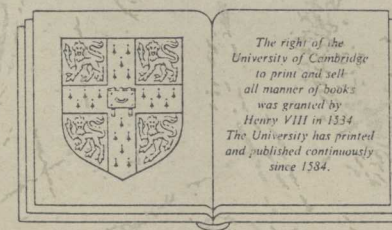


STUDY OF THOMAS HARDY

AND OTHER ESSAYS

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
BRUCE STEELE



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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LONDON NEW YORK NEW ROCHELLE
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THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE LETTERS AND WORKS OF
D. H. LAWRENCE



10.

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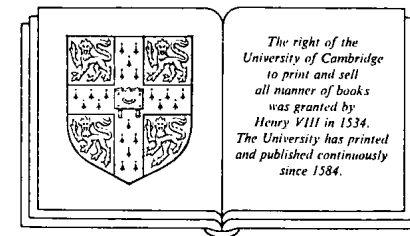
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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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

The Cambridge edition aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those he would have wished to see printed. They have been established by a rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and typescripts, proofs and early printed versions; they restore the words, sentences, even whole pages omitted or falsified by editors or compositors; they are freed from printing-house conventions which were imposed on Lawrence's style; and interference on the part of frightened publishers has been eliminated. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence would have wished to see published, editorial intervention is essential to recover them. Though we have

to accept that some cannot now be recovered in their entirety because early states have not survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains. Paradoxical as it may seem, the outcome of this recension will be texts which differ, often radically and certainly frequently, from those seen by the author himself.

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

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

Though Lawrence is a twentieth-century writer and in many respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to the many readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect is another difficulty, and further barriers to full understanding are created by now obscure literary, historical, political or other references and allusions. On these occasions explanatory notes are supplied by the editor; it is assumed that the reader has access to a good general dictionary and that the editor need not gloss words or expressions that may be found in it. Where Lawrence's letters are quoted in editorial matter, the reader should assume that his manuscript is alone the source of eccentricities of phrase or spelling. An edition of the letters is still in course of publication: for this reason only the date and recipient of a letter will be given if it has not so far been printed in the Cambridge edition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to those individuals and institutions who made their materials available to me: manuscripts of 'Rachel Annand Taylor' and 'Art and the Individual', W. H. Clarke; manuscript of 'Art and the Individual', the late John Baker; typescripts of 'Study of Thomas Hardy', 'Art and Morality', 'Morality and the Novel', 'Why the Novel Matters' and 'The Novel and the Feelings', Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; typescripts of 'Study of Thomas Hardy', manuscripts and typescripts of 'Art and Morality', 'Morality and the Novel', 'Why the Novel Matters', 'The Novel and the Feelings', 'The Novel', and manuscripts of 'John Galsworthy' and 'A Britisher Has a Word With an Editor', Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin; manuscript and typescript of 'The Future of the Novel', Columbia University; typescripts of 'The Future of the Novel' and 'The Novel', University of Tulsa; manuscript and typescript of 'The Novel', Yale University.

The Australian Research Grants Scheme funded my research and overseas travel over three years and Monash University granted me study leave and travel assistance. I gratefully acknowledge their support.

I would like to thank James T. Boulton, Warren Roberts and Michael Black for their advice and encouragement, and Lindeth Vasey for invaluable criticism and practical advice.

Many people have given ungrudging assistance in many ways to this book, and I specially thank: Louise Annand, Carl Baron, Teresa Battaglia, A. A. C. Bierrum, the late Arthur Brown, John Carswell, Mimi Colligan, the late Helen Corke, Emile Delavenay, Doreen Dougherty, Ellen Dunlap and the staff of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Paul Eggert, David Farmer, Desmond Flower, the late David Garnett, Michael Herbert, Edwin Kennebeck and the Viking Press, Norman Lambert, George Lazarus, Magdala Lee, Harold Love, Alan McBriar, Brenda Niall, D. J. Peters, Estelle Rebec and the staff of Bancroft Library, Mary Steele, Sam Steele, E. W. Tedlock Jr, Betsy Wallace, John Worthen.

February 1984

B. S.

CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
1902–1908	Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
7 December 1907	First publication: 'A Prelude', in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i>
early March 1908	Writes 'Art and the Individual'
19 March 1908	Reads 'Art and the Individual' in Eastwood
13 May 1908	Undertakes to rewrite 'Art and the Individual' for Blanche Jennings
1 September 1908	New version of 'Art and the Individual' sent to Blanche Jennings
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i>
10? March 1910	Meets Rachel Annand Taylor
30 September 1910	Requests loan of Rachel Annand Taylor's <i>Poems</i> and <i>Rose and Vine</i> ; plans paper on her poetry
15 October 1910	Visits Rachel Annand Taylor and borrows her <i>Poems</i>
17? November 1910	Presents 'Rachel Annand Taylor' to the Croydon English Association
3 December 1910	Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on 4 February 1912
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	<i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they elope to Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	<i>The Trespasser</i>
September 1912–March 1913	At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
February 1913	<i>Love Poems and Others</i>
29 May 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>

June–August 1913
 August 1913–June 1914
 24 June 1914
 July 1914–December 1915
 c. 7 July 1914 ✓

13 July 1914
 15 July 1914

31 July–8 August 1914

15? August 1914

c. 5 September 1914
 11 October 1914

13 October 1914
 31 October 1914

26 November 1914
 5 December 1914
 18 December 1914
 30 September 1915

June 1916
 July 1916
 15 October 1917

October 1917–November 1919
 December 1917
 October 1918
 November 1919–February 1922
 20 November 1919
 November 1920

10 May 1921

12 December 1921
 March–August 1922
 14 April 1922
 September 1922–March 1923
 23 October 1922
 24 October 1922
 1 February 1923

In England
 In Germany, Switzerland and Italy
 Arrives in England with Frieda Weekley
 In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex
 Invited to write book on Thomas Hardy for James Nisbet & Co.
 Marries Frieda Weekley in London
 Asks Edward Marsh for loan of Hardy books; receives them as a gift, 17 July
 Walking tour in Lake district; meets S. S. Kotliansky
 To The Triangle, Bellingdon Lane, Chesham, Buckinghamshire
 Begins 'Study of Thomas Hardy'
 Sends some revised 'Hardy' MS to Kot for typing
 'A third' of 'Hardy' revision completed
 Sends second batch of 'Hardy' MS to Kot
The Prussian Officer
 Sends last of 'Hardy' MS to Kot
 Intends to rewrite 'Hardy' again
The Rainbow; suppressed by court order on 13 November
Twilight in Italy
Amores
 After twenty-one months' residence in Cornwall, ordered to leave by military authorities
 In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire
Look! We Have Come Through!
New Poems
 To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
Bay
 Private publication of *Women in Love* (New York), *The Lost Girl*
Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious (New York)
Sea and Sardinia (New York)
 In Ceylon and Australia
Aaron's Rod (New York)
 In New Mexico
Fantasia of the Unconscious (New York)
England, My England (New York)
 Completes 'The Future of the Novel'

March 1923
 March–November 1923
 April 1923

27 August 1923

September 1923
 9 October 1923
 by 16 November 1923

December 1923–March 1924
 December 1923
 March 1924–September 1925
 August 1924

10 September 1924

14 May 1925
 June 1925

29 June 1925

September 1925–June 1928
 November 1925

December 1925

7 December 1925

January 1926
 28 February 1927
 12 March 1927
 June 1927
 Late August 1927
 23 March 1928
 24 May 1928

June 1928–March 1930

July 1928

September 1928

The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll
 In Mexico and USA
 'Surgery for the Novel—or a Bomb' ('The Future of the Novel') in *Literary Digest International Book Review* (New York)
Studies in Classic American Literature (New York)
Kangaroo
Birds, Beasts and Flowers (New York)
 Writes 'A Britisher Has a Word With an Editor'
 In England, France and Germany
 'A Britisher' in *Palms* (Mexico)
 In New Mexico and Mexico
The Boy in the Bush (with Mollie Skinner)
 Death of his father, John Arthur Lawrence
St. Mawr together with The Princess
 Writes 'Art and Morality', 'Morality and the Novel' and 'The Novel'
 'The Novel' (revised) sent to Centaur Press
 In England and mainly Italy
 'Art and Morality' in *Calendar of Modern Letters*; writes 'Why the Novel Matters' and 'The Novel and the Feelings'
 'Morality and the Novel' in *Calendar of Modern Letters*
 'The Novel' in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (Philadelphia)
The Plumed Serpent
 Completes 'John Galsworthy'
 Corrects TS of 'John Galsworthy'
Mornings in Mexico
 Corrects proofs of 'John Galsworthy'
 'John Galsworthy' in *Scrutinies*
The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories
 In Switzerland and, principally, in France
Lady Chatterley's Lover privately published (Florence)
Collected Poems

xiv

July 1929

September 1929

2 March 1930

January 1932

19 October 1936

28 March 1958

Chronology

Exhibition of paintings in London raided by police.

Pansies (manuscript earlier seized in the mail)

The Escaped Cock (Paris)

Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France
'Six Novels of Thomas Hardy and the Real Tragedy' in *Book Collector's Quarterly*; 'Art and the Individual' and 'Rachel Annand Taylor' in *Young Lorenzo* (Florence)

'Study of Thomas Hardy', 'Surgery for the Novel' ('The Future of the Novel'), 'Art and Morality', 'Morality and the Novel', 'Why the Novel Matters', 'The Novel and the Feelings' and 'John Galsworthy' in *Phoenix* (New York)

'A Britisher Has a Word with Harriett Monroe' ('A Britisher Has a Word With an Editor') in *Nehls*, ii.

CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript Locations

BL	British Library
ColU	Columbia University
UCB	University of California at Berkeley
UT	University of Texas at Austin
UTul	University of Tulsa
YU	Yale University

B. Printed Works

(The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.)

Abercrombie	Lascelles Abercrombie. <i>Thomas Hardy: A Critical Study</i> . Martin Secker, 1912.
Carswell	Catherine Carswell. <i>The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Chatto and Windus, 1932; reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Delavenay	Emile Delavenay. <i>D. H. Lawrence: L'Homme et la Genèse de son Œuvre</i> . 2 volumes. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1969.
<i>DHL Review</i>	James C. Cowan, ed. <i>The D. H. Lawrence Review</i> . Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1968—
E.T.	E.T. [Jessie Wood]. <i>D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record</i> . Jonathan Cape, 1935; reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
<i>Letters</i> , i.	James T. Boulton, ed. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
<i>Letters</i> , ii.	George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

- Letters*, iii. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Nehls Edward Nehls, ed. *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*. 3 volumes. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957-9.
- Phoenix* Edward D. McDonald, ed. *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking Press, 1936.
- Phoenix II* Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore, eds. *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*. Heinemann, 1968.
- Roberts Warren Roberts. *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* E. W. Tedlock. *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1948.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

'Study of Thomas Hardy'

On 24 June 1914, D. H. Lawrence returned to England with Frieda Weekley after almost nine months at Fiascherino near Lerici on the Golfo della Spezia in Italy.¹ They stayed for a time with Gordon Campbell, an Irish barrister practising in London, whom they had met the previous summer on holiday in Kent. Campbell's wife, Beatrice, was spending the summer of 1914 in Ireland, where he and the Lawrences planned to visit her in August.

Lawrence had returned to London with, as he thought, *The Rainbow* completed.² His immediate task was to provide his previous publisher, Duckworth, with a collection of short stories to replace *The Rainbow* which he had promised to Methuen. Within a fortnight, and while still at work on the stories, Lawrence was personally approached by another publisher with an invitation to write a short book on Thomas Hardy. On 8 July he explained the position to his agent, J. B. Pinker:

The man in Nisbet's, Bertram Christian, has been asking me would I do a little book for him – a sort of interpretative essay on Thomas Hardy, of about 15,000 words. It will be published at 1/- net. My payment is to be 1½d. per copy, £15 advance on royalties, half profits in America. It isn't very much, but then the work won't be very much. I think it is all right don't you? When the agreement comes I will send it on to you, and we need not make any trouble over it.³

The publishing firm of James Nisbet and Co. had recently launched a series entitled 'Writers of the Day' edited by Bertram Christian, one of the directors, and it is most likely that he envisaged Lawrence's book on Hardy as

¹ Frieda left her husband, Ernest Weekley, and children in May 1912 to elope with DHL; they lived in Europe, mostly in Italy. The divorce became absolute in May 1914; DHL and Frieda's return to England in June was in part prompted by the wish to be married as soon as possible and in England.

² This was the penultimate version of the novel, known until May 1914 as 'The Wedding Ring'. See *Letters*, ii. 173, and *The Rainbow*, ed. by Mark Kinkead-Weekes (to be published by Cambridge University Press).

³ *Letters*, ii. 193.

one of that series. Nothing further is known for certain of Lawrence's dealings with Christian.⁴

At first he seemed keen to write the book. An extended literary study of a living established writer, and one for whom he had some affinity as well as admiration, was an agreeable challenge and would mark a quite new direction in his writing. 'I am going to do a little book of about 15000 words on Thomas Hardy', he wrote to his old friend and former teaching colleague at Croydon, Arthur McLeod. 'What do you think of that. Later on I shall ask you to lend me some Hardy books.'⁵ But his personal circumstances and political events in Europe combined to change both his plans for writing the book and, to some extent, the nature of it.

On 13 July 1914 Lawrence married Frieda at the Kensington Registry Office. Three days before, he had written to Edward Marsh, another friend he had made the previous summer, and a generous patron of writers, inviting him to be a witness at the ceremony. Business at the Admiralty, where he was Private Secretary to Winston Churchill, made it impossible for Marsh to attend. Both he and Lawrence were disappointed; but only two days after the wedding, Lawrence, perhaps unwittingly, allowed Marsh to make tangible expression of his regret. He wrote not to McLeod but to Marsh asking for the loan of Hardy books for his new work:

Have you got Lascelles Abercrombie's book on Thomas Hardy; and if so, could you lend it me for the space of, say, six weeks; and if so, do you mind if I scribble notes in it? And if you've got any of those little pocket edition Hardy's, will you lend me those too . . . I am going to write a little book on Hardy's people. I think it will interest me. We are going to Ireland at the end of this month. I shall do it there . . . We had Campbell and Murry as witnesses at the marriage. I wish you'd been there.⁶

Marsh responded with characteristic generosity: as a belated wedding gift he sent Lawrence the complete works of Hardy and also Abercrombie's *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Study* (1912). Lawrence wrote to Marsh straight away expressing his embarrassed jubilation, adding: 'If my book – a tiny book – on Hardy comes off and pleases me, and you would like it, I dedicate it to you with a fanfare of trumpets. Thank you a million times.'⁷ The materials he needed for his 'tiny book' were thus easily assembled and in accordance with his plan Lawrence must have begun his reading at once.

⁴ Information from A. A. C. Bierrum, a director of James Nisbet & Co. Nisbet's records were destroyed during the Second World War.

⁵ *Letters*, ii. 194. McLeod constantly lent and gave books to DHL.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 198.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 199–200. DHL's copy of Abercrombie, with autograph annotations, is at UT. The edition of Hardy's works is not known, but would probably be a set of the 1912 Wessex edition. See Christopher Hassall, *Edward Marsh* (1959), p. 288.

His request for Abercrombie's critical study suggests that he held that book in particular regard. It is the only book about Hardy that he is known to have read in preparing his own. He had read it first more than a year before, and later had met Abercrombie when he visited Fiascherino. '[He] is sharp', Lawrence wrote of him, 'he is much more *intellectual* than I had imagined: keener, more sharp-minded. I shall enjoy talking to him.'⁸ Lawrence, while often in disagreement, nevertheless found a stimulus in Abercrombie's 'intellectual' reading of Hardy, and the book seems to have acted as a spring-board for his own intuitive interpretation. Meanwhile, (apart from a good deal of work on the proofs in October) Lawrence had for the moment completed his collection of stories which was to appear in November as *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*. He sent the last story to Edward Garnett, his old friend and mentor at Duckworth's on 17 July, and in his letter he mentioned the Hardy commission: 'I wonder what sort of a mess I shall make of it. However it doesn't very much matter.'⁹ In this apparently light-hearted spirit Lawrence embarked on his re-reading of Hardy and Abercrombie.

In less than three weeks, however, Britain was at war. On 8 August Lawrence returned to London to find that his visit to Ireland could not take place, and, more seriously, his return to Italy before the winter was now totally out of the question. A further blow came when Methuen returned the manuscript of *The Rainbow*, refusing to publish it at present: they were postponing new publications, but may also have expressed concern to Pinker about some scenes in Lawrence's novel (which Pinker would later have passed on).¹⁰ To his agent, Pinker, on 10 August, Lawrence lamented his impecunious state: 'I am wondering how I am going to get on. We can't go back to Italy as things stand, and I must look for somewhere to live.'¹¹

The Lawrences left the Campbells' house in South Kensington, and by 16 August were installed in a farm-labourer's cottage, 'The Triangle', near Chesham in Buckinghamshire. With bleak financial prospects before them they settled in.¹² In these changed circumstances Lawrence continued his reading of Hardy. The little book for Nisbet and the forthcoming volume of short stories for Duckworth now seemed his only literary and financial hopes;¹³

⁸ *Letters*, ii. 120.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 199.

¹⁰ Methuen later stated that their objection was on grounds of indecency, but most publishers returned unedited manuscripts at the start of the war.

¹¹ *Letters*, ii. 206–7.

¹² See *ibid.*, ii. 208–10.

¹³ He had an article 'With the Guns' published in the *Manchester Guardian*, 18 August 1914 (reprinted *Encounter*, August 1969, 5–6) and received gifts from friends like Marsh (see *Letters*, ii. 211). In October he received a grant for £50 from the Royal Literary Fund (see *ibid.*, ii. 223–4).

he does not appear to have contemplated immediate revision of *The Rainbow*.

On 5 September, after a further complaint to Pinker about money – ‘I can last out here only another month – then I don’t know where to raise a penny, for nobody will pay me’ – in a sudden outburst, he wrote: ‘What a miserable world. What colossal idiocy, this war. Out of sheer rage I’ve begun my book about Thomas Hardy. It will be about anything but Thomas Hardy I am afraid – queer stuff – but not bad.’¹⁴ Throughout September Lawrence seems to have devoted himself exclusively to writing the first draft. He makes no reference to any other creative work. On 15 September he asked Pinker: ‘If I am very badly off will you type it for me?’¹⁵ In the event Lawrence’s new friend S. S. Kotliansky offered to do it himself free.

On a walking tour of the Lake district at the end of July, Lawrence had met Samuel Solomonovich Kotliansky (‘Kot’), a Russian-Jewish emigré about three years his senior. Kot had come to England as a student of economics, and, because of Russian secret police interest in him, had decided to stay on in London, where he now worked as a secretary and translator in the Russian Law Bureau in High Holborn. He took to Lawrence immediately and became a devoted and life-long friend.¹⁶

It was at the beginning of October 1914 that Kotliansky made his offer to type Lawrence’s manuscript. Lawrence took up the offer enthusiastically, writing on 5 October:

Will you really type-write me my book – which is supposed to be about Thomas Hardy, but which seems to be about anything else in the world but that. I have done about 50 pages – re-written them. I must get it typed somehow or other. Don’t do it if it is any trouble – or if it is much trouble, for it is sure to be some. I should like a duplicate copy also.¹⁷

Kot must have agreed at once. He visited the Lawrences on the following Sunday, 11 October, and probably took the first batch of manuscript back to London with him the same day.¹⁸

Thus Lawrence had written a first draft and then rewritten some fifty pages of it in the space of little more than a month. Despite his assessment of its contents as ‘queer’ or ‘rum stuff’ and not very much about Hardy, he still appeared optimistic about submitting it to Nisbet for he wrote to Garnett in mid-October: ‘I have been writing my book more or less – very much

¹⁴ *Letters*, ii. 212.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 216.

¹⁶ Kotliansky was to make a modest literary reputation as a translator of Russian writers – among them, Chekhov, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. He worked always with collaborators, including DHL himself and Katherine Mansfield.

¹⁷ *Letters*, ii. 220.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 221.

less – about Thomas Hardy. I have done a third of it. When this much is typed I shall send it to Bertram Christian.’¹⁹ But in fact he had already signalled to himself the altered nature of the book by entitling his manuscript not ‘Thomas Hardy’ but ‘Le Gai Savaire’.²⁰ On 31 October he sent a further parcel of manuscript to Kot for typing, but whether he sent the first part of the typescript either to Pinker, as he had at first promised, or to Christian as he later intended, is not known but both seem unlikely.²¹ During November, as the work was nearing completion, Lawrence confided in Amy Lowell, the American poet and writer whom he had met in London on the eve of the war: ‘I am just finishing a book, supposed to be on Thomas Hardy, but in reality a sort of Confessions of my Heart. I wonder if ever it will come out – and what you’d say to it.’²² From this it might be inferred that Christian or Pinker had seen part of the work and been discouraging. On the other hand, on 3 December he urged Kotliansky: ‘Do please get my typing done. If I can send it in, I may get a little money for it.’²³ It remains uncertain at what point the Nisbet proposal was abandoned, and whether Pinker was inclined to try other publishers. Catherine Carswell, one of Lawrence’s early biographers, states clearly that the book represented a commission that failed to please, and adds, but without supporting evidence, that the book was ‘everywhere rejected at the time’.²⁴

On 5 December, Lawrence despatched ‘the last of the MS’ for typing.²⁵ By this time he had already advanced ‘the first hundred or so pages’ into a rewriting of *The Rainbow* and sent them to Pinker.²⁶ This was no mere revision to meet Methuen’s scruples, but a reconsideration and a thorough rewriting of the novel. With the experience of extensive revisions to the stories for *The Prussian Officer* volume²⁷ and of the ‘Hardy’ book, he approached the task with new insight and an extraordinary release of creative energy. ‘It is a beautiful piece of work, really. It will be, when I have finished it: the body of it is so now’, he told Pinker. He was working ‘frightfully hard’ at it, and it would occupy him almost exclusively until March 1915.²⁸

It was the working out of his philosophy, nourished by, and also stimulating his imaginative reading of Hardy, which gave Lawrence not only the impetus he needed to rework *The Rainbow*, but a clearer metaphysical structure which would ‘subserve the artistic purpose’. In the conclusion of ‘Hardy’ Lawrence

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 212, 216, 222.

²⁰ DHL’s French: ‘The Gay Science’. See below ‘The Title’ and Explanatory note on 7:2.

²¹ *Letters*, ii. 228, 216, 222.

²² *Ibid.*, ii. 235. See note 30 below.

²³ *Ibid.*, ii. 239.

²⁴ In the *Spectator* (27 November 1936), 960 and Carswell 27.

²⁵ *Letters*, ii. 239.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 240.

²⁷ See *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge, 1983), pp. xxx–xxxii.

²⁸ *Letters*, ii. 240, 239.

is virtually challenging himself to produce a novel in which the spirit of his knowledge and the body of his artistic purpose are reconciled: 'equal, two-in-one, complete. This is the supreme art, which yet remains to be done. Some men have attempted it . . . But it remains to be fully done.'²⁹

But in giving his principal attention to *The Rainbow* in December 1914 he neither abandoned nor forgot his 'Hardy'. Even while Kot was typing the final pages, and although possible publication seemed more and more remote, Lawrence wrote again to Amy Lowell on 18 December: 'My wife and I we type away at my book on Thomas Hardy, which has turned out as a sort of *Story of My Heart*: or a *Confessio Fidei*: which I must write again, still another time'.³⁰ But this effort, like his attempt to type his revision of *The Rainbow*, was probably short-lived.³¹ In any case it was over three months before he was free enough to concentrate on the rewriting, and by then he had abandoned altogether the idea of it as a book on Hardy. If he called the existing state of the book a 'confessio fidei', and referred to it as 'mostly philosophicalish, slightly about Hardy',³² the new version was to be unambiguously 'my "philosophy"'.³³ Lawrence's attempts to rewrite this philosophy into a definitive form were to occupy him from time to time for more than three years.

Lawrence's Philosophy

Lawrence's first attempt to set down his distinctive philosophy had been made nearly two years before 'Hardy'. In January 1913, on completion of *Sons and Lovers*, he wrote a 'Foreword' for the novel, insisting that it was a personal exercise – like 'Hardy' a 'confessio fidei' – and not for publication.³⁴ In it he set down his intuitive philosophy of the relation between Male and Female, man and woman in the act of creation. As its original sub-title – 'Of the Trinity, the Three-in-One' – suggests, the philosophy is worked out through Lawrence's heterodox versions of the Christian theology of Creation, Incarnation and Trinity. These, familiar to the reader of 'Hardy', offer

²⁹ See 91:37–8, 128:12–15.

³⁰ *Letters*, ii. 243. DHL's reference to Richard Jefferies' *Story of My Heart* (1883) is probably more general than specific. Cf. Explanatory note on 114:19. For DHL's view of Jefferies' book see *Letters*, i. 337, 353. The reference to typing may have been to indicate to Amy Lowell that her gift of a typewriter was being put to use. Whatever he and Frieda typed of this rewritten version no longer survives.

³¹ *Letters*, ii. 240. (DHL typed only the first seven pages of his revised *Rainbow*.)

³² *Ibid.*, ii. 292.

³³ *Ibid.*, ii. 309; see also p. 307.

³⁴ See *ibid.*, i. 507. The 'Foreword' is inaccurately printed in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Aldous Huxley (1932), pp. 95–102. The quotations which follow are from DHL's MS (Roberts E373.1; UT).

probably the most strikingly idiosyncratic feature of his philosophy in this period, 1913–15.

The 'Foreword' opens, for instance, with a text from St John 'the beloved disciple': 'The Word was made Flesh', but the orthodoxy is immediately reversed: 'The Flesh was made Word'. God the Father, Lawrence asserts, is the Flesh, and we know the flesh as Woman; Woman, the Flesh, gives birth to Man, who in due time utters the Word. Woman or Flesh is the source of our instinctive or blood-knowledge. The Son, Man, constantly moves out, like a bee, from the Queen, Woman, to his work of conscious or intellectual endeavour, and back to her again for renewal.

God expels forth to waste himself in utterance, in work, which is only God the Father realising himself in a moment of forgetfulness . . . For every petalled flower, which alone is a Flower, is a waste of productiveness. It is a moment of joy, of saying 'I am I.' And every table or chair a man makes is a self same waste of his life, a fixing into stiffness and deadness of a moment of himself, for the sake of the glad cry 'This is I – I am I!' And this glad cry when we know, is the Holy Ghost the Comforter.

This central perception is extensively developed in 'Hardy', twenty months later. Its fundamental tenet that human life is properly seen as of the same order as nature, imaged in the flower, governs the parable of the poppy from which the philosophy of 'Hardy' emerges. It is related to that 'inhuman' quality in human life – the quality of being, rather than knowing – which Lawrence emphasized in letters to Edward Garnett and to Ernest Collings in 1913 and 1914.

To Collings, an artist and illustrator, he wrote of his conception of the body as a flame, the intellect being the light shed on surrounding things:

I am not so much concerned with the things around . . . but with the mystery of the flame forever flowing . . . and being *itself*. . . We have got so ridiculously mindful, that we never know that we ourselves are anything . . . We cannot *be*. 'To be or not to be' – it is the question with us now, by Jove. And nearly every Englishman says 'Not to be.' So he goes in for Humanitarianism and such like forms of not-being. The real way of living is to answer to one's wants . . . Instead of that, all these wants . . . are utterly ignored, and we talk about some sort of ideas.³⁵

His 'theology', especially when transposed into these secular terms, gave Lawrence a basis for social and literary criticism which he developed far in 'Hardy'. At the same time to see human life in terms of non-human 'life' was what Lawrence was attempting in his own art: 'that which is physic – non-human, in humanity, is more interesting to me than the old-fashioned human

³⁵ *Letters*, i. 503–4.

element – which causes one to conceive a character in a certain moral scheme and make him consistent'.³⁶ In this famous letter of June 1914 to Edward Garnett in which he defended *The Rainbow*, Lawrence shows the immediate influence of his recent critical reading of the Italian Futurists – Marinetti, Buzzi and Soffici.³⁷ For Lawrence the Futurists were instinctively right in breaking with stultifying traditions and an outworn civilisation in order to make 'modern life' the stuff of their art. But they went too far. The art of the Futurists, he said, betrays their over-insistence on intellect (the Word, the Son, the male line); it is scientific, dehumanised. Indeed, their works are diagrams and mechanisms, not art. Only when the intellect, the male, is properly balanced with the flesh, the female, is there truly living and incorporated art, he asserted.

This conception of marriage between Flesh and Word, Woman and Man, was to Lawrence both symbol and fact. It gave him a doctrine with which to interpret and criticise art – his own and others' – and on which to base his own writing. At the same time it was inseparable from the central fact in his life. Thus he records, sometimes to the mystification of his readers, two aspects of his experience: the struggle to 'get right' his art and his relationship, finally his marriage, with Frieda. To McLeod he confessed:

I think the only re-sourcing of art, re-vivifying it, is to make it more the joint work of man and woman. I think the one thing to do, is for men to have courage to draw nearer to women, expose themselves to them, and be altered by them: and for women to accept and admit men. That is the only way for art and civilisation to get a new life, a new start – by bringing themselves together, men and women – revealing themselves each to the other, gaining great blind knowledge and suffering and joy, which it will take a big further lapse of civilisation to exploit and work out. Because the source of all

³⁶ Ibid., ii. 182; see pp. 182–3.

³⁷ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944), Italian writer and critic, launched Futurism in his 'Manifeste du futurisme' in *Le Figaro* (Paris, February 1909). Paolo Buzzi (1874–1956), Italian poet and editor of *I Poeti Futuristi* (Milan, 1912) which DHL read. It contained essays by Marinetti and Buzzi as well as poems in Italian and French. Ardengo Soffici (1879–1964), an Italian painter, author of *Cubismo e Futurismo* (Florence, 1914) which DHL read also. See *Letters*, ii. 180–3, and Paul Eggert, 'Identification of Lawrence's Futurist Reading', *Notes and Queries* (August 1982), 342–4.

Futurism announced a revolutionary break with the past and with artistic tradition. It asserted that 'modern life is the only source of inspiration for a modern artist', especially its characteristics of energy, speed and mechanical power. Art must therefore be dynamic. It must be free from tradition and from the dead weight of academicism; artistic emotion must be taken 'back to its physical and spontaneous source – Nature – from which anything philosophical or intellectual would tend to alienate it.' A work of art cannot be static, its subject isolated; it must be dynamic and reach outwards in widening circles or spheres towards an expression of the 'universal dynamism'. See *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio (1973), pp. 110, 122.

life and knowledge is in man and woman, and the source of all living is in the interchange and the meeting and mingling of these two: man-life and woman-life, man knowledge and woman-knowledge, man-being and woman-being.³⁸

The letters to Garnett and McLeod were written just as he finished the version of *The Rainbow* which Methuen was to reject, and just before he began work on the final form of his *Prussian Officer* stories. Despite his spirited defence of his novel against Garnett's criticism that 'the psychology is wrong', there is a suggestion that the criticism and his own developing philosophy together confirmed a barely recognised sense that the 'hitherto unachieved' utterance in the novel was not yet achieved. Instead, he became involved, apparently tangentially, with his 'little book' on Hardy, which in the outcome necessarily contained more of his own philosophy than criticism of Hardy. The rejection of the novel and the challenge of the Futurists and others, seem to have confirmed his instinctive sense that his philosophy must be clear before his novel could be got right.

His typically personal readings of the novels of Thomas Hardy helped greatly. The interpretations of the characters and relationships particularly in the great novels, *The Return of the Native*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*, recorded in the Hardy book, while always either exciting or infuriating for the reader of Hardy, are most remarkable in the end as demonstrations of Lawrence's own approach to characterisation and the relationships between men and women. This appears to have been his aim: to lay down a philosophy of character and relationships in terms of the fundamental, opposed and opposing forces which, he asserted, underlie all life; a philosophy which had been growing steadily from his 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*'.

But Lawrence was also concerned with a more specific problem: the proper relation between an artist's metaphysic or philosophy and its embodiment in the work of art itself, a problem exemplified by the imbalance which, he asserted, marred both Tolstoy's and Hardy's novels. One immediate spur to his thought in this direction must have been Abercrombie's *Thomas Hardy* where the argument centred on that very question. He wrote:

The highest art must have a metaphysic; the final satisfaction of man's creative desire is only to be found in aesthetic formation of some credible correspondence between perceived existence and a conceived absoluteness of reality. Only in such art will the desire be employed to the uttermost; only in such art, therefore, will conscious mastery seem complete. And Thomas Hardy, by deliberately putting the art of his fiction under the control of a metaphysic, has thereby made the novel capable of the highest service to man's consciousness . . .

³⁸ *Letters*, ii. 181.

For if the metaphysic be there at all, it must be altogether in control . . . The metaphysic will be something (as it is in Hardy's work) which can only be expressed by the *whole* of the art which contains it . . . There are no novels like Thomas Hardy's for perfection of form; and this is the sign of the inward perfection . . . Mr. Hardy's metaphysic is . . . tragical . . . for who knows better than he how the senseless process of the world for ever contradicts the human will?³⁹

When Lawrence first read this in 1913, he considered Abercrombie's claim that Hardy put his art 'under the control of a metaphysic', 'beautifully said'.⁴⁰ On re-reading he had found much to disagree with: he found Hardy deficient as a metaphysician. Hardy's conscious metaphysic, he said, 'is almost silly', and when he allows it to assume control, when he forces events into line with it, 'his form is execrable in the extreme'.⁴¹ Abercrombie had found the highest statement of Hardy's tragic metaphysic in *The Dynasts*, and made large claims for that work as 'one of the most momentous achievements of modern literature'.⁴² Lawrence read his chapter on *The Dynasts* with attention, as his notes on the end papers of his copy testify;⁴³ but he vigorously rejected Hardy's 'sense of the purposelessness in the scheme of things', the 'habit of the immanent Will', just as he rejected 'a good deal of the *Dynasts* conception' itself as 'sheer rubbish, fatuity'.⁴⁴

Lawrence even called in question the tragic status of Hardy's work, if by tragedy was meant the vision of an Aeschylus or Euripides. Hardy's characters, he asserted, do not struggle against the great ordinances of life and fate: they are merely at odds with the laws and opinions of a society to which, in the end, they submit.

In his reaction, Lawrence stressed in his own way an element which Abercrombie had considered secondary: Hardy showed a greater and deeper feeling, instinct, and sensuous understanding than 'that perhaps of any other English novelist'. What Lawrence concluded from his reading of Hardy and his study of Abercrombie was that Hardy's tragic metaphysic was pessimistic, perverse and untrue because it was at odds with the affirmation of his

³⁹ Abercrombie 19-20, 22, 20-1.

⁴⁰ *Letters*, i. 544.

⁴¹ See 93:4-13.

⁴² Abercrombie 225.

⁴³ The most connected notes are the last four which refer to passages in the chapter on *The Dynasts* concerned with Hardy's metaphysic. DHL wrote:

p. 200 the sense of purposelessness in the scheme of things

p. 202 - man's enjoyment of that which goes counter to his idea of rightness.

p. 209 The habit of the immanent Will is all that remains - so the habit in the human soul - break the habit and the Will is free 'rapt aesthetic rote'

That feeling is something apart from the Will

213 The human intelligence sees itself separate from the Will, raptly magnipotent - it would have a separate will

⁴⁴ See 93:6-7.

'sensuous understanding'.⁴⁵ Consequently the art which that metaphysic controlled was deeply flawed. Abercrombie nevertheless had thrown him back to the problem which he knew only too well from his own recent experience he must solve if his own art was to succeed. He ruefully reflected:

It is the novelists and dramatists who have the hardest task in reconciling their metaphysic, their theory of being and knowing, with their living sense of being. Because a novel is a microcosm, and because man in viewing the universe must view it in the light of a theory, therefore every novel must have the background or the structural skeleton of some theory of being, some metaphysic. But the metaphysic must always subserve the artistic purpose beyond the artist's conscious aim. Otherwise the novel becomes a treatise.⁴⁶

And, he might have added, the resulting form of the novel will appear imposed or contrived, rather than a natural flowering.

This disagreement with Abercrombie and Hardy may well have been the starting point for Lawrence's 'Hardy', even though it is expressed overtly only in chapter ix. But the overriding consideration was to set down his 'confessio fidei': his rejected novel, a world at war and bleak prospects even for subsistence made this only more pressing if his art and therefore his life as a writer were to progress. He must ascertain his own 'theory of being and knowing' and reconcile it with his 'living sense of being'.⁴⁷ Hardy had been important in this process, but could be pushed almost to the periphery of the work, certainly away from the centre. Lawrence soon signified this change of intention by his new title 'Le Gai Savaire' - at the head of the copy Kot was to type.

Hardy had therefore been the catalyst for Lawrence's philosophy. His diagnosis of Hardy gave him confidence in the power and the truth of his doctrine of the Law and Love, of Flesh and Word, of Being and Knowing. In his reading of Hardy it was as if he allowed Hardy to read him in turn, and he emerged from the experience with his earlier insights strengthened and clarified to the point where he could see how *The Rainbow* 'missed being itself' and what that true self must be. His joyful philosophy provided the 'structural skeleton' he needed; and in December 1914 he could say with joy of *The Rainbow*: 'It is a beautiful piece of work'. But to the extent that it was still 'slightly about Hardy', the philosophy needed to be written over again.⁴⁸

The final rewriting of *The Rainbow* was not completed until the beginning of March 1915; but Lawrence already was planning the new version of his philosophy. He had begun rethinking it even in December 1914. Early in

⁴⁵ See 93:14-16.

⁴⁶ See 91:31-9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Letters*, ii. 146, 240, 292; see 91:35-7.

1915 he set down a new proposal which shows the influence of his 'pet scheme' for an ideal community to be called Rananim:⁴⁹

The book I wrote – mostly philosophicalish, slightly about Hardy – I want to re-write and publish in pamphlets. We must create an idea of a new, freer life, where men and women can really meet on natural terms, instead of being barred within so many barriers. And if the money spirit is killed, and eating and sleeping is free, then most of the barriers will collapse. Something must be done, and we must begin soon.⁵⁰

Nothing of this proposed new version of his philosophy survives, so that it is impossible to do more than guess at its content. What is fundamentally different is the purpose of the work. No longer a criticism of Hardy, an artist's metaphysic or a personal 'story of my heart', nor even some amalgam of these, it is conceived as a fervent public call to 'new life', born out of a sense that 'something must be done', that a revolution must take place.

Throughout 1915 Lawrence made several frustrated attempts to rewrite 'Le Gai Savaire'. Nothing substantial of these attempts survives, but it is clear that towards mid-1915 he abandoned for the time being his 'Christian' theology: 'I shall write all my philosophy again. Last time I came out of the Christian Camp.'⁵¹ One reason for this change was the influence of Bertrand Russell whom he had first met in February and with whom later he proposed to give public lectures – 'he on Ethics, I on Immortality'.⁵² By October 1915 he had written the six essays of 'The Crown'. Three of them were published in a little magazine *The Signature* devised and produced by himself and Middleton Murry, with Kotliansky as business manager,⁵³ but this public call to a new life in the midst of the horror of the First World War itself foundered for lack of support. Wise after the event, Lawrence reflected on this failure when he revised 'The Crown' for publication in a later work in 1925:

I knew then, and I know now, it is no use trying to do anything – I speak only for myself – publicly. It is no use trying merely to modify present forms. The whole great form of

⁴⁹ See *Letters*, ii. 259. For the name see *ibid.*, ii. 252 and n. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 292–3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 367. Some of this rewriting may have found its way into *Twilight in Italy*. See P. R. Eggert, 'The Subjective Art of D. H. Lawrence: *Twilight in Italy*' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1981).

⁵² *Letters*, ii. 359. DHL's lectures were never given and probably not written as such. Russell's revised lectures were given in January–March 1916 (published as *Principles of Social Reconstruction*). Russell suggested that DHL read John Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 1892) and this changed the direction of his philosophy.

⁵³ Three issues of *Signature* appeared (4 and 18 October and 1 November 1915) with an essay from 'The Crown' in each. The public (only about fifty subscribers) was baffled by DHL's philosophy, Murry and Mansfield withdrew their support and DHL's attempt at 'action' was at an end.

our era will have to go. And nothing will really send it down but the new shoots of life springing up and slowly bursting the foundations.⁵⁴

As the last sentence, so close to the heart of Lawrence's philosophy, suggests, public failure was not the end of his personal endeavour. In January 1916, he began his philosophy for the fifth time: 'It's come at last. I am satisfied, and as sure as a lark in the sky.'⁵⁵ But this version entitled 'Goats and Compasses' was abandoned during 1916, and the manuscript destroyed.⁵⁶ By September 1917 yet another version was complete entitled 'At the Gates', and this time the manuscript was sent to Pinker in whose hands it remained until 1920.⁵⁷ It has since disappeared, so that the final definitive version of a work which began with the book on Hardy is unknown. It would be a book of about 140 pages, he told Pinker, 'based upon the more superficial "Reality of Peace"'.⁵⁸ Four of the essays from the 'Reality of Peace' series were written, published by the *English Review*, in 1917, and are the last surviving testimony to this phase of Lawrence's philosophy.⁵⁹ At what was for the moment the end of his long struggle with his metaphysics, he recalled Kotliansky's help and advice at the beginning in 1914:

I have written into its final form that philosophy which you once painfully and laboriously typed out, when we were in Bucks, and you were in the Bureau. I always remember you said 'Yes, but you will write it again'. – I have written it four times since then. Now it is done: even it is in the hands of my friend Pinker. But I have no fear that anybody will publish it.⁶⁰

The text and its transmission

Neither Lawrence's first draft nor his rewritten manuscript, from which Kotliansky typed 'Hardy', has survived. Of the three typescript versions extant, two – designated TS (Roberts E384a) and TCC (Roberts E384b) – are relevant to this edition. The third is an agent's copy in duplicate of TCC.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Note to revised version of 'The Crown' in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (Philadelphia, 1925); reprinted in *Phoenix II* 364.

⁵⁵ *Letters*, ii. 504.

⁵⁶ For accounts of this phase of the philosophy see Emile Delavenay, *D. H. Lawrence: The Man and His Work: The Formative Years, 1885–1919* (1972), pp. 388, 450ff., and Paul Delany, *D. H. Lawrence's Nightmare* (Hassocks, Sussex: 1979), chaps. v and vii.

⁵⁷ *Letters*, iii. 163, 453 and 472 n. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 152, 155.

⁵⁹ May, June, July and August 1917 (reprinted in *Phoenix* 669–694).

⁶⁰ *Letters*, iii. 163. This typescript appears to have been made hastily by two typists. Corrections and page references confirm that it is a copy of TCC, not an independent version of TS. English watermarks on the paper show that it was made in London. When copies were needed for London and New York publishers, Curtis Brown presumably had these additional copies made. The carbon copy is uncorrected. Both copies are at UT (Roberts E384c and d).