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. The

[467] *6L*, 541.
[468] *6L*, 524, 540-1; *LEA*, 128.
[469] *LEA*, 128-9.

earliest documentation of Lawrence mentioning an article for Hans Carossa dates back to 25 August 1928. In a letter to Anton Kippenberg, Lawrence acknowledged the article request and conveyed his intention to 'write a short sketch for the Hans Carossa book'.[470] During this time, while the Lawrences resided at Kesselmatte, Gsteig bei Gstaad, they were accompanied by the Brewsters. Achsah Brewster recollects that Lawrence sang hymns on several occasions throughout their four-month stay at Gsteig, notably during the 'grand finale' – a 'farewell banquet for Boshi Sen (the scientist friend) and [the Brewsters]'.[471] On this occasion, after Lawrence 'ceremoniously baptized [Boshi Sen] with wine', Boshi recited a Sanskrit hymn. Following this, Lawrence sang '*Kismul's* [sic] *Galley*', which Achsah perceived as emblematic of Lawrence – likening him to a brave ship navigating tumultuous seas. The torrential rain that evening further accentuated the imagery of Lawrence and 'Kishmul's Galley':

> High from the Ben a Hayich
> On a day of days
> Seaward I gaz'd,
> Watching Kishmul's galley sailing.
> O hio huo faluo!
>
> Homeward she bravely battles
> 'Gainst the hurtling waves
> Nor hoop nor yards,
> Anchor, cable, nor tackle has she.
> O hio huo faluo!
>
> No at last 'gainst wind and tide
> They've brought her to
> 'Neath Kishmul's walls,
> Kishmul Castle our ancient glory.
> O hio huo faluo!
>
> Here's red wine and feast for heroes
> And harping too,
> O hio hu!

[470] 6L, 524.
[471] Nehls, *III*, 228-9.

Sweet harping too!
O hio huo faluo![472]

It is worth noting the phonetic similarity between 'Galley' in 'Kishmul's Galley' and 'Galilee', a term Lawrence lauded at the beginning of 'Hymns in a Man's Life', stating that 'to me, the word Galilee has a wonderful sound'.[473] In addition, Lawrence's vocal repertoire that evening included 'Mexican love ditties' and 'the war-whoops of the Navajo Indians' sung with such intensity that Achsah feared for his physical well-being.[474] Achsah notes that it was in this context that Lawrence wrote 'Hymns in a Man's Life' the following day. Though existing correspondence from Lawrence does not provide an exact reference to the composition date of this article, a subsequent reunion between the Brewsters and the Lawrences at Hotel Löwen in Lichtenthal, Baden-Baden, suggests that either Lawrence or Frieda may have updated the Brewsters about the essay's completion, thereby confirming the reliability of Achsah's account.[475] Furthermore, based on Lawrence's letters, the Brewsters departed on 29 August. Considering that by 2 September – the date when Lawrence wrote the letters to Pearn and Schoenberner – Frieda had already translated the article into German, it seems plausible to conclude that Lawrence composed 'Hymns in a Man's Life' on 29 August.[476]

The precise determination of the article's composition date holds significance as it not only refines the bibliographical studies on Lawrence, drawing upon both biographical and supplementary resources, but also sheds light on understanding

[472] Marjory Kennedy-Draser, 'Kishmul's Galley', in E. A. Sharp and J. Matthay ed. *Lyra Celtica* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1924), 398.
[473] *LEA*, 130.
[474] Nehls, *III*, 229.
[475] The Lawrences arrived Hotel Löwen on 18 September 1928. *6L*, 568.
[476] *6L*, 542.

Lawrence's different motivations behind writing 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. Though Lawrence informed both Pearn and Schoenberner that he wrote this article 'really for a German book for Hans Carossa', it is pertinent to highlight that in his correspondence with Pearn, Lawrence added, 'but somebody might like it in English'. This implies that Lawrence, perhaps subconsciously, also had his English readership in mind while writing and revising the article. Such authorial ambivalence underscores the need to delve into the compositional process and the value of third-party accounts in gaining a better genetical understanding of the article.

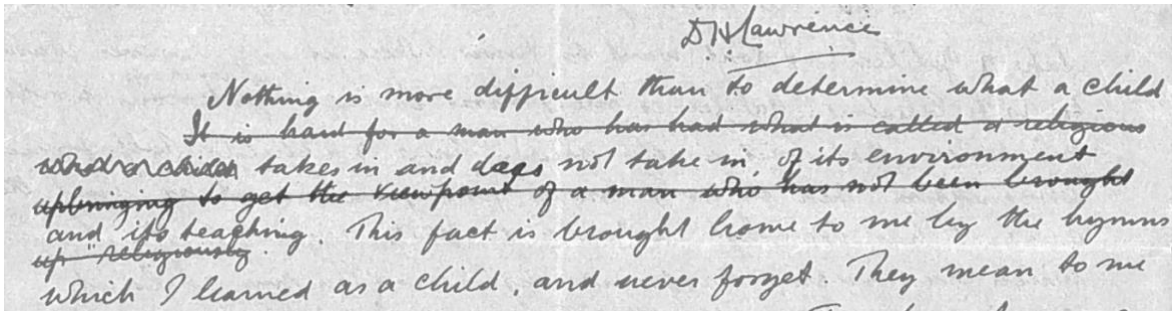
In addition to biographical evidence suggesting Lawrence's potential motivation for writing 'Hymns in a Man's Life' – beyond the compilation for Hans Carossa – archival materials provide further insight. Notably, Lawrence's textual modifications to the manuscript of this article lend credence to the hypothesis that by the time he wrote 'Hymns in a Man's Life', he intentionally prepared it to align it with the journalistic tone he had recently built up. For example, the opening paragraph of the article reads:

> ~~It is hard for a man who has had what is called a religious upbringing to get the viewpoint of a man who has not been brought up "religiously.~~
> Nothing is more difficult than to determine what a child ~~what a child~~ takes in and does not take in, of its environment and its teaching. This fact is brought home to me by the hymns which I learned as a child, and never forget. They mean to me almost more than the finest poetry, and they have for me a more permanent value, somehow or other. It is almost shameful to confess that the poems which have meant most to me, […] – all these lovely poems which after all give the ultimate shape to one's life; all these lovely poems, woven deep into a man's consciousness, are still not woven so deep in me as the rather banal nonconformist hymns that penetrated through and through my childhood.[477]

Although scholars of textual criticism often depict the creation of a text, especially in its manuscript and other draft stages, as a dynamic process, pinpointing the exact order of

[477] *LEA*, 130, 350. UoN MSC La L 3.

textual modifications can be challenging. An author might implement immediate changes for clarity and coherence, or introduce them during the subsequent round(s) of revision. These patterns are also evident in Lawrence's manuscripts and typescripts. Scholars acquainted with Lawrence's manuscripts will recognise his hurried handwriting when inspiration struck, and the compressed lines at the bottom of pages due to his frugal use of paper. Such characteristics can complicate ascertaining when specific modifications were introduced while examining Lawrence's archival materials. In this instance, given the measured pace of the handwriting and the absence of compressed lines, it can be inferred that Lawrence decided to omit the initial sentence and redraft it immediately, rather than after completing the entire manuscript. The revised sentence in this case was written above the excised text. As illustrated in ***Figure 6***, the subsequent sentence, which begins with 'This fact is brought home to me by the hymns […]', aligns with the residue of the first sentence. Additionally, Lawrence omitted the original sentence before even adding the closing quotation mark after 'religiously'. While one might speculate that Lawrence appended 'It is hard for a man […]' after finalising the article and subsequently opted for its removal, this assumption seems implausible given his typical writing patterns. Lawrence customarily left a blank line after writing the title and wrote his signature before commencing the opening paragraph. In this instance, however, the remaining sentence beginning with 'Nothing is more difficult than to determine what a child takes in and does not take in […]' immediately succeeds Lawrence's signature. This suggests that upon realising the original sentence's repetitive use of abstract terms like 'religious' and 'religiously' might not be easily grasped by a general readership, Lawrence deemed it necessary to rephrase it for greater accessibility and resonance with his audience.


D H Lawrence

Nothing is more difficult than to determine what a child
~~It is hard for a man who has had what is called a religious~~
~~upbringing to get the viewpoint of a man who has not been brought~~
takes in and does not take in of its environment
and its teaching. This fact is brought home to me by the hymns
~~up religiously~~
which I learned as a child, and never forget. They mean to me

**Figure 6.** Textual alteration in the opening paragraph of the manuscript of 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. UoN MSC La L 3. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

More concrete evidence of Lawrence's consideration for the general public covered by mass circulating newspapers while drafting can be observed in the parallels between the article's manuscript and its German iteration published in the essay collection for Hans Carossa. The introductory sentence in the German version reads, 'Es gibt nichts Schwierigeres, als zu entscheiden, was ein Kind von seiner Umgebung und Erziehung in sich aufnimmt oder nicht...', aligning with the revised opening of its English counterpart: 'Nothing is more difficult than to determine what a child takes in and does not take in, of its environment and its teaching'.[478] Notably, Frieda's translation of the term 'teaching' to 'Erziehung', encompassing both 'upbringing' and 'education', complements Lawrence's primary argument on childhood religious education more fittingly than the narrower English term 'teaching'. This alignment between Lawrence's original manuscript and its German translation indicates that by the time Frieda undertook its translation, Lawrence had already instituted this textual modification. Contrary to Lawrence's assertion in letters to both Pearn and Schoenberner that he composed this article specifically for Hans Carossa, the textual,

[478] D. H. Lawrence, 'Kirchenlieder im Leben Eines Mannes', in *Buch Des Dankes Für Hans Carossa* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1928), 135-43 (135).

archival, and bibliographical evidence suggests that Lawrence had envisioned a broader journalistic audience for this piece since its inception.

The implications of this textual alteration are clear. Stylistically, the use of definitive adjectives such as 'all', 'everything', and 'nothing' can often make the writing provocative, inciting readers' curiosity and tempting them to engage in a dialogue or even a debate, thereby sustaining their interest in the article. Compared to the omitted first sentence, this change is evidently more engaging, making it apt for a journalistic context. Although Lawrence's tone in his letter to Pearn was ambiguously indifferent, asserting that 'but somebody might like it in English [...] Do as you like with this English version. If anybody wants it they can cut it if they like – do what they darn well please', he was perhaps gauging the alignment of his writing with the tastes of newspaper editors.[479] The essay's favourable reception in the journalistic marketplace affirmed the success of Lawrence's endeavour and its prominence was accentuated when the *Evening News*'s editor took an interest in it. Featured in the newspaper on 13 October 1928, 'Hymns in a Man's Life' was introduced with an effusive editorial blurb, wherein Lawrence was characterised as one of the select 'brilliant [novelists]' adept at articulating the 'spiritual experiences' of churchgoing and singing the hymns that 'so many are familiar with'.[480] This favourable editorial endorsement unquestionably bolstered Lawrence's reputation, which had been somewhat tarnished by the unfavourable reception of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* published that July, albeit through private circulation. As a testament to its widespread reach, the *Evening News* boasted an average net daily sale of 750,718 that month, ensuring Lawrence an expansive

[479] *6L*, 541.
[480] *LEA*, 129.

readership.[481] While the direct public reaction to the essay remains nebulous, Lawrence's familiarity with the newspaper's readership demographic and their literary inclinations is evident. In fact, Lawrence's association with the *Evening News* was not a novel venture; its literary editor, Arthur Olley, had previously engaged Lawrence in early 1928, soliciting short polemical essays. Encouraged by his literary agent, Nancy Pearn, Lawrence responded with an essay titled 'The Bogey Between the Generations', which was promptly accepted and disseminated under the title 'When She Asks "Why"?'[482] As Harrison observes, this triumph paved the way for Lawrence to '[become] a regular contributor to the newspaper'.[483] Informed by editorial modifications, subsequent submissions, and occasional rejections, Lawrence honed his acumen regarding mass readership expectations, consequently modulating his polemical stance – while retaining its provocative style – to better align with the stylistic conventions of newspapers and little magazines. Remarkably, Lawrence exhibited an uncharacteristic receptiveness to editorial modifications of his essays, a leniency absent from his novel or poetry publications. Lawrence believed firmly in employing plain language and eschewing didacticism in polemical essays to effectively convey his message to the broader readership, circumventing potential misinterpretations by literary critics. Besides, compared to the initial version of the opening sentence, Lawrence's temperance for the journalistic marketplace facilitates a more accessible and welcoming entry into the narrative.

In this context, Lawrence opted to modify the tone and wording of the opening sentence. Nonetheless, the original version merits consideration, as it encapsulates

[481] *Printers' Ink*, 146 (1929), 158.
[482] The essay was retitled to 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' when Lawrence was preparing a collection of his journalistic essays, which was published as *Assorted Articles* in 1930.
[483] Harrison, 363.

Lawrence's undiluted views on religion, distinguishing two demographics from each other: those with a 'religious upbringing' and those not 'brought up "religiously"'.[484] Given Lawrence's characteristically provocative style and line of thought, it is evident that he sought to immerse himself in this dialogical discourse with his readers, categorising them provocatively and positioning himself contrarily. While an initial interpretation might suggest that Lawrence identifies with those having a 'religious upbringing', thereby granting himself the authority to critique readers he perceives as not having been 'brought up "religiously"', a further analysis of textual and contextual elements might suggest otherwise. First, a recurring theme in Lawrence's *oeuvre*, particularly in his late works, is his critique of modern civilisation's impact on individualism. As explored in the preceding chapter on education, Lawrence had identified the perilous trajectory of modern society's zealousness for 'efficiency', which in turn reshaped contemporary thought patterns by inculcating prescriptive notions in younger minds, often at the expense of fostering individuality. This sentiment is mirrored in religious instruction, as articulated by Lawrence in 'Hymns in a Man's Life', where Sunday School educators directed children to mourn for Jesus without encouraging genuine emotional engagement with His sacrifice. Moreover, Lawrence's use of quotation marks around 'brought up "religiously"' conveys a sense of irony and challenge to his readers. This suggests that their so-called 'religious upbringing' was neither truly 'religious' nor genuinely an 'upbringing', but rather a mechanism designed to stifle enquiry, accustom them to obedience, and prime them for formal education, all under the guise of 'religious education'.

[484] *LEA*, 130.

Different from the religious upbringing of many of his contemporaries, Lawrence identified himself as 'a man who has not been brought up "religiously"' in the conventional sense, and this distinction arose for two primary reasons. Firstly, the liberal environment of the Eastwood Congregational Chapel significantly influenced Lawrence's development of a sense of wonder from an early age. Harrison notes that the Congregational Chapel, with its political liberalism, 'fostered a sense of belonging and an exclusivity based rather upon its proud intellectual tradition than on distinctions of class'.[485] Mark Kinkead-Weekes also remarks that the predominant Anglican Church of early twentieth-century England was an 'essentially middle-class institution, sadly out of touch with working people since the industrial revolution'.[486] Lawrence's criticism of this class rigidity is evident in 'Hymns in a Man's Life' where he laments that 'one would hardly have escaped those snobbish hierarchies of class, which spoils so much for a child'.[487] Yet, it was not solely a relatively liberal upbringing that defined or shaped Lawrence. His intrinsic scepticism and inclination to question, rather than blindly accept authority, distinguished him from many of his working-class peers. Lawrence emphasises this scepticism when he recounts a Sunday school teacher's fervent account of the Crucifixion. Although the teacher repeatedly implored, 'And aren't you sorry for Jesus? Aren't you sorry?', Lawrence's recollection reveals his childhood self shedding insincere tears amidst those 'genuinely' affected peers, thinking he '[didn't] *really* care a bit'.[488] This reflection tacitly compares those children influenced by the teacher's account to an audience manipulated by the media without

[485] Harrison, 'Hymns in a man's life', 47.
[486] Kinkead-Weekes, 'D. H. Lawrence: "A Passionately Religious Man"', 395.
[487] Manuscript originally reads: 'it is hardly possible to escape the sense of class-division and snobbism'. See *LEA*, 133; UoN MSC La L 3.
[488] *LEA*, 134.

retaining any critical faculty. It is crucial to understand that Lawrence's satirical inclinations in such polemical essays were not merely for disparagement or attention. He intended to contest the widespread submission to authority. As Harrison notes, Lawrence's 'commitment to oppositional modes of thought made it impossible for him to become the settled "voice" of a journal: his instinct was always to challenge and subvert the attitudes and expectations of his readers'.[489] Elliott Morsia emphasises Lawrence's characteristically confrontational and dialogic style, suggesting that his writings 'stage multiple different viewpoints and explore the dialogues […] between them'.[490] While this comment primarily pertains to Lawrence's fiction, it remains relevant to his late polemical works, particularly in this context. Furthermore, this combative approach, combined with dialogism, sheds light on Lawrence's editorial choices. His intricate grasp of public opinion enhanced his capacity to confront and counter dominant stereotypes. Previous interaction with newspaper editors, though limited, honed his communication skills, leading to a subtler, more accessible style. Annalise Grice lauds Lawrence's 'dexterity to fully comprehend the journalistic requirements' and cater to reader sensibilities.[491] In his textual modifications, while preserving his signature adversarial stance, Lawrence encouraged readers to re-examine their instinctual grief for Christ, prompting them to scrutinise authority and cultivate a discerning outlook.

Another significant revision of the manuscript of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' is evident at the bottom of the manuscript's third page, marked extensively by pencil deletions:

[489] Harrison, 289.
[490] Morsia, *The Many Drafts of D. H. Lawrence*, 6.
[491] Grice, 'Journals Magazines, Newspapers', 54.

> Somebody says that mystery is nothing, because mystery is something you don't know, and what you don't know is nothing to you. ~~But there are two ways~~ But there is more than one way of knowing. ~~We admit there are two ways of knowing a woman – "Oh I know her very well, we've had many a long talk together:" – "And as he went, a strange woman sat by the road. And he went in unto her and knew her –"~~[492]

Vivian de Sola Pinto, examining the excised segment laden with sexual innuendo, states that it contains the quintessential 'Lawrencean [*sic*] sexual and Biblical allusions'.[493] Intriguingly, this particular alteration is the sole segment in the manuscript marked by pencil. Considering its modification does not seem to elevate the text's flow or quality – as other edits in the manuscript do – it raises questions about the impetus for such a removal. Pinto conjectures that perhaps it was a last-minute revision, potentially influenced by Frieda or Emily, or perhaps because Lawrence discerned inaccuracies in the 'Biblical' reference and lacked the means for verification at Gsteig bei Gstaad. James Boulton, annotating 'Hymns in a Man's Life' in *Late Essays and Articles*, points out that 'these sentences were reduced […] in an unknown hand', suggesting that Lawrence may not have been informed of this alteration.[494] Given that Lawrence sent the actual manuscript (as opposed to a typescript) to his literary agent, Pinto's assumption – based on the available evidence – that the amendment was either executed or at least approved by Lawrence, is plausible. Supporting evidence can also be discerned in a later published version of 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. Before his death, Lawrence, in collaboration with his publisher Martin Secker, consolidated his late journalistic writings, including 'Hymns in a Man's Life' in a collection entitled *Assorted Articles*. In this edition, the paragraph is truncated to merely two sentences

[492] *LEA*, 132; UoN MSC La L 3.
[493] Vivian de Sola Pinto, 'Lawrence and the Nonconformist Hymns', in *A D. H. Lawrence Miscellany*, ed. by Harry T. Moore (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1959), 103-13 (104).
[494] *LEA*, 350.

following the pencil-altered version, with the reference to 'knowing' a woman being: 'But there is more than one way of knowing'.[495]

Considering Lawrence's active engagement in the preparation of the edition – which is evident from major edits such as the appended paragraph in 'The Bogey Between the Generations' ('The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know') – scholars like Pinto deem it unlikely that Lawrence remained unaware of this specific alteration. However, after analysing the article's manuscript, its German rendition translated by Frieda, and the archived correspondence of Nancy Pearn to Lawrence, it is plausible that Pearn was the one to mark these pencil deletions. Frieda's German translation retains the complete paragraph, including references to ways of 'knowing' a woman.[496] Although there are discrepancies between Frieda's translation and the original – Frieda translated 'But there are two ways of knowing' to 'Aber es gibt mehr als eine Art der Erkenntnis', which translates as 'But there is more than one way of knowing' – aligning more with the newspaper version, this is more attributable to translational enhancements than alterations to the original text. Should Pinto's hypothesis stand true – that it was Frieda who recommended to Lawrence that he make this last minute deletion – she could have already reminded Lawrence to do so by the time she made this translator's adjustment, rather than waiting until she had sent out the German translation to the publisher. Furthermore, although Lawrence played a proactive role in editing his journalistic writings for the collection published by Martin Secker, it is uncertain which base-text he selected for 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. He might have chosen the newspaper version, especially given his previous request for Pearn to 'keep these newspaper articles for

[495] *AA*, 158.
[496] Lawrence, 'Kirchenlieder im Leben Eines Mannes', 138.

[him] somewhere'.[497] Notwithstanding his hands-on approach, Lawrence generally refrained from extensive textual revisions in this collection, often adhering to the extant text. While Lawrence is known for his protective stance against any potential editorial alterations to his works, his late journalistic pieces often deviated from this norm. This departure from his usual protective stance is exemplified in his correspondence with Franz Schoenberner concerning 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. In this letter, Lawrence stated, 'Tud Sie bitte mit dem Artikel wie Sie wollen. Kürzen oder verändern ganz wie Sie wollen. Wenn es zu viel Englisch gibt, sie können es übersetzen lassen, oder herausschmeissen' [Please do what you want with the article. Shorten it or alter it just as you like. If there is too much English, you can have it translated, or chuck it out].[498] Such a nonchalant attitude towards potential editorial modifications represents a distinctive aspect of Lawrence's approach to his journalistic essays. It suggests a possible willingness to compromise, perhaps to expedite publication. This divergent attitude in the later phase of his career offers a compelling insight into Lawrence's evolving relationship with editorial processes.

Due to the often speedy composition of his journalistic writings, it was impossible for Lawrence to remember the choice of words in his manuscripts and restore them afterwards in response to third-party modifications. There were instances, like in the case of 'Enslaved by Civilisation', where Lawrence admitted that he had 'utterly forgotten' the content of a piece when updated by Pearn a few months after finishing the article.[499] John Worthen, in his analysis of Lawrence's multiple texts, also notes instances where Lawrence inadvertently accepted omissions made by the typist of

[497] *6L*, 438.
[498] *6L*, 540-1.
[499] *7L*, 277.

*Women in Love*, who 'at one point [omitted] an eight-word phrase'.[500] These examples suggest that Lawrence may have been oblivious to such textual deletions. Crucially, determining the identity of the 'unknown hand' in the manuscript rests on Pearn's letters. Comparative handwriting analysis indicates a higher resemblance between Pearn's writing and the pencil alterations on the manuscript of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' than between Frieda's handwriting and the notations.

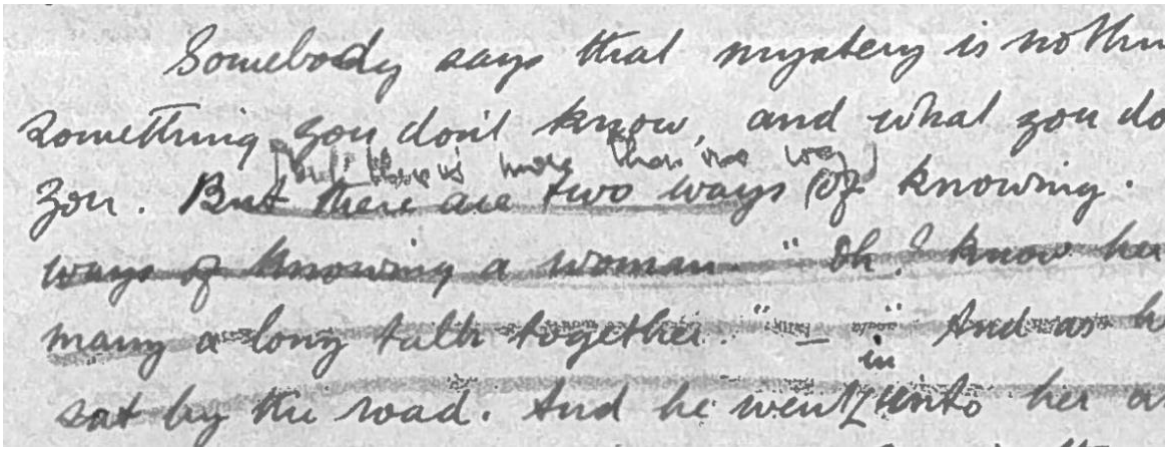



**Figure 7.** Pencil alteration in the manuscript of 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. UoN MSC La L 3. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

[500] John Worthen, 'D. H. Lawrence: Problems with Multiple Texts', in Ian Small & Marcus Walsh ed. *The Theory and Practice of Text-Editing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 14-34 (21).

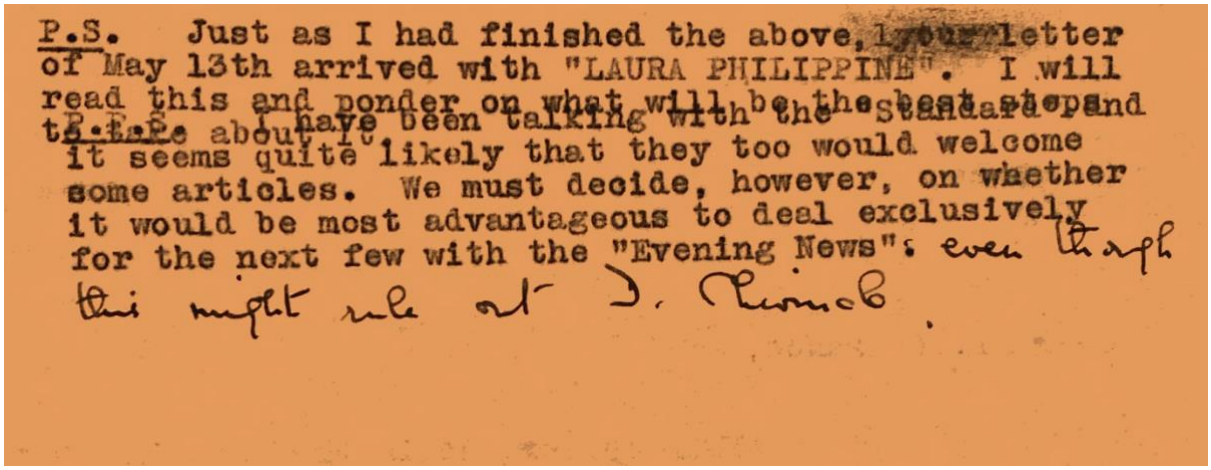

P.S. Just as I had finished the above, your letter of May 13th arrived with "LAURA PHILIPPINE". I will read this and ponder on what will be the best step to take about it. I have been talking with the Standard and P.S. it seems quite likely that they too would welcome some articles. We must decide, however, on whether it would be most advantageous to deal exclusively for the next few with the "Evening News"; even though this might rule out D. Chronicle.

**Figure 8.** Example of Nancy Pearn's handwriting from her letter to Lawrence. HRC DHL 36.6.

**Figure *7*** depicts a marked alteration in pencil on the paragraph, characterised by extensive deletions and the insertion of the phrase, 'That there is more than one way'. Analysis of this handwriting suggests it is inconsistent with Frieda's, who typically elongates her lettering, whereas the letters in this particular addition are more compressed. In contrast, the script in ***Figure 8***, which contains the passage '[...] even though this might rule out D. Chronicle', bears a greater similarity to that of **Figure *7***. This is particularly evident in the cursive formation of the letters 'th' as seen in the word 'than' from **Figure *7*** and in the words 'though' and 'this' from ***Figure 8***.[501] While the assumption that Pearn was responsible for this textual alteration may appear speculative – given her infrequent direct edits on Lawrence's manuscripts – the confluence of evidence suggests her involvement. Taking into account the fact that a limited number of people had access to Lawrence's manuscript prior to its newspaper publication, the consistency of Frieda's German translation with the original text, and the aforementioned similarities in handwriting, it becomes highly probable that Pearn

[501] HRC DHL 36.6.

executed this pencil revision. Significantly, there is no indication that Lawrence was cognisant of, or had intended, such a change.

This conclusion underscores the necessity of the incorporation of the original text for a comprehensive analysis, as it reflects Lawrence's discursive trajectory concerning education, contemporary civilisation, and their combined effect on an individual's understanding of religious feelings. The omitted segment elucidates the bifurcated approaches to 'knowing' a woman: the mental and the physical. This dichotomy exemplifies Lawrence's ongoing enquiry into the interplay between the 'mind' and the 'body'. In addressing varying conceptions of 'mystery' – where some contend that 'what you don't know is nothing to you' – Lawrence introduced this example as a counterargument to the nihilistic stance towards the exploration of the uncharted. Rather than immediately emphasising the importance of wonder and discovery, Lawrence intentionally presented his exploration of the dual modes of 'knowing' a woman for the wider readership, despite its arguably contentious nature on gender and religious fronts. He employed this explicit reference to sexuality and the biblical phrase 'he went in unto her and knew her' – indicating a man's intimate relationship with a woman – to assert that inherent human curiosity and exploration constitute the core reasons for human existence. Lawrence essentially communicates to his readers that the act of intimacy, in its essence, possesses biblical connotations, serving as a source of both wonder and human procreation – fundamental facets that have ensured human existence. Hence, the broader public should challenge social prejudices associated with it. If an individual solely adheres to known realms and refrains from delving into the unknown with a sense of wonder, such a life, in Lawrence's words from the preceding paragraphs of 'Hymns in a Man's Life', is akin to

a lifeless existence. Instead of directly opining on religion or religious sentiments, which could potentially alienate his readers, Lawrence strategically circumscribes his criticism, limiting it to modern educational paradigms. He suggests that the current approach to education, exemplified by studying the 'greatest poetry', appears ephemeral and uninspiring, primarily due to the lack of wonder embedded within the pedagogical process:

> Now the great and fatal fruit of our civilisation, which is a civilisation based on knowledge, and hostile to experience, is boredom. All our wonderful education and learning is producing a grand sum-total of boredom. Modern people are inwardly thoroughly bored […] because they experience nothing. And they experience nothing because wonder has gone out of them. And when the wonder has gone out of a man, he is dead.[502]

As I have shown in the preceding chapter, Lawrence's conceptualisation of 'education' deviates from its conventional implications during his time, when 'education' was largely synonymous with the dissemination and adherence to prescriptive doctrines. Within this framework, students were predominantly viewed as passive vessels, imbibing structured lessons without critical engagement. Understanding this historical context surrounding the term 'education' offers deeper insights into Lawrence's argument that 'knowledge and wonder counteract one another. So that as knowledge increases, wonder decreases'.[503] Lawrence's critique is directed towards this didactic model of education, where teaching is reduced to a mere conveyance of information. This viewpoint is further elucidated by his discerning critiques of certain hymns. He demonstrates a selective preference, showing a particular aversion to excessively

[502] *LEA*, 131.
[503] *LEA*, 131.

sentimental compositions such as ‘Lead Kindly Light’ and ‘Abide with Me’.[504] For instance, in his 1925 essay ‘Morality and the Novel’, he sharply rebukes ‘Lead Kindly Light’, referring to the ‘great mischief’ it created by decaying ‘the marrow in the bones of the present generation’.[505] Lawrence’s inclusion of direct, albeit potentially controversial, sexual undertones in his writing can be seen as a counter to the prevailing dogmatic thinking that suppressed individuals’ inherent sense of wonder, leading to indifference. This choice of expression in his journalistic writing ensured that his broader audience could grasp his point without misinterpretation.

Though this textual consideration for the benefit of his readers’ understanding of his ideas was not eventually accepted by his literary agent, it is crucial to emphasise that Lawrence’s inclination towards these journalistic changes was rooted in an attempt to temper his confrontational style and enhance the accessibility of his essay for a broader readership, rather than merely seeking monetary gains by watering down his intellectual stance. Literary critics of his time, such as Winifred Holtby and Evelyn Waugh, noted that Lawrence approached his polemical essays with a ‘deep and vivid interest in [them]’, distinguishing him from other novelists who might contribute to popular journalism ‘half-heartedly for what they are worth in guineas and publicity’.[506] Drawing upon a keen understanding of the publishing industry and the predilections of the mainstream readership, Lawrence adeptly navigated the terrain between adhering to editorial demands and maintaining his artistic authenticity, all while staying true to his overarching aim of influencing his audience. Waugh perceived Lawrence’s engagement with popular journalism as a ‘pulpit’, a medium through which he disseminated his

[504] *LEA*, 133.
[505] *STH*, 175.
[506] Holtby, ‘D. H. Lawrence, Journalist’, 570.

'message'.[507] This simile underscores the quasi-religious gravity of Lawrence's polemical endeavours, portraying him as a cleric imparting his beliefs to his readers – a vision consistent with Lawrence's own recurring literary aspirations. In a 1914 letter to John Middleton Murry, Lawrence conveyed an almost spiritual duty to guide his readers, stating: 'Don't give up feeling that people *do* want to hear what you say: or rather, they don't want to, but they need to, poor things'.[508] Fast forward fifteen years, Lawrence reiterated a similar sentiment, expressing a preference to publish his polemical works in mainstream outlets like the *Sunday Dispatch* over more elite publications, noting that the 'godless Sabbath public […] has more spunk than the "refined" public'.[509] Driven by an unwavering dedication to enlightening the masses, Lawrence endeavoured to evoke empathy from his readers, aiming to rekindle their innate spiritual sentiments by tapping into the collective nostalgia of hymnal recitals from their youth.

Given the recurring motifs of hymns and depictions of religious sentiments in Lawrence's works, including both his fiction and poetry from his formative years, an analysis of his portrayal of hymns within his fictional works can further elucidate the degree to which Lawrence modulated his journalistic tone to cater to a broader readership. For instance, in the chapter entitled 'The Cathedral' in his 1915 novel *The Rainbow*, the character Will is depicted with a fondness for '[practicing] the hymns and chants for the service' at church, even as Anna attempts to impose her worldview upon him.[510] In this scene, one can discern a striking parallel between Lawrence and the fictional character of Will. Although F. B. Pinion rightly observes that Will Brangwen's

[507] Waugh, 'The Books You Read', 476.
[508] *2L*, 171.
[509] *7L*, 189.
[510] *R*, 192.

characterisation draws inspiration from Alfred Burrows, the 'church organist' and father of Louie Burrows, this in no way diminishes Lawrence's literary foray into the realm of maintaining one's spiritual conviction amidst external pressures, using Will as a conduit for his personal experiences.[511] Expanding on this theme, Pericles Lewis suggests that Lawrence did not exhibit the 'bemused detachment characteristic of the other modernists in their treatment of the church'.[512] Instead, he explicitly 'addressed theological concerns' in his writings. Echoing Lewis's observations, Susan Reid argues that the once-comforting embrace of nature, which the Romantics traditionally turned to for solace, has increasingly been subsumed by modern civilisation.[513] Consequently, characters like Will are compelled to seek refuge and spiritual affirmation within the confines of the church. For Will, the church assumes an almost hallowed significance: he is 'eager as a pilgrim arriving at the shrine' once the church is in his sight.[514] It emerges not just as a sanctuary for spiritual reflection but also as an emblem of his cherished childhood memories, particularly those associated with hymnal recitations, potentially influencing his decision to take on the role of choir-master. The act of being within the church's walls offers Will an almost transcendent experience, where temporal distinctions of '"before" and "after"' are 'folded together', 'contained in oneness'.

Anna challenges Will's religious sentiment, exhibiting a pronounced inclination to dominate him. As they approach the church, Will refers to it in affectionate terms, exclaiming, 'there she is'. On the contrary, Anna remains visibly unenthused by Will's

[511] F. B. Pinion, *D. H. Lawrence Companion: Life, Thought and Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1978), 297.
[512] Pericles Lewis, *Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 18.
[513] Reid, *D. H. Lawrence, Music and Modernism*, 88.
[514] *R*, 186-7.

anthropomorphism of the church, her irritation stemming from a more logical standpoint that perceives the church solely as an 'it'. When Will asserts that the face etched on the wall represents a monk and not a woman, Anna responds with derisive amusement and 'laughed with malicious triumph', seemingly delighting in her perceived superiority over Will's interpretation.[515] Anna's corrections to Will, rooted in her rational mindset, are buttressed by her evidence-based interpretation. However, in her unwavering allegiance to logic, Anna appears devoid of any palpable passion or empathy. Rather than striving to comprehend Will's perspective, she dismissively regards any viewpoint divergent from her own as flawed. This behaviour is emblematic of the cold, mechanistic aspect of modern civilisation that Lawrence critiques. Employing her intellectual prowess and rigid rationality, Anna has effectively 'destroyed' Will's fervour, subduing him into a state of fragmented selfhood. This fracture in Will's psyche is poignantly symbolised by his act of lighting a candle by the organ. While Anna may exert control over his physical presence, illuminated in the candle's glow, his soul remains cloaked 'in the darkness', safeguarded by the resonant hymns and chants.[516] Will's recourse to hymns as a mode of self-defence serves as an illustrative experiment within Lawrence's fictional works, reflecting the evolving nature of Lawrence's thoughts and conceptualisations over time. As Mark Kinkead-Weekes notes, one must be precise when referencing 'D. H. Lawrence', emphasising both the particular period and the context of his work for a comprehensive and accurate understanding.[517] While in *The Rainbow*, Lawrence may not explicitly challenge the diminishing impact of religion on an individual's spiritual experience, he astutely

[515] *R*, 187.
[516] *R*, 190, 192.
[517] Kinkead-Weekes, 380.

identifies the protective potential of memories associated with hymns. By the time he wrote 'Hymns in a Man's Life' thirteen years later, he understood that these childhood hymns 'live and glisten in the depths of the man's consciousness in undimmed wonder, because they have not been subjected to any criticism or analysis'.[518] Further, Lawrence articulates his concerns over Christianity's propensity to dilute the authenticity of religious experience. This is evinced in his recounting of a Sunday school session where the didactic approach is bereft of genuine pedagogical depth. The repetitive prompting of the question – '"aren't you sorry for Jesus? Aren't you sorry?"' – seems to elicit the desired response from most students, who are moved to tears. However, this instructional method is questionable as it does not afford students the space to organically process and genuinely respond to the gravitas of Jesus's sacrifice.[519] In Lawrence's formative years, he exhibited an innate scepticism towards the prescriptive sentimentality associated with the 'Crucifixion'. His reservations found affirmation upon encountering James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* in December 1914. T. R. Wright observes that *The Golden Bough* served as a quintessential 'counter-Bible', particularly in its critical exposition of the 'Crucifixion of Christ', culminating in an alternative, more discerning eschatological perspective.[520] Profoundly influenced by Frazer's work and subsequently formulating his theory of 'blood consciousness', Lawrence integrates Frazer's insights into several of his works, notably in *The Escaped Cock* and *Apocalypse*, the latter being a critical reinterpretation of the Book of Revelation.

[518] *LEA*, 132.
[519] *LEA*, 134.
[520] For detailed discussion on Lawrence's encounter with *The Golden Bough*, and Lawrence's assimilation of Frazer's thinking, see, T. R. Wright, *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 88-90.

Though Lawrence actively incorporates religious works in his writings on this topic, it is imperative to emphasise that Lawrence seldom critiques the Bible or the broader contours of religious thought. In essays such as 'Hymns in a Man's Life', he targets the dogmatic pedagogy of orthodox Christianity that seeks to monopolise religious interpretations, prescribes a singular mode of worship, and stratifies individuals into distinct social classes. In *Apocalypse*, Lawrence delineates this pedagogy, asserting that 'the Bible […] was poured into the childish consciousness, day in, day out, year in, year out, willy nilly, whether the childish consciousness would assimilate it or not'.[521] For Lawrence, the religious education emblematic of the Sunday schools, which he and many of his contemporaries attended, epitomised a fusion of contemporary pedagogical techniques and the traditional religious mores of hymn singing. This education aimed not only to furnish future workers with foundational literacy but also to instil in them a homogenised thought process and, most critically, a deference to authority. Subsequent to this foundational moral and religious education, students would undergo a utilitarian educational regimen followed by specialised training to cater to the multifaceted demands of the labour market. Analogous to assembly lines manufacturing machines, this education, steeped in religious content, effectively eradicated individualistic attributes, including intrinsic spiritual sentiments and independent thought. In his later poem, 'Children Singing in School', Lawrence delves into the realm of formal education, elucidating how students' individuality was progressively stifled within the classroom confines:

> Class-children are singing in school
> and what an awful concatenation of sounds it is!
> They have no song in their souls, none in their spirits,
> none in their little throats or classroom bodies

[521] *A*, 59.

only they are made to utter these cog-wheel sounds
which are meant to be the old folk-song: Strawberry Fair![522]

Instead of evoking melodic songs, these students emanated discordant noises, which Lawrence describes as 'an awful concatenation of sounds'. Drawing upon the English folk song 'Strawberry Fair', he vividly depicts the 'cog-wheel sounds'. In this song, intermittent clinking of wares punctuates the conversation between the speaker and a maiden, with sounds like 'Fol-de-dee' and 'Ri-fol, Ri-fol, Tol-de-riddle-li-do'. These seemingly vacuous sequences of syllables, originating from students once harmoniously singing hymns, underscore the students' waning interest in singing. It appears they are merely parroting their teachers, much in the same way that they were conditioned to in Sunday school.

Taking this into account, it becomes clearer why Lawrence integrated canonical figures from Western literature into the introductory segment of an essay centred on childhood hymns. Instead of plainly juxtaposing the manners in which hymns and poems were absorbed and then elucidating Sunday schools' pedagogical approach, Lawrence employed this comparison to stimulate critical reflection amongst his readers. In 'Hymns in a Man's Life', he elucidates a paradox: despite the profound influence of literary masterpieces which 'have meant [the] most' and 'give the ultimate shape to one's life', they have not been woven as deeply into his psyche as the 'banal nonconformist hymns that penetrated through and through [his] childhood'.[523] To demonstrate the profound imprint these hymns left on his spiritual and literary consciousness in contrast to the academic knowledge he gleaned at school, Lawrence elucidates his personal interpretations of the hymns he encountered during familial

[522] *1Poems*, 567.
[523] *LEA*, 130.

church visits. Although too young to decipher the hymns' intrinsic meanings, and often confounded by nuances like intonation and pronunciation from adults singing, Lawrence developed his unique comprehension, interpretation, and visualisation of individual words. Notably, the phonetic allure of 'Galilee' captured the young Lawrence's imagination. With what he terms 'subjective exaggeration', Lawrence endowed the term with a 'wonderful sound', envisioning it as one of the 'lovely glamorous worlds, not places, that exist in the golden haze of a child's half-formed imagination'. This mental image remained so potent that even as an adult, its original allure persisted, 'untouched' by any subsequent academic or dictionary definitions he encountered.[524] As David Ellis writes in his biography of Lawrence, 'the often undistinguished words of the hymns [Lawrence] had learned in his childhood were more deeply embedded in his imagination than the greatest poetry'.[525] In another introspective essay, 'Introduction to These Paintings' (1929), Lawrence asserts that imagination is the pivotal conduit through which one experiences religiosity, stating, 'At the maximum of our imagination we are religious. And if we deny our imagination, and have no imaginative life, we are poor worms who have never lived'.[526] While many of his readers might have been unfamiliar with contemporary cognitive theories or psychoanalysis, Lawrence adeptly conveyed this notion by juxtaposing hymns – associated with organic learning processes – with poems, which he posited as being more contrived. He contends that 'the sheer delight of a child's apperception is based on *wonder*', which is a '*natural* religious sense'. Rather than overtly critiquing modern

[524] *LEA*, 130, 132.
[525] Ellis, 436.
[526] *LEA*, 193.

civilisation, Lawrence encouraged readers to compare these observations with their accepted beliefs, anticipating that they would discern incongruities autonomously.[527]

Lawrence's conception of childhood *wonder* and imagination, especially as evidenced in his personal interpretation of the word 'Galilee', bears resemblance to Freud's notion of the 'oceanic feeling'. In *Civilisation and Its Discontents*, published in 1930, Freud, in collaboration with Romain Rolland, described this unbounded sensation as akin to a 'sensation of "eternity"', identifying it as the 'true source of religious sentiments'.[528] As Lawrence and many of his contemporaries experienced while reciting hymns, an introspective disposition is required, facilitating a transcendent sense of 'oneness with the universe'. Although Lawrence died before the publication of Freud's work, he had, on multiple occasions, echoed sentiments expressed by Freud and Rolland. In *Fantasia of the Unconscious* and *Sketches of Etruscan Places*, Lawrence conveyed his disenchantment with Western, specifically 'Christian', civilisation. He sought solace in ancient societies, hoping to rediscover the primordial spiritual resonance reflective of a harmonious global unity – 'being 'in one complete correspondence over all the earth' – that ancient civilisations purportedly experienced.[529] In a 1908 letter to Blanche Jennings, Lawrence underscored the ubiquity and solace inherent in religious sentiment, asserting that 'religion is a most comforting companion; it is necessary to many who would drop and never recover without it'.[530] In his analysis of Lawrence's alignment with the concept of 'oceanic feeling' Keith Cushman notes that, in Lawrence's view, 'religion helps create social order while it

[527] *LEA*, 131.
[528] Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XXI (1927-1931), The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and Its Discontents, and Other Works*, trans. and ed. by James Strachey, Anna Freud, Alix Strachey, and Alan Tyson (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1961) 64.
[529] *PFU*, 63.
[530] *1L*, 57.

provides comfort and potentially happiness for the individual'.[531] Importantly, the 'religion' to which Lawrence alluded diverged substantially from 'conventional, doctrinal Christianity'. Lawrence opines that, far from affording solace, Christianity's institutional iterations, manifested in Sunday schools, strangled the innate spiritual proclivities of individuals. This was achieved by confining students within restrictive, sterile classroom environments and imposing regimented disciplines, thereby transforming individuals into 'machine-units'.[532] As Daniel Moore notes, Lawrence perceived that 'man, reduced to a mere automaton – worse, to a biological machine […] had no inner core […] and lacked the intellectual and imaginative capacity […] to change the conditions of his existence'.[533] Recognising a chasm between the genuine spirituality of hymns and institutionalised religiosity, Lawrence embarked on a scrutiny of modern civilisation and dogmatic social convention's impact on individual's religious feelings, which he illustrated in another journalistic piece 'The State of Funk'.

**'The State of Funk'**

In this article, Lawrence delves into British society's 'horrible fear and funk and repression and bullying' as a response to imminent social change.[534] At the beginning of the article, Lawrence asserts that modern individuals, 'scared stiff', can only repeat 'God help us', highlighting a collective anxiety in the face of radical social transformations.[535] Lawrence argues that this 'mass panic' has not only diminished the vitality of individual religious feelings, as elaborated in 'Hymns in a Man's Life', but

[531] Keith Cushman, 'Feeling "Oceanic": Civilization and Discontented Paul', *The D. H. Lawrence Review*, 39.2 (2014), 46-58 (47-8)
[532] *LEA*, 131; *PFU*, 119.
[533] Moore, *Insane Acquaintances*, 4.
[534] *LEA*, 223.
[535] *LEA*, 219.

also led to a 'dangerous state of mind'.[536] Lawrence attributes this degeneration to the pervasive fear and repression inherent in a civilisation has 'destroyed the natural flow of common sympathy'. Central to Lawrence's thesis is the notion that rejuvenating religious feelings is paramount in counteracting the dehumanising effects of modern civilisation's abstraction. He proposes that this revival can be achieved by acknowledging and embracing natural instincts, particularly with respect to sexuality. However, Lawrence's limited direct engagement with religion and religious feelings in this article, and its close compositional connection with 'Do Women Change', have led most existing scholarship to focus predominantly on his perspectives on sexuality and gender politics. To complement the scholarship on 'The State of Funk', this section aims to re-evaluate the article's genesis by incorporating additional biographical evidence, provide a new perspective in reading it, and enrich our understanding of the article's compositional background. Furthermore, my textual analysis of it will be underpinned by newly discovered textual alterations on the manuscript of 'The State of Funk'. This analysis seeks to demonstrate the collaborative effort between Lawrence and Nancy Pearn in addressing the general public. With an astute understanding of Lawrence's journalistic aspirations, Pearn aligned herself with Lawrence's objective of inciting a revival of individual religious sentiment. She meticulously preserved the core of Lawrence's discourse, which intricately intertwines trending topics of sexuality and gender politics, in her textual modifications to the manuscript of this essay. This careful preservation and enhancement reflect a deep comprehension of the thematic nuances and the underlying intent of Lawrence's work, ensuring that the essence of his thought remained intact even amidst editorial changes for publication.

[536] *LEA*, 223.

In a letter to Pearn dated 23 February 1929, Lawrence enclosed the manuscript of 'The State of Funk', emphasising that it 'more or less' encapsulated his stance on social issues, particularly in light of the widespread criticism following the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and a series of police incidents related to him, including the confiscation of six copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* on 18 January and the impounding of two typescripts of *Pansies* by authorities on 23 January for being 'obscene and indecent'.[537] Over time, Lawrence had grappled with his feelings about sex, ultimately concluding that it should not be a source of shame but rather embraced. Through this piece, he criticised the prevailing English social disdain towards sexuality and its expression. In addition to responding to the dominant criticism that equated sexuality with obscenity, Lawrence also used the article to urge readers to perceive sex as an integral aspect of life and to embrace their innate human instincts, defying social prejudice. This perspective was also stated in his other late journalistic essays, such as 'Sex Appeal'. The thematic continuities between 'The State of Funk' and Lawrence's other journalistic writings, the background of the article's composition, and the fact that Lawrence included the manuscript of 'The State of Funk' in his letter to Pearn – a follow-up to an earlier article entitled 'Do Women Change' that he extended for *Vanity Fair* – might explain existing scholarship's predominant focus on the piece's emphasis on Lawrence's views on sexuality, which overlooks its thematic alignment with 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. 'The State of Funk' invites comparison to 'Hymns in a Man's Life' because in both articles Lawrence reminds his readers of how 'dangerous, bullying, cruel' they can be when their individual's religious feelings have been 'physically cut-off'.[538]

[537] *7L*, 188, 146n4, 149n1.
[538] *LEA*, 224.

However, in addition to Lawrence's limited direct references to religious feelings in 'The State of Funk', two important reasons have also led to this gap in existing scholarship. The first reason is the scholarly disagreement about the date when Lawrence dispatched the manuscript of this article to Pearn. Though Lawrence's correspondence is often a reliable source for scholars to determine the latest completion date of his works, his references to his articles are often sparse, occasionally ambiguous, and even repetitious. A notable point of contention among scholars is the exact date on which Lawrence dispatched the manuscript of 'The State of Funk' to Pearn. Ellis and Harrison propose 1 March 1929, grounding their assertion on Lawrence's mention of 'The State of Funk' in his correspondence with Pearn on this date.[539] On the other hand, Boulton, the editor of *Late Essays and Articles,* refrains from pinpointing a specific date of composition in his introduction to the article. He only hints '*ante* 23 February 1929', a date by which Lawrence must have completed the article, in the volume's 'Chronology' section. This is the date on which Lawrence included the revised version of 'Do Women Change' and 'another article [… for] the *Sunday Despatch*' in his letter to Pearn.[540] Though Lawrence remained unspecific about the title of this second piece in this letter, corroborative archival evidence from various sources identifies it as 'The State of Funk', thereby validating Boulton's assertion. The primary substantiation comes from Lawrence himself. In his letter dated 1 March to Pearn, he sought confirmation from her, enquiring whether she had received the 'three items' he had recently sent, implying a prior dispatch of 'The State of Funk' manuscript. Secondary validation can be found in Pearn's annotations on Lawrence's 23 February letter. After Lawrence's mention about the article, a discernible pencil notation reads, 'This [*sic*]

[539] Ellis, 562; Harrison, 380; *7L*, 200.
[540] *LEA*, 218; *7L*, 188.

State of Funk' (***Figure 9***). Another notation on the reverse side of this letter itemises the enclosed articles as 'The State of Funk' and 'Do Women Change?' (***Figure 10***).[541] Pearn's response to Lawrence on 26 February offers further affirmation. She acknowledges receipt of 'The State of Funk' manuscript, contemplating its potential utilisation. Given the multiple sources of archival evidence, all converging on a singular conclusion, it can be inferred that Lawrence enclosed the manuscript of 'The State of Funk' in his 23 February letter to Pearn, signifying that the article was finalised no later than this date.

The second reason that led to current scholarship overlooking Lawrence's foregrounding of modern society's indifference about religious feelings in 'The State of Funk' is the article's undetermined period or date of composition. To bring biographical fact into a more nuanced textual analysis and examine how Lawrence tailored his focus on religious feelings for his readers in this article, resolving scholarly discrepancies regarding the date on which Lawrence sent the manuscript of 'The State of Funk' to Pearn and estimating its completion date based on archival sources is insufficient. As demonstrated in the examination of the composition dates of several of Lawrence's other journalistic articles in the previous chapters, it becomes critically important to ascertain a more precise compositional timeframe, or even a specific date. This is essential not just from a bibliographical standpoint but also for broadening our understanding of the compositional context of Lawrence's works. This is especially true for his short polemical writings, which Lawrence often chose to complete in a single session. By pinpointing a more exact date of composition for such journalistic pieces and integrating biographical and archival insights into textual analysis, we are able to

[541] HRC DHL 33.4.

unveil new perspectives in understanding Lawrence's journalistic persona and his evolving insights into social issues. These suggest that Lawrence's essays were not always driven by a singular impetus but often emerged from a confluence of multifaceted, and at times intricate, events and motivations.

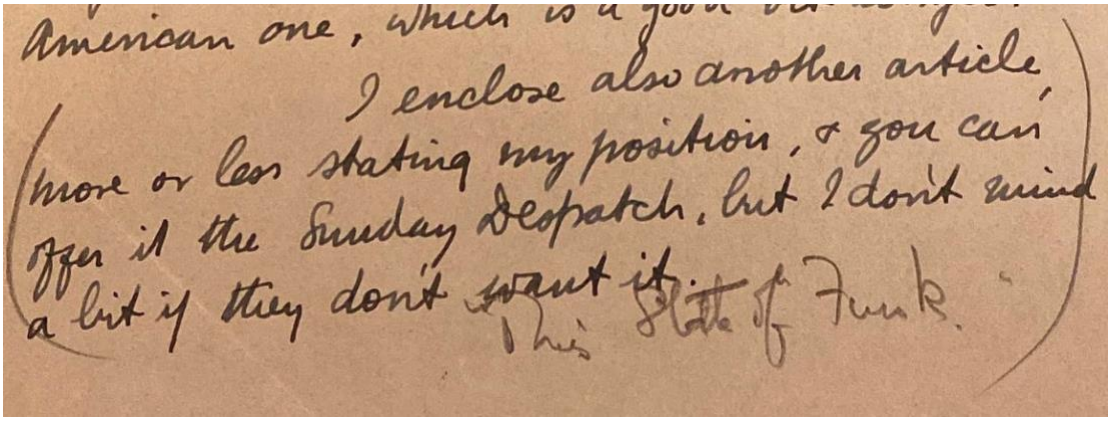



**Figure 9.** Front of Lawrence's 23 February 1929 letter (1 leaf) to Pearn with pencil mark reads 'This [sic] State of Funk'. HRC DHL 33.4. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

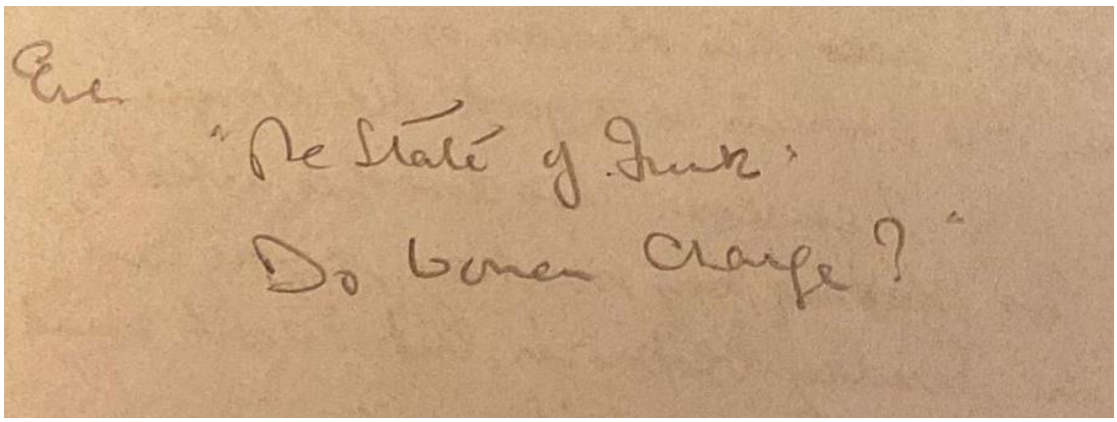



**Figure 10.** Back of Lawrence's 23 February 1929 letter (1 leaf) to Pearn with pencil mark reads 'Enc "The State of Funk" "Do Women Change?"'. HRC DHL 33.4. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

'The State of Funk' serves as a potential example of Lawrence's journalistic compositions driven by multifaceted motivations. The challenge in pinpointing an exact composition timeframe for this work arises not only from Lawrence's sparse references

to its inception but also from its spontaneous nature. However, this ambiguity does not preclude delving into potential influences behind Lawrence's formulation of this article. During his stay in Bandol, Lawrence grappled significantly with the reception of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in his homeland, as well as the aforementioned police incidents. These elements have been extensively cited by scholars when probing the origins of 'The State of Funk'. Beyond these public occurrences, Lawrence's anguish stemming from his sister Ada's departure back to England on 22 February, following a ten-day stay with him in Bandol, emerges as another potential catalyst. Considering the inference that Lawrence dispatched the manuscript of this article to Pearn the next day, Ada's departure is significant. Given Lawrence's close bond with Ada and the palpable distress he conveyed to several correspondents following her departure, this personal dimension might carry greater influence than the social matters he confronted during the article's formulation.

Ada arrived in Bandol to stay with Lawrence and Frieda on 12 February. Though Lawrence was fond of her, her presence evoked 'tortures of angry depression' in him.[542] Ada seemed to manifest the social disillusionment and economic downturn enveloping England, particularly in the Midlands. Both Ada and Lawrence exhibited a profound sense of helplessness: Ada wished to 'abandon all the life she's so deliberately built up there in the Midlands, and have a new one – "away from it all"', yet had to grapple with reality.[543] Lawrence, on the other hand, empathised deeply with his sister's struggles but found himself powerless to assist. This mutual desolation was evident in Lawrence's subsequent letter to Ada upon her departure for England. He began by admitting, 'I felt awfully unhappy after you had left this afternoon – chiefly because you

[542] *7L*, 183.
[543] *7L*, 190.

seem miserable, and I don't know what to say or do'.[544] In his bid to console Ada – and, to an extent, himself – and to inspire her to confront social challenges with a resilient mindset, Lawrence drew from his personal experiences, conveying empathy and wisdom in an advisory manner:

> I've been through it these last three years – and suffered, I tell you. But now I feel I'm coming through, to some other kind of happiness. It's a different kind of happiness we've got to come through to – but while the old sort is dying, and nothing new has appeared, it's really torture. But be patient, and realise it's a process that has to be gone through – and it's taken me three years to get even so far. But we shall come through, and be really peaceful and happy and in touch.

In a manner intended to comfort Ada, this letter can also be interpreted as Lawrence's own attempt to assuage his feelings of helplessness, infusing his words with a religious undertone. While he does not directly quote religious or biblical texts, the sentiments he conveys, particularly around themes of hope, change, a brighter future, and the transition from an old way of life to a new one, foregrounds Lawrence's attitude toward fateful changes in life, which is also expressed in 'The State of Funk'. Phrases from the letter, such as 'You will see, the future will bring big changes' and 'You will see – it will come – gradually – and before not so very many years', particularly with Lawrence's repeated use of the prophetic phrase 'You will see', resonate with the hopeful tenor found in Old Testament prophecies. Concluding the letter with 'Patience – and we'll begin another, somewhere in the sun', Lawrence elevates the religious subtext of the letter from strictly biblical references to a more intuitive spiritual sentiment. The image of the sun, representing hope, frequently appears throughout Lawrence's works. For instance, in 'Hymns in a Man's Life', he cites the childhood hymn 'Sun of my Soul,

[544] *7L*, 186.

thou Saviour dear' to illustrate how such hymns cultivated his sense of wonder, which he viewed as the essence of religion.[545] In invoking the wonder of the sun to comfort Ada, Lawrence encourages her to rejuvenate her innate self with childhood religious feelings, emphasising that the 'old sort' based on conventional Christian morality 'is dying'.[546]

The imagery and symbolism Lawrence employs in this letter are similar to those in 'The State of Funk'. For instance, when addressing the themes of suffering and growth, Lawrence encourages Ada to embrace the 'torture' and exercise 'patience', asserting that these experiences are necessary stages of life before they can be 'really peaceful and happy and in touch'. This notion of suffering as a means of soul purification and as a route to wisdom and happiness is a recurrent theme in many religious traditions, including Christianity. Regarding the concept of happiness, Christianity traditionally posits a primarily psychological interpretation. In contrast, Lawrence, in this article, suggests that such a rigid understanding of religious emotions, which are inherently fluid, contributes to the prevailing state of 'funk'.[547] Lawrence asserts that a shift in perspective is both imminent and essential. Touching upon social changes and transformations, Lawrence notes in the letter that 'the old sort is dying' and 'it's a process that has to be gone through'.[548] Elaborating on this in 'The State of Funk', he comments, 'We all of us know that ahead of us lies a great social change, a great social readjustment. […] A change is a slow flux, which must happen bit by bit.

[545] *LEA*, 132.
[546] *7L*, 186.
[547] *LEA*, 219.
[548] *7L*, 186.

And it must *happen*'.[549] To clarify his stance for readers, Lawrence articulates it more straightforwardly in a subsequent paragraph:

> Now England is on the brink of great changes, radical changes. Within the next fifty years the whole framework of our social life will be altered, will be greatly modified. The old world of our grandfathers is disappearing like thawing snow, and is as likely to cause a flood. What the world of our grandchildren will be, fifty years hence, we don't know. But in its social form it will be very different from our world of today. We've got to change. And in our power to change, in our capacity to make new intelligent adaptations to new conditions, in our readiness to admit and fulfil new needs, to give expression to new desires and new feelings, lies our hope and our health. Courage is the great word. Funk spells sheer disaster.[550]

Lawrence's critique of the inflexibility inherent in Christianity, together with his discernment of genuine religious sentiments, is evident in the paragraph's portrayal of imminent social transformation and the pervasive dread experienced by the masses concerning an uncertain future. Phrases such as 'on the brink', 'great changes', 'radical', and 'whole framework […] altered' evoke parallels with the biblical account of the Great Flood – a cataclysmic event that reshaped the world. This imagery resonates with readers' apprehensions about the tumultuous interwar era of the late 1920s, characterised by the emergent threat of Nazism and the shadow of the Great Depression hanging over the Western economy. Lawrence recognised the reasons for his readers' trepidation about these forthcoming shifts. However, from his perspective, such fear was unwarranted, given that proactive measures could be adopted in anticipation. It is essential, he believed, to confront and acknowledge the uncertain future rather than naively dismiss it, even as society descends into collective hysteria. For Lawrence, this 'state of funk' – where the word 'state' can denote either a nation or

[549] *LEA*, 220.
[550] *LEA*, 220.

a condition – is a manifestation of the public's entrenched sensibilities, foregrounding Lawrence's discussion of the potential reason that contributed to it: the inflexibility and dogmatic doctrines deeply ingrained in Christianity.

In 'Hymns in a Man's Life', Lawrence recalls his childhood memories of being instructed to lament Jesus's sacrifice during Sunday School. Similarly, in *Apocalypse*, he delves deeper into this critique, elucidating how Christianity has entrenched certain thought patterns and religious sentiments within individuals. He argues that rigid Christianity often suppresses individuals' critical thinking, illustrating this point by describing the manner in which the Bible is read and interpreted in religious education:

> From earliest years right into manhood, like any other nonconformist child I had the Bible poured every day into my helpless consciousness, till there came almost a saturation point. Long before one could think or even vaguely understand, this Bible language, these 'portions' of the Bible were *douched* over the mind and consciousness till they became soaked in, they became an influence which affected all the processes of emotion and thought. So that today, although I have 'forgotten' my Bible, I need only begin to read a chapter to realise that I 'know' it with an almost nauseating fixity. And I must confess, my first reaction is one of dislike, repulsion, and even resentment. My very instincts *resent* the Bible.[551]

In the preceding section of 'Hymns in a Man's Life', which addressed the stringent pedagogical approach of Sunday School, it was highlighted that the fixed interpretation of the Bible underpinned Christianity's influence on modern civilisation, and particularly on the younger generation. This rigidity undermined their capacity for critical thinking, thus compromising their individuality. Lawrence concludes that the Bible has been 'temporarily killed for us, or for some of us, by having its meaning temporarily fixed' by Christian dogma.[552] In response to Christianity's rigidity and in

[551] *A*, 59.
[552] *A*, 59-60.

order to preserve modern individuals' suppressed religious sentiments from permanent extinction, Lawrence advises his readers to approach the Bible as a text amenable to interpretation. He believes that 'A book lives only while it has power to move us, and move us *differently*; so long as we find it *different* every time we read it'. For Lawrence, the dynamism in interpretation is crucial to rejuvenating and sustaining one's religious feelings. T. R. Wright echoes this sentiment, noting that despite the constrained manner in which Lawrence might have been instructed to interpret the Bible, he retained a profound, albeit conflicted, relationship with the text from his childhood.[553] Furthermore, Lawrence's critique in 'The State of Funk' of British society's 'horrible fear and funk and repression and bullying' reactions to significant changes is better understood through the perspective of religious feelings when read together with his correspondence with his sister Ada. Following this perspective, it could be understood that Lawrence wrote 'The State of Funk' partially or mostly in response to a crisis with Ada, which to Lawrence was a crisis shared by the modern British people, and he advocates restoring religious feelings in response to modern society's panic about change. This article reveals a deeper layer of his criticism, where he connects outdated social attitudes towards physical vitality, represented by sexuality, with the need for a more fluid religious feeling that encompasses both the physical and experience-based dimensions of human existence.

Though 'The State of Funk' was not a commissioned piece, was not accepted by any newspaper for publication, and first saw the light of day in Lawrence's posthumous collection, *Assorted Articles* (1930), Lawrence's advocacy for the rejuvenation of individual religious sentiments in the article, together with his discourse on sexual

[553] Wright, *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible*, 5.

matters, almost found expression in an unforeseen manner through Nancy Pearn's efforts. Upon receipt of Lawrence's letter dated 23 February, which included the manuscript of 'The State of Funk', Pearn responded with reservations regarding the best platform for the article that would be to Lawrence's 'greatest advantage'.[554] She proposed a brief pause, suggesting, 'it may be best to wait a week or so until the legal side is clarified, but this I shall be able to judge better in a day or two'. During this interim period, Pearn likely had the article's typescript prepared, and the pencil notation 'return to N. P.' found on the upper right corner of its first page probably dates from this period. Whether or not Pearn explored potential newspaper placements for the article after the resolution of Lawrence's legal entanglements, it seems she had reservations about Lawrence's phrasing when she returned to the article. This is evident from the considerable textual modifications and restructuring she undertook on the manuscript. The timing of these interventions, which took place after the first typescripts were being prepared, can be confirmed both by the physical manuscript and the fact that none of the three extant typescripts incorporate the changes indicated by pencil marks on the manuscript. Given the restricted circle of individuals with access to the article's manuscript, and considering the restraint showed by the person who made these pencil marks – evident from the exclusive use of brackets for deletions and reordering without additional annotations – it can reasonably be inferred that Pearn was the individual responsible for these editorial changes to 'The State of Funk'.

As indicated in ***Figure 11*** and detailed in Appendix I, 'Nancy Pearn's Editorial Changes on the Manuscript of "The State of Funk"', one of the most significant textual alterations occurs on page 5 of the manuscript. On this page, Pearn has substantially

[554] HRC DHL 36.6.

excised almost three paragraphs. Within these deleted sections, Lawrence had elaborated on his adolescent sexual feelings, emphasising the realisation of one's individuality in relation to sexuality and its intrinsic connection with the mind and spirit:

> ~~[…]But our civilisation, with its horrible fear and funk and repression and bullying, has almost destroyed the~~ natural flow of common sympathy, between men and men and men and women.
>
> And it is this ^ that I want to restore into life: (~~just the natural warm flow of common sympathy between man and man, man and woman. Many people hate it, of course. Many men hate it that one should tacitly take them for sexual, physical men instead of mere social and mental personalities. Many women hate it the same. Some, the worst, are in a state of rabid funk.~~[…][555]

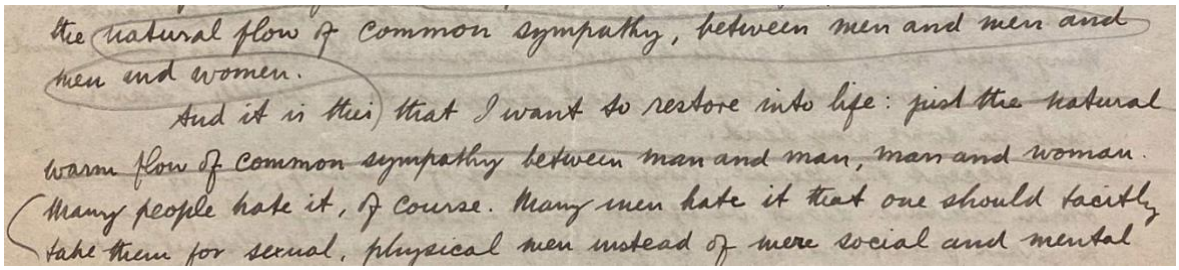

the natural flow of common sympathy, between men and men and men and women.
And it is this that I want to restore into life: just the natural warm flow of common sympathy between man and man, man and woman. Many people hate it, of course. Many men hate it that one should tacitly take them for sexual, physical men instead of mere social and mental

**Figure 11.** Nancy Pearn's textual deletions and rearrangements on page 5 of the manuscript of 'The State of Funk'. HRC DHL 20.1. © The Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli.

Upon examining the three paragraphs by comparing Lawrence's original texts with Pearn's revised version, it is evident that while Pearn has made significant deletions, she has managed to retain Lawrence's original meaning. Moreover, she has changed his tone from one that is strongly provocative to one that is rationally persuasive. By criticising the social atmosphere that lacks vitality and liveliness, Lawrence's intention in this piece was to encourage the public to rekindle their religious sentiments in reaction to their directionless apprehensions about imminent changes and the pervasive

[555] HRC DHL 20.1.

‘state of funk’. To ensure clarity for a broad readership, Lawrence broached the topic of sexuality – a subject familiar to many but frequently maligned by mainstream views. Lawrence suggests that a woman’s sexual identity exists in tandem with her overall personality, noting that he can ‘feel the normal sexual sympathy with her’. Lawrence underscores this by highlighting that the mutual understanding between the sexes need not be excessively ‘rampant or lurid’. Instead, this understanding can be as routine and benign as any daily activity driven by goodwill. In Lawrence’s own words, he states that he can ‘really sympathise with a woman in her sexual self, it is just a form of warm-heartedness and compassionateness, the most natural life-flow in the world’. However, Lawrence’s discourse on the nuances of his sexual sympathy becomes controversial, particularly when he notes: ‘And it may be a woman of seventy-five, or a child of two, it is the same’. From Lawrence’s own perspective, broadening the scope of sexual sympathy is crucial to his primary thesis: that sexuality and sexual emotions are innate human instincts, and their rejuvenation can help contemporary individuals reconnect with their spiritual sentiments. Though Lawrence’s ultimate intention is to advocate a return to vitality more broadly, his discussion of the controversial topic of sexuality shows his consideration of the general public – using expressions and language that could be understood by them. Yet, given Lawrence’s existing reputation, the specific references to a ‘child of two’ and ‘a woman of seventy-five’ are potentially problematic. Detractors could easily misinterpret and manipulate his words, further criticising his perceived ‘sexual perversion’. For the general public, who may lack the resources, inclination, or aptitude to discern the factual basis of such claims, Lawrence’s emerging journalistic image risks being as maligned as his other literary representations.

Likely anticipating potential responses from Lawrence's critics, who might exploit his candid phrasing, Pearn opted for judicious edits while retaining Lawrence's primary intent: a call to return to vitality more broadly through rejuvenating individual religious sentiments. A particularly illustrative example of Pearn's editorial restraint can be found in a sentence from Lawrence's original three paragraphs on page 5 of 'The State of Funk' manuscript. In the original text, Lawrence critically attributed the diminishing individuality to modern civilisation, asserting that it replaced unique personal sentiments with rigid social norms. He wrote, 'But our civilisation, with its horrible fear and funk and repression and bullying, has almost destroyed the natural flow of common sympathy, between men and men and men and women'. Though Lawrence subsequently outlined virtues he believed should be revived, Pearn, perhaps to deter critics from decontextualising Lawrence's comments on sexuality, chose to reconstruct and amalgamate the essence of these two sentences. After Pearn's editorial revisions, the synthesised sentence reads, 'And it is this natural flow of common sympathy, between men and men and men and women that I want to restore into life'. While Pearn neither added to nor substantially altered the meaning within these paragraphs, her rendition presents a more measured tone, facilitating a clearer understanding of Lawrence's plea for the renewal of individual religious sentiments.

Drawing from the available archival materials pertaining to 'The State of Funk', it is evident that Pearn's textual modifications are present only in the manuscript. The three extant typescripts of the article and the version that appeared in *Assorted Articles* upon its initial publication all adhere to Lawrence's original text. A plausible interpretation is that Pearn's edits were exclusively tailored for the journalistic landscape, and given that *Assorted Articles* catered to a distinct, perhaps more niche and

enlightened audience, there was no pressing need to modify Lawrence's piece to suit broader public tastes. Despite this, it is imperative to recognise Pearn's contributions in refining Lawrence's journalistic persona. This case underscores that Lawrence's journalistic success in his late years did not solely arise from his own adaptability and keen insight into the journalistic marketplace or the reading preferences of a wider readership. Instead, it seems more apt to attribute it to collaborative efforts, verging on a form of joint authorship, where his literary agent, Nancy Pearn, played a pivotal role. Significantly, whether Pearn was cognisant of it or not, her revisions on Lawrence's manuscript seem to resonate with Lawrence's expectation for a dynamic text. In the introduction to the American edition of his *New Poems* (1920), Lawrence articulated a desire for 'nothing fixed, set, static'.[556] While Lawrence's remarks in this particular article, 'The State of Funk', primarily allude to an evolving comprehension, or perhaps to religious feelings, Pearn's interpretation and expansion of its applicability to his text underscored its inherent spirituality. This suggests that Lawrence's spiritual sentiments might have subtly influenced Pearn, even unbeknownst to him. This mutual understanding and rapport between Lawrence and Pearn reflect the very religious feeling that Lawrence consistently championed in his works. This theme recurs in the following article 'The Risen Lord', another piece written on pages from the same spiral notebook alongside 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and 'The State of Funk'. Within this article, Lawrence revisits the narrative of the Resurrected Christ, predominantly expounding upon his own religious reflections.

[556] D. H. Lawrence, *Phoenix: the Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Edward D. McDonald (New York: Viking Press, 1936), 219.

**'The Risen Lord'**

Unlike 'Hymns in a Man's Life' or 'The State of Funk', 'The Risen Lord' originated from a commission request from a magazine editor. This commission was extended via a letter from Charles Benjamin Purdom, the editor of a magazine entitled *Everyman*. While there is no existing archival evidence pinpointing the exact location of Purdom's letter, its essential contents are deducible from Lawrence's letter to Pearn dated 2 August 1929. In this letter, Lawrence enclosed the manuscript of 'The Risen Lord' and informed Pearn that he composed the article in response to Purdom's request for a contribution to the series 'A Religion for the Young'.[557] Lawrence's prior engagements with newspaper editors on religious topics seemingly enhanced his understanding of the general public's religious sentiments and bolstered his confidence in journalistic writings on this theme. Demonstrating his characteristic nonchalance, Lawrence remarked in his correspondence that he was indifferent about the publication of the article, stating, 'don't know if they'll print it – and don't care very much'. Nonetheless, he acknowledged the article's quality, 'it's a nice article', and instructed Pearn to 'take care of it for me' regardless of whether *Everyman* decided to publish it. Pearn, whom Lawrence fondly referred to as his 'golden magazine girl', concurred with his assessment in her response dated 7 August.[558] She proceeded to enquire about Purdom's proposed remuneration before forwarding the article. Subsequently, in a letter dated 3 September, Lawrence received an update that *Everyman* had offered 'Twenty Pounds' for 'The Risen Lord'. As Pearn was on holiday at that time, Laurence Pollinger, who usually managed the publication of the fiction side of Lawrence's works, accepted the offer on Lawrence and Pearn's behalf, facilitating the article's publication. The article

[557] *7L*, 401.
[558] HRC DHL 36.7.

was eventually published in *Everyman* on 3 October, accompanied by an enthusiastic editorial blurb praising Lawrence as 'one of the most distinguished and original of present day poets and novelists', specifically highlighting this article as his contribution to the magazine's series 'A Religion for the Young'.[559]

In 'The Risen Lord', Lawrence builds upon the theme of religious feelings explored in 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and 'The State of Funk'. In this essay, Lawrence delves deeper into the specific nature of religious feelings that should be revived to rejuvenate one's individuality. The title 'The Risen Lord' itself indicates a focus on the theme of resurrection. Lawrence revisited the religious education of his childhood, a topic touched upon in his previous works, to critique contemporary British religious education. He argues that it overly emphasises the sacrifice of Christ, neglecting the significance of the Resurrection, a perspective he deems outdated and in need of revision. Instead of condemning outright British society's fixation on the image of 'Christ crucified', Lawrence explores the origins of this obsession, recognising its historical rationale. He observes that the Great War has fundamentally shattered the comforting image of the 'all-pitying and all-helpful Madonna' in the consciousness of many, as the advent of modern technology in warfare rendered human life exceedingly vulnerable.[560] The traditional religious image of the nurturing power of the 'all-pitying virgin mother' was eclipsed by the brutal reality of machine guns and the widespread loss of individual lives on both sides of the conflict.[561] In response to the abstract effect of modern society on individual's religious feelings, Lawrence reminds his readers by asserting in the beginning of his article that 'the great religious images are only images

[559] D. H. Lawrence, 'The Risen Lord', *Everyman*, 3 October 1929.
[560] *LEA*, 268.
[561] *LEA*, 267.

of our own experience, or of our own state of mind and soul'. After witnessing the horrors of modern warfare and experiencing the collapse of pre-war religious sentiments based on their war experiences, survivors urgently sought a new religious symbol to replace the Madonna-and-Child motif. Hence they turned to 'Christ crucified', which would help justify the war and their sacrifices. The imagery of Christ suffering on the cross, enduring agony for the sake of sinners, resonated with their self-perception as victims who fought the war for the greater good. Consequently, the 'Christ crucified' motif gained prominence in post-war religious and social discourse, setting the stage for its overemphasis in British religious life even a decade after the Great War, as observed by Lawrence in 1929.

In this article, Lawrence criticises the prevailing discourse that dwells on 'the closed grey disillusion of Christ Crucified, dead and buried'.[562] He contends that in the era in which he was writing, especially with the advent of the younger generation, the focus should shift from the older generation's experiences of sacrifice in the Great War to a celebration of 'Christ risen in the flesh!'[563] He emphasises the resurrection of Christ in his entirety, including physical aspects often omitted from traditional religious discourse, such as 'hands and feet, lips, stomach, and genitals'. Lawrence's assertion is not a dismissal of the sacrifices made during the Great War, nor is it a call for society to overlook the contributions of the older generation to current peace. Rather, he advocates for a religious sentiment that allows the public, particularly the younger generation, to cultivate an appreciation of life based on their own experiences and reflections:

> This is the image of the young: the Risen Lord. The teaching is over, the crucifixion is over, the sacrifice is made, the salvation is accomplished. Now comes the true life, man living his full life on earth, as flowers live

[562] *LEA*, 269.
[563] *LEA*, 270.

> their full life, without rhyme or reason except the magnificence of coming forth into fulness.[564]

In parallel with the theme of resurrection and the reclamation of genuine religious feelings, Lawrence composed two other significant works during this period. One is the second half of *The Escaped Cock*, a novella Lawrence described to Charles Lahr as sharing the 'same idea' with 'The Risen Lord'.[565] The other is *Apocalypse*, a posthumously published work, which Mara Kalnins, editor of the volume in the Cambridge *Edition*, characterises as 'a vigorously iconoclastic work, condemning nearly all our contemporary ways of life and searching for the causes of our malaise in the failure of Christian and democratic ideals as Lawrence saw them'.[566] Instead of a comprehensive analysis of Lawrence's religious concepts across these three works – a task already thoroughly accomplished by scholars like T. R. Wright – this section will focus on Lawrence's articulation and portrayal of ideal, organic religious sentiments in these texts. The aim is to explore how Lawrence engaged in a deeper dialogue with his journalistic audience on the topic of religious feelings, building upon his earlier efforts in 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and 'The State of Funk'.

Immediately after the statement of proposing the resurrection image of the 'Risen Lord' for the younger generation in 'The Risen Lord', Lawrence employed an extended paragraph to explore various conjectures about Jesus' post-resurrection existence, proposing scenarios such as Jesus rising 'as a full man, in full flesh and soul', 'in the full flesh', 'as a full man, in the flesh', 'a full man in the flesh'.[567] These hypotheses, though complicated, become more comprehensible when examined in

[564] *LEA*, 271.
[565] *7L*, 516.
[566] *A*, 22-3.
[567] *LEA*, 271.

conjunction with the second part of Lawrence's work, *The Escaped Cock*. Written a year after the first part, during Lawrence's stay in the Swiss Alps in 1928, this 'phallic second half' delves into the recuperative journey of the male lead, symbolising Jesus, as he reacquaints himself with life and his physical form post-resurrection.[568] The narrative, as elucidated by Wright, draws inspiration from James Frazer's counter-Bible *The Golden Bough*.[569] Lawrence interweaves 'the account of Christ's resurrection with the myth of the Egyptian God Osiris, […] whose body was cut into pieces'. In the original myth, most parts of Osiris's body were located by his wife Isis apart from his genitals until the sun god, Ra, arranged to have the part reassembled, thus completing Osiris's body.[570] This reassembly is crucial, yet Osiris's resurrection remains incomplete until his physical union with Isis, underscoring the essential role of sexuality in his revival. Michael Herbert, Bethan Jones, and Lindeth Vasey, editors of the volume of the Cambridge *Edition* that includes *The Escaped Cock*, note that Lawrence was 'aware of the controversial nature of the writing – notably his implicit protest against the Pauline element of Christianity with its insistence on Christ as virgin'.[571] Despite the censorship of Lawrence's explicit references to genitalia and sexual arousal in the first published version of *The Escaped Cock*, the Cambridge *Edition* reinstates these elements. Lawrence emphasises the centrality of 'the genitals' as a life-giving force in Osiris's reconstruction: 'And yet she had not found the last reality, the final clue to him, the genitals that alone could bring him really back to her, and touch her womb'.[572] Lawrence's narrative, even in texts without direct references to sexual arousal, is replete

[568] *6L*, 326.
[569] Wright, *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible*, 217.
[570] *VG*, 143.
[571] *VG*, xxxvii.
[572] *VG*, 143.

with potent sexual innuendos, allowing readers to infer the underlying themes. For example, the scene of Isis's physical reunion with Osiris is described as follows: 'And his desire flamed sun-wise again, towards her, so he knew her again, and his bowels gloried in her. And as they lay in stillness, belly to belly, her bowels praised life. […] Only she thought: I am full of Osiris. I am full of the risen Osiris!'[573] This emphasis on sexual consciousness as a pivotal aspect of individual experience is also evident in the manuscript of the second part of *The Escaped Cock*, where Lawrence employs even more explicit language when depicting Isis's quest for Osiris's genitals. This approach underscores the thematic importance Lawrence places on sexual vitality within the narrative:

> But yet he is not whole, because still she has not found the last clue to him, his maleness, his male parts. Ah, these are hard to find, and yet they must be found, otherwise it is all in vain, for her it is [?r]ight. Because her womb is seeking, and she has to wait [ ] seed. It is not words, nor lips nor hands that will beget a new god in her, but only the phallos, and that is lost, lost, and cannot be found. Meanwhile the re-assembled Osiris lies beautiful, lies as in the sleep of his godhead, brought together again after having been torn asunder. But he lies inert. He cannot rise till the phallos rises, and he is male and potent.[574]

While analysing Lawrence's portrayal of resurrection in the quoted section, the self-explanatory phrase 'he cannot rise till the phallos rises' succinctly encapsulates Lawrence's interpretation that bodily and natural instincts, and particularly sexual instincts, are fundamental and indispensable in defining the individual. This perspective stands in stark contrast to the emphasis on sentimental spirituality prevalent in conventional Christian doctrine. Wright astutely observes that this forthright acknowledgment of sexual consciousness represents 'an astonishingly bold and

[573] *VG*, 160, 320-3.
[574] *VG*, 217.

transgressive rewriting of the gospel accounts of the resurrection'.[575] It also reflects Lawrence's Nietzschean critique of orthodox Christianity and its aversion to corporeality. It is worth considering that the timing of the composition of this second instalment of the story, in June 1928, coincided with a period when Lawrence was actively assimilating feedback from newspapers and magazine editors while building his journalistic persona. This engagement with the general public's reading tastes might have influenced his incorporation of such themes in his writing. This is evidenced in a letter dated 21 June to Frieda, in which Lawrence mentions revising his 'Isis story' and his intention to present it to Earl Brewster.[576] Lawrence's habit of sharing his works with a close circle of friends for feedback is well-documented. However, the potential revisions following Brewster's feedback, together with the markedly toned-down sexual descriptions in the second draft, suggest that Lawrence was cognisant of the potential impact of explicit content on the public reception of his work, particularly if he decided to publish it in the future.[577] This strategic adjustment indicates Lawrence's awareness of the delicate balance between artistic expression and public sensibility.

In 'The Risen Lord', Lawrence's acute awareness of his readership is evident, especially considering the article was initially written as a contribution to the series entitled 'A Religion for the Young'. While Lawrence firmly believed in the centrality of sexual feelings and human instincts in shaping one's personal religious experience, he adopts a more circumspect approach in conveying this idea. Rather than risk alienating his journalistic audience with explicit references, Lawrence opts for a more restrained narrative strategy, subtly emphasising the significance of human nature in rekindling

[575] Wright, *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible*, 218.
[576] *6L*, 429.
[577] First manuscript draft, Roberts E116f. Second draft, Roberts E116h.

religious sentiment. This nuanced approach becomes apparent when contextualising 'The Risen Lord' alongside the themes explored in the second part of *The Escaped Cock*. In this latter work, Lawrence repeatedly delves into the role of the body in divine resurrection. Applying these insights to the varied scenarios of Jesus's resurrection in 'The Risen Lord', where Jesus is imagined rising in the different states of 'man', 'flesh', and 'soul', clarifies these seemingly perplexing narratives. Regardless of minor linguistic variations, such as the use of the conjunction 'as' or the definitive article 'the', the consistent references to 'flesh' and 'full' throughout the text, especially phrases such as 'full flesh' or 'a full man in the flesh', underscore the importance of being a complete, embodied individual in reclaiming religious feelings.

This example illustrates that Lawrence's attitude towards religion and religious feeling was significantly influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche. Lawrence's criticism, instead of categorically rejecting Christianity, focuses on the dogmatism inherent in conventional Christian doctrine, which, he argues, stifles individual religious experience. T. R. Wright contends that Nietzsche's critique of Christianity, epitomised by its creative transcendence and utilisation of Christian tradition against itself, significantly informed Lawrence's perspective.[578] For example, Nietzsche's criticism extends beyond the New Testament, expressing a yearning for the authentic Christianity embodied by Jesus. In *The Will to Power*, Nietzsche suggests that an authentic 'Christianity is still possible at any time', unencumbered by the presumptuous dogmas that have historically appropriated its name. He reconceptualises Christianity as a '*way of life*' rather than a rigid 'system of beliefs', focusing on how to act rather than what to believe, thereby challenging traditional Christian doctrines like immortality, sin, and

[578] Wright, *D. H. Lawrence and the Bible*, 36. For a more detailed and chronicled record of Lawrence's reading of Nietzsche and his adaptation of Nietzschean ideas in his works, see Wright, 43-56.

redemption. Wright observes that Lawrence assimilates and echoes these critiques and insights into Christian dogmatism in his works, notably in his version of the resurrection in *The Escaped Cock* and his extensive biblical commentary in *Apocalypse*.

A typical example of Lawrence's Nietzschean perspective on religious emotions, as articulated in the first fragment of *Apocalypse*, is his argument that 'love and power are the two divine things in life' but 'love is only divine when it is in harmony with love', and vice versa.[579] This statement suggests a dynamic equilibrium between these two elements, rather than a simplistic, linear correlation of love with soul/spirit or power with flesh/body. This nuanced understanding of the interplay between bodily and spiritual elements in religious experience is exemplified in the last two stanzas of the eponymous *pensée* 'The Risen Lord' composed in the same time period. Here, Lawrence's articulation of the resurrection theme integrates these dual aspects, indicating a complex, interdependent relationship between the physical and the spiritual in forming a complete religious experience:

> I died, and death is neuter; it speaks not, it gives
> no answer; man rises again
> with mouth and loins and needs, he lives
> again man among men.
>
> So it is, so it will be, for ever and ever.
> And still the great needs of men
> will clamour forth from the flesh, and never
> can denial deny them again.[580]

The two stanzas encapsulate Lawrence's interpretation of the ideal resurrection: it transcends the traditional conception of resurrection as solely a spiritual awakening. For Lawrence, resurrection is crucially a return to the body and flesh. Lawrence asserts that

[579] *A*, 165.
[580] *1Poems*, 461.

this physical revival is integral and foundational to an individual's religious sentiments, as it renders a person complete. This perspective provided by Lawrence's poem, together with his statement in 'The Risen Lord' that 'only life is lovely', further emphasises the importance of corporeal existence in conjunction with spiritual rebirth to Lawrence, suggesting that true resurrection involves a holistic reanimation of both body and spirit. Due to the fact that 'The Risen Lord' was commissioned for a newspaper column entitled 'A Religion for the Young', Lawrence has not only carefully encouraged younger readers' curiosity by listing all possibilities of the combinations of the Risen Lord's 'flesh', 'body', and 'spirit' in response to potential questions, he has further prepared his advocacy of the younger generation's seeking of physical vitality through the reclamation of their religious feelings from dogmatic Christianity. Lawrence positions himself together with his young readers by using 'I' in the dialogic narrative against the opposite 'Mammon' figure who represents dogmatic Christianity and the stubborn older generation: 'Because only life is lovely, and you, Mammon, prevent life. I love to see a squirrel peep round a tree: and left to you, Mammon, there will soon be no squirrels to peep'.[581] By reading the journalistic essay together with Lawrence's contemporaneous works in other genres, it becomes clear that he advocated the reclamation of religious feelings by tailoring a journalistic tone for his target audience.

## Conclusion

Building upon themes such as gender politics and contemporary education, Lawrence's essays on Christianity deftly criticise religion and advocate for a rejuvenation of

[581] *LEA*, 272.

individuals' religious feelings. These essays reflect his deep insights into the deleterious effects of modern society on individuality. While presenting to his readers their 'boredom', lack of real 'experience', and 'inertia, lack of life', Lawrence incisively argues that the modern world's fear of sexuality and change stems fundamentally from a loss and abstraction of personal religious feeling.[582] For Lawrence, religion and religious sentiment extend beyond merely heated topics discussed in popular journalism. They represent an integral, holistic experience, the absence of which leaves modern society desolate and its people reduced to 'automatons', as he observes in 'Enslaved by Civilisation'.[583] This understanding illuminates the nature of Lawrence's essays on Christianity, in which he broaches controversial topics such as 'gender politics' and 'sexualities'. His intention is not merely to provoke or to leverage his notorious reputation. Rather, the textual modifications evident in the manuscripts of these essays, and the comparative analysis of the language used in these polemical pieces and his other contemporary works, underscore his earnest commitment to his journalistic pursuits. Lawrence's goal was to communicate to the general public the necessity of restoring individual religious feelings. He eschewed direct exhortation, opting instead for a more nuanced approach. In 'Hymns in a Man's Life', he evokes the vibrant religious feelings of childhood that arise from personal interpretations of church hymns. This serves as a prelude to a criticism of the current malaise in British society and prompts an examination of the causes behind the erosion of genuine religious sentiment. In 'The State of Funk', Lawrence adopts the guise of an observer, subtly describing the general public's contemporary social life and highlighting the devastation wrought by the loss of personal religious feelings. 'The Risen Lord' revisits a familiar

[582] *LEA*, 131, 248.
[583] *LEA*, 157.

Sunday School narrative – the crucifixion of Jesus – to criticise the unnaturalness of Christian dogma. Instead of dwelling on a sacrifice beyond the younger generation's experience, Lawrence draws on the theme of burgeoning sexual awareness, which his readers are personally encountering, to emphasise the necessity of reclaiming physical vitality in reinvigorating their religious sentiments. These examples demonstrate that Lawrence's engagement with controversial subjects in his journalistic works on the subject of Christianity serves not as an end but as a means. He employs familiar topics and language to ensure that his readers grasp his message. In the meantime, his overarching objective remains to draw attention to the adverse impact of social abstraction on individuals and to advocate for the rekindling of the 'sense of wonder' which is the '*natural* religious sense'.[584] Lawrence believed this to be the most effective response to the challenges posed by modern civilisation's abstraction effect.

[584] *LEA*, 132.

# CONCLUSION

In each of the three issues of Lawrence's 1915 journalistic endeavour, *The Signature*, the phrase 'Published by Subscription only' is prominently displayed at the bottom centre of the front cover.[585] This undertaking reflects Lawrence's ambitious hope that this bi-weekly magazine would cultivate an exclusive, select readership who could appreciate and engage with his ideologies. However, it ceased publication before achieving its initial promise of six issues, owing to insufficient subscriptions. Approximately thirteen years later, in 1928, toward the end of Lawrence's life and career, he revisited this domain with a different attitude and approach, consciously orienting his writing towards popular journalism and a broader audience. Instead of cultivating a select readership as he did previously, Lawrence in his late engagement with the journalistic marketplace adopted a more candid and inclusive attitude toward the general public, especially to those who might not agree with his ideas or who might even have a biased opinion of him. Though he often presented an indifferent attitude toward how his essays were to be edited and changed by newspaper and magazine editors in his correspondence, my textual analyses of his essays, especially those close readings of his textual alterations, clearly show Lawrence's strong willingness to soften his usual provocative style for the popular journalism in order to reach a wider readership. That said, Lawrence did not entirely put aside his usual provocative style simply for the sake of the journalistic marketplace or the general public. For example, provocative expressions and phrases are still preserved in these essays. These include 'matriarchy isn't so bad after all' in 'Matriarchy', 'to be a good little boy like all the

[585] *The Signature*, 4 October, 18 October and 1 November 1915, front cover.

other good little boys is to be at last a slave, or at least an automaton, running on wheels' in 'Enslaved by Civilisation', and 'Modern woman isn't really a fool. But modern man is' in 'Give Her a Pattern'.[586] This thesis argues, drawing upon the aforementioned examples, that Lawrence approached the writing of these essays with the same seriousness he applied to his fiction and poetry. Despite the brevity necessitated by the 'four-pagers', Lawrence consistently maintained a level of depth and rigour in his articles. This assertion underscores the notion that the constrained format did not diminish the intensity of Lawrence's literary engagement.

The publication of these articles afforded Lawrence the opportunity to collaborate with newspapers and magazines across a spectrum of political orientations, thereby facilitating communication with diverse readerships. In turn, he gleaned insights into his audience's preferences and perspectives through their feedback. Owing to the inherently argumentative nature of polemical writing, Lawrence was able to grasp traditional modes of thought, as expressed in other articles and letters, identify their logical shortcomings, and craft targeted responses. By contributing polemical pieces to various publications, Lawrence succeeded in expanding his readership, cementing his reputation in the field of journalism, and earning financial benefits from his foray into this new journalistic marketplace. It was through this process that he struck a balance between the demands of literary commerce and his artistic integrity. Over a period of three years, Lawrence composed more than two dozen journalistic essays, either on his own initiative or commissioned by editors of newspapers and magazines. With the assistance of Nancy Pearn, whom he fondly referred to as his 'golden magazine girl', Lawrence succeeded in having most of these articles disseminated widely in mass-

[586] *LEA*, 104, 157, 164.

circulation newspapers and magazines across the Atlantic. He subsequently compiled these works into a collection entitled *Assorted Articles* (1930), for which he drafted a succinct preface in February 1929, during his final days:

> Most of these articles were written for newspapers and have appeared in newspapers, chiefly the *Evening News* and the *Sunday Dispatch*. One article appeared in *Everyman*, and one in *T.P.'s Weekly*. The longer essays have been printed in the *Star Review*, the *Studio*, the *Architectural Review*, and in the *Adelphi*. Occasionally the titles have been changed.
>
> D. H. L.
>
> *February*, 1930.[587]

With the same proud claim as he printed on the cover of his 1915 venture, Lawrence enumerated all the outlets, ranging from mainstream newspapers to emerging little magazines, where his contentious articles were featured. Although Lawrence did not live to witness the publication of this collection, its reception among literary critics was predictably polarised. For instance, a review published in the *English Review* dismissed Lawrence's ideas as 'empty platitudes'.[588] Taking a different view, critics like Henry Hazlitt acknowledged that the essence of Lawrence's often 'rough and careless' style eludes conventional logical analysis, as his essays were primarily driven by intuition.[589] In this regard, Lawrence emerges not as an exemplar of reason and logic, but as a symbol of raw, primal expression. To truly grasp the underlying messages of his work, particularly those veiled behind themes of sexuality and provocation, readers must transcend conventional patterns of thinking. It was for this reason that critics such as Sherwood Anderson lauded Lawrence in *The New Republic* for devising an escape from

[587] *AA*, preface.
[588] 'Literary Studies', Review of *Assorted Articles* by D. H. Lawrence, *The English Review*, May 1930, 653-4.
[589] See Henry Hazlitt, 'Last Statement', Review of *Assorted Articles* by D. H. Lawrence, *The Nation*, 30 April 1930, 519; P. M., 'D. H. Lawrence and His Work', Review of *Assorted Articles* by D. H. Lawrence, *The Nation & Athenæum*, 3 May 1930, 148; 'D. H. Lawrence', Review of *Assorted Articles* by D. H. Lawrence, *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 April 1930, 315.

'the machine age' and urged young individuals to engage with and comprehend the Lawrentian philosophy of life.[590] Ultimately, this aligns with Lawrence's objective in re-engaging with popular journalism: to inspire his audience to embrace critical thinking, rather than adhering to established norms.

While building up a new polemical persona and tempering his typically provocative rhetoric in his essays, the textual analysis conducted in this thesis reveals that Lawrence demonstrated a notable willingness to engage in dialogue with his prospective readership. Despite making compromises, as evidenced in his manuscripts and correspondence with his literary agent and newspaper editors, to facilitate the publication of his journalistic essays, Lawrence also displayed an exceptional eagerness to learn from these interactions. This was in pursuit of both a deeper comprehension of his readers' preferences and the cultivation of a more intimate rapport with them. Regardless of the subject matter of these essays, Lawrence consistently exhibited a sincere commitment to engaging in dialogue with his readers, endeavouring to articulate his ideas in a language and manner that appealed to their understanding. In the meantime, Lawrence moderated yet preserved his characteristic, somewhat flippant and confrontational, tone. This strategy, intentionally or not, was intended to provoke his readers and challenge their conventional modes of thinking, aligning with his enduring objective in writing these polemical essays: to stimulate his readers' capacity for critical thinking, to question the quandaries of modern society, and to explore solutions for re-establishing an organic society.

Rather than overtly presenting his perspectives on social issues, Lawrence adopted an illuminative approach, subtly highlighting aspects of modern society that,

[590] Sherwood Anderson, 'A Man's Mind', Review of *Assorted Articles* by D. H. Lawrence, *The New Republic*, 21 May 1930, 22-3 (22).

despite being taken for granted by the general public, were to him inherently illogical. This method is exemplified in the three case studies featured in the third chapter of this thesis, which focus on Lawrence's critique of the impact of Christian dogma on an individual's religious sentiments. Through a combination of comparative analysis and dialogic narrative, Lawrence underscores the abnormality of Christianity for his readers. In the first essay, 'Hymns in a Man's Life', Lawrence specifically addresses his English readership, evoking the collective childhood experience of nurturing innate religious feelings through the singing of church hymns. He suggests that these hymns profoundly influenced the childhood consciousness without the mediation of formal religious education, stating that hymns have 'such a profound influence on my childish consciousness, there has been no crystallising out, no dwindling into actuality, no hardening into the commonplace'.[591] Lawrence's use of this recollection serves to remind his readers of their unique, personal religious experiences, which have been overshadowed by the intervention of Christianity's sentimental teaching, thereby piquing their understanding and interest, encouraging them to complete the essay. This effect is underscored by an editorial blurb that praises Lawrence's narrative prowess while posing a reflective question to the readers: 'Which of us can recall or weigh the things that deeply impressed his mind in childhood, before knowledge brought sophistication and dimmed the starlight of wonder to a mere chart of the heavens?'[592] The editorial commentary – 'The great and tragic facts of Christian history never stirred him deeply. But the hymns stirred him to pleasant wonder' – suggests a misinterpretation of Lawrence's intent. The editor appears not to fully grasp that Lawrence is leveraging this piece to subtly criticise Christianity. Nonetheless, by

[591] *LEA*, 130-1.
[592] D. H. Lawrence, 'Hymns in a Man's Life', *Evening News* (London), 13 October 1928, 8.

invoking memories of vibrant childhood religious emotions, Lawrence effectively prompts readers, including the newspaper editor, to reconsider their current spiritual state and the broader social context, prompting them to start questioning the reasons behind the suppression of their innate religious feelings. Following this line of reasoning, the implication becomes apparent that Christianity played a pivotal role in this repression. Furthermore, the editorial encourages readers to engage in introspection, comparing their experiences to those described by Lawrence: 'Few who read Mr Lawrence's article but will eagerly compare it with their own spiritual experiences, experiences that so many are familiar with and so few can explain or express in words'. In this way, Lawrence skilfully communicates his message within the constraints of journalistic norms, prompting readers to move from passive acceptance of the current situation to active questioning, without provoking resistance or dismissal.

After evoking in his readers a recollection of their authentic childhood religious feelings and nudging them towards questioning the origins of the current social predicament, Lawrence employs 'The State of Funk' as a means to further amplify these concerns. While this article does not explicitly reference Christianity or religious sentiments, it can be interpreted as a complementary piece to 'Hymns in a Man's Life'. It delineates the contemporary social milieu and intimates the bleak trajectory society is following, in the absence of personal religious emotions. The two articles primarily offer descriptive insights into childhood religious experiences and the prevailing sense of despair within British society. From his choice of words and expression, it is clear that Lawrence exercises restraint in voicing explicit personal opinions on the matter. His criticism of Christianity emerges only subsequent to the establishment of a foundation through these articles, a context he anticipated would prime his readers for a more direct

engagement with the underlying causes of modern society's dysfunction. In 'The Risen Lord', Lawrence's approach diverges from launching into overt criticism of Christianity or seeking journalistic sensationalism through provocative assertions. Instead, he endeavours to articulate conclusions that he believes his readers are, or are on the cusp of, reaching independently, following their own reflections spurred by the groundwork laid in the preceding articles. Lawrence's open criticism of Christianity serves not only as a model for his audience but also as an encouragement for them to boldly acknowledge and confront the dogmatism inherent in Christianity, which, he implies, has stifled their innate religious sentiments. This strategic approach adopted by Lawrence in his journalistic writing effectively invites readers to engage in deeper, more critical contemplation of their spiritual and social contexts.

Through his contributions and communications with his literary agent and editors, Lawrence gradually honed this journalistic style of highlighting the unnoticed abnormalities in everyday life, subsequently prompting his readers to engage in comparison and introspection. This approach is evident in his other journalistic essays on topics such as gender issues and modern education, as explored in the relevant chapters of this thesis. When addressing gender politics, Lawrence draws in his readers with provocative titles such as 'Master in His Own House', which aligns closely with the prevailing patriarchal sentiment advocating the reassertion of male dominance over women. However, as these essays unfold – a process meticulously analysed in the first chapter – Lawrence reveals a different perspective. He contends that there is no fundamental distinction between modern men and women; both are bereft of a clear understanding of their true desires and aspirations. Instead, they are caught in a mechanical drive to mould each other into 'ideal' models of masculinity and femininity,

notions shaped by media, social influences, and popular culture. By highlighting these anomalies in modern people, Lawrence encourages his readers to question what they genuinely seek. He suggests that the root of the conflicts between men and women lies in a complex mentality: an obsession with control in the modern age, which simultaneously erodes the capacity to appreciate and understand one another. From this perspective, it becomes apparent that Lawrence's focus on gender issues serves more as a strategic lure to prevent readers from disengaging. Beneath the eye-catching headlines on male and female dynamics, he uses these familiar examples to alert his readers to a more profound crisis afflicting modern individuals – the long-standing erosion of the ability to think critically. Lawrence succinctly encapsulates this idea in 'Give Her a Pattern': 'The modern man is a fool, and the modern young man a prize fool. […] Because he absolutely doesn't know *what* he wants […]'[593]. Through these insights, Lawrence not only dissects the superficial layers of gender politics but also delves into the deeper malaise affecting modern society's cognitive and emotional faculties.

In these essays on gender issues, Lawrence introduces his readers to a novel perspective for understanding stereotypical modes of thinking about gender relations, with which they are familiar. He highlights the peculiarities of modern society and urges his readers to contemplate the factors contributing to the current state of affairs. Instead of revealing his personal interpretation that modern civilisation is the fundamental reason – a concept perhaps too abstract for the general readership – Lawrence focuses on modern education, a subject with which both he and most of his readers would have had personal experience. Lawrence uses this commonality of educational experience (as well as his own substantial experience as a teacher),

[593] *LEA*, 164.

analogous to the shared childhood experiences of hymns and religious feelings, to further prompt readers' reflection. In essays such as 'Enslaved by Civilisation' and 'Men Must Work and Women As Well', analysed in the second chapter of this thesis, Lawrence elucidates how modern civilisation, through the standardised educational process, has systematically labelled, categorised, and alienated men and women into skilful objects, thereby eroding their individuality. Lawrence poignantly observes that during the formal schooling process, modern individuals have had 'all [their] individual manhood nipped out of [them], carefully plucked out', leaving them 'broken in' and capable only of repeating what they have been taught.[594] Building on these observations, Lawrence encourages his readers to seek solutions before it is too late. He suggests that the capacity for critical thinking, which he believes can be naturally revived by rekindling one's innate religious sentiments, has been suppressed by the combined influence of modern civilisation and the dogmatism of Christianity. This perspective, as has been repeatedly presented to his readers in Lawrence's journalistic essays, not only challenges conventional views in a calm and restrained manner, but also manages to call for a deeper introspection into the ways through which modern people could revive their individual thought and identity.

It is important to note that the thematic structuring of this thesis into three chapters – addressing gender politics, modern education, and Christianity in a sequence that identifies problems, traces their causes, and proposes potential solutions – represents a practical approach for elucidating the message Lawrence sought to convey through these polemical essays. This arrangement, diverging from the chronological order of the essays' composition, facilitates a clearer understanding of Lawrence's

[594] *LEA*, 157, 159.

journalistic persona and his expectation of disseminating his ideas to a wider readership through popular journalism. Lawrence's journalistic essays were predominantly composed in response to requests from newspaper and magazine editors, and only a few were written on his own initiative. This context limited his flexibility and autonomy in choosing the subjects of his writings. Consequently, a chronological examination of these essays might not effectively capture his insights on specific topics as comprehensively as a thematic approach does. For instance, gender issues are a recurrent theme in Lawrence's brief career as a journalist. Beyond the commissioned pieces on this topic, he frequently incorporated gender themes into his essays on education, class, and religion. As this thesis reveals, Lawrence's repeated focus on gender and sexuality, particularly when discussing education or Christianity, serves dual purposes. First, it aimed to captivate the general public's attention, using the inherent popularity of the topic. Second, and more significantly, it helps foreground his arguments on reviving human instincts. To Lawrence, gender and sexuality epitomise the most natural expressions of individuality, which he believed modern civilisation – as represented by mainstream voices from the modern education system to popular journalism – sought to suppress and discredit. Therefore, a thematic arrangement of this thesis facilitates a balanced examination of Lawrence's essays on different topics. It allows for an equitable exploration of gender issues, a subject he frequently addressed, alongside his thoughts on education and Christianity. The latter, though less covered in his journalistic output, offer deeper insights into Lawrence's contemplation of solutions to the crises confronting modern society.

Another reason for the thematic arrangement of this thesis is to illuminate Lawrence's sincerity and his commitment to engaging with his readers, irrespective of

the subject matter. Lawrence's journalistic essays, commissioned and published across various platforms – from nationally-circulated newspapers to newly-established magazines – left him with limited room to predict the reading preferences of his potential readers or whether they had previously read his articles, either on the same topic or on other topics. This uncertainty influenced his approach and his journalistic persona; many of Lawrence's journalistic essays adhere to a pattern designed to captivate readers: attention-grabbing titles, engaging introductions, followed by mostly descriptive content. Unlike his provocative fictional style, Lawrence's journalistic persona is hence characterised by a calmer approach. In these essays, as examined throughout this thesis, Lawrence guides readers through the abnormalities of modern society from his unique perspective without imposing conclusions. This shift in style, from the provocative to the explanatory, demonstrates Lawrence's mastery in language use, evident in his fiction and subtly adapted for journalism.

Lawrence expertly narrows the distance between himself and his readers, employing techniques such as free indirect speech, and the use of first-person plural ('we') and second-person ('you') pronouns. For example, in the first chapter's stylistic analysis of the essay 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', Lawrence begins with the assumption 'If you are a writer', positioning the reader in his point of view while maintaining a neutral narrative voice.[595] This approach fosters a closeness between Lawrence and his audience, engaging them in a dialogic reading experience. Lawrence's frequent use of 'you' in this essay breaks the readership down from a collective group into individuals and draws each of them into one-to-one dialogues. Lawrence plunges the reader into a conversational narrative, in which the reader is cast

[595] *LEA*, 71.

as the 'writer' who has been haunted by the *jeune fille*'s endless questions. Even though the narrative was in fact a monologue and Lawrence was always the narrator, the dialogical closeness and fast pace of proceedings achieved by Lawrence's stylistic arrangements still manage to provide his readers with a sense of engagement. His portrayal of the *jeune fille* figure and the writer character's dilemma in responding to her questions accurately reflects the mental states of both male and female readers: men overwhelmed by incessant questioning and longing for simpler times when 'all maidens were more or less anæmic thirty years ago', and women frustrated by a lack of understanding from men.[596]

Concluding his essays, Lawrence, who adeptly portrays the dilemmas of modern society and highlights the contradictions among modern people, typically employs open endings. This approach provides ample space for his readers to formulate their own conclusions. On the rare occasions where Lawrence concludes an essay with his own perspective, he notably restrains from employing his characteristic flippant tone. In 'Enslaved by Civilisation', Lawrence asserts that though a broken generation might be ideal for 'wives, schoolmasters, and employers of labour', it unquestionably represents a 'disaster for a nation, for England'.[597] This restrained conclusion, eschewing a portrayal of a bleak, hopeless future for British society, develops from a logical thought process. It is anchored in Lawrence's prior criticism of the unsolved issues in modern education, specifically how it fosters dissatisfaction and dissent among the younger working class. From Lawrence's observation, this shared dissent among the working-class youth is achieved by modern education that instilled a disdain for physical labour in pupils, yet inevitably propelled them into such positions after the formal schooling

[596] *LEA*, 73.
[597] *LEA*, 159.

process. Throughout his journalistic essays, regardless of the subject matter, Lawrence consistently maintains this persona of a journalist. He presents the complexities of modern society to his readers as a neutral and unbiased observer, patiently nudging them towards critical thinking and independent conclusion formation. This approach underscores his ability to engage with a wide range of topics while preserving a consistent narrative voice, guiding readers through the intricacies of modern life and thought.

Lawrence's commitment to engaging in dialogue with the general public is further evidenced by his decision to compile a collection of his journalistic essays, later entitled *Assorted Articles*. In this collection, Lawrence made several modifications – primarily additions – such as an extra paragraph at the end of 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know', which are different from the newspaper versions.[598] Lawrence's style in the essays published in newspapers and magazines was intentionally reserved, focusing more on description and inspiration, catering to a diverse readership. However, when his essays, such as 'The State of Funk', featured more direct arguments and explicit criticism of modern society's abnormalities, they were often held up by his literary agent or rejected by newspaper editors. Recognising that the audience for a book would differ from the general newspaper-reading public – likely comprising those who agree with his views on modern society or are keenly interested in reading more of his works – Lawrence directed his literary agent, Nancy Pearn, to gather the published versions of his polemical essays in preparation for a collection.[599] This shift in audience allowed Lawrence to articulate his assertions more explicitly in the collection, supplementing the existing content with specific clarifications. While these additions might slightly

[598] *AA*, 14.
[599] *6L*, 438.

deviate from the aim of his journalistic endeavour of fostering critical thinking among the general public, the significance of this collection lies in its uniqueness as the first and only authentic compilation providing readers with a chronological understanding of the development of Lawrence's journalistic persona. This collection, with its clearer elucidation of ideas from previously published essays and the inclusion of previously unpublished works like 'The State of Funk', offers a systematic insight into Lawrence's criticism of modern civilisation as the root of modern social issues. It also underscored his advocacy for the revival of religious sentiment, critical thinking, and individuality as solutions to the abstraction effects of modern civilisation on individuals.

In addition to examining Lawrence's late journalistic essays through thematic analysis, this thesis has also explored his journalistic persona by employing a cross-sectional approach to examine his composition process, particularly highlighting his keen awareness of his readership's preferences. Known for his compositional habit of writing across multiple genres concurrently, Lawrence was especially prolific across multiple genres and forms during the period 1928-30. Following the publication of his last novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lawrence engaged in a productive phase of composing, rewriting, and revising. This period saw the creation of poetry collections such as *Pansies*, *Nettles*, and *Last Poems*, the second part of *The Escaped Cock*, and his subversive engagement with the Book of Revelation in *Apocalypse*, alongside these frequent contributions to popular journalism. This thesis shows that Lawrence's journalistic endeavours were not isolated from his other literary works. Instead, there is a continuity and consistency of ideas among his works in various genres. By reading these works together with the journalistic essays, particularly those examining the same themes, this thesis underscores Lawrence's deliberate consideration of his readership

while composing his journalistic pieces. He used the platform of popular journalism not only for dialogue with his readers but also to encourage and nurture their independent and critical thinking. Moreover, through detailed textual analysis, this thesis unravels the stylistic nuances in Lawrence's choice of words and expressions in his journalistic essays, enhancing our understanding of his commitment to journalistic writing. For instance, in the analysis of Lawrence's essays on Christianity in the third chapter, the examination of 'The Risen Lord' integrates excerpts from *The Escaped Cock* and *Apocalypse*, offering a holistic view of his criticism of Christianity. As Mara Kalnins, editor of the Cambridge *Edition* of *Apocalypse*, observes, this 'last book' by Lawrence is a 'searching examination of our civilisation and a radical criticism of the Christianity and scientific technology that shaped it; but it is also the revelation of Lawrence's belief in man's power to create "a new heaven and a new earth"'.[600] My thesis argues that while Lawrence's fiction embeds his critical manifesto against Christianity and modern civilisation, offering an alternative vision for modern society, his journalistic essays reveal a more pragmatic and public-spirited facet of his personality. They demonstrate his concern for the general public and his desire to liberate people from the dogmatism of Christianity and the abstraction effects of modern society. Through a cross-sectional reading of Lawrence's works in various genres, this thesis uncovers the extent of his desire to disseminate his ideas to a broader audience via popular journalism, which sometimes required compromise. It reveals a lesser-known aspect of Lawrence as a sincere journalist, distinct from his reputation as a provocative figure challenging readers with controversial ideas. These journalistic pieces offer a new perspective on reading and appreciating Lawrence, portraying him as a patient, calm, and considerate

[600] *A*, 22.

journalist, eager to share his insights and inspire his audience. This understanding of Lawrence's multifaceted literary personae and his dedication to journalistic writing is one of the contributions of this thesis, shedding light on an overlooked dimension of his literary legacy.

In this analysis, the thesis scrutinises Lawrence's journalistic persona through a blend of textual analysis and cross-sectional reading. Anchored in the manuscript archives – or pre-texts – of Lawrence's journalistic essays, the study traces the evolution of his journalistic persona. This approach aligns with scholarly tradition in D. H. Lawrence studies, which regards his works as dynamic textual objects embodying his evolving insights into social issues. This evolution is evident in the texts' progression from manuscripts to typescripts, and from initial newspaper or magazine publications through to the first British and American editions, culminating in the Cambridge *Edition*. In addition, this thesis pays particular attention to the modifications Lawrence made to these manuscripts, thereby shedding light on the dynamic but often overlooked development of Lawrence's texts preserved within these manuscripts. Although Lawrence typically completed these short journalistic pieces within a brief compositional period, and most alterations in the manuscripts were intended to improve their clarity, there are noteworthy instances of deletions, additions, and changes in expression intended to temper the tone for a general readership. Notably, the rephrased opening sentences of 'Sex Appeal' and 'Hymns in a Man's Life', as individually examined in the first and third chapters of this thesis, exemplify how Lawrence maintained an awareness of his audience while crafting these pieces. However, despite both essays being commissioned by newspaper editors, and each featuring an omitted opening sentence, their representation in the Cambridge *Edition*'s *Late Essays and*

*Articles* differs. The excluded first sentence of 'Sex Appeal' is acknowledged in the 'Textual Apparatus' section, whereas the deleted opening of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' is absent from both the editorial introduction and the 'Textual Apparatus'.[601] Given that James T. Boulton had access to the manuscripts of both articles while editing the volume, and considering the only distinction between the two essays' openings is that Lawrence began 'Sex Appeal' anew on a separate page after discarding the initial draft with only one unfinished sentence, while he simply crossed out the first sentence of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and wrote a new opener above it, it can be inferred that Boulton chose to treat the discarded sentence as a separate draft (the first draft of 'Sex Appeal') and the deleted sentence as part of the existing manuscript draft ('Hymns in a Man's Life'). Such editorial discretion appears reasonable and facilitates a clear presentation of Lawrence's multiple versions to readers. However, a critical issue arises from this editorial practice, particularly when research – such as this thesis – probes the dynamic evolution of an author's work: should contemporary scholars and editors isolate an author's manuscript as a distinct text in its own right, while also considering the text's progression between different forms as a dynamic process?

This enquiry aligns with a broader, significant discussion in the field of D. H. Lawrence studies: which text would Lawrence himself have preferred to be published and how can we determine this? This question has preoccupied generations of leading scholars, particularly those involved in the preparation of the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of D. H. Lawrence* over the past fifty years. As Boulton notes in the 'General Editor's Preface' to each volume, their objective has been to 'provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those [Lawrence] would have wished to see

[601] *LEA*, 396, 128-9, 393.

printed'.[602] Their meticulous and exhaustive examination of the various editions of Lawrence's works has afforded researchers and the public the luxury of accessing these editions without the need to travel to libraries and special collections around the world to consult the manuscripts and typescripts. However, as Boulton concedes, it is an impossible task to ascertain a definitive edition. The role of editors of scholarly editions, therefore, is to approximate the text as closely as possible to the version the author would have likely preferred. Paul Eggert highlights the academic dilemma of pursuing a definitive text, noting, firstly, the author's demise, and, secondly, and more crucially, that even if an author like Lawrence were alive, it might still be impossible for him to determine his preferred version.[603] While this thesis neither has the space, nor the intent, to delve into the intricacies of determining the version that most accurately represents Lawrence's authorial intention, it does propose an approach which reads Lawrence's journalistic essay manuscripts as a dynamic medium reflecting his evolving understanding of his readers. The textual analysis conducted in this study, particularly the scrutiny of the development of Lawrence's journalistic essays in their manuscript form, has demonstrated the necessity of considering the deleted texts in order to comprehend Lawrence's mindset during the composition of these essays. Consequently, there is a compelling argument for preparing an updated version of Lawrence's journalistic essays to complement the existing Cambridge *Edition*. Due to the primary focus of this thesis, many archival findings from my research trip to the Harry Ransom Centre, where I examined Lawrence's manuscripts, are not included. The next phase of my research will involve compiling a more comprehensive variorum edition of

[602] *LEA*, vii.
[603] Paul Eggert, *The Work and the Reader: Scholarly Editing and Book History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019), 3-5.

Lawrence's journalistic essays. This will entail exploring how to balance the reflection of authorial intent in a text's various editions against the methodologies of scholarly editing.

Another original feature of this thesis is that it contributes to existing criticism by offering fresh perspectives for cross-sectional reading, which link Lawrence's journalistic essays to other works that may initially appear unrelated, based on archival discoveries. This study not only scrutinises editors' and occasionally typesetters' textual changes but also Lawrence's own deletions and additions on manuscripts and typescripts. It further considers Lawrence's works in other genres created during the same periods of creative intensity, thus presenting a new viewpoint for understanding Lawrence's late journalistic persona. This research proposes a corrective to certain biases reinforced by the dominance of the Cambridge *Edition*. This includes challenging the pursuit of an 'ideal' version of Lawrence's works – especially his ephemeral, short journalistic essays often drafted in a single session – and questioning the tendency to restrict interpretations of Lawrence within rigid genre boundaries. For instance, as demonstrated in the methodology chapter through the examination of the *Pansies* notebook, archival evidence indicates that the manuscript of 'Sex Appeal' and the two drafts of the 'Review' essay for the British *Vogue* all originate from this notebook. Posthumously, these pieces were separated from the notebook, sold individually, and eventually categorised and stored in different folders at the Harry Ransom Centre at the University of Texas at Austin.[604] By restoring these loose leaves to their original sequence within the notebook, this thesis uncovers the compositional intertextuality between 'Review', 'Sex Appeal', and the poem 'I know a noble Englishman'. This

[604] HRC DHL 13.7, 16.3, 20.1.

intertextuality had previously been overlooked due to the lack of a direct thematic connection and their disparate categorisation in various volumes of the Cambridge *Edition*. Further examples include the three essays discussed in the third chapter, which delve into Lawrence's perspectives on Christian dogma. While 'The State of Funk' does not share a direct thematic link with the other two essays, the fact that all the three manuscripts originate from the same spiral notebook suggests a deeper intertextual relationship. This connection has been substantiated through a detailed analysis of the compositional and biographical contexts of 'The State of Funk'. Therefore, this study advocates for a supplementary approach to the Cambridge *Edition*. Its methodology, encompassing a cross-sectional examination of Lawrence's compositional practice, serves as a broader corrective to the notion of a univocal Lawrence. This approach not only introduces a new dimension to conventional understandings of Lawrence's journalistic persona but also enhances the appreciation of the complexity and multifaceted nature of Lawrence's literary personae.

In addition to illuminating and emphasising the dynamic nature of Lawrence's journalistic essay manuscripts, this thesis has also brought to the fore a nuanced enquiry into the authorship of the works attributed to Lawrence. Specifically, this research pioneers a new trajectory in D. H. Lawrence studies by advocating recognition of Nancy Pearn's contributions to his articles as Lawrence's literary agent and one whose administrative and editorial interventions significantly enhanced Lawrence's journalistic essays. This is particularly evident in the examples of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and 'The State of Funk' as analysed in the third chapter on Lawrence's criticism of Christianity. Lawrence is renowned for his protective stance over his texts; he often demonstrated a reluctance to publish expurgated versions of his controversial major

novels, prioritising aesthetic integrity over potential financial gains that could accrue from acquiescing to censorship. This ethos underpinned his decision to privately publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, despite the vulnerability to pirated editions that this approach entailed. However, Lawrence exhibited an unprecedented willingness, or perhaps indifference out of his pragmatism, towards potential editorial modifications in his journalistic essays. This flexibility significantly facilitated their publication and assisted Lawrence in rapidly establishing a new journalistic identity over a mere three-year period. While most editorial changes made by newspaper and magazine editors predominantly involved correcting spelling errors or making minor word adjustments for clarity, more substantial textual revisions and deletions have been reinstated in the Cambridge *Edition* of *Late Essays and Articles* in accordance with the manuscripts and typescripts. Yet, the textual alterations made by Pearn on Lawrence's manuscripts, whether present in the first published texts (e.g., 'Hymns in a Man's Life') or absent from them (e.g., 'The State of Funk'), have hitherto been unrecognised in scholarly discourse. These changes were often attributed to an 'unknown hand' or even neglected. The detailed examination of the manuscripts of 'Hymns in a Man's Life' and 'The State of Funk' in this thesis, supported by archival evidence, suggests that it was Pearn who enacted these pencil textual modifications. Although subtle in nature and limited in number, these changes, together with Pearn's acute understanding of the journalistic market and precise awareness of the general public's taste, were instrumental in moulding Lawrence's late journalistic persona.

Moreover, as the first study that has systematically examined the archives of Pearn's correspondence with Lawrence, this thesis reveals the depth and nuance of Pearn's grasp of popular journalism as well as her full support for Lawrence's literary

experiments in his journalistic essays while guiding him to adapt to a different marketplace. Her guidance was pivotal, particularly in the early stages of Lawrence's re-entry into popular journalism, in aligning his output with the tastes of the general readership. This is further substantiated by the evidence located in the archives of Pearn's letters to Lawrence, only a few of which have been previously referenced in excerpted form in the footnotes of the *Cambridge Edition of the Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. These findings have also lent credence to this thesis's assertion that Pearn's edits on Lawrence's journalistic manuscripts were instrumental in streamlining the publication process of these essays and building up Lawrence's journalistic persona in such a short period of time. However, the substantial impact of Pearn on the formation of the journalistic Lawrence, and the broader significance of editors in the success of modernist writers, have largely been neglected in existing scholarship. Aiming to address this scholarly lacuna, this thesis calls for further research on Pearn and the topic of 'editors and the formation of modernist texts'. In Appendix II, this thesis has prepared a dedicated 'Nancy Pearn's version' of 'The State of Funk', offering an exploration into the extent to which we can distinguish and present editors' contributions to the evolution of the dynamic manuscripts in scholarly editing.

The examination of Lawrence's polemical writings in this thesis has not only highlighted their significance but also aimed to delineate Lawrence's distinctive attributes as a journalist and essayist. In the process, it has generated further directions for potential future research in the field of D. H. Lawrence studies and in the broader field of literary modernism. This investigation, grounded in archival materials, has revealed the various literary personae that Lawrence adopted, particularly his poetic and polemical personae, in his late years. This underscores the imperative for further

exploration into this anti-essentialist diversity – a Lawrence constantly experimenting with forms and voices. The archival research upon which this study is predicated has raised significant questions regarding the (re)examination of modernist manuscripts. From a biographical and compositional standpoint, the challenge lies in determining how scholars should precisely understand the compositional nuances of these texts, now the subject of contemporary critical scrutiny, originally crafted within these manuscript archives. On the bibliographical front, the question arises as to how to authentically represent the dynamic interplay of contextual, political, archival, and editorial factors that shaped modernist texts for contemporary readers. In undertaking this task, how to strike a balance between respecting the historical and personal limitations of the period and the authors, while preserving the integrity of their authorial intent is an ongoing question, as is the issue of how we should acknowledge the role of the editors in the evolution of these texts, such as Pearn's previously neglected yet irreplaceable role in the shaping of Lawrence's journalistic persona. The study of modernist pre-texts and the role of modernist editors represent two emerging yet vital areas of enquiry: there is a pronounced need for more comprehensive scholarly research in these fields.

# APPENDIX I: LAWRENCE'S LATE JOURNALISTIC PUBLICATIONS

| Title | Other titles | Requested by | Date finished/ received | Location | Intended submission | First published by | Date published | Payment received | First appearance in collection |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mercury | / | / | 20-29 July 1926 | Baden-Baden[605] | Harraps[606] | *Atlantic Monthly* (US) | Feb. 1927, p. 197-200 | n/a[607] | *P* |
| | | | | | | *Nation and Athenæum* (UK) | Feb. 1927 | 6 guineas[608] | |
| [Return to Bestwood] | / | / | Mid to late Oct. 1926[609] | [Villa Mirenda] | | / | / | / | *PII* |
| Getting On | / | / | *c*. 5–8 January 1927[610] | | Insel-Verlag's collection *Almanach* | / | / | / | *LEA* |

[605] In Lawrence's 31 August 1926 letter to Nancy Pearn, he attached an untitled essay, which he described as a piece he 'did in Baden and forgot'. *5L*, 521. The untitled essay was confirmed to be 'Mercury' in Pearn's 1 September 1926 reply. HRC DHL 36.5.
[606] Mentioned in the 31 August 1926 letter, for a collection of short stories that Harraps was preparing.
[607] In Nancy Pearn's 24 November 1926 letter to Lawrence, she notified him that 'New York office has sold "Mercury" to the *Atlantic Monthly*; price not stated'. HRC DHL 36.5.
[608] On 29 January 1927, Nancy Pearn reported to Lawrence that the *Nation* accepted to publish 'Mercury' 'in their next number thus tally with the "Atlantic". They will pay 6 guineas as before'. HRC DHL 36.6.
[609] *LEA*, 14.
[610] *LEA*, 26. Lawrence sent the ribbon copy to Insel-Verlag and copied Nancy Pearn on 9 January 1927. *5L*, 620.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Which Class I Belong To | Becoming a Success[611] | / | *c*. mid-April 1927[612] | / | / | / | / | / | *LEA* |
| Making Love to Music | / | / | by 26 April 1927[613] | / | / | / | / | / | *P* |
| [Autobiographical Fragment] | '[Newthorpe in 2927]' | / | *c*. 26–30 October 1927 | / | / | / | / | / | *P* |
| The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know | When She Asks 'Why?' | Arthur Olley, Literary Editor of the *Evening News* | 26 April – 8 May 1928[614] | Villa Mirenda | *Evening News* | *Evening News* | 8 May 1928 | 10 guineas | *AA* |
| | The Bogey Between the Generations | | | | | *Virginia Quarterly Review* (US) | Jan. 1929 | | |

[611] Nancy Pearn acknowledged the arrival of this article and 'Getting On' on 27 January 1927, addressing it as 'BECOMING A SUCCESS'. Pearn suggested that though she 'cannot see any objection to having it published – the real difficulty being deciding on which would be the best medium'. Pearn also encouraged Lawrence might be able to put 'a few more of those personal descriptive details about [his] work' to make the article more targeted and easily accepted by newspaper/magazine. HRC DHL 36.6.

[612] *LEA*, 34.

[613] On 12 April 1927, Lawrence promised Pearn to send her 'some small things'. Then on 26 April, he attached this 'little thing post haste' and wrote that 'If you don't like it, don't bother about it – just give it to Barmby', the manager of Curtis Brown's New York office. However, extant typescripts of Pearn's letters to Lawrence do not have her acknowledge of recipient of this article. *6L*, 29, 40.

[614] On 26 April 1928, Pearn encouraged Lawrence to respond actively to Olley's request, saying that 'I have been looking forward to the opening up of some of these new newspaper markets for you – if only you can bear to tackle just those sorts of subjects which the Press adores'. Lawrence quickly finished the article and on the same day it was published in the Evening News, 8 May 1928, Pearn congratulated Lawrence, saying that he has 'gone and been and hit it – meaning the journalistic market – for Mr. Olley says he thinks [the article] quite suitable for his stupendous paper!'. And the payment was ten guineas as Pearn confirmed in the same letter. HRC DHL 36.6.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laura Philippine | / | / | April 1927[615] | | *Evening News*[616] | *T. P.'s and Cassell's Weekly* | 7 July 1928 | 10 guineas | *AA* |
| | | | | | *Vanity Fair*[617] | / | / | / | |
| That Women Know Best | Women Always Know Best | *Daily Chronicle*[618] | By 21 May 1928 | | *Daily Chronicle* | *Daily Chronicle* | 29 November 1928 | 15 guineas | Ed. by Roy Spencer, published by Black Sparrow Press (Santa Rosa, CA), 1994 |
| All There | / | / | May 1928[619] | | / | / | / | / | *P* |
| Thinking about Oneself | / | / | June 1928[620] | / | / | / | / | / | *P* |

[615] Andrew Harrison, 'The Date of Composition of D. H. Lawrence's "Laura Philippine"', *Notes and Queries*, 2014, 591-2 (591).
[616] Lawrence suggested the *Evening News* might publish the article but 'if it won't do for the Olley man, it may for somebody else'. *6L*, 438.
[617] In another letter, Lawrence also mentioned that 'the Americans should have had a look at "Laura Philippine" – it's the kind of thing they like – Vanity Fair might have done it.' *6L*, 460-1.
[618] While forwarding the *Daily Chronicle*'s request to Lawrence, Pearn passionately added that there seemed to be 'quite a boom in D. H. L. articles'. HRC DHL 36.6.
[619] Pearn acknowledged the recipient of the article on 4 June. HRC DHL 36.6.
[620] *LEA*, 90.

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| Insoucianc e | Over-Earnest Ladies | *Evening News* | Early afternoon of 27 June 1928[621] | / | *Evening News* | *Evening News* | 12 July 1928 | 12 guineas[622] | *AA* |
| | / | | | | | *Atlantic Monthly* | November 1928 | $50[623] | |
| Master in his Own House | / | | 26-7 June 1928 | / | | *Evening News* | 2 Aug. 1928 | 12 guineas | *AA* |
| | Deserted Battlefield s[624] | | | | | *Vanity Fair* | November 1928 | $75[625] | |
| Matriarch y | — And If Women *Were* Supreme. . . | | By 9 July 1928 | / | | *Evening News* | 5 Oct 1928 | 12 guineas | *AA* |
| Ownership | / | | By 12 July 1928 | / | | / | / | / | *AA* |
| Autobiogr aphy | | Philippe Soupault, the literary director of the French publishing house, Kra | June – by 18 July 1928 | / | / | / | / | / | Nehls *III* (1959) |

[621] Buxi Duan, 'The Date of Composition of D. H. Lawrence's "Insouciance"', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, (2023), DOI: 10.1080/0895769X.2023.2294865.
[622] As quoted in Pearn's 18 May 1928 letter to Lawrence, Olley requested 'four articles by [Lawrence], for which [he is] prepared to pay Twelve Guineas each'. HRC DHL 36.6.
[623] On 25 September 1928, Pearn notified Lawrence of this news. HRC DHL 36.6.
[624] Entitled 'Deserted Battlefields: A Polemic Against Mass Thinking and Men's Modern Indifference to the Ancient Rewards' in *Vanity Fair*.
[625] Pearn, 24 August 1928. HRC DHL 36.6.

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| Women Are So Cocksure | | | By 24 Aug 1928 | / | / | / | / | / | *P* |
| Why I don't Like Living in London | Dull London! | Arthur Olley[626] | 27 June – 20 Aug 1928 | / | *Evening News* | *Evening News* | 3 Sept 1928 | | *AA* |
| Cocksure Women and Hen-sure Men | | | By 24 Aug 1928 | / | / | / | / | / | *AA* |
| Hymns in a Man's Life | | Dr Anton Kippenberg, head of the Leipzig publishing house, Insel-Verlag | By 2 Sept 1928 | / | Insel-Verlag | Buch Des Dankes Für Hans Carossa | 1928 | | *AA* |
| | | | | | Not specified[627] | *Evening News* | 13 Oct 1928 | 15 guineas[628] | |
| Red Trousers | Oh! for a New Crusade | /[629] | By 13 Sept 1928 | Gsteig | *Evening News*[630] | *Evening News* | 27 September 1928 | | *AA* |
| Is England Still a | | | 30 Oct - 3 Nov 1928 | Port-Cros | *Daily Express* | Daily Express | 29 Nov 1928[631] | | *AA* |

[626] Olley asked Lawrence on 12 June 1928 whether he would like to write on 'Man Must be Master Again' and 'I Do Not Like London Life (and Why)?'. *LEA*, 119.
[627] Lawrence told Pearn that 'If anybody wants it they can cut it if they like – do what they darn well please'. *6L*, 540-1.
[628] As mentioned in Pearn's letter dated 11 October 1928.
[629] In Olley's 27 September 1928 letter to Lawrence reporting the publication of his 'Red Trousers', he particularly pointed out that the article was 'sent indecently of the limited group of articles [he] had asked [Lawrence] for'. HRC DHL 36.6.
[630] Lawrence wrote to Pearn that this article was for the '*Evening News*, if they want it'. *6L*, 563.
[631] On 23 November 1928, Pearn notified Lawrence that the *Daily Express* would publish his article next week. She also remarked that '[…] so that you [would] have two stunningly provocative articles out within a few days of each other. Things become exciting!' HRC DHL 36.6.

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| Man's Country | | | | | | | | | |
| Sex Appeal | Sex Locked Out | *Sunday Dispatch*[632] | 30 Oct – by 5 Nov 1928 | | *Sunday Dispatch* | *Sunday Dispatch* | 25 Nov 1928 | 25 guineas[633] | *AA* |
| | | | | | | *Vanity Fair* | July 1929 | $75[634] | |
| | Men and Peacocks | | | | | *Golden Book Magazine* (New York) | Dec 1929 | | |
| Do Women Change | Women Don't Change | / | By 8 Nov 1928 | | *Evening News*[635] | *Sunday Dispatch* | 28 April 1929 | 25 guineas[636] | *AA* |
| | | | | | | *Vanity Fair* | April 1929 | $50[637] | |
| Enslaved by Civilisation | | editor of the *Sunday Dispatch* | By 24 Nov 1928 | | *Sunday Dispatch* | *Sunday Dispatch* | / | 25 guineas[638] | |
| | The Manufacture of Good Little Boys | | | | | *Vanity Fair* | Sept 1929 | $100[639] | *AA* |
| Give Her a Pattern | Woman in Man's Image | editor of the *Daily Express* | 6-9 Dec 1928 | | *Daily Express* | *Vanity Fair* | May 1929 | | *AA* |

[632] Pearn forwarded *Sunday Dispatch*'s request to Lawrence on 11 October 1928. HRC DHL 36.6.
[633] In Pearn's 15 November 1928 letter to Lawrence, she described how the editor of the *Sunday Dispatch* was impressed by the article and willing to pay 25 instead of the originally agreed 15 guineas. HRC DHL 36.6.
[634] Pearn, 6 June 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.
[635] Lawrence told Pearn that this was 'for *Evening News* or anybody who wants it'. *6L*, 610.
[636] Pearn, 18 February 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.
[637] *7L*, 188.
[638] *Sunday Dispatch* accepted the article but never published it. Pearn, 8 April 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.
[639] Pearn, 18 March 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | The Real Trouble About Women | | | | | *Daily Express* | 19 June 1929 | | |
| Introduction to Pictures | | / | / | / | / | / | / | / | *P* |
| Myself Revealed | Autobiographical Sketch | *Sunday Dispatch* | | | *Sunday Dispatch* | *Sunday Dispatch* | 17 Feb 1929 | 25 guineas[640] | *AA* |
| Introduction to These Paintings | / | / | Late Dec 1928 – by 12 Jan 1929 | / | / | *The Paintings of D. H. Lawrence* (London: Mandrake) | June 1929 | | *P* |
| The State of Funk | / | / | By 1 March 1929 | / | *Sunday Dispatch*[641] | / | / | / | *AA* |
| Making Pictures | / | *The Studio* | 10-15 April 1929 | Barcelona | *The Studio* | *Creative Art*<br>*The Studio*<br>*Vanity Fair* | July 1929<br>July 1929<br>Aug 1929 | 10 guineas[642]<br>$100[643] | *AA* |
| *Pornography and Obscenity* | | *This Quarter*, a new magazine to be launched | | | *This Quarter* | *This Quarter* | July – Sept 1929 | | / |

[640] Pearn, 12 December 1928, HRC DHL 36.6.
[641] Though not requested by *Sunday Dispatch*, Lawrence offered the article to them together with 'Do Women Change', telling Pearn that 'I enclose also another article, more or less stating my position, and you can offer it to the *Sunday Despatch* [*sic*], but I don't mind a bit if they don't want it'. *7L*, 188.
[642] Pearn, 25 April 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.
[643] Pearn, 30 July 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.

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| | | in Paris by Edward Titus | | | | | | | |
| Pictures on the Wall | | *Architectural Review* | By 1 May 1929 | | *Architectural Review* | *Architectural Review* | Feb 1930 | 20 guineas[644] | *AA* |
| | Dead Pictures on the Walls | | | | | *Vanity Fair* | Dec 1929 | $125[645] | |
| The Risen Lord | | *Everyman* | By 2 Aug 1929 | Plättig | *Everyman* | *Everyman* | 3 Oct 1929 | | *AA* |
| Men Must Work and Women as Well | Men and Women | *Star Review* | By 5 Aug 1929 | | *Star Review* | *Star Review* | Nov 1929 | £20 | *AA* |
| Nottingham and the Mining Countryside | | *Architectural Review* | After 5 Sept 1929 | | *Architectural Review* | *Architectural Review* | Aug 1930 | | *P* |
| | | | | | | *New Adelphi* | June – Aug 1930 | | |
| We Need One Another | | | By 4 Nov 1929 | | *Vanity Fair*[646] | *Scribner's Magazine* | May 1930 | | *P* |
| The Real Thing | | | | | | *Scribner's Magazine* | June 1930 | | *P* |
| | | | | | | *Life and Letters* | July 1930 | | *P* |

[644] *7L*, 295.
[645] Pearn, 30 July 1929, HRC DHL 36.7.
[646] In Lawrence's 4 November 1929 letter to Pearn, he wrote that though he prepared the three articles 'with an eye to' *Vanity Fair*, he was not sure whether it was suitable and asked Pearn to decide. *7L*, 554.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nobody Loves Me | | | | | | *Virginia Quarterly Review* | | | |

# APPENDIX II: NANCY PEARN'S EDITORIAL CHANGES ON THE MANUSCRIPT OF 'THE STATE OF FUNK'

## NOTE ON THE TEXT

To ensure clarity and emphasise Nancy Pearn's annotations on the manuscript, Lawrence's own textual alterations have not been incorporated in this version. It should be noted that Pearn's revisions to the manuscript are absent from the three extant typescripts of the article (HRC, UCB, and UNM; Roberts, E377b, c, d).

What is the matter with the English, that they are so scared of everything? They are in a state of blue funk, and they behave like a lot of mice when somebody stamps on the floor. They are terrified about money, finance, about ships, about war, about work, about Labour, about Bolshevism, and funniest of all, they are scared stiff of the printed word. Now this is a very strange and humiliating state of mind, in a people which has always been so dauntless. And, for the nation, it is a very dangerous state of mind. When a people falls into a state of funk, then God help it. Because mass funk leads sometime or other to mass panic, and then—one can only repeat, God help us.

There is, of course, a certain excuse for fear. The time of change is upon us. The need for change has taken hold of us. We are changing, we have got to change, and we can no more help it than leaves can help going yellow and coming loose in autumn, or than bulbs can help shoving 15 their little green spikes out of the ground in spring. We are changing, we are in the throes of change, and the change will be a great one. Instinctively, we feel it. Intuitively, we know it. And we are frightened. Because change hurts. And also, in the periods of serious transition, everything is uncertain, and living things are most vulnerable.

But what of it? Granted all the pains and dangers and uncertainties, there is no excuse for falling into a state of funk. If we come to think of it, every child that is begotten and born is a seed of change, a danger to its mother, at childbirth a great pain, and after birth, a new responsibility, a new change. If we fell into a state of funk about it, we should cease having children altogether. If we fall into a state of funk, indeed, the best thing is to have no children. But why fall into a state of funk?

Why not look things in the face like men, and like women? A woman who is going to have a child says to herself: Yes, I feel uncomfortable, sometimes I feel wretched, and I have a time of pain and danger ahead of me. But I have a good chance of coming through all right, especially if I am intelligent, and I bring a new life into the world. Somewhere I feel hopeful, even happy. So I must take the sour with the sweet. There is no birth without birth-pangs.—

It is the business of men, of course, to take the same attitude towards the birth of new conditions, new ideas, new emotions. And sorry to say, most modern men don't. They fall into a state of funk. We all of us know that ahead of us lies a great social change, a great social readjustment. A few men look it in the face and try to realise what will be best. We none of us *know* what will be best. There is no ready-made solution. Ready-made solutions are almost the greatest danger of all. A change is a slow flux, which must happen bit by bit. And it must *happen*. You can't drive it like a steam-engine. But all the time you can be alert and intelligent about it, and watch for the next step, and watch for the direction of the main trend. Patience, alertness, intelligence, and a human goodwill and fearlessness, that is what you want in a time of change. Not funk.

Now England is on the brink of great changes, radical changes. Within 15 the next fifty years the whole framework of our social life will be altered, will be greatly modified. The old world of our grandfathers is disappearing like thawing snow, and is as likely to cause a flood. What the world of our grandchildren will be, fifty years hence, we don't know. But in its social form it will be very different from our world of today. 20 We've got to change. And in our power to change, in our capacity to make new intelligent adaptations to new conditions, in our readiness to admit and fulfil new needs, to give expression to new desires and new feelings, lies our hope and our health. Courage is the great word. Funk spells sheer disaster.

There is a great change coming, bound to come. The whole money arrangement will undergo a change: what, I don't know. The whole industrial system will undergo a change. Work will be different and pay will be different. The owning of property will be different. Class will be different, and human relations will be modified and perhaps simplified. If we are intelligent, alert and undaunted, then life will be much better, more generous, more spontaneous, more vital, less basely materialistic. If we fall into a state of funk, impotence and persecution, then things may be very much worse than they are now. It is up to us. It is up to men to be men. While men are courageous and willing to change, nothing terribly bad can happen. But once men fall into a state of funk, with the inevitable accompaniment of bullying and repression, then only bad things can happen. To be firm is one thing. But bullying is another. And bullying of any sort whatsoever can have nothing but disastrous results. And when the mass falls into a state of funk, and you have mass-bullying, then catastrophe is near.

Change in the whole social system is inevitable not merely because conditions change—though partly for that reason—but because people themselves change. We change. You and I, we change and change vitally, as the years go on. New feelings arise in us, old values depreciate, new values arise. Things we thought we wanted most intensely we realise we don't care about. The things we built our lives on crumble and disappear, and the process is painful. But it is not tragic. A tadpole that has so gaily waved its tail in the water must feel very sick when the tail begins to drop off and little legs begin to sprout. The tail was its dearest, gayest, most active member, all its little life was in its tail. And now the tail must go. It seems rough on the tadpole: but the little green frog in the grass is a new gem, after all.

As a novelist, I feel it is the change inside the individual which is my real concern. The great social change interests me and troubles me, but it is not my field. I know a change is coming—but I know we must have a more generous, more human system, based on the life values and not on the money values. That I know. But what steps to take I don't know. Other men know better.

My field is to know the feelings inside a man, and to make new feelings conscious. What really torments civilised people is that they are full of feelings they know nothing about; they can't realise them, they can't fulfil them, they can't *live* them. And so they are tortured. It is like having energy you can't use—it destroys you. And feelings are a form of vital energy.

I am convinced that the majority of people today have good, generous feelings which they can never know, never experience, because of some fear, some repression. I do not believe that people would be villains, thieves, murderers and sexual criminals if they were freed from legal restraint. On the contrary, I think the vast majority would be much more generous, good-hearted and decent if they felt they dared be. I am convinced that people want to be more decent, more goodhearted than our social system of money and grab allows them to be. The awful fight for money, into which we are all forced, hurts our good-nature more than we can bear. I am sure this is true of a vast number of people.

And the same is true of our sexual feelings: only worse. There, we start all wrong. Consciously, there is supposed to be no such thing as sex in the human being. As far as possible, we never speak of it, never mention it, never, if we can help it, even think of it. It is disturbing. It is—somehow—wrong.

The whole trouble with sex is that we daren't speak of it and think of it naturally. (~~We are not secretly sexual villains. We are not secretly sexually depraved.~~)

We are just human beings with living sex. We are all right, if we had not this unaccountable and disastrous fear of sex. (~~I know, when I was a lad of eighteen, I used to remember with shame and rage, in the morning, the sexual thoughts and desires I had had the night before. Shame, and rage, and terror lest anybody else should have to know. And I *hated* the self that I had been, the night before.~~

~~Most boys are like that, and it is, of course, utterly wrong. The boy that had excited sexual thoughts and feelings was the living, warm-hearted, passionate me. The boy that in the morning remembered these feelings with such fear, shame and rage was the social, mental me: perhaps a little priggish, and certainly in a state of funk. But the two were divided against one another. A boy divided against himself: a girl divided against herself: a people divided against itself: it is a disastrous condition.~~)

(~~And~~) it was a long time before I was able to say to myself: I am *not* going to be ashamed of my sexual thoughts and desires, they are me myself, they are part of my life. I am going to accept myself sexually as I accept myself mentally and spiritually, and know that I am one time one thing, one time another, but I am always myself. My sex is me as my mind is me, and nobody will make me feel shame about it.—

It is long since I came to that decision. But I remember, how much freer I felt, how much warmer and more sympathetic towards people. I had no longer anything to hide from them, no longer anything to be in a funk about, lest they should find it out. My sex was me, like my mind and my spirit. And the other man's sex was him, as his mind was him, and his spirit was him. And the woman's sex was her, as her mind and spirit were herself too. And once this quiet admission is made, it is wonderful how much deeper and more real the human sympathy flows. And it wonderful how difficult the admission is to make, for man or woman: the tacit, natural admission, that allows the natural warm flow of the blood-sympathy, without repression and holding back.

(~~I remember when I was a very young man, I was enraged, when with a woman, if I was reminded of her sexual actuality. I only wanted to be aware of her personality, her mind and spirit. The other had to be fiercely shut out. Some part of the natural sympathy for a woman had to be shut away, cut off. There was a mutilation in the relationship all the time.~~

(~~Now, in spite of the hostility of society, I have learned a little better. Now I know that a woman is her sexual self too, and I can feel the normal sex sympathy with her. And this silent sympathy is utterly different from desire or anything rampant or lurid. If I can really sympathise with a woman in her sexual self, it is just a form of warm-heartedness and compassionateness, the most natural life-flow in the world. And it may be a woman of seventy-five, or a child of two, it is the same. But our civilisation, with its horrible fear and funk and repression and bullying, has almost destroyed the~~ natural flow of common sympathy, between men and men and men and women.

And it is this ^ that I want to restore into life: (~~just the natural warm flow of common sympathy between man and man, man and woman. Many people hate it, of course. Many men hate it that one should tacitly take them for sexual, physical men instead of mere social and mental personalities. Many women hate it the same. Some, the worst, are in a state of rabid funk. The papers call me "lurid", and a "dirty-minded fellow." One woman, evidently a woman of education and means, wrote to me out of the blue: "You, who are a mixture of the missing-link and the chimpanzee etc" — and told me my name stank in men's nostrils: though since she was Mrs Something or other, she might have said women's nostrils. — And these people think they are being perfectly well-bred and perfectly "right." They are safe inside the convention, which also agrees~~

~~that we are sexless creatures and social beings merely, cold and bossy and assertive, cowards safe inside a convention.~~)

Now I am one of the least lurid of mortals, (~~and I don't at all mind being likened to a chimpanzee.~~) If there is one thing I don't like it is cheap and promiscuous sex. If there is one thing I insist on it is that sex is a delicate, vulnerable, vital thing, that you mustn't fool with. If there is one thing I deplore it is heartless sex. Sex must be a real flow, a real flow of sympathy, generous and warm, and not a trick thing, (~~or a moment's excitation,~~) or a mere bit of bullying.

And if I write a book about the sex relations of a man and a woman, it is not because I want all men and women to begin having indiscriminate lovers and love-affairs, off the reel. All this horrid scramble of love- affairs and prostitution is only part of the funk, bravado and *doing it on purpose*. And bravado and *doing it on purpose* is just as unpleasant and hurtful as repression, just as much a sign of secret fear.

What you have to do is to get out of the state of funk, sex funk. And to do so, you've got to be perfectly decent, and you have to accept sex fully in the consciousness. Accept sex in the consciousness, and let the normal physical awareness come back, between you and other people. Be tacitly and simply aware of the sexual being in every man and woman, child and animal: and unless the man or woman is a bully, be sympathetically aware. It is the most important thing just now, this gentle physical awareness. It keeps us tender and alive at a moment when the great danger is to go brittle, hard, and in some way dead.

Accept the sexual, physical being of your self, and of every other creature. Don't be afraid of it. Don't be afraid of the physical functions. Don't be afraid of the so-called obscene words. There is nothing wrong with the words. It is your fear that makes them bad, your endless fear. It is your fear which cuts you off physically even from your nearest and dearest. And when men and women are physically cut-off, they become at last dangerous, bullying, cruel. Conquer the fear of sex, and restore the natural flow. Restore even the so-called obscene words, which are part of the natural flow. If you don't, if you don't put back a bit of the old warmth into life, there is savage disaster ahead.

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